A HOLINESS CHURCH IN SCOTLAND: THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE 1906 TO 1950

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(Signed)

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Summary

The Church of the Nazarene, the world's largest Holiness Church, came to Scotland from the United States. This study aims to demonstrate that from inauspicious beginnings the movement which began in 1906 as the Pentecostal Church of Scotland overcame initial setbacks to emerge as an independent denomination.

Its doctrinal foundation is John Wesley's teaching that 'Christian perfection' is a state attainable in this life. Nazarene leaders always emphasised that this is not 'sinless perfection', which is Christ's alone. Conversion is expected to lead to 'the second blessing' or 'entire sanctification'. A second marked characteristic of the denomination is its emphasis upon church form and order.

Its survival and development were the more surprising when viewed against the Scottish background of lack of enthusiasm for the teachings of Methodism and a strong tradition of Calvinist teaching which countered the more Arminian holiness message. But offsetting these was a history of revivalism in Scotland, indigenous and through the preaching of American evangelists.

Development in Scotland owed much to the determination of the founder, George Sharpe. Born in Lanarkshire, he spent fifteen years as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church in New York State. He became familiar with the doctrines of P.F.Bresee, founder of the Church of the Nazarene, and returned to Scotland to 'preach holiness'. This proved unacceptable in his two Congregational Church pastorates, and, after eviction, he established the first Pentecostal Church of Scotland in the Parkhead district of Glasgow. In 1915, the denomination united with the American Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene under that name, the designation 'Pentecostal' being dropped in 1919.

The denomination inaugurated in 1906 consisted of about eighty members, and developed under Sharpe's leadership, although membership and number of congregations never became high. Its survival was often in doubt, and its situation was made more precarious in that the socio-economic group which it represented

precluded the possibility of substantial endowments or bequests.

Our object is to show that the denomination's life was based upon the two firmly-rooted principles of 'Christian perfection' and 'a churchly way of life', adherence to which enabled it to surmount the practical problems confronting it in finance, property, and the training of pastors. By 1950, the date at which this study concludes, it had seventeen congregations in Scotland, a small number in England and Ireland, a theological college, and plans for expansion. In the early 1950s, the denomination united with two other holiness movements, which entered into the name and structure of Church of the Nazarene.

ABBREVIATIONS

CUH	*Called Unto Holiness,* by Timothy L. Smith (Nazarene Publishing House, Kansas City, 1960)
DSCHT	*Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (ed. Nigel M. de S.Cameron (T. and T. Clark , Edinburgh, 1993)
ISJW	*In the Steps of John Wesley,* by Jack Ford (Nazarene Publishing House, Kansas City1966)
NTC	Nazarene Theological College, Manchester
RSCHS	*Records of the Scottish Church History Society* (Edinburgh)
SHS	*A Short Historical Sketch of the Church of the Nazarene in the British Isles,* by George Sharpe (printed privately, Glasgow, 1927)
TMS	*This Is My Story,* by George Sharpe (Messenger Publishing Company, Glasgow, 1948)

SECTION 1

BACKGROUND TO THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

Chapter 1.

THE CONCEPT OF HOLINESS

1. Early Holiness Influences

When a small church on the east side of Glasgow was dedicated and opened for public worship in December, 1907, it was under the leadership of a Scot, Revd George Sharpe, who recorded his conviction that 'the ministry of our Church should preach the doctrine of holiness clearly, persistently, and lovingly',[1] and who asserted the necessity of 'the preaching of the Wesleyan doctrine of Entire Sanctification.'[2] The term which he used, 'holiness', has a long religious history; but during the nineteenth century it developed two special connotations. Within particular contexts it came to be made synonymous with certain other terms - Christian perfection, entire sanctification, the second blessing, the baptism of the Holy Ghost. It also became associated with a religious movement which resolved itself into what have since become known as the 'Holiness Churches'.

This study will seek to show how a Church founded upon the doctrine of holiness, or entire sanctification, came to establish itself in the unlikely environment of a predominantly Presbyterian Scotland. The subject has been previously looked at in Dr Jack Ford's book *In the Steps of John Wesley*[3] and in Professor T.L.Smith's history, *Called Unto Holiness*.[4] The former of these, however, concentrates upon showing

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[1] George Sharpe, *A Short Historical Sketch of the Church of the Nazarene in the British Isles* published privately, Glasgow, 1927), p.64. (Hereafter *SHS*)

[2] George Sharpe, *This Is My Story* (Messenger Publishing Co., Glasgow, 1948), p.63. (Hereafter *TMS*)

[3] Jack Ford, *In the Steps of John Wesley* (Nazarene Publishing House, Kansas City, Mo., 1967).

[4] Timothy L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness* (Nazarene Publishing House, Kansas City, Mo., 1962).

the development of the three holiness movements, the Church of the Nazarene, the International Holiness Movement, and Calvary Holiness Church, towards union in one; the latter is essentially a history of the Church of the Nazarene in the United States and devotes only a few pages to its growth in Scotland. There has been no study of the Nazarene movement which concentrates on its Scottish origins and development. In the present study, it is hoped to show that it was precisely the fact that it was organised as a church, with due forms and observances, which drew a response from traditionally-orientated Scottish hearers. It will then be our aim to demonstrate the 'mechanisms' - for example, the provision of church buildings, the importance placed upon the training of and deployment of pastors, the establishing of the Church's principles in a *Manual* - by which this Church, although remaining small in membership terms, nevertheless survived, and survived with a buoyancy and confidence in itself which early events in its history might well have shaken irretrievably.

The Holiness Churches trace their origins, in the main, back to John Wesley; but even Wesley, when he formulated his principle of 'Christian perfection' leading to Methodism, was not inaugurating something entirely new. What he did was to redefine and emphasise a concept of Christian life which was part of an acknowledged tradition. His teaching was to travel to America, where its most significant impact was made by his contemporary and associate, George Whitefield. The movement which developed returned to England and to Scotland, in which latter country the established Church had its 'two foci: Holy Scripture.....the Church's "supreme rule of faith and life".....and the Westminster Confession of Faith', which enshrined 'the characteristic

doctrines of scholastic Calvinism'.[5] Amongst the holiness groups and centres which developed, one went on to assume the status and organisation of a denomination, starting off in 1906 as the Parkhead Pentecostal Church in Glasgow, later to become the Church of the Nazarene, and ultimately part of the church which is statistically the largest world-wide of the Holiness Churches.

The strands of tradition in Scotland referred to above - Calvinism and Wesleyanism - must in justice be accompanied by a third: a history of revivalism in Scotland, originating certainly no later than the seventeenth century, and recurring over the next two centuries throughout the country. A brief assessment of the influence these three factors had upon the Scottish religious scene will help to illustrate two aspects of the events which made it the home of the first organised Holiness Church. The first aspect is the extent to which the ground had already been prepared for the advent of such a Church; the second is the extent to which the capacity of the Scottish religious scene had been enlarged, both spiritually and ecclesiastically, to accept, and even respond warmly to a new character (and, in many eyes, a rather enigmatic one) upon the Scottish church stage. In some respects, these influences may appear to have a merely tenuous connection with the establishing of a 'Holiness Church'; but it is discernible from a brief survey that the concept of holiness was not thrust upon a people wholly unfamiliar with it, and that Scottish religious history incorporates passages which make the introduction of a holiness denomination understandable. Indeed, from at least as early in Biblical history as

[5] A.C.Cheyne, *The Transforming of the Kirk* (St. Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1983), p.5.

Moses, the idea of holiness was revealed to man;[6] and from the time that Jesus commanded his disciples 'Be ye perfect', there grew the concept of that holiness which now belongs to every member of the Church of Christ.[7] In all generations since Paul wrote of 'sanctification by the Spirit' (I Thess. 5, 4), many have seen sanctification or holiness as the work of God, enabling 'the new man' to 'eradicate' the sinfulness in his nature.

The concept of the 'holy,' the 'sinless,' was thus one which stamped its own particular mark on the pattern of church life, though given by its exponents sometimes varying interpretations. From the times of the Desert Fathers and of mediaeval monasticism, this ideal of 'perfection' in God prevailed, and communities and sects of believers, dissatisfied with orthodox forms, 'separated' themselves to live a life closer, they believed, to New Testament principles. Groups which in their various ways stressed the striving towards a 'state of grace' included such as: the Semi-Pelagians; the illuminati; the Albigenses; the Bogomils (early and faintly heralding the later 'work of sanctification' in their distinction between 'Perfecti' and the ordinary believer); the Anabaptists; the Pietists and the Quietists. Amongst the great Reformers, Calvin wrote in the *Institutes* of sanctification as the means by which menmay 'cultivate blamelessness and true purity of life'.[8]

(i) Weakening of orthodox Calvinism

The concept of holiness thus postulated a turning-away from alleged authoritarian systems by which the 'established' church seemed

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[6] J.Agar Beet, *Holiness as understood by the writers of the Bible* (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1880), p.12-17.

[7] Ibid.

[8] John Calvin, *Institutes*, III. xi.1, ed. J.T.McNeill, transl.F.L.Battles (Westminster/John Knox Press, Louisville, 1960).

to 'holiness' groups to be controlled, along with a return to the importance of praying and preaching, and renewed emphasis upon the personal experience and testimony of the believer. All of this found dramatic expression in the lives and works of John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. The 'holiness movements' grew largely out of their teachings, and in particular developed the concept of 'entire sanctification'. The two elements seen as pillars of Wesley's preaching, a personal faith in Christ and an experience of entire sanctification, became the hallmark of holiness teaching - indeed, certain preachers contrived to out-Wesley Wesley in their zeal. In the United States of America the controversies over 'holiness' created dissension within the Methodist Episcopal Church (a title given at the first conference in Baltimore in 1784),[9] a situation exacerbated by conflicting attitudes towards slavery and the Civil War. Nevertheless, even in disruption the Methodists in both America and Great Britain were a major influence in evangelisation - and hence in the holiness movement, since it was from the 'breakaway' groups that smaller organisations were to spring. From this time may be dated the idea of pioneering 'revival', in the sense in which the term was mainly used in the nineteenth century and has been understood since.

However, while it is important, as will be demonstrated, to acknowledge that American-orientated revivalism was a key factor in the holiness movement in Scotland, it is arguable that its relative ease of access was contributed to by the gradual weakening of the Calvinist tradition which since the Reformation had exerted so firm a hold upon

[9] E.S.Bucke, ed., *History of American Methodism* (Abingdon Press,1964),vol.1, pp.213-232. Its titular and constituted leaders were Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke, and they were designated 'bishop'.

Scottish religious life. John Wesley, in travelling northwards, had been aware that he was entering the territory of 'stubbornly Calvinist Scotland'; [10] and, more than a century later, George Sharpe, returning to his native Scotland from the United States, deprecated the fact that Calvinist attitudes there contrasted strongly with what he had been accustomed to in the Methodist Episcopal churches where he had pastored.[11]

There was some justification for such pessimism. Yet, over the years, there had been noticeable moves towards a loosening of Calvinism's dominance. The way towards change had been paved by various events and people. The 'Marrow Controversy' around the years 1718 to 1721, arising out of the Puritan Edward Fisher's book, '*The Marrow of Modern Divinity*', published about 1645, stressed God's 'free grace' in the salvation of sinners, the assurance of that salvation, and the unlimited extent of the gospel call. The desire of ministers who responded to it, men like Thomas Boston, minister of Ettrick, and Thomas Hog of Carnock, was that people should hold their religion less formally and more as a real experience of life.

The movement continued over the years with the preaching of Ebenezer Erskine and his brother Ralph, the latter being one of those who invited George Whitefield to come to Scotland.[12] A few years later, in 1761, the Relief Church was formed by Thomas Gillespie, who had been deposed in 1752, and two other other ministers, who refused to accept a

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[10] Stanley Ayling, *John Wesley* (Collins, London, 1974), p.220.

[11] *TMS* , p.63.

[12] A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Scottish Church, 1688-1843* (Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 35-37; also D.C.Lachman, article on Ralph Erskine, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* , ed. N.M.de S. Cameron (T.and T.Clark, Edinburgh,1993),p. 302 (hereafter *DSCHT*); and I. Hamilton, article on George Whitefield, *DSCHT*, p.867.

patron's choice of minister. Along with its practice of free and open Communion, the Relief Church came to repudiate that section of the Westminster Confession which asserts the rights of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. It thus became the first Presbyterian body in Scotland not to accept the Confession in its entirety.[12] In 1847, the Relief Church joined with the United Secession Church to form the United Presbyterian Church, which thus from the outset qualified its adherence to the Confession, and was consequently more open to other developments of a theological nature.

It was against this background that the commitment of the brothers Robert and James Haldane to Christian service led them to conduct a vigorous evangelistic tour through Scotland from 1797, reaching as far as Orkney.[14] Their work provided some of the evidence that 'Calvinism was not going to maintain a monopoly in Scottish religion' and was becoming a less powerful influence.[15] Such evidence was strengthened by the response of James Morison, a United Secession minister who was expelled in 1841 for views which represented a significant rejection of Calvinist teaching on election, limited atonement, and predestination. The new Evangelical Union, which, with the support of others, he founded, thus stood for 'an Arminian theology and a warmly Evangelical piety',[16] a reaction against strict Calvinism and a testimony to conviction

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[13] J.H.S.Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (OUP, London, 1960), pp. 299, 363.

[14] J. Mackay, *The Church in the Highlands* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1914), pp.225-229; also D.W.Lovegrove, articles on the Haldanes. *DSCHT*, pp. 385, 386.

[15] Gavin White, *How the Churches Got to Be the Way they Are* (SCM Press, London, 1990)p. 39; also A.L. Drummond and J.Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland , 1843-1874* (St. Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1975), pp.110-113.

[16] Cheyne, *Transforming the Kirk*, p. 63.

that the gift of divine grace applied to all men everywhere.

Other names came to the fore at or about this time as questioning the tenets of strict Calvinism - Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, a lay theologian; John McLeod Campbell, whose teaching of a universal atonement and of assurance led to his deposition in 1831; Edward Irving, whose preaching on the nature of Christ's humanity and whose interest in the gifts of the Spirit led also to his deposition in 1832.[17] These also demonstrated that conflict with Calvinist orthodoxy already existed within the Scottish Churches. This pressure found an at least partially sympathetic ear in Thomas Chalmers, first Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland and Principal of New College, Edinburgh, from 1843. Chalmers himself acknowledged a definite conversion experience, and while he would not openly support McLeod Campbell or Edward Irving, fearing for his professional standing and also for the integrity of the Church, his own theological stance was known to favour the offer of God's grace for all.[18]

The ironic result was that while the 'heresy trials' of the 1830s seemed a setback for liberal ideas, they proved to be a step towards a broader conception of God's presence in human life and a clearer 'apprehension of the Church as the community of the Spirit'.[19]

Such convictions became more pronounced as the century advanced, helping to provide the climate in which holiness teachings could take root and grow. The partial repudiation of the Westminster

[17] See also on Pentecostalism, ch.8 below.

[18] S.J.Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* (OUP, London, 1982), pp.215 - 216.

[19] A.R.Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution* (Penguin Books, Middlesex, 1976), p.67.

Confession by such men as Irving, McLeod Campbell, and Morison were 'premonitory rumblings heralding the earthquake to come',[20] and growing louder, not only among ministers but also in the now better-educated eldership.[21] It was finally acknowledged by the United Presbyterian Church that the time had come for a more realistic re-defining of the relationship of the Churches to the Confession, admitted by many to be the child of its own time: the Confession reflected 'the reasons for its production and Calvinistic theology as it had developed by the middle of the nineteenth century',[22] and had, indeed, come to be regarded, as McLeod Campbell learned, as well-nigh superseding the authority of Scripture in matters of the faith. Proposals for change were put to the Synod of the Church in 1878, and in the following year were accepted and became law, thus substantially reducing the authority of what has been described as 'a theological manifesto.....which had never been accepted from the heart and throughout by the whole membership'.[23] Some years later, with a good deal more debate and after earlier refusals (1887, 1888) to consider modifications, a similar Declaratory Act became the law of the Free Church at the 1892 Assembly, by which, it has been said, 'the Free Church had tacitly abandoned the whole system of thought for which [the Westminster Confession] stood'.[24] A further development in the process took place in 1906, when the United Free Church, in an Act of Assembly, declared its

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[20] Cheyne, *Transforming the Kirk*, p.60.

[21] G.D.Henderson, *The Scottish Ruling Elder* (James Clarke and Company, Ltd., London, 1935) p. 221.

[22] D.M.Murray, 'A Personal View', in A.I.C. Heron (ed.), *The Westminster Confession in the Church Today* (Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1982), p.116.

[23] A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland* (Saint Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 35-36.

[24] Ibid., pp. 269, 271.

right as a Church 'to alter, change, add to, or modify her constitution and laws, subordinate standards and formulas.....',[25] an Act described as 'a landmark.....(having) its roots in a conception of Christian doctrine which had taken shape during the nineteenth century'.[26] In the case of the Church of Scotland, an act of parliament was required to permit alteration in the formula of subscription of ministers - a clause was inserted into the Churches (Scotland) Act of 1905 to allow this. In 1910, the Church of Scotland Act on the Formula amended the Subscription to the Confession of Faith required by ministers.

These developments played their part in easing the passage of the holiness movement into Scotland, and may therefore be justifiably seen as helping to provide the climate in which its teachings could grow. It is significant that Principal Cairns saw the mind of the Church in 1879 as 'closer to John Wesley than to the Westminster divines'.[27] These events contributed to bringing nearer a time when men such as William Booth in the Salvation Army, David Thomas in the international Holiness Mission, George Sharpe in the Church of the Nazarene, and others like them were able to expound, more freely than preceding generations had done, their convictions that the humble sinner could boldly speak of Christ as his and himself as Christ's, and that he could have immediate assurance of pardon from sin and the grace of forgiveness. These later preachers would surely not have denied the essential significance of such developments as strongly influencing both dissemination of and receptiveness to the holiness message.

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[25] Records of the United Free Church Assembly, Act anent Spiritual Independence, May 31, 1906 (p. 287).

[26] A.J.Campbell, *Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland, 1707-1729* (Alexander Gardner Ltd., Paisley, 1930), p.306.

[27] Quoted in Drummond and Bulloch, *Church in Late Victorian Scotland*, p.38.

(ii) John Wesley and Methodism in Scotland.

Significant as was the weakening of Calvinism, it contributed only partially to clearing the way for the holiness leaders to preach sanctification and set up a denomination and a movement established upon it. Probably the most influential factor in disseminating the holiness message was the teaching of John Wesley, founder of Methodism. It is therefore appropriate to survey something of John Wesley's remarkably frequent visits to Scotland and to assess whether his teachings left an impression on Scottish religious life.

If Wesley's teaching on holiness has over the years created some differences of opinion, it is nevertheless clear that he taught Christian perfection or sanctification as a 'second blessing': 'When we are born again, then our sanctification, our inward and outward holiness begins, and thence we are gradually to "grow up in Him who is our Head".' [28] In his lengthy discussion, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, printed in 1757, he wrote: 'Sinless perfection is a phrase I never use';[29] but he defined Christian perfection as 'The loving God with all our heart, mind, soul, and strength. This implies that no wrong temper, none contrary to love, remains in the soul and that all the thoughts, words, and actions are governed by pure love'.[30] 'Basically,' says one writer of Wesley's belief, 'entire sanctification was a freedom from all sinfulness of heart.'[31] Yet Wesley disclaimed the notion that 'this perfection excludes all infirmities,

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[28] John Wesley, *Sermons* (J.Kershaw, London, 1825), 'The New Birth', vol. 1, xlv, pp.573-4.

[29] John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection* (Epworth Press, London, edition undated.), p. 53. (Hereafter *PACP*)

[30] Ibid. p.49.

[31] L.G.Cox , *John Wesley's Concept of Perfection* (Beacon Hill Press, Kansas City, 1964), p.95.

ignorance, and mistake'.[32] Certainly, whatever varying interpretations came to be made of his teaching, '[his] doctrine of God's free salvation to all men became almost universal in the evangelical denominations'.[33]

He had originally rejected the concept of a sudden and dramatic sanctification experience as presented by the Moravian preacher Peter Bohler, who greatly influenced him; but as he read his New Testament, it seemed clearer to him that the effective conversions recorded there had, in fact, been sudden ones. 'I cannot but believe that sanctification is commonly, if not always, an instantaneous work.'[34] Wesley defined sin as 'a voluntary transgression of a known law'.[35] He asserted that 'however much a man has attained, he hath still need to "grow in grace" and advance in knowledge and love of God his Saviour'.[36] His sermon 'On Christian Perfection' was based on verse 12 of Philippians chapter 3 - 'Not that I have already attained this, or am already perfect; but I press on to make it my own.....'

Thus, though concerned to preach a gospel of salvation through God's mercy shown in Jesus, John Wesley was not blind to the depravity of man's nature. Indeed, his verdict upon it was not so distant from Augustine's 'massa damnata'. Like Augustine, however, he evolved a doctrine akin to 'prevenient grace' - or, in the term which has become associated with Wesley, 'gracious ability': [37] Christ's atonement means grace and pardon for all who believe, even though Christians remain imperfect in the areas of fallibility. 'Every one may mistake,' he wrote, ' as

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[32] *PACP*, p. 50.

[33] Cox, *Wesley's Concept of Perfection*, p.18.

[34] Wesley, *Sermons*, 'On Patience', vol. 2, lxxxviiii, p.570; *PACP*, p.49.

[35] *PACP*, p.53.

[36] Wesley, *Sermons*, ' On Christian Perfection', vol.1, xl, pp. 503-506.

[37] See Cox, *Wesley's Concept of Perfection*, p. 40 - he suggests that the term was not coined by Wesley himself.

long as he lives'.[38]

Wesley thus made it clear that he never contended for 'sinless perfection', and neither he nor his brother Charles claimed the experience of entire sanctification personally. He is said to have examined closely [39] cases of those professing it.[40] Although he came to believe in its instantaneousness, he always insisted that Christian perfection must grow and develop.[41] He believed that it could be lost, but also regained.[42]

John Wesley's doctrine of perfection had far-reaching implications, not only upon the main figures of the holiness movement, but also upon the many smaller bodies which emerged as offshoots of Methodism.[43] Later preachers whose teachings stemmed from Wesley may have considered the famous Aldersgate episode of 1738 as an unmistakable 'holiness experience' or 'second blessing'. They certainly insisted upon the need for a second religious 'crisis experience' subsequent to conversion. They, too, preached the sinfulness of man's nature and the operation of faith that John Wesley had proclaimed - 'Exactly as we are justified by faith, so are we sanctified by faith'.[44] His description in his *Plain Account* of the Christian being 'fully convinced.....of inbred sin' was language which would be closely

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[38] *PACP*, p. 51.

[39] John Wesley, *Letters*, ed. J.Telford (Epworth Press, London, 1931), September, 1762, vol.4, p.188.

[40] See G.Rupp, *Religion in England, 1688-1791* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1986), p. 425. Professor Rupp writes that at one point Wesley considered about five hundred people to possess the 'second blessing'.

[41] *PACP*, pp. 52,63; *Sermons*, 'Scripture Way of Salvation', vol.1, xliii, p.545.

[42] *PACP*, p.103.

[43] See Elmer T.Clark, *The Small Sects in America* (Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1949), p.55.

[44] *Sermons*, 'Scripture Way of Salvation', p. 548; see also F.D.Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit* (W.B.Eerdmans, New York, 1971), p. 325.

echoed by holiness preachers and evangelists of a later period.

In looking northward, Wesley seemed to some observers to be cherishing a forlorn hope. Scotland was still noted as 'Calvinist country' at this time: 'In Scotland, Calvinism made an impact unparalleled elsewhere.....And the view of Calvinism as harsh and unyielding was furthered by the most rigid interpretation both of the Canons of the Synod of Dort, which re-stated the doctrines of sin and grace over against the teachings of Arminius, and of the Westminster Confession.'[45] Both Charles Wesley and George Whitefield deprecated their leader's resolve to be an evangelist in Scotland,[46] in spite of the latter's experience of the Cambuslang revival: they appear to have felt that the authority of the Church in Scotland was too firmly grounded to allow of such innovation as Wesley represented. Moreover, some historians have concluded that religious conditions were less generally disruptive in Scotland than in the England of that period,[47] and indeed Wesley himself was impressed by the people's grasp of theological matters, their quality of worship, and by the fairly frequent incidence of Praying Societies and prayer and fellowship meetings within some of the communities he encountered. In his *Journal*, for example, he noted meeting about forty members of the Praying Societies in Glasgow.[48] But at the heart of the situation still lay the fact that he represented an Arminian theology, which was

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[45] J.D.Douglas, 'Calvin's Contribution to Scotland', in *John Calvin : His Influence on the Western World* , ed.Stanford Reid (Zondervan, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982), p.217.

[46] F.C.Gill, *In the Steps of John Wesley* (Lutterworth Press, London, 1962), p:186.

[47] Eg., G.D.Henderson, *The Claims of the Church of Scotland* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1951), p.231.

[48] John Wesley, *Journal*, ed. Nehemiah Curnock (Robert Culley, London, 1909), May 26, 1759, vol. iv, p.316.

condemned by the Westminster divines.[49]

Nevertheless, he appears to have been heard willingly enough, though he says that he had originally 'no intention to preach in Scotland'.[50] He found the people 'free and open'.[51] His own tenacity was presumably undergirded by his conviction that 'Pharisees themselves are not out of God's reach' - so even Calvinist Scots could be reclaimed.[52] From 1751 to 1790, he made twenty-two visits to Scotland,[53] a total of four hundred and twenty-five days, often in inclement weather and sometimes when physically unfit. His last visit was made when he was eighty-seven years of age. At least half of his total time was spent in the cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, and his tours also included towns such as Perth, Dundee, Inverness, Kelso, and Ayr. An interesting offshoot was his brief association with Willielma Maxwell, Lady Glenorchy, in whose interdenominational chapel in Edinburgh Wesley preached in 1770. She set up several Dissenting chapels which took her name, although the status of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion in the south was never achieved.[54] Another supporter was her friend Lady Maxwell of Pollokshields, who hailed from Largs in Ayrshire, and to whom Wesley wrote in one of many letters: ' I cannot but think the chief reason of the little good done by our Preachers at Edinburgh, is the opposition which has been made by the Ministers of Edinburgh, as well as by the false brethren from England.'[55]

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[49] Henderson, *Claims of Church of Scotland*, p. 50.

[50] *Journal*, April 24, 1751, vol. iii, p.523.

[51] *Journal*, April 25, 1751. Ibid.

[52] *Journal*, June 11, 1757, vol. 4, p.219.

[53] Details of Scottish visits from S.Rogal, *John Wesley's Mission to Scotland,1751-1790* (Edwin Mellen Press, Lampeter, 1988).

[54] D.P.Thomson, *Lady Glenorchy and her churches* (Research Unit, Crieff, 1967).

[55] *Letters*, February 26, 1771, vol.5, p.226.

In spite of his visits and consistent concern, Wesley was much less successful in propagating his faith in Scotland than he desired. In Glasgow in 1774, he wondered: 'How is it that there is no increase in this Society?'[56] In Dundee in 1779, while he found the congregation 'very large and deeply attentive', he 'did not perceive that anyone was affected at all'.[57] Shortly afterwards, in Edinburgh, he was depressed to find that in five years only five members had been gained, and one of his Edinburgh preachers declared, after a 'Methodist' sermon: 'You must not preach such doctrine here. The doctrine of Perfection is not suited for the meridian of Edinburgh.'[58] One of the few areas of encouragement was Arbroath, where he found 'a genuine Methodist Society.....They long and expect to be perfected in love'.[59]

Thus the response in the north continued on the whole to disappoint him. Between 1774 and 1782 the numbers decreased from seven hundred and thirty-five to four hundred and fifty-nine. At Wesley's death in 1791, there were over one thousand Scottish Methodists, but after a rise the numbers dwindled again in the early nineteenth century.[60] The causes for the relative lack of success have never been in great dispute. First, Scotland, though 'mellowing', was not yet sufficiently liberated from orthodox Calvinism to accept so apparently full-blown an Arminian theology. Secondly, the form of organization in 'Societies' did not appeal. A third factor was dislike of the idea of itinerant and lay preachers and the imposition of preachers without congregational

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[56] *Journal*, May 16, 1774, vol.vi, p.19.
[57] *Journal*, May 31, 1779, vol.vi, p.236.
[58] *Journal*, June 17,1779, vol.vi, p.240.
[59] *Journal*, May 3, 1784, vol.vi, p.502.
[60] Rogal, *Wesley's Mission to Scotland* ; and A. J. Hayes, article on 'Methodism', *DSCHT*, p. 560.

choice. Regarding this, he wrote to Lady Maxwell: 'We cannot forsake the plan of acting which we have followed from the beginning.....It must not be altered, till I am removed.'[61] Fourth, it was felt that Methodism was administered almost entirely from England. Wesley made concessions in the hope of winning the Scots - for example, he arranged for services to be held outwith traditional church service hours, and he agreed to the wearing of gowns by preachers.[62] It was largely in vain; Methodism in Scotland never came within striking distance of endangering the position and the authority of the Presbyterian Churches. Yet the irony remains that when Scottish hearers began tentatively to accept the teachings of the holiness movements, it was largely the doctrines of John Wesley to which they were giving a respectful and often enthusiastic hearing.

A further influential factor is that the churches of Wesley's time were not untouched by eighteenth-century rationalism and popular deism. However, there were those of the clergy who could concur to some degree with the emergent liberal thinking without regarding themselves as traitors to the cause of spirituality. Wesley himself declared that he 'never did separate reason from grace' or 'discard reason from the service of religion'. [63] One historian writes : 'The sceptical Enlightenment of the Continent he certainly rejected, but the whole cast of his mind was moulded by the new intellectual currents of his time.....His beliefs in religious tolerance, freewill and anti-slavery

[61] *Letters*, August 8, 1788, vol.viii, p.83.

[62] On Methodism in Scotland, see. e.g., R.E.Davies, *Methodism* (Epworth Press, London,1963); J.Pollock, *John Wesley* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1989); Davies, R., George, J., Rupp, E.G., edd., *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* (Epworth Press, London, 1983), vol. 3., pp. 269-271.

[63] *Letters*, vol.4, p.347, November 1762, to Dr Warburton.

have rightly been identified as Enlightenment affinities.'[64] These beliefs contributed towards the Methodist revival; and, both within Methodism and independently, forces operating through the nineteenth century manifested 'Evangelical attitudes .....characteristic of the times as never before or since'.[65] It is significant, in the light of Wesley's declarations, that we find the largest holiness denomination to spring from Methodism asserting, over two hundred and fifty years later, that 'In addition to its roots in historic Christianity and the Anglican tradition.....the Church of the Nazarene has its intellectual roots in eighteenth-century rationalism, as interpreted by the Wesleys and the Methodists and as modified by the American experience'.[66]

(iii) Revivalism : Indigenous and Transatlantic.

A third factor which is not without significance for the advent of holiness teaching is that Scotland, regarded as bound in rigid conformity in religious life, had its own history of religious revival, and that its response to nineteenth-century American revivalism was in some ways less uncharacteristic than might be supposed. As early as 1625-1630, vigorous movements were noted in the districts of Stewarton[67] and Shotts, with five hundred conversions claimed in one day. The famous Cambuslang revival of 1742 [68] was strongly influenced by no less a person than George Whitefield, who preached there and in the nearby parish of Kilsyth, where 'Praying Societies' which had fallen into

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[64] D.W.Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (Unwin Hyman, London, 1989), p.52.

[65] Ibid., p. 105.

[66] S.L.Dunn and others, *Opportunity Unlimited: The Church of the Nazarene in the Year 2000* (Beacon Hill Press, Kansas City, 1981), p. 13.

[67] Also known as 'the Irvine revival'; see W.J.Couper, *Scottish Revivals*, (Dundee,1918) pp. 26-32; also J.Edwin Orr, *Light of the Nations* (Paternoster Press, London, 1965), pp. 33-35, 62-63.

[68] A. Fawcett, *The Cambuslang Revival* (Banner of Truth Trust, London, 1967).

abeyance were resuscitated.[69]

The Praying Societies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are deserving of attention, and have indeed been referred to as 'the seed-plot of important movements' and as having 'existed here and there since the Reformation'.[70] Where congregations were scattered and ministers few in number, the Praying Societies helped to maintain religious activity by fortnightly or monthly meetings.[71] The Revd. William McCulloch, minister at Cambuslang at the revival, is noted by his son as having 'greatly encouraged private Christians to meet for social prayer',[72] and it is recorded that even as late as 1865 elders in an Alloa Secession church were asked, when signing the Confession of Faith, if they were members of a Praying Society.[73]

From these early manifestations until the great period of evangelical revival in 1859, revivals occurred in various parts of Scotland, including Moulin in Perthshire (1799), Arran (1812), Skye (1812), Breadalbane in Argyll (1816), and Kilsyth (1839). These were to some extent affected by George Whitefield's preachings, and also by the activities of ministers of evangelical sympathies. Among these were, for example, the Revd D.Dickson in Stewarton, the Revd James Robe in Kilsyth, the Revd Neil McBride in Arran. A Glasgow minister in sympathy with the movements was the Revd John McLaurin of Ramshorn Kirk, who maintained correspondence with Jonathan Edwards in Northampton, Massachusetts.[74]

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[69] Couper, *Scottish Revivals*, p.52.

[70] Campbell, *Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland*, p. 31.

[71] Ibid., pp.31, 63.

[72] D.Macfarlan, *The Revivals in the Eighteenth Century, particularly at Cambuslang* (James Johnstone, Edinburgh, n/d.), p.36.

[73] Henderson, *The Scottish Ruling Elder*, pp. 221-222.

[74] Couper, *Scottish Revivals*, pp. 41-43, 61-62.

These revivals were not identical with the later 'holiness revivals', but in certain aspects they prepared the ground. The Scottish revivals generally encompassed a wide cross-section of social classes, in some cases being supported by people of rank such as Lady Robertland and the Countess of Eglinton. [75] The movements often had to confront the hostility of Presbyteries and unsympathetic townspeople; they sometimes gave rise to noisy emotional demonstrations - which, however, became more restrained as leaders saw the disapproval aroused.

Less demonstrative than the revivals, but projecting basically similar aims of enriching the quality of religious life, were the Conventions or religious gatherings which came to be something of a feature of the latter half of the nineteenth century . These included Conventions in Glasgow in 1874 attended by D.L.Moody, and Conventions held from 1880 onwards at various locations and based on the now prominent Keswick model. The important 'Scottish National Convention' held at Bridge of Allan each year in the 1890s was organized mainly by and for ministers in order to concentrate on a common basis of teaching, with addresses urging fuller consecration, and with emphasis on overseas missions.[76]

The revivals, even when short-lived, have been generally acknowledged as making a positive contribution to the Scottish church, one historian affirming that 'revival is a dimension of Scottish church history which deserves to be taken seriously'.[77] They performed a type of

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[75]Ibid., pp. 28-30.

[76]See D.W.Bebbington and J.Buchan, 'Conventions', in *DSCHT*, p. 209.

[77] I.A.Muirhead, 'The Revival as a Dimension of Scottish Church History', *Records of Scottish Church History Society*, vol.20 (1978), p.179. (Hereafter *RSCHS)*

pioneer exercise (among many other things) involving offer and response, which meant that the appeals of the later American revivalists fell on ears already attuned to the pattern of such sounds. The alleged coldness of the Scottish reaction to John Wesley has to some extent overshadowed the facts both of these responses and of the active preaching of some ministers during the revival period on sanctification as a present possibility - men such as James Robe, William McCulloch, and William H. Burns and William C. Burns, father and son, of Kilsyth.[78]

The vigorous impetus given by American preachers and evangelists to establishing the holiness movement in this country was made either directly or through published sermons and writings. These personalities had a considerable effect upon the movement in Great Britain.

One of the most intellectual of the Americans, Jonathan Edwards (1703 - 1758), had probably a greater influence on holiness teachings than is generally recognised. Though he never visited Britain, he gave support to George Whitefield, and his preaching did much to arouse response to the 'First Great Awakening', a wave of evangelical revival in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Edwards maintained a correspondence with friends and fellow-divines in Scotland, was even urged by some to accept a Scottish pastorate, and appears to have added extensively to his library with books written by Scotsmen. [79] His ties with certain Calvinist elements were strong; in a letter to the Revd John Erskine of Kirkintilloch he wrote: 'You would much oblige me, if

[78] Ibid., pp.179-181; also Couper, *Scottish Revivals*, pp. 21-24, 60-61.

[79] G.D.Henderson, *Claims of the Church of Scotland*,p. 227ff.; also O.E.Winslow, *Jonathan Edwards* (Macmillan, New York, 1940), pp. 264,365(n.); and Conrad Cherry, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (Peter Smith, Mass., 1974), pp. 149-150.

you would inform me what are the best books that have lately been written in defence of Calvinism."[80] His alleged 'Calvinist' leanings incurred the disapproval of his Massachusetts congregation. It has been written of him that 'he undoubtedly left a permanent impression on Scottish thought.'[81]

The flamboyant style of Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875) attracted Scottish congregations - on the second of his two visits to Britain, he held meetings in Edinburgh (1858) at which many conversions were noted.[82] His teaching of 'permanent sanctification' which destroyed the influence of the will and empowered for service[83] lay somewhere between, on the one hand, Wesley's conception of Christian perfection or sanctification as the freeing of will from the inclination towards evil and consequent growth in grace, and, on the other hand, that 'old Calvinism' of man's total depravity which George Sharpe was to lament in Scottish congregations. Much of Finney's doctrine was echoed in later years within the holiness movements. He had himself rejected traditional Calvinism, though ordained a Presbyterian, alleging that it discounted human effort, and preached that the state of Christian perfection or sanctification could be achieved by exercising free will and cultivating 'right intentions'.[84] He maintained that sin and holiness could

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[80] R.G.Turnbull, 'Jonathan Edwards and Great Britain', *The Evangelical Quarterly*, vol. 3 (1958), p. 71.

[81] G.D.Henderson, 'Jonathan Edwards and Scotland' , *The Evangelical Quarterly*, vol.16 (1944), pp. 41-52.

[82] Orr, *Light of Nations*, p. 138.

[83] See P.M.Bassett and W.M.Greathouse, *Exploring Christian Holiness* (Beacon Hill Press, Kansas City, 1985), vol.2, pp.308-312; also Cox, *Wesley's Concept of Perfection*, pp.189-193; and J.L.Gresham, *Charles G.Finney's Doctrine of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit* (Hendrickson Publishing, Peabody, Mass., 1987), pp.65-67.

[84] See Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, 1971), p. 26.

not exist together in one person: 'Can man be pardoned and accepted, and then justified,while any degree of sin remains in him?Certainly not.'[85]

Finney has been regarded by many as 'the father of modern revivalism'.[86] With his emphasis on personal acceptance of Christ as Saviour and on entire sanctification as a present possibility, his was one of the influences already beginning to make inroads into the deep Calvinist core which was credited with - or condemned for - having held the Scottish churches so firmly. Especially appealing was his teaching that the experience of sanctification ensured the needed divine grace to overcome sin.[87] Some features of Finney's evangelism aroused disapproval: his 'hell-fire' oratory, the 'anxious bench', the freedom given to women to speak and pray, direct appeals to individuals in the congregation; but he was also admired for his emphasis upon social reform and his denunciation of slavery and slave-holders.

Finney's successors included Phoebe Palmer and her husband Dr Walter Palmer. During the American Civil War, they spent four years of successful evangelism in Britain, and on a visit to Scotland in 1860, Phoebe preached in John Street Congregational Church in Glasgow. She asserted the immediacy of sanctification through faith in Christ, and the *Guide to Christian Perfection*, a journal which the Palmers produced, found wide acceptance. 'Whoever touches the altar,' she quoted, 'shall become holy',[88] for, 'the altar sanctifieth the gift';[89] but 'in this crucifixion of nature..... man must act believingly'; and continuing in

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[85] C.G.Finney, *Lectures in Systematic Theology* (London, 1851), p.402.

[86] See, e.g., D.Dayton, *Discovering An Evangelical Heritage* (Harper Row, New York, 1976), p.15; C.E.Jones, *Perfectionist Persuasion* (Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, N.J., 1974), p. 71.

[87] Gresham, *Finney's Baptism of the Holy Spirit*, pp.65-67.

[88] Exodus 29. 37.

[89] Matt. 23.19.

'the way of holiness' required a continuous act, one act of faith being insufficient to 'retain this state of grace'. [90] The Palmers' work helped to prepare the way for later movements which 'were to illustrate a new blend of American revivalism and Wesleyan perfectionism'.[91]

Both Wesleyan fervour and American enthusiasm, such as Finney's and the Palmers', contributed to the 'waves of evangelical revival and advance'[92] which occurred in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland throughout the nineteenth century. These manifestations, it was recorded, bore witness to '[the Church's] decided growth as a spiritual church of Christ', the effect of.....the Spirit of God'.[93]

This 'new denomination in soul-saving and revivalism'[94] was strongly manifested in 'Scotland's most significant revival',[95] 1859-1861, following closely upon Finney and the Palmers. It was influenced by reports of the Ulster movement, and spread widely, with open-air and prayer meetings and contribution by lay evangelists. [96]

Such movement continued beyond 1861, and many groups assembled under the broad banner of holiness. They benefited, individually and collectively, from earlier revival 'traditions' in encountering 'greater openness to religious influences.....a specific place for conversion.....and an emphasis on fellowship meetings'.[97]

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[90] Phoebe Palmer, *The Way of Holiness* (S.W.Partridge & Co., London, n/d), p.101.

[91] M.E.Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen, New Jersey, 1980), p. 167.

[92] Orr, *Light of Nations*, p.265.

[93] W.B.Sprague, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (Collins, Glasgow, 1832),p.234.

[94] R.G.Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism* (Greenwood Press, Westport, 1978), p.100.

[95] Couper, *Scottish Revivals*, p. 132.

[96] Ibid., pp 131-140.

[97] I.A.Muirhead, ' Revival as Dimension of Scottish Church History', *RSCHS*, vol. 20, p.104.

These characteristics were demonstrated in the American woman evangelist Hannah Whitall Smith, who claimed 'the second blessing'. She and her husband, Robert Pearsall Smith, led highly successful conventions in England between 1872 and 1874. Their work came to an ignominious conclusion in 1875, but it had an important legacy in the Convention and Movement begun at Keswick,[98] which was not without significance in the development of holiness teaching in Scotland.

At approximately the same time, another American preacher was also in Great Britain, one whose name perhaps stands above all others - Dwight L. Moody (1837-99), called 'prince of evangelists'. A shoe salesman whose business prospered, he started off working with deprived children and establishing Sunday Schools. On visits to Britain in 1867 and 1872 he was sought out by Evangelicals of the Church, and returned in 1873 for a revivalist tour. The North of England gave him an unenthusiastic reception, but in Glasgow and Edinburgh Moody and his fellow campaigner, singer Ira D.Sankey, met with a tremendous response; this enthusiasm was re-echoed in London, where 'their meetings made them world- famous '.[99] It has been estimated that in the two-year campaign in the British Isles they addressed two hundred and eighty five meetings and a total audience of two million five hundred thousand people.[100] In 1882, Moody and Sankey again conducted missions in various parts of England.

Some of the explanation of this popularity must lie in the energy and enthusiasm with which Moody projected his message, and in the

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[98] Ibid., pp. 185-186; also Nils Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement* (Allen and Unwin,London, 1964), pp.15-16; John Pollock, *The Keswick Story* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1964), pp.31-37.

[99] B.G.Worrall, *Making of the Modern Church* (S.P.C.K., London 1988), p.231.

[100] C.G.Loud, *Evangelized America* (Dial Press, New York, 1928), p. 243.

simple yet appealing music and lyrics of Sankey which accompanied it. Moody's style and content were congenial to the holiness people, especially the informality of his preaching. At a meeting in Edinburgh's Free Assembly Hall in December 1873, for instance, he announced : '.....when I am speaking, if anyone has an illustration to give, or would like to sing a hymn or offer prayer, let him do so.'[101] In Glasgow and other Scottish towns [102] support and addresses were given by such notable figures as Professor Charteris of Edinburgh, Professor Fairbairn, who had been Principal of the Free College, and Dr. Andrew and Dr. Horatius Bonar; William Quarrier's Homes for orphan children aroused Moody's admiration and consequently 'new impulses' were given to the Homes.[103] Sankey's 'singing the gospel', indeed, was a phenomenon which provoked outcry from staunch traditionalists ; [104] they were deeply averse to the use of an organ and to what the Church Report described as 'the hymn.....actually being, a sung sermon'.[105] But by this time Arminian doctrines were less alien to worshippers in the north. Moody's stress on man's sin and Christ's atonement, his insistence on the validity of Scripture, his assurance of 'free salvation', his demand for personal response and commitment, his leaning towards millennialism - all of these echoed in some measure the message of the holiness movement and supplied fresh support and impetus.

The scope of his influence was also acknowledged in those

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[101] W.R.Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (Morgan & Scott, London,1900). p.174.

[102] The venues of meetings included Greenock, Helensburgh, Paisley, Dundee, Aberdeen,Elgin, and Keith.

[103] W.R.Moody, *Life of D.L.Moody*, pp. 183-184.

[104] J.F.Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist* (University of Chicago Press.1969), pp. 153-158.

[105] Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church: from the Report of the Committee on Manners and Morals, 22 May, 1874.

'official' spheres which might have been expected to be less than enthusiastic. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland heard an account from an (un-named) Edinburgh minister, dated December 1873, which stated:

> 'There has been of late a considerable increase in the number of persons brought under deep religious impression.....A considerable number of persons more or less connected with the congregation appear to have received benefit at the meetings held in connection with the services of Messrs. Moody and Sankey.....A marked feature of the movement has has been the union of Christians of different Churches.'[106]

A Glasgow minister said, in the following year: 'I know personally of cases that may be counted by the score, and in every class of society, where persons declare that they believe themselves (I should say that they declare that they know themselves) to have been to Christ during the last few months.' [107]

At the Free Church Assembly in that year, Dr. Wood of Dumfries reported:

> 'There has been a very wonderful outpouring of the Holy Spirit.....In the great towns the two American brethren, of whom they had all heard, were pre-eminently employed and pre-eminently useful.....Then as to the results .....it is plain that

[106] Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland for 1874: from the Report of the Committee on Christian Life and Work, 29 May, 1874.

[107] Ibid.

God's people have been wonderfully refreshed and revived by this movement.' [101]

At the same Assembly, Dr. Blaikie thought it 'right to say .....that.....the services that had been rendered by the two gentlemen from America (Mr Moody and Mr Sankey) ought to receive very special recognition'.[102]

It can probably be claimed justifiably that Finney and Moody were the two most significant evangelists and revivalists of the holiness movement in Great Britain until the advent of Dr. Billy Graham in the 1950s. Their preaching was attractive and even exciting to their hearers, with its flamboyance and informality. In later years, their characteristics marked the methods and modes of holiness leaders in Scotland and England; their legacy, though not always openly acknowledged or even fully appreciated, provided the holiness movement with an effective basis for advance, a foundation upon which twentieth-century revivalists and evangelists would continue to build.

Of almost all revivals, some things have been generally agreed as well-nigh impossible to estimate accurately; among these have been the specific truths learned in the process, and also the results in spiritual as well as statistical terms. There is, however, no doubt that factors operate which are perhaps less obvious at the time of the event itself than as a contributing influence in the later life and development of the 'great Church'. Effects in these nineteenth-century revivals were clearly not limited to obscure parishes and unknown ministers. A noted historian writes that 'Both [the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church of Scotland] had been deeply stirred by the evangelism of D. L. Moody and

[101] Proceedings of the General Asembly of the Free Church, May 1874; from the Report of the Committee on Manners and Morals.

[102] Ibid.

Ira D. Sankey',[110] and that Archibald Hamilton Charteris, parish minister of the Church of Scotland and, later, professor of Biblical Criticism in Edinburgh University, 'eagerly supported their mission' when Moody and Sankey came to Edinburgh.[111]

These events also show that it becomes important to see revivalism, and especially American revivalism, as a definite background to the holiness movement in Scotland. The history of revival shows that there are continuous connecting strands, woven through word-of-mouth reports, movements of converts, publications and letters. 'When Moody began his first revival campaign in England in 1872,' writes a biographer, 'he did not speak in a vacuum, but used phrases and words in his sermons which.....were immediately understood by his audiences'.[112] When the giants of American evangelism such as Finney, Palmer, Moody, came to Britain with their gospel of free salvation and sanctification, they came not to unprepared ground, but to 'a well-ploughed field in which to sow the seed and reap a harvest'.[113]

These three strands of influence in Scotland - the weakening of orthodox Calvinism, the Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection, revivalism - may not at first glance seem to have any very strong relationship with one another. Indeed, in some respects, they may be said to have demonstrated marked incongruities. But, despite their disparities, they did build up a background of religious experience and awareness which contributed to creating a degree of receptiveness

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[110] Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland*, pt.iv, p.366.

[111] Ibid., p.391.

[112] Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, p.19.

[113] J.Edwin Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening in Great Britain* (Marshall, Morgan & Scott, Ltd.,London 1949), p. 77.

within the west of Scotland for a new 'holiness denomination'.

2 Holiness Movements in the United Kingdom

The Church of the Nazarene, born out of British and American holiness teaching, first appeared in Glasgow in 1906 as the Pentecostal Church of Scotland. But it by no means existed in a vacuum, and gained from the existence of other movements as well as benefiting them. Running through almost all these groups was a common ground of belief and practice, an ease of interchange of speakers, and a sense of 'apartness', an awareness of providing something that they saw the older churches as failing to offer - although some movements, such as Keswick, preferred to be considered interdenominational, encouraging adherents to remain and witness in their own churches. Attention is focused here upon those groups which in different ways demonstrate some kind of connection with the Church of the Nazarene.

One of the most prominent of such groups was William Booth's 'Christian Mission,' founded in 1868, to become known from 1878 as the 'Salvation Army.' A Methodist by upbringing, Booth was radically influenced by Wesleyan views on holiness: regeneration by the Holy Spirit precedes justification by grace, then the believer is wholly sanctified.[114] The Army's 'social gospel' follows closely on concern for personal salvation. P.F.Bresee and George Sharpe showed themselves sympathetic to Salvation Army doctrines, and it was an Army evangelist, Milton Williams, who convinced Sharpe of the message of entire sanctification in his Methodist charge in 1899. Of this, Sharpe later

[114] Doctrines of the Salvation Army, Art. 8. See N.M.Murdoch, 'Evangelical Sources of the Salvation Army Doctrine', in *Evangelical Quarterly*, vol. 59, 1987, pp.235-244.

wrote: 'All that has happened to me since can be traced back to that day.'[115]

Earlier connection with the Church of the Nazarene can also be traced in the Keswick Movement, established in 1875. 'Keswick' was the outcome of factors in Anglican Evangelicalism operating with transatlantic influences. These were, notably, W.E.Boardman's book, *The Higher Christian Life*, which emphasised that 'the second experience is the requisite of power to glorify God.....the "second conversion" ',[116] and the preaching of the Pearsall Smiths, particularly Hannah's concept of 'restitution'.[117] The Nazarene 'founding fathers' have been described as 'heirs of the Oberlin or Keswick movements'; [118] but the Keswick stance on sanctification - '[it] is not complete in an instant'[119] - and its teachings on faith healing and 'gifts of the Spirit' led to 'a wide breach in the holiness ranks',[120] and only in later years was it acknowledged that misunderstanding on both sides might have arisen.[121]

Another holiness movement becoming prominent was the Faith Mission, founded in 1886. Like George Sharpe's holiness Church, the Mission originated in Glasgow. Its founder, John G. Govan, saw its name as emphasising the importance of 'the faith principle', and the designation of members as 'pilgrims' came from Govan's description of

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[115] *TMS*, p.56.

[116] W.E.Boardman, *The Higher Christian Life* (James Nisbet & Co., London, (1860), p.199.

[117] Marie Henry, *The Secret Life of Hannah Whitall Smith* (Zondervan Corporation, Grand Rapids, 1984), p.69.

[118] T.L.Smith, *Called Unto Holiness* (Nazarene Publishing House, Kansas City, (1962), p.21.

[119] Pollock, *Keswick Story*, p.76.

[120] *CUH*, p. 25.

[121] E.W.Lawrence, articles in Nazarene journal *The Way*, March-May, 1955.

himself.[122] The Mission remained interdenominational, and the pilgrims on their 'missions' encouraged converts to return to or join their local congregations. The Bible College established in Edinburgh in 1912 had as students some of the earlier Nazarene pastors. Within traditional holiness teaching, the Faith Mission has stressed the element of supernatural sanction and the minimising of human effort. Its influence has been widespread, and the Church of the Nazarene at Viewpark grew partly out of a Faith Mission campaign.[123]

Further links are also discernible in the Star Hall movement, set up in 1889. Frank Crossley, the businessman who established this holiness centre in Manchester, was strongly influenced by William Booth, through whom he experienced entire sanctification.[124] 'My parents', wrote Ella Crossley, 'were convinced that nothing less than a full Gospel could meet the need of the people.'[125] Crossley supported Booth generously, and some years after Crossley's death, Star Hall was affiliated with the Salvation Army in 1918. There were also links with the Nazarene movement: some younger pastors did early work in Star Hall, George Sharpe was himself an occasional speaker, and the centre also welcomed visiting American Nazarene evangelists. Miss Crossley attended the opening services of the Pentecostal Church of Scotland in 1907, and for some years the Church used the Star Hall journal, the *Way of Holiness*, for its notes.

Connections existed also with the League of Prayer. Originally the

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[122] In a letter - see T.R.Warburton's 'Study of Minority Religious Groups', Ph.D. thesis, London, 1966, p.207.

[123] See C.N.Peckham, *Heritage of Revival* (The Faith Mission, 1986), especially chapter 13.

[124] A.R.Wiggins, *History of the Salvation Army* (Nelson & Sons Ltd., London, 1964), p.336.

[125] E.K.Crossley, in booklet 'Star Hall 70th Anniversary Celebrations', 1959, p.1.

Pentecostal League of Prayer, it was founded in 1891 by Richard Reader Harris, QC, who had experienced entire sanctification through Keswick. He established Prayer League centres, each of twelve members, their task being to proclaim 'Full Salvation' and spread the Scripture message of holiness 'by unsectarian methods'.[126] Reader Harris stressed that his concept of total deliverance from sin was not the 'sinless perfection' of Christ.[127] Scotland had seven centres by 1905, with George Sharpe and J.D. Drysdale in membership. The League circle in Perth created a further connection by which the son of a member family later joined the Church of the Nazarene in Parkhead and became the denomination's first Scottish missionary.[128]

Of particular interest for this study is the International Holiness Mission, generally known as the IHM, in that it later united with the Church of the Nazarene. It was set up in Clapham in 1907 by businessman David Thomas, who was influenced by Reader Harris in his principles of the New Birth and entire sanctification, with baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire.[129] Thomas regarded the mainstream churches as ineffective, and was highly wary of innovations detrimental to strict holiness standards. Later dissensions, mainly over faith healing and speaking in tongues, were to lead eventually to the union with the Church of the Nazarene.[130]

There were also connections with the early Pentecostal Church of Scotland in the Emmanuel holiness movement. It was established in

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[126] Reader Harris, 'Fourfold Salvation' in *Holiness Herald*, April 1924.

[127] Reader Harris, *Is Sin a Necessity?* (S.W.Partridge, London, 1896), p.76.

[128] Dr David Hynd - see chapter 8.

[129] Jack Ford, *In the Steps of John Wesley* (Nazarene Publishing House, Kansas City, 1968), p.44. (Hereafter *ISJW*)

[130] See chapter 7.

1916 by John Drysdale, a Lanarkshire man, who had his first experience of holiness preaching under George Sharpe. Later, the Bible groups in Lanarkshire and the small holiness centre in Ardrossan which he led were both handed over to Sharpe, Ardrossan becoming the core of the Pentecostal Church there.[131] Drysdale later took as co-pastor James Jack, a former Pentecostal Church pastor. Drysdale's holiness teachings were based on belief in 'seeking God's guidance' and in an 'enduement with power', and Emmanuel's claim is that it has stayed more true than most such movements to its founder's principles.[132] It developed at Birkenhead to include Emmanuel Holiness Church, Emmanuel Bible College, and an international Christian bookshop.

The various strands of influence in Scotland which have been looked at were thus woven together to produce a strong background of religious awareness and experience. The features of this background had contributed towards creating the environment in the west of Scotland in which a new 'holiness denomination' was founded. But the denomination which became the Church of the Nazarene was itself a product of union and absorption, and to this process we now give closer consideration.

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[131] T.R. Warburton, 'A Comparative Study of Minority Religious Groups: with special reference to Holiness and related movements in Britain in the last fifty years.' (Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1966); *ISJW*, p.46.

[132] Warburton, thesis, p.161.

SECTION II

FORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

Chapter 2

ORIGINS OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE:

1. Beginnings in the United States of America

At the time when such movements and holiness teachings were developing in the British Isles, a similar impetus was being demonstrated in the United States of America, where the doctrines of the Salvation Army and of Keswick were now widely known and accepted - the latter largely through the activity of D.L.Moody. Working in this atmosphere and sure to be aware of these influences was the young Methodist minister of Scottish birth and upbringing, George Sharpe. It seemed at that time, late in the nineteenth century, that there would be no reason for him to change his pattern of life or contemplate a return to Scotland.[1] There was no indication for him that the inauguration of a 'Pentecostal Church of Scotland' was only a few years away, nor that it would come to merge, in little over a decade, with the then Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.

Certainly, in Scotland in 1895, the name of Phineas Bresee's Church of the Nazarene would be quite unfamiliar in that year of its birth, and details of its inception and stages of development would not have been regarded, even if known, as of particular significance in the land of the 'auld Kirk'. But, given knowledge of events that were later to take place in Scotland, certain statements on the formative period of the Church of the Nazarene in the United States are of particular interest. We read, for example: 'The Church of the Nazarene is a Wesleyan

[1] *TMS*. p. 63.

denomination."[2] 'The holiness movement was born of great revivals.' [3] 'They (i.e., the parent bodies of the Church of the Nazarene) were the products of a spiritual awakening which during the previous half century (i.e.,1858-1908) had cultivated among many denominations the doctrine and experience of Christian perfection, or entire sanctification.'[4]

These quotations may be said almost to form a microcosm of the Church of the Nazarene's origins and doctrines. At the present time, perhaps more than ever, the denomination is at pains to stress its 'Wesleyan Evangelical heritage', that rock of eighteenth century revival from which it is hewn; and it is equally concerned to emphasise belief in entire sanctification as 'wholehearted love for God', as against the 'sinless perfection' of which only Christ himself was the embodiment, 'for we remain weak and fallen creatures, failing and falling short'.[5]

What, then, were the factors which operated to establish the Church of the Nazarene in the British Isles, and how in particular did it come to originate in Scotland, which, ironically, had not evinced a particularly warm response to John Wesley himself ?

Its roots, grounded in changing attitudes towards Calvinism, in Wesleyan teaching, and in revivals and nineteenth-century evangelism, have already been surveyed. It remains the fact that even if the alleged limitations of the traditional churches contributed to dissatisfaction and ultimate separatism, yet it was largely from the traditions of such a church, the Methodist, that the holiness groups, the Church of the Nazarene among them, took their being. And it was a Methodist pastor and presiding elder who is regarded as the founder of the Church of the

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[2] *CUH*, p.9.
[3] Ibid., p.26.
[4] Ibid., p.10.
[5] T.A.Noble, 'Don't be Fooled!' in *Nazarene News*, October 1991, p.1.

Nazarene: Phineas F. Bresee,[6] born in 1838 of a Methodist Episcopal family, in Franklin, Delaware County, New York (from which township he later appropriated his middle name), was converted at a Methodist meeting in 1856 and undertook his first charge in 1859, for many years thereafter maintaining a highly successful ministry in various congregations throughout Iowa, to which area his family had moved in 1855. An unfortunate investment in Mexican iron mines made him decide to move to California. He was quickly appointed as pastor of the First Methodist Church, Los Angeles, and from there went on to hold permanent appointments within the Methodist Episcopal Church, as well as membership of the board of directors of the University of Southern California, an institution which he and his friend Dr. J. P. Widney did much to re-establish on a sound financial footing; this office was indicative of the interest in education which was to remain throughout his life.

Bresee had professed the experience of entire sanctification at an early stage, about 1866-67, but he did not preach it openly for some years. He later acknowledged this delay with regret, claiming that lack of 'experience and sense' inhibited him. T.L.Smith suggests (perhaps more realistically) that there was at that time (1870s-1880s) strong feeling about holiness doctrines in the Methodist churches of Southern California and that Bresee was chary of taking too assertive a stance in case of tipping the scales the wrong way. [7] But in Los Angeles First Church he encountered some members who professed the experience of sanctification and were supporters of the National Holiness Association.[8]

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[6] For P.F.Bresee's life, see, e.g., E.A.Girvin, *A Prince in Israel* (Nazarene Publ. House, Kansas City, 1916); D.P.Brickley, *Phineas Bresee, Man of the Morning* (Nazarene Publishing House, 1960); Smith, *Called Unto Holiness;* E.Moore, *Phineas F. Bresee: Mr Nazarene* (Nazarene Publishing House, Kansas City, (1973)

[7] *CUH*, p. 98.

[8] Girvin, *Prince in Israel*, p. 81-2.

This contact 'proved to be the turning point in his life'. [9]

From 1890 onwards, he made 'the second blessing.....the supreme issue of all his preaching',[10] and he inaugurated and supported revival campaigns. His congregations in Los Angeles and Pasadena grew in number, but his outspoken criticism of other Methodist preachers and officials, and particularly his programme for evangelising the poor, gave rise to hostility. Eventually, these conflicts with authority made him decide that he could no longer continue in the Methodist Conference 'without transgressing the law of the church',[11] and his official connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church ceased in 1894. A year later, he was forced to withdraw from work which he had undertaken with a non-denominational group called the Peniel Mission.[12]

Bresee was fortunate in having a friend with ample means who was in complete agreement with him on basic issues. Dr J.P. Widney was a prominent physician and a member of the Los Angeles First Church, and, encouraged and supported by some other Peniel members, he and P. F. Bresee established a new mission not far from Peniel, an organisation which would be evangelical and congregational, and which was intended to fulfil the desire of both men to evangelise among the poor and ' spread the doctrine of Christian holiness'. [13]

Quite soon its name was announced: 'The Church of the Nazarene' - Dr Widney's suggestion, symbolising 'the toiling, lowly mission of Christ, the name Jesus had been known by - "He shall be called a Nazarene" - the name used in scorn by his enemies'. The first pamphlet ever printed announced that: 'The Church of the Nazarene is a

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[9] Ibid.For fuller details of Bresee's concept of sanctification, see ch.3 below.
[10] *CUH*, p. 98.
[11] Girvin, *Prince in Israel*, p. 101.
[12] For details of Bresee's differences with the Methodist Church, see ch.3 below.
[13] Girvin, *Prince in Israel*, p.103.

simple, primitive church, a church of the people and for the people. It has no new doctrines, only the old, old Bible truths..... It is not a mission but a church with a mission'.[14]

In fact, the doctrinal basis upon which the young Church of the Nazarene was founded was very much the statement of belief composed by Bresee for the Peniel Hall. Brief as it was, it has been designated 'the archetype of the earliest Nazarene creed';[15] and for that reason it is relevant to note in full 'the main points of Christian doctrine' which were the requirements for membership:[16]

1) The divine inspiration of the Scriptures, the Old and New Testaments.
2) The Trinity of the Godhead, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
3) The Fall of man , and his consequent need of Regeneration.
4) The Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ for all men..
5) Justification by Faith in Him.
6) Sanctification by Faith in the cleansing blood of Jesus Christ, and Baptism of the Holy Ghost.
7) The Resurrection of the dead.
8) The eternity of Reward and Punishment.

As early as 1898, Bresee had established the journal *Nazarene Messenger* first as a monthly, then as a weekly publication. It published Bresee's sermons and comments on wider issues, and, more widely, it drew attention to the aims and principles of this 'new' denomination. T. L. Smith claims for it that 'The effort to unite the movement in a national church would have failed without the help of this and other weekly

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[14] *CUH*, p.111.
[15] Ibid, p.51; see also J.B.Chapman. *A History of the Church of the Nazarene* (Nazarene Publ. House, Kansas City, 1926).
[16] *CUH*, p. 117.

papers'.[17] After union had been achieved, the three journals being printed - the *Nazarene Messenger*, the *Beulah Christian* of the Association of Pentecostal Churches, and the *Holiness Evangel* of the Holiness Church of Christ - merged in 1912 at the new publishing headquarters in Kansas as the paper which was to become the official publication, the *Herald of Holiness.* By 1915 a missionary paper, *The Other Sheep*, had also been established.[18]

Bresee was outspoken in his criticism of the established Methodist Church and in support of the Salvation Army, the Keswick Movement, and the Holiness Associations. These attitudes, coupled with the requirements of those estranged by holiness convictions from their own churches, created a situation where the establishing of an independent church was becoming ever more likely. By 1905, Bresee had set up twenty-four organised congregations and had begun to attract the attention of such holiness movements and associations as the Texas Holiness Association, the Pentecostal Churches of America, the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness, and others.

These various active holiness bodies working across the United States of America were bound to recognise, tacitly at least, that despite certain differences they were in essence the fruit of a national revival. In time, these differences were resolved or compromises reached. In April, 1907, the Church of the Nazarene and the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America united as 'The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene', and in October, 1908, the important union of North and South, generally looked upon as the official founding of the Church of the Nazarene, took place at Pilot Point, Texas;[19] in February 1915, the

[17] Ibid., p.157.

[18] Chapman, *History of Church of the Nazarene*, pp. 106-114.

[19] *CUH*, pp. 220-223.

Tennessee Pentecostal Mission united,[20] and the final addition was the interdenominational 'Laymen's Holiness Association' in 1922.[21]

The founder of this expanding denomination died in 1915, having seen the realisation of most of his hopes. He had always insisted that holiness forces must be organised into a church to be effective, and he had witnessed the creation of such a church, much of whose emphasis stemmed from the Methodist background of its founder: a ministry especially serving the poor; a decisive stance on the temperance issue; and, most important, the doctrinal principle of Christian perfection as a 'second blessing' in Christian experience. Education and training had also come high on his list of priorities, and as early as 1902 Bresee had founded 'Nazarene University', later to become Pasadena College. By 1914, when the colleges were placed under regional jurisdiction, there existed also Deets Pacific Bible College, Texas Holiness University, Trevecca College, as well as some other smaller institutions.[22]

For much of his life in the Church of the Nazarene, Bresee had been sole General Superintendent, Dr Widney having left the movement in 1898 largely out of distaste for what he described as 'the emotional scenes and noisy demonstrations'.[23] Bresee had always taken pride in heading a church which became known as a 'Holiness Church', and he remained forever convinced that 'the seal of Divine approval has been upon the work'.[24]

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[20] Ibid., pp. 198-199.

[21] Ibid., pp. 310-315.

[22] At the same time, he advised caution in the creating of too many institutions of higher education, 'as we may not be able to give them a proper degree of efficiency'. (see Girvin, *Prince in Israel*, p. 450.)

[23] He returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church.

[24] *The Nazarene*, January, 1898 - see *CUH*, p. 121.

2. Scottish Origins

Phineas F. Bresee's teachings were, in essence, those which George Sharpe brought with him from his Methodist Episcopal charge in New York State when he returned after fifteen years to Scotland in 1901. Perhaps strangely, there is little reference to Bresee himself in Sharpe's writings, although Sharpe and his wife, by agreement of the Pentecostal Church of Scotland, attended the General Assembly of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene in Kansas City during September-October of 1915 - the last Assembly which Bresee would attend before his death. It is likely that they at least heard each other: Bresee was able to read the address of the General Superintendents at one session, and, in fact, referred in it to the visits of General Superintendent E. R. Walker to Scotland and England, 'especially looking after the prospective work of our church in those countries';[25] at another session, Sharpe was invited to address the Assembly. Further, it was indicated at the time of the union between the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene and the Pentecostal Church of Scotland that Sharpe's stance and writings on holiness were known to and approved by Bresee.[26] The reasons for this absence of reference to the founder can in the main only be speculated upon. There is, however, one inference to be drawn from later writings and events: George Sharpe was anxious not to over-emphasise the transition from a Scottish to an American tradition, both in deference to the loyalties and sacrifices of his original members, and as defence against any possible charge of betrayal of trust, as later details of the union will show.

George Sharpe returned to Scotland after fifteen years in the

[25] Address of General Superintendents, General Assembly, September 1915.
[26] See chapter 5 on the union for further comment on this.

United States. He returned believing that he 'must preach what [he] found in the Bible,' and that he must do so as one who had 'an experience of real, vital religion'; this for him was summed up in the doctrine of entire sanctification.

Sharpe had arrived at that point of conviction by a somewhat circuitous route. Born in 1865 in Craigneuk, a small town in Lanarkshire, where his father was a miner, he began to work in a local shop at the age of twelve. Sharpe senior was an active member of the local Church of Scotland, but with thirteen children to care for Sharpe's mother had little time to spare. Sharpe writes: 'Not until late in life did Mother really profess to know God.'[27] Later, he was employed in an office where the atmosphere was non-religious, and he records that his 'life and character were affected by these surroundings and conditions'.[28] However, he seems not to have been totally alienated from spiritual concerns: he attended the local church with his family and later acknowledged that he was subject to conflict within himself: 'Conviction', he wrote, 'was sweeping over my whole being.'[29]

At this crucial point a series of revival meetings was being held in the area. George Sharpe gives no specific reason (apart from his general unease) for attending one of these, saying simply that he was 'virtually drawn' into the hall. The preacher's stress on the need of salvation through Jesus Christ made a strong impact, and he was moved to present himself at the 'penitent form'. Believing himself accepted of God, he felt that he had 'not yet received the witness of the Spirit'. That was granted to him the following day at work, when he affirmed openly to his colleagues that he was 'born of God', and heard the mocking cry,

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[27] *TMS*, p.7.
[28] ibid., p.8.
[29] ibid.

'Sharpe is converted!' [30]

However, the certainties of that moment were to be tested: the taunts of his colleagues weakened his stance and he had almost yielded to the inclination to give up when on New Year's Eve, 1883, 'having nowhere else to go', he attended a Christian Conference in Motherwell and heard John Colville, a member of the family which founded the great steelworks in the town, preach from the third verse in the twenty-ninth chapter of Isaiah, which seemed to be peculiarly fitted to his own situation: 'I, the Lord, do keep it; I will water it every moment; lest any hurt it , I will keep it night and day.' For George Sharpe this was 'a song of deliverance'.[31]

Within a year or two, he became aware of an inclination to enter the ministry of the church, but was equally aware of an innate diffidence about public speaking. Still undecided, he attended a religious service in Motherwell, drawn, 'like many others.....out of curiosity' - for the preacher was black, a former slave. His preaching moved George Sharpe to resolve that he could do no less for God than this man had done. 'Seeing and hearing this black brother laid the foundation of my decision to be a minister.' [32] His convictions were consolidated by the visit to Motherwell, in 1885, of Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission. [33]

However, for a time events seemed to be setting him upon another course. He was given the opportunity to further his career in the industrial field by spending a period in technical training in Cortland, New York State, before going to France to participate in the establishing of a

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[30] Ibid., p.9.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid., p.14.
[33] Ibid., p.16.

factory there. This seemed an excellent chance and the offer was accepted. But even while the young man was crossing the Atlantic in early 1886, the plans for the new plant fell through,and he had to accept a job in the factory in Cortland.

During the weeks that followed, he eventually assumed membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, becoming involved in all the services. This led first to an invitation to become pastor at the small church in the township of Elmstump and then, some months later, to an offer by the Methodist Episcopal Board of Education to assist him through college as a candidate for the ministry. [34] On completing the course, he went on to pastorates in the Methodist Episcopal Church, all in New York State: Depeyster, 1890-94; Hamilton, 1894-98; Chateaugay, 1898-1901. [35] In 1887, he married Jane B. Rose, a member of a Lanarkshire family who had emigrated to the United States; she, it was later claimed, became in 1911 the first woman in Scotland to be ordained to the ministry. [36]

His three charges were varied in type and offered him both challenge and reward. The church in Depeyster was 'depressing and unattractive, the steeple completely broken, the plaster displaced from the walls' - and his congregation numbered fewer than twenty. [37] To this situation he brought his organising ability, established financial support for the Church's benevolent causes, which had fallen into abeyance, and soon found the congregation increasing in numbers. His desire to inaugurate a revival was fulfilled in January 1893, when, after a discouraging start, the conversion of three leading members led to

[34] Ibid., pp. 17-20. This course may have been at the Methodist Casenovia College, though Sharpe does not name it.
[35] Ibid., pp. 43-64.
[36] Ibid., p.39.
[37] *TMS*, pp. 43-47.

'wonderful altar scenes' - and consequently to financial improvement, refurbishment of church and manse, and a new zeal in the membership.

Another challenge presented itself in Hamilton in 1894. The leading church in the town was the Baptist, the Methodist Church being weakest financially and 'the property, Church and manse, the most unattractive in the town'.[38] Here, however, he benefited from the academic atmosphere of the Baptist Colgate University nearby, the active interest of the young people in his church, and the 'heavenly' singing. Again, his hope for a revival 'brought a spiritual flood-tide to the whole congregation', and the revival of 1897 was still more encouraging in being a united effort of Baptist, Congregational, and Methodist churches. (Forty-one years later, he learned from the Methodist records that 'never had there been such accessions to the church as during my ministry'.)[39] On the practical side, he persuaded the Church Board to build a new, handsome manse. The generosity of the townspeople and others who gave freely enabled him to 'learn to love the well-to-do and the learned' as well as the poor.

In 1898 he was appointed to the church at Chateaugay in the Adirondack region.[40] The situation seemed a favourable one, but he learned that it had been rejected by other pastors for two main reasons: a very large Roman Catholic population in the area, and a rift in the congregation itself, caused largely by an office-bearer who was later found guilty in court of extracting money from members without repayment. In these circumstances, 'no revival was possible and no revival came'. But George Sharpe was now 'physically ready for service, active in mind and spiritually hungry for a great outpouring of the Spirit of

[38] Ibid.,pp. 48-52.
[39] Ibid., p.49.
[40] Ibid., pp. 53-58.

God'.[41] He began special services, inaugurated a 'temperance crusade' which brought about the demise of the liquor trade in Chateaugay, and eventually led what he described as 'the greatest revival in my ministry' in 1899, assisted by Major Milton Williams of the Salvation Army, 'the first holiness preacher that ever assisted us'. Major Williams was shortly followed by the evangelist E.F.Walker, a Presbyterian minister who was later to be the General Superintendent of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. Two other particularly significant events occurred: Sharpe himself, during the 1899 revival, was 'sanctified wholly.....the second blessing properly so-called becoming a fact in my spiritual life';[42] and, secondly, circumstances combined to require him to choose between remaining in America or returning to minister in a church in Scotland.

In describing these pastorates and his participation in revival campaigns, he makes a comparison between revivals in the United States and in the United Kingdom, contrasting the 'informal features', the preacher's 'wide scope', the frequent 'invitations to become Christians' and 'altar services' of the former with the latter's 'conservatism..... with regard to the open invitation and time of prayer and definite seeking'. [43]

During this personally crucial period, the pastor and his family returned to Scotland in 1901 for a holiday, when many opportunities of preaching were offered him. These included services in the Congregational Church in the Ayrshire town of Ardrossan, at that time a vacant charge, and in August he was invited to take the pastorate. It is not surprising that he found the decision to return from America a difficult one to make. 'In Scotland', he declared, 'the people have been brought up in the strongest kind of Calvinist teachings, which are altogether opposed to

[41] Ibid., p.55.
[42] Ibid., p.56.
[43] Ibid., p. 31.

our standards of scriptural holiness.'[44] He concluded also that in Scotland 'a conservatism' meant that 'membership in the church was looked on as a safeguard against any approach relative to personal faith and experience in Christ';[45] and that 'coming back to the homeland meant returning to a place 'where the Wesleyan doctrine of Entire Sanctification would be rejected because it had nothing in common with Calvinism'.[46]

In returning to Scotland, George Sharpe was initiating a ministry which was to have repercussions extending further than he could have realised or imagined then. At that time, it must have seemed that the most dramatic changes were a move across the Atlantic and the transferring from one religious tradition, the Methodist, to another, the Congregational.

[44] In General Assembly, Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, October 1915.
[45] *SHS*, p. 12.
[46] Ibid., p.10.

Chapter 3

DOCTRINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

1. In America

As a preliminary to examination of the development of the Church of the Nazarene in Scotland, it is perhaps advisable to look at the principles on which it was established . A scrutiny of these is obviously important, since they were seen by Phineas Bresee as sufficient justification for breaking away from the Methodist Church and setting up a new denomination.

Perhaps not all Nazarenes today would look kindly on the succinct description of their denomination, given by an onlooker, as ' a sort of souped-up Methodist'.[1] The reporter of this remark points out that the first Nazarenes came from a variety of denominations and backgrounds, including, for example, Baptists and Quakers as well as the Methodist majority. Nevertheless, today the Church of the Nazarene claims specifically to be 'Methodist in doctrine' and is defined as having 'its roots in John Wesley's teaching on perfection'. [2] Admittedly, other characteristics are important: a Nazarene church historian defines these as: the democratic form of government ; the obligation to preach to the poor; reliance on the guiding of the Holy Spirit; a freedom and vitality of worship.[3] And the *Manual* has over the years consistently embodied in its Statement of Belief basically the same principles that Bresee had

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[1] L.Parrott, *Introducing the Nazarenes* (Nazarene Publ. House, Kansas City, 1969), p.3.

[2] T.A.Noble, article: ' Church of the Nazarene', in *DSCHT*, p.186 .

[3] *CUH*. pp.115-118.

set up for the early members of his Peniel Mission and so for the original Church of the Nazarene: belief in the Triune Godhead, in the inspiration of the Scriptures, in man's fallen nature and the eternal condemnation of the impenitent, in universal atonement through Christ's death on the Cross, bringing justification and regeneration to all who repent and believe, and in the second Coming of the Lord, when the dead will be raised and the final judgement will take place.[4] But the two items which will particularly concern us here, and which have given rise to greatest speculation are these:

> That believers are to be sanctified wholly, subsequent to regeneration, through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. (26.6)
>
> That the Holy Spirit bears witness to the new birth, and also to the entire sanctification of believers. (26.7)[5]

These articles of faith were and have remained the distinguishing doctrine of the Church of the Nazarene: those believers who claim the experience of entire sanctification do so through the activity of the Holy Spirit. Ministers are required to be sanctified wholly by the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, and office-bearers are to be elected 'only from such as are clearly in the experience of entire sanctification'.[6]

It is generally agreed that the holiness movement had its foundations firmly established upon the teachings of John Wesley. One writer has pointed out that 'the resurgence of the Holiness Movement [in the U.S.] was predominantly Methodist, and the basic teaching was a necessity for a second crisis of faith, a "second blessing" or

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[4] Church of the Nazarene *Manual*, Constitution and Special Rules (Nazarene Publishing House,Kansas City), Statement of Belief, Articles 1-5,8.

[5] Ibid. Also Chapman, *History of Church of the Nazarene*, pp. 35-53.

[6] Ibid., Article 39.

"sanctification" subsequent to conversion and justification'[7] - that is, in direct line of descent from John Wesley's own teaching on Christian perfection. There was discernible, however, by the later nineteenth century, something of a shift of emphasis in this 'essentially Methodist and American' holiness movement, a 'lessening of emphasis upon the long-term aim of Christian perfection, and an increased stress upon the vital element of assurance within a pneumatocentric experience'.[8] In his highly influential book, '*The Higher Christian Life*", William Boardman had written that 'Faith.....brings the witness of the Spirit.....that the power and dominion of sin is broken'.[9] Within this context, believers were encouraged to look back at the teachings of John Wesley himself, and, in the light of their reading of them, to condemn the churches for excessive formalism and for insufficient emphasis upon personal salvation.

Wesley's teachings were certainly echoed by the founders of the Church of the Nazarene both in the United States of America and the United Kingdom. In Bresee's ministry, the central place must always be taken by the Wesleyan doctrine of perfection. Like some other holiness leaders of his time, he criticised the mainline churches of the day - at that period, the Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Roman Catholic churches - accusing them of having lost the basic attitudes of the early Christian church. Of his own Church of the Nazarene, he wrote: '[It] is designed to get back to the primitive simplicity of the New Testament Church in spirit and methods, to be rid of the cumbrous machinery, the worldly methods of money-getting, so much of form and ceremony, and

[7] R.Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited* (O.U.P., 1979), pp. 29-35.

[8] T.A.Langford, *Practical Divinity: Theology in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1983), p.134.

[9] Boardman, *The Higher Christian Life*, p.76.

to have in their place the Pentecostal baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire.'[10]

His concept of perfection was categorical, though not unrealistic, and, like later Nazarenes, he made no absolute avowal of total perfection in the individual. 'Sanctification', he wrote, 'removes all sin and makes the soul perfect in love, but does not destroy personal or individual peculiarities. It will always improve a person and advance him beyond what he would have been without it.'[11] Nevertheless, he was emphatic that the state of becoming sanctified, like that of becoming converted, was a complete, defined, and demonstrable experience. 'Sanctification is not an after death affair, nor a thing to be grown into, or a state gradually developed within, but a work done by the power of God, as the new birth was brought by the Holy Ghost.'[12] His convictions grew out of personal experience, for after conversion, Bresee was aware that there was another level of Christian life that he had not yet attained. He continued to have doubts about his spirituality. 'My religion', he wrote, 'did not meet my needs.'[13] At a meeting in his church at Charitou in 1866 he threw himself upon the altar and began to pray.[14] He believed that he was that night given the baptism with the Holy Ghost;[15] but it was many years later, in 1883, that he had the 'very striking experience' in which 'an indescribable ball of condensed light' touched his lips and with it brought 'a transformed condition of life and blessing and unction

[10] P.F.Bresee, 'The Church of the Nazarene', pamphlet (Bresee, Los Angeles, 1895), November, 1895, p. 3.
[11] *Nazarene Messenger* (Bresee, Los Angeles, 1896), July 1904.
[12] Ibid., March 1907.
[13] Girvin, *Prince in Israel*, p.51.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.

and glory' which 'introduced a new element into his work and ministry'. [16] Later, he wrote: ' Conversion is an instantaneous act of the Spirit, and so also is sanctification, a distinct instantaneous act that makes the soul holy.'[17] Thus, while acknowledging (like John Wesley) the susceptibility of the human individual to err through 'personal peculiarities', he was insistent on the 'sanctifying power of the "second blessing" and its constant anointings of the Spirit'[18] to enable the faithful to enter into and maintain a right relationship with God in Christ.

In all of this, Bresee would have claimed that he was being consistently true to John Wesley's concept of holiness, and was convinced that Methodist leaders were departing from it. A serious doctrinal controversy arose in the 1890s over the issue of entire sanctification, which certain critics claimed to be a 'single mode' experience taking place at the time of conversion.[19] Further, by mid-century the Methodist Church had already begun to place importance on its social and economic respectability, and had become the largest denomination in the country and also the wealthiest church.[20] The newer attitude was demonstrated in the attempted exclusion from the Methodist *Discipline* of the prohibition of dancing, card-playing, and theatre-going. These activities had been in general disapproved of by Wesley. Of the first two, he wrote to a friend: 'You know that we do not suffer any that use them to continue in our Society';[21] and in his sermon 'On Dissipation', he declared that 'this character.....belongs to the serious fool who

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[16] Ibid. p.82.

[17] *Nazarene Messenger*, August 1904.

[18] Ibid., November 1905.

[19] *CUH*, pp. 40-42, 125.

[20] *History of American Methodism*, vol. 3, p. 620.

[21] Letter to James Barry, September 1787.

forgets God, by a close attention to any worldly employment'.[22]

Despite all this, Bresee does not seem at this time to have considered withdrawing from the Methodist Episcopal Church. Certain pointers, however, indicate that a rift was looming ahead. He openly deprecated the criticism of Wesley's teachings - he later wrote that 'We (i.e., the Church of the Nazarene) are a part of that company who are the real successors of John Wesley and the early Methodists'.[23] He was aware of the disapproval of the bishops and hierarchy regarding the patterns of the holiness groups as against the established forms of faith and order in Wesleyan bodies. He aroused antagonism by writing for journals openly friendly to the preaching of sanctification, he preached at camp-meetings and revivals on the theme of holiness, and declared that Methodist preachers were failing to speak positively on the basic Wesleyan teaching that the baptism of divine love equalled cleansing from sin.[24] He expressed criticism of those who asserted that the Bible taught that conversion encompassed both forgiveness and entire sanctification.[25] He recorded his approval of an article which outlined the Methodist Church's rejection of Wesley's belief in sanctification, and drew upon himself further unfavourable notice by condemning the non-intervention of the bishops when the prohibitionist editor of a Primitive Methodist journal was expelled by the Conference.[26] He openly defended a colleague against a bishop on hearing the latter refer to 'that holiness crank'.[27]

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[22] *Sermons*, vol.2, lxxxiv, p. 327.
[23] *Nazarene Messenger*, July 1906.
[24] *CUH*, pp.98-99.
[25] Ibid., p.43.
[26] Ibid., pp.123-126.
[27] Girvin, *Prince in Israel*, p.97.

The issue which perhaps most radically widened the gap between Bresee and the Methodist hierarchy was his enthusiasm for revival and evangelistic campaigns. A series of holiness revivals which he organised in 1891-92 won for him great popularity and acclaim, to the extent of his being spoken of as becoming a bishop; but a dramatic reversal followed. At the 1892 Conference, Bishop J.H.Vincent cut out the evangelistic sessions, removed Bresee from his position as presiding elder, and appointed him to the one church in Los Angeles which had shown hostility to his teachings.[28]

Even now it did not appear that Bresee would leave the Methodist Church. It was his association with the Peniel Hall Mission which brought matters to a head. The principle embodied in Peniel, and supported by Bresee, of allowing people who were not members of any church to attach themselves to the Mission, raised again the spectre of an independent Methodist church being formed by Bresee, and fuel was thus added to the bishops' suspicions of holiness associations and the preaching of evangelists.[29] Refused permission to carry on the work at Peniel, Bresee came to the conclusion that 'he could not remain.....without transgressing the law of the Church'.[30] At the 1894 Conference, he asked for and was granted a location,[31] thus ending a membership of thirty-seven years. He had taken his stand upon the principle of church membership, of evangelisation among the poor, and, above all, of sinless perfection as a second blessing.[32]

The unhappy sequel, however, was that his Peniel Hall associates,

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[28] *CUH*. p.102.
[29] *Ibid*., p.40.
[30] Quoted in Girvin, *Prince in Israel*, p.101.
[31] 'location': removal from the Methodist Conference.
[32] *CUH*. pp.107, 108.

on whose behalf he relinquished his connection with the Methodist Church, had within a year decided to exclude him from their councils and expressed their dissatisfaction with his participation. The root causes of this change of heart are not stated categorically, but two possible sources of dissension seem to have existed: the addition to Peniel of an 'extremist in divine healing', and the council's use of young women in rescue work in the city areas.[33] Neither of these was favoured by Bresee, but he did not expatiate upon the situation, simply writing: 'As to their course, and the treatment accorded me by them.....I prefer to draw a veil.'[34]

A twentieth-century historian of Methodism observes that Bresee would have agreed with the verdict that 'Holiness tradition on separation from the mother church lays blame on the neglect of the Wesleyan doctrine of perfect love'.[35] Bresee's uneasy relationship with the Methodist Church sprang largely from his conclusion that what have been described as 'serious declensions from the standards of John Wesley and the pioneers'[36] were taking place. He believed that the dissensions within his church were a betrayal of its founder's teachings on holiness.

Despite his categorical position on what he regarded as fundamental issues, however, there was evidence that an interesting and not uncongenial ambivalence existed in certain of his attitudes. An example is his stance on the Second Coming of Christ. He invited

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[33] Ibid., p.109.

[34] Quoted in Girvin, *Prince in Israel*, p.103.

[35] C.E. Jones, 'The Holiness Complaint with Late-Victorian Methodism', in *Rethinking Methodist History* , ed.Richey, R.E.,and Rowe, K.E. (Metuchen Press,New Jersey, 1986), p.63.

[36] Rupert Davies, 'Methodism: Then and Now', in *Epworth Review*, vol.15, 1988 (Epworth Press, London), p. 29.

known premillennialists to speak at his meetings, though not prepared to rank himself wholeheartedly alongside them. He wrote: 'Wherever we give the kind of prominence to His return in the flesh that draws away our attention from the fact that He is here in His spiritual presence and divine power, we cease to be soul winners, and the work of God ceases.'[37] According to his biographer, 'He was neither a premillennialist or a postmillennialist, and, while he told me.....that he was inclined to believe that premillennialists were right in their general conclusions, he humbly admitted that he did not know enough about the subject to be dogmatic regarding it.'[38]

Further, while he encouraged spontaneity and expression of emotion in services, he placed a high value upon order and warned of 'the danger that a careless and slovenly way be fallen into.' 'There should be,' he wrote, 'a carefully and prayerfully thought out and prepared method of ordinarily conducting the great services in the house of the Lord.'[39] His biographer records that 'his sermons were thoroughly prepared.....abounding in lofty climaxes.'[40] He was also punctilious about due and solemn regard for the observances of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the service of receiving converts into membership. At Baptismal services, he 'gave a beautiful exposition of the real spiritual significance of the ordinance.' 'He strove to make [the marriage ceremony] a real means of grace to all that were present'; services of burial, 'he conducted with touching pathos, and deep solemnity.....his

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[37] *The Nazarene*, July 1899, quoted I.H.Smith, *The Quotable Bresee* (Beacon Hill Press, 1983), p.80.

[38] Girvin, *Prince in Israel*, p. 387.

[39] *Nazarene Messenger*, February 1909,quoted H.I.Smith, p.106.

[40] Girvin, *Prince in Israel*, p. 368.

ministrations were like healing ointment.'[41] On this aspect of Bresee's administration, the official history states: '.....the new denomination gave surprising attention to rituals and sacraments .' [42]

It was this balance of the formal and the informal, held always within the central doctrine of Christian perfection, that was to exert upon the developing Church of the Nazarene an influence which has had much to do with the formation of its character.

2. In Scotland

Like P.F.Bresee, George Sharpe had realised, during his final period of ministry in the Methodist Episcopal Church, that a number of his congregation had experienced entire sanctification and wished to see their pastor find it also.[43] He was aware of the disapproval in high places that such a confession might incur; but his moment of truth came during a series of services organised by the Church and Board in 1899, conducted, appropriately, by a Salvation Army officer, Major L. Milton Williams. Sharpe entered into ' this glorious experience,' responding to 'the entreaties of the Holy Ghost' and making his full commitment: 'There was no reservation and as a result the prayer of faith followed and God sanctified me then.'[44]

It is important to understand what 'sanctification' meant for him, since it was that principle on which he constructed his church and insistence on which was at least part of the reason for his leaving a church which could not accept his preaching of it.

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[41] Ibid., pp.385-6.
[42] *CUH*, p.134.
[43] *TMS*, pp.30-31.
[44] Ibid.

He saw it, first, as the inevitable accompaniment of holiness, 'the doctrine of the Bible'. The experience allowed of no compromise in terms - Full Salvation, Holiness, Perfect Love, Sanctification - these 'forcibly describe the wonderful experience', and he saw the supreme purpose of his (and any man's) ministry as ' to make men holy'. He accepted that holiness encountered hostility because it apparently claimed 'absolute sinlessness', but responds, perhaps with some pretentiousness, that if the apostle Paul could claim to have behaved 'holily.....justly.....and unblameably', all preachers should and could be like him.[45]

Like Wesley and Bresee, George Sharpe firmly believed in sanctification as a second work of grace, following upon regeneration and justification. He described its operation in this process: ' believing 1) that the state of sin exists; 2) that Jesus has provided a cure in the sacrifice of himself; 3) that through faith the remedy for depravity can be applied now; 4) that the complete and entire consecration of the Holy Ghost comes, destroying sin in the heart, filling the temple, thus instantaneously sanctifying the believer wholly, so that thereafter the result is holiness of heart and life.' By this process of entire sanctification, 'the believer through complete consecration and the Baptism of the Holy Ghost is made pure.'[46]

It is stressed, however, that 'sanctification is the act of God'. He acknowledged that dispute and controversy have existed about the doctrine - is it one with justification? is it a state which may be attained only after many years? Is it, indeed, a valid concept at all? He asserted: ' It is God that sanctifies.....The experience is an obtainment, the gift of

[45] Ibid.,pp. 112-117.
[46] Ibid., p.129.

God, the Sanctifier.'[47]

Such an experience will show as its ' truest sign' in 'perfect love or.....Christian perfection.....when we are sanctified and the Adamic nature is gone and the whole man is filled with the divine nature like unto Jesus';[48] and he summed up: 'The doctrinal view of perfect love is the absence of any sin,or vice or feeling that would or could possibly accept the opportunity or occasion to do injury or harm to another, either a friend or an enemy, the presence of a spirit that speaks of protection for the weak, of forgiveness for those who have misrepresented us, of kindness to our enemies, past, present, or future.'[49]

In view of the subsequent distancing of themselves of the Holiness Churches from the Pentecostal movement, which will be later looked at, it is relevant here to note also the emphasis upon the part assigned to the Holy Spirit in sanctification or 'the second blessing'. This experience was commonly referred to also as 'the Baptism with the Holy Ghost', and from the first *Manual* of the Church of the Nazarene in 1908 was categorically established as an article of belief: 'The Holy Spirit bears witness to justification by faith, and also to the further work of the entire sanctification of believers, guiding into all truth as it is in Christ Jesus.' 'To this work (of sanctification) and state of grace the Holy Spirit bears witness.' [50] The direct operation of the Holy Ghost was thus an essential aspect of the Nazarene tenet, but there is nowhere indication of any kind that 'signs following' would or should validate the experience.

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[47]George Sharpe, 'Sanctification - The Outcome' in *Addresses on Holiness* (A.H.Burnett, Glasgow, n/d.), p. 47.

[48] Sharpe, 'Perfect Love' in *Addresses on Holiness*, p.54.

[49] *TMS*, pp. 140-141.

[50] Church *Manual*, 1908: Statement of Belief, article 7; Doctrinal Statement, 'Sanctification'; see also Bresee's statement above

Sharpe was thus brought into contact with certain traditions and was eager to give them continuity, but it is perhaps not without significance that he worked within a smaller and less varied compass than either Wesley or Phineas Bresee. In Sharpe's presentation, the holiness message laid less emphasis on the ethical, more on the experiential aspect, was insistent on rejection of strict Calvinism and less dismissive of man's freedom to participate in the process of salvation, emphasising the Church's missionary vocation, the importance of preaching, church order, and the solemn place of the sacraments. Moreover, Sharpe's idea of holiness could not fail to be touched by the American conception of Wesleyan theology, asserting the importance of revivals, the knowledge of Christ as personal saviour, the authority of Scripture, and, above all, the experience of entire sanctification in this life as a second definite work of grace. Along with Wesley, Sharpe 'considered the doctrine as a practical way of life available to and necessary for every regenerate Christian'.[51]

This background was freely drawn upon by Sharpe when he returned to Scotland to preach. He affirmed that, in sanctification, believers 'by reason of the Word and the Holy Ghost were led into the straight way that brought them into the fullness of the blessing'; [52] and the claim of 'having received the fire' was not to be 'considered as coming from a boastful spirit'.[53] He described his own sanctification experience as the 'experience of the cleansing baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire',[54] of 'the further vision.....received through the Baptism with the

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[51] J.L.Peters, *Christian Perfection and American Methodism* (Abingdon Press, Nashville, Tennessee, 1956), p. 182.

[52] Sharpe, 'Sanctification - the Outcome', p. 46.

[53] *TMS*, p.131.

[54] Ibid., p. 61.

Holy Ghost',[55] and his task as being to 'preach the faith that purity, the result of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, preceded power'.[56]

This emphasis on the vital role of the Holy Spirit claimed to maintain Wesley's teaching on Christian perfection - 'the conviction that it is from first to last the work of the sanctifying Spirit'.[57] It might be felt as an 'opening of heaven', or as 'an entry into Canaan', or as a 'plunging into an ocean of love', or even as a 'heart strangely warmed'.[58] By whatever form of operation, the Holy Ghost and power are received together: they work to manifest Christ's life in a human life of holiness, to save from acts of sin and empower for future service. As Wesley had done, Phineas Bresee and George Sharpe and other holiness leaders preached the 'assurance' that it is the Holy Spirit that 'bears witness that we are the children of God'.[59] They saw the fire symbolically as the cleansing agent, acting upon believers as it had acted at the first Pentecost Day, purifying the heart and being the fulfilment of God's promise to every believer. The Holiness Churches saw no need of 'signs and wonders' to demonstrate that baptism by the Holy Ghost had taken place - the signs and wonders were present within the believer himself and were clearly visible in a continuing life of faith and commitment. The baptism 'with the Holy Spirit and fire' was (and is), of course, an experiential receiving and response - the phrase most used is 'filled with the Spirit' - but the human aspect of this experience of the

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[55] *SHS*, p.9.

[56] Ibid., p.17.

[57] P.M. Bassett and W.M.Greathouse, *Exploring Christian Holiness* (Beacon Hill Press, Kansas City, 1985), vol. 2, p.231.

[58] 'Second blessing' experiences as described by, respectively: P.F.Bresee (Girvin, *Prince in Israel*, p.51); G.Sharpe (*TMS*, p.30); Phoebe Palmer (*Way of Holiness*, p. 23); John Wesley (*Journal*, May 24, 1738, vol.1, p.476).

[59] Romans 8:16.

divine was to be firmly bonded to the study of the Word of Scripture, to the practice of private and public prayer, to the traditions of worship and the sacraments.

Sharpe had been preaching in America at a time when religious belief in many denominations there had been stirred by the Fundamentalist and Millennialist movements,[60] and it might have been expected that he would manifest a particular emphasis on their teachings. Certainly, his writings show him to have been very conscious of living in a religious context where 'modernism' and 'liberalism' were held to be rearing their dangerous heads. Like the patron of *The Fundamentals,* Lyman Stewart, Sharpe saw it as his task to 'reassert the truth of the Christian Faith and vigorously discredit Modernism'.[61] Criticising unequivocally a 'Modernist' preacher's views, in 1925 Sharpe wrote:

> 'This leaven has eaten into the very vitals of the organised Church. The fundamentals of the Christian faith are being shattered and broken.....The Church.....has become the place where.....man places upon his own brow the credentials of divinity and power.'[62]

'As a Church,' he wrote, 'we do not have"itching ears" for thoughts and expressions carrying supposedly scientific knowledge that neither glorifies God nor saves the souls of men.'[63]

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[60] See, e.g., G.Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (OUP, New York, 1980);E.Sandeen,*The Roots of Fundamentalism* (University of Chicago Press, 1970).

[61] Sandeen, *Roots of Fundamentalism*, pp. 186-189.

[62] *SHS*, p.5.

[63] *TMS*, p.104.

He was, however, less assertive on the question of millennialism - as, indeed,his forerunner Bresee had been. There was no uncertainty over the Second Coming of Christ, but it was not preached as an imperative in terms of time, although awareness of the issue was acute enough to have 'affected vitally each phase of the founding of the Church of the Nazarene'.[64] 'We are large enough in our catholicity', Sharpe wrote, 'to admit to our membership ..... those who differ in regard to the time of Christ's coming.'[65] In fact, the statement in the first *Manual* on the Second Coming of Christ made this plain: 'We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ will return to judge the quick and the dead; that we that are alive at His coming shall not precede them that are asleep in Christ Jesus; but that, if we are abiding in Him, we shall be caught up with the risen saints to meet the Lord in the air, so that we shall ever be with the Lord. We do not, however, regard the numerous theories that gather around this Bible Doctrine as essential to Salvation, and so we concede full liberty of belief among the members of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.' [66] These 'numerous theories' generated much acrimony in America, and this final qualification was omitted from the doctrinal articles after 1927, for three main reasons: the Church wished to distance itself from the public dissension; it was desirous of being seen as non-partisan; it wished to remain true to Bresee's policy of liberality in a matter 'not essential to salvation'.[67]

The Millennial movement had a much wider impact in the United States than in Britain, and it has been suggested that even in America it

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[64] *CUH*, p.25.

[65] *SHS*, p.62.

[66] Church *Manual* for 1908, Part I, Statement of Belief.

[67] See *CUH*, pp. 118, 309, 317.

only slightly influenced the Methodists, the Nazarenes, and Pentecostal groups because the conservative and Millennialist lobbies resented the upsurge of holiness 'perfectionist' teaching in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[69] Millennialists in general felt that the holiness teachings laid a disproportionate emphasis on human endeavour towards progress and improvement, with insufficient weight on man's dependence upon divine grace and the operation of the Holy Spirit.[69] Such influence as it developed in Britain was due in part to the preaching of D.L.Moody, who came to have Millennialist sympathies.[70] But the more liberal attitude demonstrated in the *Manual* statement was adopted by George Sharpe, and indeed the issue tended rather to be given significance in a connection with salvation than of itself: the millennium was important because it meant the salvation of the community of the faithful.

Sharpe was also categorical in his assertions that there should be no 'compromise of terms.....with a view to avoiding censure and opposition.'[71] He insisted upon the validity of the controversial term 'eradication' as 'a lucid explanation of the experience known [as] sanctification'.[72] 'The eradication of depravity, the sin principle,' he wrote, 'is here expected.'[73] John Wesley himself had spoken of sin as being 'destroyed', and, in one sermon, as being 'extirpated'.[74] After Wesley, the term 'eradication' gradually came into use, being appropriated

[68] Sandeen, *Roots of Fundamentalism*, p.177.
[69] Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, pp.46, 98.
[70] Sandeen, *Roots of Fundamentalism*, p.174.
[71] *TMS*, p.114.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Sharpe, 'Perfect Love', p.53.
[74] Sermon 'On the Repentance of Believers,' vol.I, no.xiv, p.164.

especially in America.[75] Disapproval regarding its use was soon apparent in Britain, where it was rarely heard from holiness leaders; [76] but Sharpe dismissed the objection that it was 'unscriptural', choosing to cite the Gospel of Matthew [77] in support of his contention that it was an English derivation from the Greek word - 'Every plant that my Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be eradicated (=rooted up)'. There should be no hesitation, he averred, 'in using terms that forcibly describe the wonderful experience.....'

3. The Beauties of Holiness

As we have seen, the origins from which most of the holiness movements can be traced mean that they held much in common, including the main articles of faith. Almost all the holiness groups laid primary emphasis on entire sanctification as a 'second blessing'; some laid greater stress than others on a 'social gospel'; most showed enthusiasm for the training of younger members towards evangelisation. The sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion (or the Lord's Supper) have been held in reverence. And, as already indicated, certain of the groups preferred that converts should return to their own churches and spread the word of their experience.

Therefore, with a good deal in common with other holiness movements, what was the Nazarene warrant for claiming that it had

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[75] See S.S.White, *Eradication Defined, Explained ,Authenticated* (Beacon Hill Press,Kansas City, 1954).

[76] Revd C. N. Peckham, Principal, Faith Mission College, writes that he has ' never heard the term "eradication" from any Faith Mission platform and it would certainly cause a great deal of unease in an interdenominational setting. ' (Letter, January 1990).

[77] Matt. 15.13.

something special to offer? This is closely connected with another question: Why was a Holiness Church formed, rather than simply another movement to inspire people to return to their churches and propagate the doctrine of 'Christian Perfection'? The explanation involves a number of factors, some of which have been or will be referred to at different points in this study. But they should be highlighted within this immediate context because of their significance for the whole process of development.

The primary factor was undoubtedly the aims and objectives of George Sharpe himself. From the beginning, he was insistent upon an **organised church structure.** At no point does he give indication of envisaging anything other than the establishing of a 'denomination' and the setting of an organised 'church' and 'congregation', with all the characteristics that conformed to traditional ecclesiology. It was an aim which few of the other British holiness leaders had aspired to; but Sharpe's previous history as a minister during twenty years had been within a 'churchly way of life' and at no time did he diverge from this. The first hastily-convened meeting for worship after his eviction from the Congregational Church was billed as 'Divine Service', the people who gathered at it were a 'congregation', and the first Business Meeting was held 'to consider the inauguration and formation of a new Church'.[78]

It was not that the possibility of a looser structure was unknown to him. He was familiar with the non-denominational movements of his time: he preached at Star Hall, was not unsympathetic to Keswick teaching, was a member of the League of Prayer, and worked with J.G.Drysdale, the later leader of Emmanuel. His pastorates in the United

[78] *SHS*, pp. 22-24, 27.

States had on more than one occasion seen revivals led by 'free-lance' evangelists. He does, in fact, once mention briefly the possibility of 'Missions or Leagues of Prayer' resulting from the establishing of the first Church in Glasgow, but this passing reference is made from the security of twenty years' hindsight,[79] and such an outcome is never mentioned at the initial stages. Even his smallest early groups organised themselves as 'churches'. It was clear from the outset that a loosely-structured movement whose adherents came and went was no part of his design; his goal was a leadership within a recognised and structured setting.

The formation of a 'Holiness Church' was also sustained by the circumstance that Sharpe's original members came from an 'established' church, the Congregational. The majority had been life-long members, with in many cases a strong family tradition, and the idea of being part of a 'movement' which lacked the form and structure they had been accustomed to was alien to them. Just as, in earlier days, the Evangelical Union had been formed as the result of division, so the Pentecostal Church of Scotland was formed as the offshoot of an already long-standing congregation.

In time, the first members were joined, in Parkhead and elsewhere, by people who felt a need in their own church life and responded by turning to the Pentecostal Church of Scotland. But again, these were mainly people who had been members or adherents within congregations, and their response was to a clearly identifiable body of worshippers who met in the context of 'a local habitation and a name'. Identification with a resolved church doctrine and polity and with a place where these were formally observed was of primary importance.

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[79] Ibid., p.34.

A further influencing factor in the establishing of a church was a factor of high priority for those who took the first steps: members and minister desired a congregational fellowship within which the strongest possible commitment could be undertaken and encouraged. Dedication could be more keenly marked and directed within the compact congregation which followed regular patterns of worship and government. In this context could also be emphasised the significance of the family tradition, the transmitting of the teachings to the next generation providing potential continuity and growth.

Within this framework, then, the prospect which Sharpe opened out to those who supported him exhibited certain features which were highly significant at that time.

Certainly, one quality which it offered from the start was that of a single-minded **leadership** which was obviously able not only to plan beyond the present, but also to discern and grasp the possibilities of situations as they arose. The west of Scotland, when George Sharpe began preaching there, seemed to provide him with the foothold that he sought. A factor which strengthened his leadership was undoubtedly the combination of his Scottish background and the traits developed by his American experience. The Scottish element provided him with valuable tools: an innate familiarity with the kind of people he would encounter, a prudence and foresight acquired from his home and commercial environments, a strong awareness of the religious values and traditions of his home country.[80] As a counter-balance, there were the more flexible, broader-based attitudes derived from his fifteen years of working in the United States, where his experiences of college study, pastoral charges,

[80] *TMS*, chh. 1-2.

and extensive preaching and organisation had done so much to foster assurance both spiritual and social, and ultimately convinced him that 'the future of his ministry would be greater than it had been in the past'.[91]

Nor was he diffident about making the most effective use, as a preacher, of what he had learned over the years. While he has been described as being in private of 'an easy-going and placid' temperament,[92] his pulpit personality was robust and at times aggressive, voice and gestures brought effectively into play, his delivery varied and emphatic and often given colour and immediacy by the use of transatlantic expressions - for example, 'sidewalk', 'holler', 'gotten' - a habit which (as he no doubt knew) served on the whole to attract rather than antagonise. The term 'charisma' tends nowadays to be over-played, but, while perhaps too strong to use here, there undoubtedly existed a force of personality which engaged the trust and even devotion of his followers. Some indication of the general impression he created is given by two marks of respect paid him in later years. In May, 1929, the Olivet Nazarene College, Illinois, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. In May, 1953, the church in Parkhead, the first of the denomination in Britain, was re-named 'Sharpe Memorial Church of the Nazarene', five years after the founder's death and on the forty-seventh anniversary of its founding.[93]

Another valuable element was that of a **stable fellowship.** As indicated, Sharpe promulgated from the start a denomination with organisation and conditions. He wrote: 'I have always believed in

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[91] Ibid., p. 75.

[92] So described by his daughter, Mrs I.R.Edwards.

[93] Just a year before this event, the death had occurred of Thomas Gray, the last survivor of the original 'charter members' and one of the four (Congregational) deacons who had supported Sharpe in 1906.

proper Church government with laws that interpret the character of the Church.....An organised Church in the Holy Ghost will have beneficent rules and conditions and advices that will harmonise the people and the preachers."[64] Sometimes people did find these conditions too difficult to meet; but for those who accepted and persevered, there were satisfying rewards: a basis of common ground for meeting regularly within an established and congenial context, a focus of effort specifically and effectually directed, a shared language for spiritual and social communication. The value of this stability and order was sometimes recognised by other holiness leaders - for example, David Thomas, League of Prayer evangelist, discovered that though many people were converted through the witness of the League to the truth of 'second blessing' holiness, there was a high loss rate among them when they returned to the atmosphere of their own churches. Indeed, most holiness movements, however strongly resolved at first on maintaining non-church status, were almost forced to acquire certain 'pseudo-church' features in order to conserve and consolidate their gains.

Along with a stable fellowship, the new denomination also offered (an almost inevitable accompaniment) a **form of discipline.** This extended into well-nigh all departments of life: places of entertainment and worldly songs must be eschewed; total abstinence from alcohol and tobacco was demanded; severe decorum in dress and appearance was required of women members; unfailing attendance was expected at services and, wherever possible, at week-night meetings; there was outspoken condemnation of what Sharpe described as 'the unholy compact of secret societies'; and Sunday work was to be avoided as far

[64] *SHS*, p.55.

as possible.[85]

Not all members found this discipline easy to accept; but Sharpe's form of benevolent despotism clearly pointed his followers where their loyalties and energies lay, and so supplied an axis around which their lives and efforts could be directed, with the consciousness that this was no aimless exercise, but a meaningful dedication of time and talents. It has been known for some, looking back, to make the criticism that no part of their lives was left free of the commitments and duties so imposed on them. The justification for this control is well expressed in the description of an earlier Methodist generation: 'The new experience brought with it new interests and gave a new meaning to life itself.....' John Wesley had written that a baby would not relinquish its rattle unless offered something better. 'What seem to a superficial critic unhappy surrenders were to them but the throwing away of the rattles they did not want any more.'[86]

Along with these, the (then) Pentecostal Church offered almost from its inception a background of **theological training** - and therefore, by strong implication, a recognition of the importance of academic excellence. This area of activity is dealt with separately, but is mentioned here to indicate that the establishing of a trained ministry was regarded as an important characteristic of the new church, and one that could not fail to have its appeal for a Scottish membership. The young Pentecostal Church was not alone, of course, in its recognition of the value of teaching and training, but few others attempted so independently to establish 'Bible Schools', or make such public

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[85] *TMS*, pp. 111, 113, 117-118. Also the Church *Manual*, Part II, Special Advices, pp. 36-38.

[86] L.F.Church, *The Early Methodist People* (Epworth Press, London, 1948), p. 217.

declaration of the value placed upon them. For example, the Faith Mission set up a Bible College, now well-established, but its position was somewhat anomalous in that it depended largely upon the organised churches for its teaching staff.[87] Sharpe assembled his teaching staff from within his own ranks, and he himself worked intensively in this field of teaching. The report of the first session of the 'Holiness Bible School' included a note of the teachers as: Mr J. Robertson, Mrs Sharpe, Miss Sharpe, Rev. George Sharpe; and this team was soon joined by Olive Winchester, a member of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene in America. In this way, Sharpe purported to offer his congregations a trained ministry on which they could depend for sound spiritual instruction and guidance.

Not the least important characteristic of the new Pentecostal Church of Scotland was its emphasis upon **church government.** More detailed scrutiny will be given to this later; but it is fitting to point out here that the representative form of Nazarene government, which gives considerable independence of action to each congregation, provided a democratic basis which consolidated the principle that each member shared to some extent an accountability for the whole. Thus there was offered not only the promise of personal salvation, but also the encouraging assurance that such experience would enable - and, indeed, impel - the believer to exercise a responsibility and, preferably, have a task to carry out within his own church. The young Pentecostal Church in Glasgow and each of its local congregations, like their 'begetter', John Wesley, took as their touchstone the measure of influence on and usefulness to practical Christian living that their own

[87] Information supplied by Dr S. Martin of the Church of the Nazarene, who himself taught in the F.M. College for a number of years.

lives could demonstrate.

These factors contributed to George Sharpe's initial - and, in the circumstances, rather surprising - success. In general terms, the immediate response suggests that there were minds and ears alert to a doctrine which opened up the way to a more positive, more spontaneous form of religious faith than what may have seemed, in contrast, the 'staid' traditions of custom. This fresh dimension could not lightly be dismissed as a flight of fancy, for there were sober, thoughtful, and responsible Christian men and women willing to hear it and take it to heart.

This suggests the fairly broad cross-section of society to which the Pentecostal Church in Scotland appealed. The type of congregation which would develop would by no means be a church of the wealthy, but would include industrious and relatively well-to-do tradespeople, skilled workers, semi-professionals, as well as those who had little in the way of material possessions. As a result of the importance assigned by the movement to education, the proportion of professional members increased over the years.[86]

[86] See more details on this in chapter 7.

Chapter 4

BEGINNINGS IN SCOTLAND

1. The Future Mapped Out

Instances of the more humorous aspects of life are not readily to be found in the writings and records of the 'holiness people', but the founder of the Pentecostal Church of Scotland allows himself at least one such indulgence in relating an early incident arising out of the circumstances of the church's origin. He tells how, after his eviction from the Congregational Church, he was travelling on a crowded tramcar in the local area, when a young man who had been celebrating less wisely than well called out, 'Never mind, Mr Sharpe! Although the Church people are against you, the sinners are all on your side!' [1]

This observation perhaps carried greater significance than its object - and certainly the speaker - realised. Assuredly, George Sharpe drew a prompt conclusion from it: 'That, to us, meant that while the Church did not see the necessity of Scriptural Holiness as it had been and was being preached, the sinners in the community realised that it was the very truth which they at least needed.' For him, a time had arrived when 'The Holiness Church had come into being .....A Church which would stand in these days for a whole Bible, for the Living God, the crucified and risen Christ, the Holy Ghost, for holiness of heart and life through the blood..... as a necessity'. [2]

It is interesting that Sharpe's introduction to ministry in Scotland should have been by way of the Congregational churches in Ardrossan

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[1] *TMS*, p. 77.

[2] *SHS*, p.6.

and Parkhead. Congregationalism has more than three hundred years of history in Scotland, by way of Glasites, Old Scots Independents, and Bereans; but its main tradition stems from the eighteenth century, when the significant contributions of the brothers Haldane and of Greville Ewing were made.[3] One of the earliest 'constitutional' Congregational churches was formed in Glasgow in 1800. The rejection of certain aspects of orthodox Calvinism by such ministers as James Morison of the United Secession Church led in 1843 to the forming of the Evangelical Union, large numbers of whose churches had been Congregational. After long discussion, the Congregational Union and the Evangelical Union merged in 1896 as the Congregational Union of Scotland.[4]

Parallels in polity between the Congregational tradition into which George Sharpe entered and that of the Church which he later established are readily discernible: the independence of action of each congregation (his own translation from Methodism exemplifies this freedom); the principle that each member, though called by Christ individually, is due to live 'in church order'; the emphasis upon the 'church meeting' and the part played by members; the high place given to the sermon and to sung praise; the stand upon temperance.[5]

Doctrinally, the Congregational principles of a personal act of belief in the lordship of Christ, the validity of the atonement, the influence and free movement of the Holy Spirit, the emphasis upon evangelical

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[3] Harry Escott, *A History of Scottish Congregationalism* (Congregational Union of Scotland, Glasgow 1960), pp.45-66, 86-93.

[4] Ibid., pp.166-76

[5] Daniel Jenkins, *Congregationalism: A Restatement* (Faber and Faber, London, 1954), pp. 46-49, 90-91; also Escott, *Scottish Congregationalism, p.128.*

character[6] - these doctrines could also sit comfortably to the tradition which Sharpe was to inaugurate. Indeed, he might have defined his 'new' tradition in the words of the great English Congregationalist R.D.Dale, who, describing his own Church, declared that 'it was a serious attempt to recognise in the organisation of the Church the infinite difference between those who are in Christ and those who are not, between the living and the dead, the saved and the lost.....The great prerogatives.....assumed that the Church consisted of persons who had received the life of Christ'.[8]

The ministry of Sharpe in the Congregational Church at Ardrossan began auspiciously in 1901, with an enthusiastic revival in 1902 and the construction of a new church building in 1903. Soon after this, however, came shadows of 'a gathering cloud in a clear sky'.[9] Doubts felt by church officials concerning the preaching of holiness doctrines came to the surface in dissension over the minister's proposed visit to a camp-meeting in New York in 1905.

Sharpe did not travel to the States, after all; but in June he preached in the Congregational Church in the Parkhead district of Glasgow, and was offered the pastorate, which he accepted. 'I believe,' he wrote, 'I would have continued [in Ardrossan] had open opposition not been manifested against the glorious truth of Entire Sanctification.'[10]

But he was to find, as others have found, that *plus ça change*,

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[6] Ibid., p.51, 40- 41.

[7] Quoted in Alan J. Sell, *Saints: Visible, Catholic, and Orderly - The Congregational Idea of a Church* (World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Geneva, 1986), p.25

[8] *TMS*, pp. 66-67.

[9] Ibid

[10] Ibid., p.68.

plus ça même chose. He continued to preach holiness as he believed John Wesley had taught and as the Scriptures directed. One aspect of his preaching particularly gave offence to many: 'the Baptism with the Holy Ghost that purifies the heart.....and gives power for every service required of the sanctified believer'.[11] George Sharpe ascribed the final division that took place to three immediate causes: his continuing holiness services; secondly, his wish expressed in an earlier letter from a camp-meeting in the United States that similar experiences might occur at home; and, thirdly, a sermon which reiterated categorically his intention to continue preaching holiness doctrine.[12]

The denouement was of a fairly dramatic nature, and moved Sharpe to declare: 'Churches want the passion and success and zeal of holiness but do not want holiness itself.'[13] A letter of resignation from a senior official, followed by (unofficial) disclosure of his 'dissatisfaction with the spiritual content of services and with the doctrinal views of the pastor' served to bring into the open the uneasiness felt by most of the deacons over 'doctrinal differences' - an uneasiness which, it was claimed, was leading to discontent in the congregation.[14]

Consequently, a special Deacons' meeting was convened on September 22, 1906, at which the main points of dissension were brought forward. These included such submissions as: a prejudiced attitude on the part of those members professing holiness; alleged inconsistency in Sharpe's doctrinal preaching at the time of leaving

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[11] *SHS*, p.17.

[12] *TMS*, p.71.

[13] Ibid., p. 68.

[14] Minutes of Deacons' meeting, Parkhead Congregational Church,August 1906 (Nazarene Theological College Archives, Ref. 73)(Hereafter NTC)

Ardrossan and at the present; a clash of interests between the claims of a new manse and the refurbishing required in the church and halls; the pastor's 'pretentious stand' in professing personal perfection from the pulpit; the alienation of many ladies of the congregation over Mrs Sharpe's insistence, in the Women's Meeting, on continuing to speak out on the doctrine of sanctification, even although (she acknowledged) it had created the dissension which disrupted the Ardrossan church. [15] Ill-feeling was further engendered by Sharpe's claim that he was likely to be invited to become the minister of another local church - although this claim was, in fact, never substantiated.[16]

After Sharpe refused to defer his proposed course of sermons on 'Scriptural Holiness', a proposal that the deacons dissociate themselves from his preaching was carried.[17] This led to a 'special Church business meeting' on Saturday, September 29, at which the business to be discussed was 'the Pastor's attitude on the question of Holiness'. From the accounts given, we learn that feelings ran high, and Sharpe wrote that 'All decorum forsook the gathering'.[18] Eventually, a motion was presented that the pastor's services be dispensed with and two months' salary paid to him. There ensued a dramatic scene in which, at a call from one of the deacons, those who continued to support Sharpe gathered at the rear of the church - about eighty people. That evening a bill was printed intimating that he would conduct services next day in a local hall secured for the occasion.

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] 3 deacons recorded dissent from this.

[18] *TMS*, p. 73.

2. The Fuller Mission

It is categorically enshrined in the first minutes of the new body that its purpose was 'the inauguration and formation of a new Church in which to worship God and carry on aggressive Christian work'. [19] Of the eighty or so members of the Congregational Church who followed Sharpe, many severed long ties and family associations. He was dependent particularly on the support of four of the deacons - William Barrie, Robert Bolton, Thomas Gray, and Andrew Robertson. Their example served to influence others in joining him; and it was they who, along with him, drew up the beginnings of what would become the constitution of the new group.

A start was at once made on implementing certain plans for the new movement: days and times of worship, observances of Communion (once a month), on the convening of stated business meetings (every three months), and on the pastor's salary (£200); very high priority on the list was taken by the instituting of a 'Sabbath School'.

For George Sharpe, these early decisions and negotiations seemed to indicate certain things clearly: a desire for holiness preaching, a confidence in the man presenting it, and the faith of the congregation that all commitments could be met in an unknown future. This can certainly be seen in the remit of the committee which had to make arrangements for 'hall accommodation at least up till May of next year for meetings on Saturday evenings, Sabbaths all day, and Wednesday evenings for the weekly prayer meeting'. [20]

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[19] *SHS*, p.27.

[20] Ibid., p.28.

Not the least important matter to be decided was the name of the new church. George Sharpe had been associated with the Church of Scotland in his early days, with the Methodist Episcopal Church and with the Congregational Church. His writings give no indication of any desire to perpetuate any part of these names; rather, he was conscious of 'the fuller mission I had received through the Baptism with the Holy Spirit'. [21] Both Sharpe and those who followed him seem to have felt that a name marking them distinctively as holiness people should be chosen. After some discussion, the name proposed and accepted in October, 1906, was 'Parkhead Pentecostal Church'. So at once, the movement was allied to a location, was revealed as an inheritor of the Baptism with the Holy Ghost tradition, and was shown as being regarded, by itself at least, as a denomination.[22]

These men and women of faith, however, were also realists. An illustration of these two sides is found in George Sharpe's account that 'While the committee appointed to secure a hall were doing their business, the usual Saturday night open-air service was being held at Parkhead Cross'.[23] This combination of spiritual fervour and practical organisation was implemented immediately, for it soon became apparent that the public halls were neither sufficiently appropriate nor spacious. The expected return to the Congregational Church of 'members who had left..... was not realised'.[24] Moreover, the story of the episode spread, and people were attracted to the meetings from other districts of the city

[21] Ibid., p. 9.

[22] For use of designation 'Parkhead Pentecostal Church of Scotland', see discussion ch.5 below.

[23] *SHS*, p.74.

[24] Ibid., p.32.

and beyond it. It was also felt that the young movement would fail to achieve the respect of the already established churches unless and until a permanent and fitting building could stand as a tangible symbol of all that the Pentecostal Church represented.

If these were the practical considerations, the extent of faith was shown in the givings of what at that time was a small congregation of between eighty and a hundred people. The term 'givings' is significant, for within the holiness concept, there could be no question of augmenting funds by such means as are now acceptable in most churches - sales of work, concerts, tearooms, 'jumble' sales, and other special events;[25] basically, all depended on the willingness of a membership far from rich in material possessions to contribute from their own earnings. A later press account of the congregation's activities observed: 'It is part of the faith of the people of the Nazarene Church that all the enterprises of the Church should be supported wholly by the freewill gifts of the congregation.' [26]

It is, however, pertinent to point out that, while it was a stated aim of his church to bring the Gospel to the poor, and while it remains true that he had no wealthy members, George Sharpe was nevertheless able to rely on the support of men who, for their time and social group, were regarded as well-placed. Of the four deacons who had led the allegiance to him, one had his own tailor's business, one was a lithographer, one was an engine-driver with the L.N.E.R. railway company, and one was a foreman in the famous 'Parkhead Forge' engineering works. Early recruits to his congregation and his Board

[25] Still mainly disapproved of in the Church of the Nazarene to-day.
[26] Press cutting, 1924, journal not named; quoted in *TMS*, pp. 82-85.

included an inspector with the Post Office, a blacksmith owning his own forge, a railway station-master, a coal contractor with his own business, and several clerical workers. In the Uddingston church, established very shortly after the Parkhead church, one office-bearer was an accountant and another ran his own business, while at least three members were school-teachers.[27] In the Paisley church, also quickly established, the senior official ran a builder's business. [28] Such men were able to bring to the young Church the benefits of commercial and administrative experience.

Certainly, many of the members followed working-class occupations: the nearby Forge was a large employer of labour; local shops and factories also provided employment, in particular a Wire Work in the vicinity and Templeton's carpet factory in Bridgeton; in the Lanarkshire area, a number of men had employment in the local mines. At the same time, Sharpe was supported by men of whom he could be assured that their work situations supplied valuable administrative experience and enabled them to make positive and regular financial contributions on which the Church could depend.

As the need for more accommodation grew, the response was forthcoming. Early in 1907, building was commenced in Burgher Street in Parkhead, on ground purchased from the Glasgow Savings Bank, and the new Church opened for services in December 1907. The whole project cost in the region of £3,000, about half of which was met at the time. A bond of £600 was placed on the property; the rest was given by different members on loans repayable on easy terms and small interest

[27] Information supplied by Mrs I. R.Edwards, Mr W.A.Noble, Dr T.A.Noble, Miss F.Collins.

[28] This was Charles Rose, who was Sharpe's brother-in-law.

charges.[29] Sharpe also refers to 'a visit to the United States during this summer' and to receiving some financial support 'for the cause of holiness in Scotland'.[30] Over the years following, payments continued to be made on the capital, until in 1920 it was urged that the outstanding debt of £800 should be paid off. In a remarkable demonstration of faith and generosity, the amount of £560 was given in one day in June, and in October the 'burning of the bonds and notes' took place. [31]

This was the inception and early development of what would later become the first Church of the Nazarene in the British Isles. For a time there was some fluctuation in membership figures: George Sharpe's association with the United States encouraged several families to emigrate; in later days, some found his doctrines less congenial and fell away. In 1908 the membership stood at 275, at 292 in 1911, and at 250 in 1915. For the next decade it remained at or above the 200 figure.[32] By various and sometimes unexpected routes the 'holiness message' preached by George Sharpe was transmitted to other areas, and gradually the 'Pentecostal Church' emerged as a distinct organisation, particularly in West Central Scotland. Not all of the groups involved were fully-fledged Pentecostal Churches 'by birth'; some had earlier roots and ancestry which eventually led them into the 'new' denomination. It is to this kind of beginning and development that we now turn our attention.

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[29] *TMS*, pp.77-79.
[30] Ibid.
[31] *SHS*, p.33.
[32] Pentecostal Church of Scotland Statistical Reports (NTC Archives, 75, 76).

SECTION III

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

Chapter 5

PENTECOSTAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND FROM 1906

1. Early Growth

The Parkhead Pentecostal Church of Scotland, which was established in Glasgow in 1906, soon attracted attention from other areas and for a variety of reasons. Some people came simply to see and hear 'the man who was put out of his kirk'; some had begun to learn of entire sanctification and wished to know more; interest was also communicated along that line of connection and relationship always operating through the holiness groups.

By the year 1925, there were twelve churches of the organisation in Scotland, as well as two in Yorkshire.[1] The Scottish churches were located at Ardrossan in Ayrshire (founded in 1910); Uddingston (1909), Blantyre (1910), Bellshill (1922), Motherwell (1924), all in Lanarkshire; Paisley (1909), Port Glasgow(1924), both in Renfrewshire; Perth (1912), the county town of Perthshire; Dunfermline (1921) in Fife; Govanhill (1923) and Govan (1925) in Glasgow; and Edinburgh (1910). This last was to close in a few years under somewhat unhappy circumstances, as we shall see. By 1925, the total membership in Scotland was five hundred and forty-five, with just over one thousand Sabbath School children. The two congregations in Yorkshire totalled one hundred and nine members. The largest congregation was Parkhead, with two hundred members; the smallest, Port Glasgow, with seven. Between these, figures ranged from seventy in Paisley to twelve in Bellshill.[2]

Of these early churches, three failed to survive. These were at

[1] By this date the denomination had taken the name 'Church of the Nazarene' - see below, chapter 6, p.130.

[2] Figures taken from Annual Assembly Records (NTC Archives 85).

Bellshill, which closed in 1932, Govanhill, closed in 1930, and Edinburgh, closed in 1917. Other smaller ventures did not flourish and were disbanded - Missions at Forfar (about 1914-1916) and Nitshill, near Paisley (1931-1934), Inverness (1932-1940),[3] and, rather unexpectedly, a congregation established during the war at Grays in Essex, originating from a mission meeting there. Sharpe visited this church, but later wrote: 'Some of the officials were never wholeheartedly with us', and the work was discontinued, its span having been from 1915 to 1919. Concerning this and other closures, he recorded that 'these losses caused great disappointment to me'.[4]

At a later period, there were added to the denomination a total of over sixty churches in England, the much larger number being accounted for less by independent evangelisation than by the addition of other holiness groups, notably the International Holiness Mission and the Calvary Holiness Church. Through the years, about twelve churches were founded in Ireland and three in Wales, the latter through the unions referred to.

It is apparent that after the first plantings from 1906 to 1912, there was a stay of development until the 1920s, and no definite cause is submitted for this. However, some conclusions may be hazarded without going too far beyond what the facts themselves suggest.

For just over four of these years, from 1914 to 1918, the western world was engaged in a major war and then in its unhappy aftermath. Churches, like other institutions, were affected by the departure of young men of potential, many of whom did not return. This factor, and the reduced living standards inevitably resulting, as well as the generally less

[3] This congregation operated under a 'freelance' evangelist, John Thatcher.
[4] *SHS*, pp. 52-53.

congenial atmosphere for creation of new centres of worship, may be thought to have played their part in the 'gap years'. [5]

Two other likely factors are closely allied to these and to each other: the economic situation and the lack of trained pastors at the earliest stages. These are factors sufficiently important to be dealt with more fully elsewhere;[6] but it can be underlined here that one of George Sharpe's consistent priorities was theological training for the establishing of a trained pastorate.

A further cause of lack of development at this time may well have been what the founder himself succinctly described as 'a lack of unity in administration'.[7] While the doctrines of Scriptural holiness and the Second Blessing were the common and unquestioned basis, the framework of the churches at this period tended to be too discrete for effective witness. In making this criticism, Sharpe points out that while Assemblies met annually and passed edicts, there were not the communication resources to ensure that each church was rapidly made cognizant of, was bound by, and conformed to the laws defined; consequently, there was often disparate and non-unified action or practice. He also suggests that the focussing of the work on himself individually as founder, instead of on an organised executive body, could lead to problems in any attempt to build up a system.[8]

Finally, it may not be imposing too heavily upon the facts available to suppose that the name 'Pentecostal Church' had some bearing on its lack of growth. The designation "Pentecostal' had come to be looked on

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[5] The Pentecostal Church, unlike some holiness groups, laid down no strict rule about participating in armed combat, leaving it on the whole to individual conscience.

[6] See chapter 7 below.

[7] *SHS*, p.56.

[8] Ibid

unfavourably (for reasons which will later be examined more closely)[9] and it is probably not overstating the case to say that it alienated many people. This particular problem was later resolved, but at the period under discussion it very possibly constituted a less advantageous factor.[10]

2. 'The Pentecostal Church of Scotland'

The designation 'of Scotland' in 'Pentecostal Church of Scotland' may seem to carry strange overtones. The Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland, proud of their lineage (chequered though that was), might have been expected to evince disapproval of this assumption of name by a small, unknown group born out of Methodism and the holiness movement. In fact, there is no record of any hostility or objection based on this issue, although there was certainly no effort to 'play down' the name or to be diffident in its use. The first Minutes of the new denomination used the name, and official stationery bore it as the heading. There were probably several factors to account for its unhindered use.

First, we must note that for some considerable time the building in Parkhead was the only purpose-built church that the new denomination owned, and so the name 'Parkhead Pentecostal Church' was often used. Indeed, that was the inscription in the stonework above the entrance. Secondly, the new movement was very much a small-scale one; it could not present any serious threat to the established institution and might be

[9] See chapter 6 on Pentecostalism, below.
[10] See Appendix of Statistics.

viewed tolerantly. Third, and perhaps most relevant, it is likely that the designation 'of Scotland' was seen - and probably intended - more as a statement of geographical location than as a claim of ecclesiastical equality. This is not to say that the young movement did not have aspirations for the future. But it was the first of its family, virtually transplanted, its roots now put down in Scottish soil. It was perhaps a pride in having achieved this transition, along with an awareness of a pioneer aspect, that was signified in the new denomination's name. Probably, a more accurate way of denoting it would have been 'The Pentecostal Church IN Scotland.'

3. Union with the American Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene

During the two decades from 1906 to 1925, the young denomination had to encounter many varying situations and often unexpected events. Arguably, the most significant and consequential single event of these years was the union in November 1915 with the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene in the United States.

Surprisingly, George Sharpe's autobiography, *This Is My Story*, dismisses the preamble and process of union in a brief sentence - 'Union was effected with the Church of the Nazarene in 1915'.[11] In the *Short Historical Sketch*,[12] however, a more detailed background is filled in, and also in Jack Ford's account in his history.[13] The gap in the autobiography may be partially explained by George Sharpe's somewhat cryptic comment : 'I felt that should the proposition of union with the Church in the States come through an effort of mine, certain sinister and untrue things

[11] *TMS*, p. 80.
[12] *SHS*, ch. 14.
[13] *ISJW*, pp.58-63.

might be laid against me."[14]

He could be referring here only to an overtly directed individual 'effort', since it is clear from both his own and Ford's accounts that his underlying enthusiasm was a mainspring of the eventual union. Several factors were at work in this context: he was already aware of the dangers of an individually-oriented organisation; he knew that effectiveness was being lost through looseness in administration; also, it was obvious that the financial burdens, particularly those imposed by missionary activities, were becoming increasingly heavy for a small organisation to carry.

Since returning to Scotland, Sharpe had not lost contact with his American associations of 1886-1901; he had made more than one visit there, and had clearly received help and guidance from American friends - indeed, he always retained admiration for the American style and pattern, both in worship and administration. In turn, George Sharpe's work in Scotland had not gone unnoticed in the United States, some record of it being published in the Nazarene journal;[15] and as early as 1907, after one of Sharpe's visits, a closer alliance had been suggested from the American side. The links were more firmly forged with the addition in Sharpe's Bible School of an American teacher, Olive Mary Winchester, who had arrived to study at Glasgow University in 1909. There were also intermittent visits by American Nazarene preachers - these had included Dr A.M.Hills, Rev. E.C.Roberts, Dr H.F.Reynolds, Professor Shaw, and Dr E.F.Walker.

So from a date certainly no later than 1909, the first movements towards union were being made. Even by May 1911, the Report of the Fifth Session of the Pentecostal Church of Scotland included an item on a

[14] *SHS*, p. 56.
[15] *CUH*, p. 239.

change of name to the 'Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene': it was proposed and carried that this suggestion be taken to each church for consideration at the first statutory business meeting; and a later item in the same Report reads: 'The Nomination Committee (with one exception) recommend - 1. That the Church be called "The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene".' In 1913 it was decided to unite in missionary interests with the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene of America; and part of a letter (unsigned) dated June 1914 reads as follows:

> '.....the question submitted to the churches was this: ought we as a denomination in view of the needs of the work both in men and with money, seek to unite with the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, who have the men, and who with the men are willing to help in money to advance the cause of holiness in this land ?' [16]

These approaches were given impetus by the urgings of Olive Winchester, and there is some evidence that her influence was considerable. In a letter from Glasgow in March 1913 she expressed disappointment that no delegates had come to Scotland, in spite of earlier indications that there was a desire for affiliation. She acknowledged the expense that a delegation would incur and pointed out that little remuneration could be expected in Scotland. She wrote:

> '.....the average wage for a labouring man is $7.50 per week, some do not earn more than $5.00, and $10.00 is a good wage; further, George Sharpe means to start a paper, and in the fall will open a Boarding School for students. But a visit would be an opportunity of

[16] NTC Archives 120.

> cementing brotherly feeling, would be appreciated by the holiness workers in the United Kingdom, would give fresh impetus to the work ... and would encourage the people to feel like casting in their lot with us."[17]

Copies of Miss Winchester's letter were sent to the United States churches; and in a letter of May 1913 to one of his Superintendents, Dr. Bresee wrote: 'In reference to the work in Scotland, it seems to me especially desirable that we should respond to their invitation and that a representative should visit.....and, if possible, facilitate their union with our church.....I have read Miss Winchester's letter.....they evidently need a more consolidated church life and its more efficient possibilities'. This response was clearly engendered both by George Sharpe's own reactions, and by Olive Winchester's enthusiasm, and so in 1914 General Superintendent E.F. Walker came as a delegate to the Assembly.

Although Dr. Walker visited other holiness groups in Britain, including Star Hall and the International Holiness Mission, he 'found Sharpe's people more like the Nazarenes than any of the others'.[18] This opinion was couched in more official language in his report to the Executive Committee, where he affirmed that 'in doctrine, spirit and general mode of working, both churches were in line and harmony .....that while they (i.e., United States Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene) had not a superfluity of men and money, still they could be a source of strength to the Church of Scotland (*sic*)..... they would gain considerably by affiliation, and it was matrimonially speaking a case of marrying rich'.

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[17] Ibid., 34.

[18] *CUH.* p.241.

In spite of the enthusiasm in certain quarters, however, the proposal did not meet with the unanimous approval of the denomination. The two churches in England, at Morley and Gildersome, at first refused to consider it ; and while the vote taken by the Scottish churches in the summer of 1914 suggested a large majority for union - one hundred and six members for, four members against - in fact, it represented a minority of the total roll of some five hundred members.[19] Difficulties were not only logistical and financial - for example, George Sharpe would require to become District Superintendent of the British churches and continue to operate as pastor of his own charge, and opinions differed regarding allocation of funds for missionary work; but there also arose problems over the 'name' and 'election' of officials. Nevertheless, the idea of union remained strong, and a visit to Scotland by General Superintendent Dr H.F. Reynolds resulted in the forming of a Special Committee in October 1914 to examine the situation even more closely. In 1915, George and Jane Sharpe were invited to attend as delegates at the Kansas City General Assembly. In his address, Sharpe contrasted the 'profound differences in Church life in the States' from that in Scotland. He gave three reasons for the warmth of feeling between 'the holy people' on both sides of the Atlantic : 'First, we stand for the same doctrine, the same experience, and the same life .....; second, we bear in part the same name. You are the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, we are the Pentecostal Church of Scotland..... Third, we have the same ideals. We have perused your Manual and noticed that you are seeking to eliminate the evil of.....the few ruling the many; and also the other evil [of].....the many ruling the few; and if you keep on revising your Manual on that

[19] Report of Executive Committee, October 1914. (NTC Archives 76)

basis, we can never be but one in spirit and life.'[20]

Following upon Sharpe's report in Scotland, the vote was given, after some discussion, for union. The Pentecostal Church of Scotland committed itself to agree to the *Manual* of the Church of the Nazarene, to assist with missionary work (already in operation), and to contribute to Church Extension, Ministerial Relief, and General Superintendents' support.[21] On November 3rd, 1915, at a Special Meeting, the Pentecostal Church of Scotland held its final Assembly. The pastor asked that it be recorded in the minutes that this would be the last meeting of the Pentecostal Church of Scotland.[22] On the following day, it became united with the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.

The process was eased by the fact that the Pentecostal Church of Scotland was not asked to relinquish any of the principles on which it had been founded or to accept any weakening of its doctrines. The terms of union were somewhat in favour of the Scottish side, and the difficulties proved to be mainly administrative and financial. For example, there was disapproval of the designation 'stewards' instead of the traditional Scottish term 'deacons', and of the idea of annual election, instead of life tenure, for these offices.[23] At an earlier meeting of the Provisional Committee, at which Dr Reynolds, Secretary of the Nazarene General Board, was present, one item of business was recorded as follows:[24]

> 'A discussion ensued as to the official designation pertaining to "Steward" versus "Deacon", and also the

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[20] Address published in *Herald of Holiness*, October, 1915.

[21] Minutes of meeting, Parkhead Pentecostal Church of Scotland, October 15, 1915 (NTC Archives 76)

[22] Ibid., November 3, 1915.

[23] *CUH*, p.242.

[24] Minutes of Provisional Committee, Parkhead Pentecostal Church, October 2, 1914 (NTC Archives 76).

> yearly election to this office. The word "Steward" is that used by the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene in connection with their church appointments, and embodied in their Church *Manual*. Dr Reynolds explained the derivative history of the term used, showing that it was adopted conjointly by the Pentecostal and the Nazarene churches when they were affiliated in the United States.[25] At a later point in the meeting, it was proposed by Pastor Robertson that this question of "name" and "election" be referred to the Churches for a solution.'

There appears to have been no strong weight of dissent from the other Scottish Pentecostal churches, and at a meeting later in the same month it was moved and agreed 'that we as a Church accept the recommendation by the officials of our Church regarding the *Manual* and the union of the churches.'[26] It is of interest to note that the appointment of deacons for life in Scotland compares with the practice with regard to elders in the Church of Scotland and other Presbyterian churches; on the other hand, American Presbyterian churches adopted the practice of election of elders for set terms.

Another major problem, one which had aroused doubt at Parkhead, was that Sharpe now became District Superintendent of the British Isles area, a responsibility to be carried out concurrently with the duties of his pastorate. A suggestion (from the United States) that his pulpit be taken by temporary preachers during his absences and that his

[25] I.e., in 1908, at Pilot Point, Texas.

[26] Minutes of Provisional Committee, October 26, 1914 (NTC Archives 76).

salary be appropriately scaled by transferring an amount from the Foreign Mission funds was rejected by him as likely to 'jeopardise the whole work in this country' and throw 'an added burden on the Parkhead Church'.[27] In the event, Sharpe continued in both appointments, a young assistant, Edmund Roach, formerly of Star Hall, helping in pastoral work.

In other respects, the British sector received considerate treatment. A grant of $1,000 per annum was arranged, and in 1919 the General Assembly gave a special offering of $5,215 for a home mission fund in Great Britain. The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene was not, however, without some gain. It received the six churches in Scotland and the two in England with a membership of about six hundred and fifty, and property valued at $27,000.[28]

George Sharpe was naturally eager to emphasise the gains to the British branch. He noted that it brought about 'a common fellowship with the greatest organised body of Holiness people in the world', provided 'a larger outlook for our faith', made possible a situation of stronger continuity 'in the personnel of our ministry [and] of the Church boards', and, through the acceptance of a common *Manual* of church government, established finally 'the oft-mooted point about the permanency of our doctrines'.[29] On the United States side, the relative poverty of the Scottish churches was considered to be outweighed by 'the vision of an international holiness communion' and by 'the Scottish example to the entire connection in their zeal for missions'.[30]

As is common with such 'mergers', both sides were anxious to see the benefits accruing and to reject any suggestion of disadvantage. In

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[27] Letter of Sharpe to H.F. Reynolds, November, 1914 (NTC Archives 39).
[28] *CUH*, p.242.
[29] *SHS*, p.57.
[30] *CUH*, p.242.

fact, the initial unwillingness of the British churches showed that at the time they saw themselves as losing rather than gaining. They no doubt felt that they were relinquishing a precious autonomy, and there would also have been fears that some of the characteristics which had marked them as a denomination would be lost.[31]

Conversely, there were those who perceived the advantages of belonging to the world's largest holiness denomination: it must bring a decided increase in standing and so in weight of influence, as well as a degree of freedom from a financial pressure which could threaten the movement's existence. It also offered, particularly to the pastorate, who were mainly younger men, the possibilities of a broadened spectrum of activity and the opportunity to experience, by travel and exchange, the workings and structures of a large, established denomination.

Whether the Pentecostal Church of Scotland could have continued independently as a denomination must always be a hypothetical question. The pattern which evolved in groups such as Star Hall and the International Holiness Mission might have developed - absorption into another movement. Such possible pattern, however, remains in the realms of speculation. What was to be reckoned with was the personality of an individual, George Sharpe, in whom innate tenacity and prudence were supplemented by a more confident and venturesome tone fostered by experience in America; these, working together, enabled him to pursue a course which he was convinced was sound pragmatically and right spiritually.

[31] See pp. 94,95-96 above.

4. 'Maintaining the cause'

After the drama of the early years and union with the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, there ensued the task of maintaining existing congregations and establishing new ones where opportunity seemed to offer. The second of these objectives could be achieved only if certain features were evident within the movement.

First, development must have been more conspicuous than defeat over the years, since no body of observers would consider attaching themselves to a movement that seemed to be dying or inert; there must exist visibly that element which attracts others and makes the prototype seem worth copying.

Second, the world in which the early churches had commenced existence and had survived was a world now changing steadily. It is therefore important to try to follow the processes which enabled them to preserve, in failures and successes, their chosen life and principles and so to validate themselves to potential fellow-travellers.

It has been the aim of this study to show that, by way of a particular background and the resolution of one man, an independent denomination was set up in the unpromising territory of a Scotland famed for its allegiance to the 'old' churches. The qualities and attributes which met the conditions described above, which attracted outsiders and proved capable of sustaining development, were in part at least the consequence of that background and that resolution. With the process of growth came the desire for and demand upon the young denomination to assert its presence more vigorously, and two areas were held to be particularly significant in this connection. These were, first, the importance of church buildings, not only as places of worship but also as proclaiming the

movement's identity as a church; second, the prestige and solidity of a trained pastorate, even with all the accompanying financial problems that this would bring, but without which the Pentecostal Church of Scotland could not consider itself qualified to take its place with the mainstream churches, as was its aim.

(i) Church buildings as the declaration of identity

Many factors were therefore in their various ways effective towards development, but the over-arching influence was that aim which George Sharpe had cherished from the very beginning, and which obviously permeated the movement: that the image to be created was that of 'a church'. This was not to be regarded as simply an informal fellowship of people with similar spiritual hopes and aspirations meeting in a friendly, congenial, but unstructured way . As each small congregation formed , it must certainly have surveyed the 'established' churches which could point to their buildings as the symbols of their spiritual status and security. Undoubtedly, no one would have argued more convincingly than a Nazarene that 'the church' was not a place or a building or a location, but was there wherever the Holy Spirit was found in the hearts of believers, even if they numbered only a few. Nevertheless, the world outside had to be made aware that here was a gathering of those whose hearts were indwelt by the Spirit, and amongst the surest evidences of that were the solidity and permanence of a building which proclaimed that within it the gospel of 'Full Salvation' was preached with all the regularity and propriety of form which that gospel deserved and demanded.

Throughout the years, the trend of planting became clearly distinguishable as being towards the west and central areas of the

country. Two attempts made to establish congregations in other regions, in Inverness and Lochgelly, the latter set up in 1923 to be run in conjunction with Dunfermline nearby, were amongst the failures. The enthusiasm for 'tent' and other campaigns, the visits of 'deputation' parties to local missions and gospel halls to 'spread the message', coupled with relative ease of travel and communication where no great distances were involved, meant that new Nazarene groups established themselves more quickly around these west and central locations. Because of the nature of this area, and the subsequent locating of churches, even in non-urban locations, in or near manufacturing, industrial, shipbuilding, and mining centres, Nazarene members tended to be found in such occupations. Such locations were Ardrossan, Blantyre, Perth, Troon, and Twechar. These conditions created vulnerability to the hazards of the unemployment situation in the depressed 1920s and 1930s; but, as is noted elsewhere, the other side of this particular coin was the effect that this type of work with its accompanying uncertainties exerted upon members' readiness to be involved in church activities.[92]

Glasgow itself, the birthplace of the 'mother church', was at the time, as already noted, a centre for factories and large works of all kinds, with Sir William Beardmore's 'Forge' in the immediate vicinity of the Parkhead church employing in the region of ten thousand men. Other highly-industrialised areas were the burgh of Govan, with its ship-building yards, which again employed many local people; Dundee was a busy seaport and core of the jute industry; the burgh of Paisley provided work

[92] For fuller comment on this aspect, see below, pp. 109-110.

locally through its textile industry, notably the mills of J.& P. Coats.[36] Even those areas which might have been classed as non-industrial, such as Perth and Troon,were part of the general pattern, the former sharing significantly in the 'spin-off' from Dundee's industries, the latter with its small-scale but active ship-building yards.

Within this geographical context, there thus operated factors which contributed to a binding, materially and socially, of the small congregations, vulnerable though most of them were. Their very proximity to one another encouraged the sense of purpose and direction, and provided an incentive for the possibilities of increase in congregations. There was virtually no 'class divide' from one congregation to another, and, as a result, such difficulties as occurred were not only common to most congregations, but could be understood and to some extent alleviated. The convenience of access to one another and especially to the 'power-house' at Glasgow made it practicable for pastors and evangelists to take preaching services, conduct short campaigns, and even act as temporary pastors.

Operating alongside the influence of location was the determination demonstrated in the resolve to acquire - often against considerable odds - appropriate church property. Hardly any of the congregations began with properly constituted sanctuaries, and many experienced great vicissitudes in this respect. Early members could look back on a variety of unlikely meeting-places for their first services. These included rented halls normally serving secular purposes, shop premises,

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[36] These and the details following on the churches are culled from: *Holiness Herald*. October 1925; later copies of the same journal; Sharpe's *Short Historical Sketch* ; minutes of church records where available; commemorative pamphlets and programmes; information supplied by present and former pastors and members.

a disused woollen mill, converted dairy premises, buildings in serious disrepair, as well as the homes of members. A notable example of development from such beginnings is the church at Twechar in Dunbartonshire, at that time a mainly mining community. Meetings commenced in the home of a local family, and then moved to the nearby Miners' Institute. Later, a hut was purchased, and then, after difficult and protracted negotiations, the congregation was granted ground by the local landowner, Alexander Whitelaw, uncle of the present Viscount Whitelaw. The new church building, accommodating two hundred and fifty people, was dedicated in June 1939. Plans for a manse, still a rare adjunct in those days, were later drawn up by a member of the Parkhead Board,[34] and the house was completed in 1947.

Troon in Ayrshire underwent a similar testing experience. Although the church was established in 1929, there were twenty years of worshipping in hired halls before an independently-owned building was purchased - a building which was 'no more than a shell, only half of the floor wood, no ceiling, and two overhead lights'.[35] It is not difficult to comprehend that only dedicated and consistent voluntary labour by members enabled the property to be ready and consecrated for worship within the space of four months

The outstanding example of a sanctuary being provided for worship must undoubtedly be that of the parent church at Parkhead, Glasgow. In September, 1906, the congregation of about eighty people met under an evicted minister and without any place of worship, other than a hired public hall. On the first weekend of December, 1907, the opening services were held in the newly-completed Parkhead

[34] Alexander Cameron, a Church Secretary at Parkhead.

[35] Andrew Rae, *Our Rich Heritage,* 1981 commemorative booklet.

Pentecostal Church, a compact sandstone building comprising area and gallery, designed in 'horse-shoe' shape, at that time unusual in church buildings. It was a remarkable achievement, carried through, as a local newspaper described it, 'Without wealth, without any denominational attachment, and practically isolated from all sources of benefit'. [36] Five years later, a decision was made to cut out passageways through the left and right of the long unbroken pew formation: the purpose was to make access to the altar easier for those wishing to go out to pray or to respond to an 'altar call'.[37] There was a major extension to the building in 1922, and extensive adaptations later took place.

There was further counterbalance to the general picture of problems and difficulties, such as circumstances in which the congregations came by property unexpectedly, or acquired suitable buildings at advantageous rates. The small company at Ardrossan, for example, was able to move into an unoccupied church building and to maintain services there for almost thirty years. In Port Glasgow, on the Clyde estuary, use was granted of a small hall on railway property, which was replaced within five years by a new church in which worship continued for almost forty years. A factor which sometimes operated beneficially was local redevelopment. Port Glasgow and Irvine in Ayrshire were both affected by this process, a subsidy being granted by the planning authority towards the erection of a new church in Port Glasgow, while in Irvine a new church was subsidised by the Council to the value of the building lost through re-development. Another aspect of this type of situation is the recurring pattern of property hired from or given by other denominations or, in time of emergency, loaned free or at a

[36] Quoted in TMS, p. 83, dated 1924 (newspaper un-named).
[37] Note in 75th Anniversary pamphlet.

nominal rent. Ardrossan's congregation first worshipped in a former Congregational Church building; Irvine's original services were held in the Seagate Hall, rented from the Relief Church of Scotland; the Dundee congregation was twice indebted to a nearby Church of Scotland (St Paul's) for loan of a hall when it was without a meeting-place.

While many of the churches overcame the stresses of the lack of fitting sanctuaries and property, the disruptive process of constant search could be a contributing factor in failure to survive. Churches in this category included Bellshill, Ayr, Edinburgh, Greenock, Dundee. The name of Edinburgh, whose congregation had been disbanded more than ten years before, reappeared briefly in the Church Directory in 1929 as the result of a 'revival campaign'; but lack of a hall in which to maintain regular meetings resulted in the loss of contact with local people and the venture closed. Another thirty years were to pass before a church would be firmly established in the capital. Bellshill, as already indicated, closed in 1932 in consequence of a dwindling membership and an unsatisfactory meeting-place. Greenock, Ayr, and Dundee all belonged to the 1930s crop of churches and survived the years of the Second World War, but eventually succumbed.[38] But a notable feature of development is the triumph of a number of churches over several unsettling and often uneconomic moves: the Govan (Glasgow) congregation underwent five changes of location from its origins in 1925 up to 1939; from 1912, Perth experienced five moves; and Paisley and Port Glasgow each re-located four times.

'No one would expect or could expect', wrote George Sharpe in 1926, 'that everything in connection with such a work would go

[38] Dundee closed in 1966, Greenock in 1967, and Ayr in 1969.

smoothly."[39] The circumstances just described prove this a true assessment. But the difficulties and disappointments brought their own particular influences to bear, and certain features of these are readily discernible. There can clearly be seen the determination to achieve an independent place of worship even where congregations remained so small as to render the goal apparently impossible - as in the case of the Uddingston congregation, which in 1922 erected a church building, although the congregation remained at fewer than fifty members.[40] This pattern was repeated many times in the eighteen congregations which existed in Scotland at the end of World War Two.

It must also be seen as a contributing influence to expansion that these congregations showed willingness, even eagerness, to continue meeting in surroundings which were often inappropriate and frequently unattractive: a temporary tent followed by shop premises in Govan, converted dairy premises in Ayr, a former woollen mill in Bellshill - only strong conviction of a brighter future could have motivated such small groups to persevere in those circumstances. Regrettably, the conviction was not always justified by events; but perhaps the remarkable thing is that faith and expectation were in the main vindicated, although often over lengthy periods and many hurdles.

This ability to survive these vicissitudes and emerge successfully cannot itself be discounted as a contributing factor in growth. It is a truism that human nature is extraordinarily resilient; still more so, the nature of 'the minority group'; and that of the religious minority perhaps most resilient of all, as the records of church and religious history show. The groups of Nazarenes showed themselves ready, in the process of

[39] *SHS*. p. 52.

[40] An extension was added in 1993.

establishing their place, not only to rise above the obstacles but also to make use of such opportunities as came their way.

(ii) Pastorates and the problem of finance

We have seen that the problem of securing suitable buildings for worship was one which harassed the movement in its first years. This was inextricably bound up with another problem - the basic issue of economy and finance. None of the churches was ever wealthy, although some were able to support themselves efficiently. All finance was raised through direct giving, which must sometimes have been at a sacrificial level. 'We have no men of wealth in our ranks', wrote the Superintendent of the British Isles District, Revd Peter Clark, in the 1925 *Holiness Herald* Review report. Indications of the problems are seen in such comments as: 'The building ..... was burdened with debt' (Ardrossan); 'The few members were unable to support a pastor' (Blantyre); 'It was found that the rent was rather high' (Govanhill); and there is reference to the recurring 'financial difficulties' at Uddingston.[41] The economic situation was one which the young denomination had to confront squarely. And an important aspect of it was the training, supply, and maintenance of pastors.

The organisation of the Pentecostal Church of Scotland meant that a congregation was presided over by either a licensed pastor or assistant pastor or an 'evangelist' (paid).[42] In the later 1920s, there were five licensed ministers in the churches of Bellshill, Blantyre, Govanhill, Paisley

[41] These comments reproduced from *Holiness Herald*, 1925 Review issue.
[42] Figures here taken from Statistical Tables, 1911-1935 (NTC Archives 178)

and Parkhead - 'licensed' in this context indicating that they had taken the course of study and examinations at the Holiness Bible School in Parkhead or at the Nazarene Bible College at Motherwell, and consequently been ordained. The salaries of these incumbents in terms per annum ranged from about £200 in Parkhead to £18 in Bellshill, and two of the others were appreciably below the £100 mark. The amounts paid to the evangelists ranged from £34 to eighteen shillings. A brief comparison can be made here with the figures of the two main denominations of the time. The 1925 Year Book of the Church of Scotland gives a fixed minimum stipend for full charges of £250, but it is noticeable that the number of communicant members is generally much higher. As against this, the Church of Scotland ministers were provided with manses, whereas at this time only one Nazarene minister, J.H. Cubie in Perth, had an official manse - the others were assumed to be living with parents or were expected to be meeting the cost of lodgings from stipends, in part at least. At the same period, the stipend of a minister in the United Free Church of Scotland, as shown in that Church's Records, was £300.

Thus the denomination of the Pentecostal Church was faced with a 'vicious circle' problem: installation of a pastor meant the maintenance of his salary, which proved a grave burden to some of the smallest congregations; this in turn led to the frequent movement of the (mainly young) pastors, which often had a disruptive and disheartening effect upon the congregations concerned. The failure to survive in Edinburgh, for example, was brought about because the two pastors there left partly through dissatisfaction with stipend . An early Govan pastor's resignation also took place for this reason - a series of reductions in salary led to his

being designated 'the ten-shilling pastor'. A small church such as Irvine was never in a position to call a 'senior' pastor and was largely dependent on lay preachers and pastors-in-training. Indeed, it was in this charge that the pastor during the years 1941- 43, Peter C. Ferguson, who had been an iron-founder in his earlier days, took employment in a local foundry, living on his wages instead of taking a stipend - incurring the disapproval of the upper levels of the hierarchy, who apparently found repugnant the image thus presented of a church which purported to help the poor being itself unable to maintain its workers.

Such problems and hindrances might have been sufficient to demoralise and ultimately vanquish the young denomination, at least as an independent organisation. However, what appeared to be negative factors sometimes served as binding elements which, if not precisely strengthening the young churches, at least helped to prevent the weaknesses from causing irreparable damage. Proximity and similarity of background and locations fostered an awareness of unity - unity in forms of work attempted, unity of conditions and situations in which tasks had to be undertaken, the unity of belonging to a minority group. The pressures which affected one part affected the whole, so that while a congregation might experience a sense of isolation within its own community, there was simultaneously the consciousness of a shared foundation and groundwork with others not far away. This propinquity, and even the dearth of personnel and resources, inevitably led to fuller interchange within the congregations, particularly of pastors and speakers, an interchange which engendered widespread familiarity with people and practices around the churches. This is not to suggest that the congregations were simply carbon copies of one another - each tended to

have its own particular atmosphere; but the consciousness of trials and stresses being tackled in a shared, common context enabled the pressures to be confronted, grappled with, and (in most cases) resolved to a point where existence could be sustained and development hoped for.

The Pentecostal Church was not, of course, alone amongst 'holiness movements' in experiencing setbacks and trials; but stemming from its founder in Scotland, it had come to cherish ambitions for itself which placed it somewhat apart from, for example, the strong social concern of the Salvation Army, the less categorical demands of Keswick, the 'non-church' structures of the Faith Mission or Emmanuel. So there remains the question of how those ambitions of the Pentecostal Church operated to enable survival of the early practical problems; how it was that congregations confronted with unpromising locations, inappropriate buildings (or none at all), and perennial crises of finance and maintenance of ministry, not only survived those lean years up to the Second World War, but also developed into an accepted denomination, despite the fact that it remained relatively small numerically and in number of congregations.

Chapter 6

EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT

1. Key Factors

The factors that operated positively to create development are, by the very nature of the situation, often not definable or quantifiable. But certain indicators may be noted along the way, pointing in the direction which shows how consolidation and growth took place, often in what seemed unlikely circumstances.

(i) The leadership

The first of these indicators is certainly the determination and confidence of the founder, George Sharpe, and these characteristics continued to be a mainstay of development. He was ready to be as fully involved with new charges as physical limitations of time and space permitted, frequently conducting meetings of worship until pastors were appointed. The churches at Uddingston, Port Glasgow, and Motherwell are among examples of this kind.[1]

Not all the young churches, however, were brought into being through direct action of Sharpe himself. Their origins are traceable to a variety of influences; but it is to be borne in mind that all influences would be declared by those who directly or indirectly exercised them as being fundamentally under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, any subsequent developments being seen as evidence of a willingness in those concerned to be 'used' by the Spirit.

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[1] As far as can be ascertained, about the years 1927-8, 1931-2, 1939-41 respectively.

(ii) Influence of other holiness groups

Among the most influential areas of human activity was that of other holiness groups. In Perth, for example, two such influences worked in this way. The city, an important railway centre, had had for many years a flourishing Railway Mission; it was largely to its members that the ideals of Reader Harris's Pentecostal League of Prayer appealed, and an active centre grew up there from about 1910. Indeed, the *Holiness Herald* Review of 1925 claims: 'Perth is the mother church of the Holiness Movement in Scotland, because here the Pentecostal League of Prayer made its headquarters for many years.' A church which had a surprisingly late start (1925), considering that it was George Sharpe's own home district, was Motherwell, and it too was a centre of the League.[2] Another of the earliest congregations, Paisley, was formed partly through the preaching of an American evangelist, Dr A.M.Hills, who was on a preaching tour from Star Hall, to which he was at that time attached. The small congregation at Blantyre had also grown out of a connection with the Holiness Mission there, a work which John Drysdale had set up and then transferred to the care of George Sharpe when he travelled south to found the Emmanuel Holiness Church. A later congregation, Twechar, was indirectly an outcrop of Salvation Army influence, for when the once-active Army corps disbanded in 1935, some of its members who had encountered Nazarenes at camps in Ardrossan were motivated by what they had heard to wish to establish a Nazarene charge.[3] On the east coast, in the busy town of Dundee, a Church of the Nazarene was formed in 1937 as offspring of a group called the

[2] Information on the Motherwell Church is sparse, a fire in the 1970s having destroyed the records. George Sharpe was himself a member of the League of Prayer.

[3] Information supplied by Mr A. Neil, Twechar Church of the Nazarene, October 1992.

Cherryfield Mission, which met under the auspices of the YMCA and whose meetings were taken each Wednesday evening by the pastor of the Perth Church.[4]

(iii) Evangelistic, revival, and 'tent' campaigns

Also operative in development was the somewhat broader-based influence of evangelistic, revival, and 'tent' campaigns. The Church established at Govan came into being as a result of a campaign organised locally. One of the speakers, William McWhinnie, was a member of the Parkhead congregation and was later asked to assume the 'presidentship' of a regular meeting; not surprisingly, he organised it on the principles he had imbibed from George Sharpe. There is, however, a curious ambiguity concerning the origin of the Govan Church. A second version dates it from a revival campaign in 1935 by an English group, 'The Trekkers'. But an account of its early days figures prominently in the 1925 Review (with the pastor's photograph) and Mrs Isabel Edwards, daughter of George Sharpe, quite distinctly recalls McWhinnie as being pastor in Govan at that time.[5] The probable explanation is that 'mission' meetings were being carried on under Nazarene supervision during the ten-year interval; and in either case the principle of the influence of campaigns holds good.

At Irvine on the west coast the origins of the church also lie in a tent campaign conducted on the 'Low Green', a campaign probably organised through the nearby Troon connection. The Dunfermline Church (1921) was also to some extent the fruit of a successful campaign, held in the town by George Sharpe in answer to a request

[4] NTC Archives 399.
[5] Interview, August 1993.

from some Dunfermline people who had heard him preach in Parkhead. A special case within this sphere of influence is the church now known as 'Hart Memorial Church of the Nazarene', in the residential district of Broomhill in Glasgow: it began life as the 'Bethel Mission' in the Partick district, under a local evangelist, George Hart; its characteristics of holiness teaching and missionary zeal fostered congenial relationship with the Church of the Nazarene, and after Hart's death, the union took place in 1960.

(iv) Planning and outreach

A tribute to the strength of conviction of the early members is the fact that certain of the churches were born quite simply as the result of planning or planned outreach. The 'mother church' at Parkhead was, of course, the very deliberate outcome of Sharpe's resolve to continue preaching a holiness doctrine without constraint. At Bellshill, the Nazarene Church set up in 1922 was a classic example of this influence: planned by the small congregation at Uddingston and recorded in 1925 as 'the offspring of Uddingston', it began with open-air services conducted by the Uddingston pastor and members, and from this the nucleus of a congregation was formed.

A less happy example of planning was the church set up at Edinburgh in 1910. This is a particularly interesting case, partly because it was an initiative in the capital city, and also in that, despite Sharpe's high hopes for it, it survived for just under seven years. Part of Sharpe's disappointment arose from the fact that he originally installed as pastor at Edinburgh his friend and former neighbouring Methodist pastor in the United States, Revd. George J. Kunz, who had preached the sermon at

the dedication of the parent church in 1907. Various troubles seemed to assail the short-lived Edinburgh Pentecostal Church: the departure of Kunz in 1912 caused some disruption; the visit of an evangelist[6] in 1915-16 provoked criticism from the next pastor, James Jack, and led in part to his resignation; the building was under private ownership, which created a difficulty. Sharpe's own record of events is rather cryptic: 'The Edinburgh Church.....suffered from the disease of independency.....when trouble came there was no way to save the cause....'[7] In a letter to one of the General Superintendents,[8] Sharpe wrote that the defection of the pastor to another denomination 'came as a clap of thunder to myself.....I was stunned by his thoughtlessness towards me and the effect it would have on the Edinburgh Church'. In his official account, he wrote: 'When this happened, the members of the Church met and disbanded, and the property was sold by the owner to the Salvation Army'.[9] Sharpe predicted that 'the work in Edinburgh is surely one of the things that will come to pass in the near future';[10] but in fact it was to be many years before this would happen and he himself would not live to see it.

(v) Discontent and dissatisfaction

Such disappointments were inevitable from time to time; but it is true that many of the denomination's churches were themselves born out of an avowed disappointment with a less than stimulating response to spiritual need, and that to this influence also much growth and

[6] He is not named in the official accounts; but a letter of April 1915 from Sharpe to H.F.Reynolds in the USA suggests that he was an American: he is referred to as Brother Shaw; elsewhere, references to speakers mention Professor Shaw.

[7] *SHS*, p.52.

[8] H.F.Reynolds; January 1917 (NTC Archives 39).

[9] *SHS*, p. 52.

[10] Ibid.

development were owing. Some of those early members had belonged to the two mainline churches, the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland, others to the Congregational Church; some came from a background of gospel meetings and fellowships. In the earlier records, the word 'dissatisfaction' or an equivalent appears at intervals: in Troon, 'dissatisfaction with existing services led to the formation of a Bible Study and Prayer Group';[11] in Port Glasgow, the motivation is given as 'the dissatisfaction with the established church of a little group who wanted a Holiness ministry', the required impetus being provided by hearing a Nazarene pastor, Revd. Peter Clark.[12] In the earliest days, in Ardrossan, a small group within the Congregational Church which George Sharpe had left felt that 'those of kindred minds must "come apart" and worship together'.[13]

2. Further Factors

While we are primarily concerned with development in Scotland, the early founding of two churches at Morley and Gildersome in Yorkshire should be noted. These pioneer churches of the 'British Isles South District' were established by George Pawson,designated 'father of English Nazarenes' by Sharpe. A prosperous quarry-owner and Primitive Methodist, Pawson had experienced entire sanctification in services at Star Hall, at a time when George Sharpe was a visiting speaker. Deeply influenced by Sharpe's preaching, George Pawson decided that the holiness message should be heard in his home district. He refurbished the old quarry offices and opened the 'Pentecostal

[11] Troon Church of the Nazarene, 75th Anniversary pamphlet, 1981 .
[12] *Holiness Herald,* October 1925.
[13] Ibid.

Church' in December 1910.[14] The Morley congregation felt that the name 'Pentecostal Church of Scotland' was unacceptable to them. In a letter to Sharpe at the time of the union negotiations with America, they also made it clear that they did not wish to be the 'Pentecostal Church of the Nazarenes' (sic). George Pawson also gave support to the opening of a church in Gildersome, about two miles away,[15] the finances of the two churches being administered together and the pastor's salary being paid by Pawson.

After his death in 1921, the terms of his will, from which the Church of the Nazarene stood to benefit substantially, were contested by the family, and a Deed of Compromise, effected in 1925, secured the reversion of the estate to the Church, with an annuity to be paid to each of the surviving relations.[16] The legacy was left originally to the Mission Department, so the rights of use were taken over by the Kansas City headquarters, but it was later transferred to the General Advisory Board.

All these events, associations, and personalities were among the influences which operated in the consolidation of the Pentecostal/Nazarene churches over the first half of the twentieth century. It was a period of two world wars, which inevitably brought conditions inhibiting development: problems of manpower and availability; restricting economic circumstances; weakening of young people's meetings.[17] The membership of the Church in Scotland had numbered six hundred and fifty-five at its union with the Pentecostal Church of the

[14] Information on the Yorkshire churches and the Pawson estate supplied by Revd Dr.T.W. Schofield, August and December, 1993; also *SHS*. pp. 37-40.

[15] An old Methodist Chapel was renovated for use.

[16] One annuity from the estate was still being paid in 1994.

[17] The Church of the Nazarene did not isolate itself from the war effort: mobile canteens were set up in Scotland, England, and Northern Ireland.

Nazarene in 1915.[18] By 1939, two churches had been established in Ireland, in Lurgan in 1937 and in Belfast in 1939. The churches in Wales came to be part of the denomination through the unions of the 1950s.

So in the years from 1930 onwards the work of planting and nurturing continued. The characteristics demonstrated in the early days continued to operate into the middle of the century: links with other holiness groups; comings and goings of pastors, often across these groups; the consistent efforts to provide suitable sanctuaries; the continuing zeal for evangelism. The holiness links were exemplified in pastors such as James Jack, later to become a minister with Emmanuel Holiness Church, and John Farmer and J.D.Lewis, who came into the denomination from Star Hall and the Faith Mission, and in the fruitful connection with the 'Bethel Mission' in Partick. The transmigrations of pastors were felt in churches like Govan, with ten pastors in twenty-five years, and Uddingston, with eight pastors in thirty-five years - although there did occur instances of lengthy ministries, too: James McLeod was more than twenty years in Greenock, William Robertson was fifteen years in Ardrossan, John Crouch was twenty-two years in Perth; the longest ministry has been that of Sydney Martin of twenty-five years in Parkhead.[19] But, in general, pastorates seldom extended beyond the ten-year period, and were often considerably shorter. Removals of congregations aspiring to more fitting sanctuaries continued to take place, and at least two of the congregations, Ardrossan and Paisley, went on to worship in former Church of Scotland buildings. Not surprisingly, the relatively small proportion of churches which failed tended to be

[18] Minutes of 7th Annual Assembly, Glasgow, April 1915 (NTC Archives 14). The Morley and Gildersome congregations totalled 109.

[19] Dr. Martin was designated Minister Emeritus, 1981.

those which for various reasons were unable to establish themselves in suitable buildings, independently owned. Enthusiasm for outreach did not abate over those years, and 'gospel services' and evangelistic and revival campaigns were organised by many of the churches, especially with the aim of attracting young people.

A major step was to be taken in the decade after the war, when the International Holiness Mission and the Calvary Holiness Church became part of the Church of the Nazarene. [20] Some reference has already been made to the IHM and to connections with the denomination, including their membership of the National Holiness Association of Great Britain. It does not fall within the scope of the present study to analyse the process by which the union of 1952 was effected. Certain factors made the IHM come to regard it as not undesirable: the heavy expenses of their mission work abroad; a desire for a less autocratic form of leadership; the obvious advantages of belonging to a larger denomination. Profoundly influential was the enthusiasm of James Maclagan, Superintendent Minister of IHM but still strongly imbued with the principles of the Church of the Nazarene, in which he had pastored from 1922 until 1946.[21] The historian of IHM and CHC writes: 'There was much in common between the IHM and the British Isles District of the Church of the Nazarene.....The two movements were close enough in purpose and method for ministers to pass from one to the other without any change of doctrine.....There was a growing desire and demand in the Mission for a more democratic form of government which.....emerged to prepare the IHM for the ecclesiastical democracy of the Church of the Nazarene.'[22]

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[20] They added 27 and 19 congregations respectively - see *ISJW*, pp.138, 172.

[21] Statistical Tables of pastors, 1920-1949, NTC Archives 178.

[22] *ISJW*, pp. 128-130.

This step was followed in just under three years by the union with the Calvary Holiness Church in June, 1955. The CHC had come into being only in 1934, being a 'breakaway' group from the IHM. Tensions in the Mission between the older order and the ambitions of a younger team had resulted in the setting-up of a new movement under the leadership of one pastor, Maynard James, supported by three younger pastors. Several churches were established, a Missionary Society was founded in 1935, and a journal, *The Flame*, produced. The only Scottish foundation was a Mission in Scotstoun, Glasgow, which joined the CHC after a campaign in 1935.[23] In spite of differences over 'the gifts of the Spirit', on which the CHC held firm views, an acceptable compromise was reached, by which its members retained 'freedom to hold these convictions although they may not express the official Nazarene attitude'.[24] In other respects, the CHC, like the IHM, in uniting with the Church of the Nazarene accepted the *Manual* and, with it, Nazarene polity, structure, and practices, the basic teachings of holiness being again shown to be firm enough to facilitate relatively painless union. In both cases, the American headquarters was kept informed as the likelihood of union developed, and a Nazarene General Superintendent from the States attended the final deliberations.

During the years of growth, there inevitably came into prominence individuals whose efforts attracted special attention and admiration. But in the main the denomination's principles and needs were met by those who simply gave unobtrusive, lifelong service, demonstrating in witness and practice the three elements submitted earlier as enabling it to achieve a respected place: a demonstrable quality of spiritual

[23] Ibid., p.166.
[24] Ibid., p.173.

attractiveness to those outside; a conviction and zeal which conferred their own authority upon the movement; an ability to confront difficult circumstances. Many of the pioneers might have written, as one did: 'We are conscious that the devil does not want a Holiness church to be established.....'[25] Yet not only did the early congregations establish themselves with a gratifyingly small proportion of failures, but also continued to nurture an ambitiousness and ardour for future growth and development.

3. The Church of the Nazarene and Pentecostalism

The first general business meeting of the congregation at Los Angeles on Wednesday, 30th October, 1895, clearly stated the name of the new denomination as the 'Church of the Nazarene'.[26] The minute of this meeting went on to read: 'We seek the simplicity and the pentecostal power of the primitive New Testament Church'.[27] In the Articles of Incorporation certified by the State of California in 1898, the name is shown as 'Church of the Nazarene.'

The term 'pentecostal', which was later to provoke strong feelings throughout holiness circles, did not become part of the Nazarene designation until 1907, some years after its founding. In April of that year, at a meeting in Brooklyn of delegates from the Association of Pentecostal Churches and the Church of the Nazarene, a union was formed under the name 'Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene', and the first assembly of that church was held at Chicago in October.[28]

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[25] From a report (unsigned) on a mission conducted in Edinburgh, 1929.
[26] NTC Archives 610.
[27] The official transcript of the minute omits the word 'pentecostal'.
[28] *CUH*, p.211.

It is therefore clear that the Church of the Nazarene did not start off as a self-styled 'Pentecostal' church, but rather adopted the name as part of a compromise in the cause of holiness unity. There is no suggestion in the official history that any objections to the name were raised - the real points at issue are recorded as being the form of church government and the basis of ownership of church property.[29]

Pentecostalism's basic doctrine is belief in the receiving a further experience beyond sanctification, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and fire, 'with signs following'. These signs or 'gifts' are in general based upon the gifts of the Spirit written of by Paul in I Corinthians,12, vv. 8-12. Developing their teaching largely from the perfectionist doctrines of C.G.Finney, the early pentecostals in America claimed that there was a stage following upon sanctification by which the Holy Spirit entered purified (and only purified) hearts, a third blessing of 'baptism by fire' giving evidence of greater spirituality or 'pentecostal endowment'.[30] The articles of faith by which Pentecostalism came to be identified are that the gift of speaking in tongues (glossolalia) was the true and necessary evidence of a believer's having been filled with the Holy Spirit - 'the litmus test of pentecostal orthodoxy'[31] - and that there should be evidence of divine healing. The movement was also marked by a strong millenarianism. Its beginnings have been defined in sum as follows: 'The basic pentecostal theological position might be described as Arminian, perfectionistic, premillennial, and charismatic.'[32]

The desire so symbolised for a return to the 'apostolic church of

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[29] Ibid.,pp.208,209.

[30] See, e.g., W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (SCM Press Ltd., 1972), ch.2; R. Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited* (OUP, 1979), ch. 1.

[31] G.Wacker in 'Functions of Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism' , *Harvard Theological Review*, 1984, No. 7, p. 367.

[32] V.Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1971), p.17.

the New Testament' and the restoration of the gifts of the Spirit, including speaking in tongues, were not new concepts, and the tradition of glossolalia particularly had persisted. One manifestation in a Scottish context, in Dunbartonshire in 1831, convinced Edward Irving, the Scots-born minister of a Church of Scotland congregation in London, that the gifts of the Spirit were being demonstrated in tongue-speaking and healing.[33] These instances have been described as 'first outbreaks.....of Scottish Pentecostalism'.[34]

In the United States, Pentecostalism as such really came to seize attention through the activities of Charles F. Parham, a Methodist minister who set up a college in Kansas, where instances of tongue-speaking among the students were claimed. Parham later sank into ignominious obscurity; but one of his followers, a black preacher named W.J.Seymour, assumed leadership, arriving in Los Angeles in 1906. He was invited to preach on 'tongues' in a 'small coloured Nazarene Church', and was afterwards rejected; but he continued to hold meetings and it is recorded that several Nazarene members received Pentecostal Baptism.[35] The Holiness Churches acknowledged that they were beginning to feel threatened by the pentecostal teaching, 'combining Wesleyan and Keswick views', and that the baptism of the Holy Spirit went beyond sanctification and was a 'third blessing' with 'signs following afterward'.[36]

It is ironic, in view of the hostility engendered, that so much of the concept of Christian perfectionism had been absorbed by the Pentecostals from the holiness movement. The insistence upon the

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[33] A.L.Drummond, *Edward Irving and his Circle* (Clarke & Co., London,1934), p.160.

[34] Sheridan Gilley, 'Edward Irving: Prophet of the Millenium', *Revival and Religion since 1700*, edd. Garnett & Matthew (Hambledon Press, London, 1993), p. 103.

[35] N.Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1964), pp.31-32 . See also W. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, p. 22.

[36] *CUH*, pp. 319-320.

importance of the individual's place in the world, the strongly 'Jesus-orientated' faith, the experiential response, the claiming of sanctification, the assurance of future salvation - these were principles common to holiness and pentecostalism.[37] Nevertheless, the Holiness Churches were largely inimical towards tongue-speaking, and one historian notes that 'clergy who accepted it were in some instances removed from their charges - for example, the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene'.[38] Various explanations for this hostility are offered, most of them probably bearing some degree of accuracy. In the first place, it was offensive to holiness principles to suggest that if the 'sign' of tongues was absent, then the believer was not truly 'baptised in the Spirit', and therefore lacked personal holiness.[39] There was also evidence of an aura of 'spiritual superiority' exuded by those who claimed to have these gifts.[40] Further, the notion of the noisy, unorganised, disruptive services reported of the pentecostal gatherings was distasteful to the more conservative wing of the holiness people.[41] And, not least, antipathy arose through the strong millenarian views of the pentecostals, which seemed to lead them into strange practices like snake-handling and refusal to accept medication in illness, and to a general lack of involvement in social concern.[42]

It was a further irony that the holiness groups had for long accepted, and indeed initiated, what has been called 'a Pentecostal

[37] G.Wacker, 'Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism', p.363-365.

[38] Anderson, *Vision of Disinherited*, p.141.

[39] Ibid., pp.149-151.

[40] Ibid., pp. 32-35.

[41] Dieter, *Holiness Revival of Nineteenth Century*, pp. 217, 269.

[42] See J.D.G.Dunn, 'Spirit-Baptism and Pentecostalism', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, No. 4. Nov.1970 (CUP), pp. 404-407; Wacker, 'Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism', pp.366-368.

vocabulary', churches, meetings, and colleges being so designated.[43] There was never any uncertainty about its use. 'We live in the abiding Pentecost,' wrote P.F.Bresee.[44] References are made from the beginnings to 'the anointing with the Holy Spirit' and 'days of Pentecostal glory', while a 'testimony meeting' of 1899 in Los Angeles experienced 'the Holy Ghost [falling] upon the people in Pentecostal fashion.'[45] Bresee drew from the episode of the prophet Isaiah's lips being touched with a live coal 'the power-imparting emblem of the Divine Presence.....fire, tongues of fire'.[46] The same pre-requisite for sanctified Christian living was seen in the pronouncement of John the Baptiser: 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord.....He shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' (Matt. 3.11) Confirmation of the Spirit's presence and power in the life of the sanctified believer could be widely adduced from New Testament Scripture.[47]

Much of this was undoubtedly known to George Sharpe when he was establishing his 'Pentecostal Church of Scotland' in Glasgow. There is no record of any doubt in the minds of the founding members that the designation 'Pentecostal' should be given. There was as yet little publicity in Britain about the new pentecostal (as distinct from holiness) movement, but some preparatory work had been done, and the Pentecostal Mission led by R. Reader Harris had already established centres in Scotland, and seemed to be in harmony with the holiness movement as a whole.[48] A further influential development at this time

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[43] *'Presence, Power, Praise'*, vol.1 (Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1980), Document 219, p. 17.

[44] *The Nazarene*, report, June 1898.

[45] Girvin, *Prince in Israel*, pp.137, 138.

[46] ' Baptism with Fire' -*Sermons* (Nazarene Publishing House, Kansas City, 1926).

[47] Passages cited in proof included, for example, John 7.39; Romans 8.14; Ephesians 3.16; I John 4.13.

[48] Bloch-Hoell, *Pentecostal Movement*, p.82.

was the revival which began in Wales in 1904 and spread widely, with an estimated one hundred thousand conversions; the most significant feature was an emphasis on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the meetings demonstrated great spontaneity in praying, singing, testifying and confessing.[49] Sharpe himself wrote and spoke of the believer being sanctified 'through complete consecration and the Baptism of the Holy Ghost' and of being 'baptised with fire'.[50] And in his Address to the General Assembly in Kansas City in October 1915, he had been able to say, probably only in part humorously, that 'it would be easier to hitch on the words "of the Nazarene" to our name, than it would be to unhitch the words "Pentecostal Church" ' - this just four years before complete rejection of the name.

There was, however, for the holiness believer a significant barrier between this and the claims and actions of the Pentecostals. P.F.Bresee had maintained a liberal stance on several issues, but he wrote that 'the tongues movement.....is a most foolish and dangerous fanaticism'.[51] A later leader counselled Nazarenes 'to shun those who taught that sanctification was certified..... by speaking in "other tongues",' [52] and as time went on Pentecostal ideas were seen by the Church of the Nazarene as a 'challenge .....to their own traditional Wesleyan position'.[53]

It was not until 1919 that the Church of the Nazarene officially dissociated itself from any possible identification with the Pentecostal movement; it was among those Holiness Churches which in their constitutions and creeds specifically repudiated the 'Tongues Movement', while making it clear that the importance of the Pentecost event was in no

[49] Anderson, *Vision of Disinherited*, pp. 44-46.
[50] *TMS*, pp. 129,131.
[51] *Nazarene Messenger*, June 1907, vol.2,p.6
[52] J.G.Morrison, quoted in *CUH*, p.316
[53] Ibid., p.319

way vitiated.[54] Even as late as 1916, Sharpe, in a letter to America, was writing: 'I hear that the 'Tongues' have gotten an inroad into the Paisley Church.....The Paisley Church have suffered greatly from many causes, this I hope will be the climax and I trust the few that remain will go straight on holiness'.[55]

The separation was defined in a change of name to 'Church of the Nazarene'; and this change appears to have taken place without dissent and indeed almost unobtrusively. At the conclusion of the Historical Statement in the Church *Manual* published in 1919, a brief paragraph (Section 14) reads:

> The General Assembly of 1919, in response to memorials from thirty-five District Assemblies, changed the name of the organization to **Church of the Nazarene.**

The churches now active in Scotland were included in this, and again no record of any dissent is found. Significantly, as late as 1970 this decision was restated in a resolution adopted by the Board of General Superintendents and was included as follows in the Journal of the Nineteenth General Assembly:

> It is the judgement and ruling of the Board of General Superintendents of the Church of the Nazarene that any practice and/or propagation of speaking in tongues either as the evidence of the baptism with the Holy Spirit or as an ecstatic neo-pentecostal prayer language is interpreted as inveighing against the.

[54] Others included the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Salvation Army - see Anderson, *Vision of Disinherited*, p.149; also *Presence, Power, Praise*, pp. 17-18.

[55] Letter dated July 25, 1916, to H.F.Reynolds (NTC Archives 220).

doctrine and practices of the church.[56]

The Pentecostal Church of Scotland, which became the Church of the Nazarene, had thus over four decades seen a degree of expansion. It had worked under an active leadership to tackle the setbacks of the early years, and by 1950 had seventeen established churches in Scotland.[57] It had also gathered under its name two other holiness movements. It had been able to pursue its aims of upbuilding and strengthening without encountering to any serious extent the issues which had proved divisive of the holiness movements in the States, including the Church of the Nazarene; issues such as fundamentalism, modernism, millennialism, and prohibitionism did not become so acute and inflammatory in the United Kingdom.[58] In agreement with the American branch of the denomination, the Scottish church categorically rejected Pentecostalism, with its teachings of 'a third blessing' and 'signs following afterward', a rejection officially implemented in the dropping of 'Pentecostal' from the name of the church. Most significantly, it saw itself as having upheld a true stance on holiness. 'We know the teaching,' declared its founder, 'and we can also have and live the experience, united [with God].....in perfect love, and..... through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth.'[59]

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[56] See *Presence, Power, Praise*, p.18.

[57] There were now ten churches in England.

[58] See *CUH*, pp.235, 315-320.

[59] Sharpe, *Addresses on Holiness* : 'Sanctification - The Outcome', p.49.

Chapter7

EDUCATION OF THE NAZARENE MINISTRY IN SCOTLAND

1. The First Phase

The education of its young people, and particularly of those training for the ministry of their church, has always been a major and avowed concern of the Nazarenes. At least as early as 1900 the holiness groups in the United States had shown eagerness to establish Bible institutes and schools,[1] and the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene did not lag behind. Through the generosity of private individuals and with some church support, the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene had by 1908 established two colleges - the Pentecostal Collegiate Institute, Rhode Island, and Deets Pacific Bible College, Los Angeles.[2] These were augmented by others through the unions with the holiness associations - Texas Holiness University, Trevecca College (formerly Bible Institute), and others.

George Sharpe was patently influenced by the significance placed upon education. 'To train our own preachers', he wrote, 'was one of the hopes of my life.'[3] He made no secret of the fact that he wished his young ministers to be well grounded in Scripture and in the tenets of their faith: it was important that their preaching should conform to 'the beautiful, matchless Wesleyan doctrine of Christian Perfection.'[4] This emphasis on training sprang from the conviction that there must be 'no dubiety

[1] Eg, East Meridian Female College,Missouri, established before 1901; Bible Institute, Nashville, established 1901.

[2] *CUH*, p.138.

[3] *SHS*, p. 53.

[4] Ibid, p.63.

concerning their loyalty and faithfulness to our policy, our ideals, and our doctrines'.[5] Very soon, he was proposing in Scotland the idea of a Bible School or College. The interest and encouragement of the American teacher Olive Winchester, with her academic qualifications - she was a graduate of Harvard University and at that time was lecturing in the Pentecostal Collegiate Institute - would also come to be a valuable aid and incentive to his plans.

As early as 1908, a first meeting to discuss the matter was held at the Parkhead Church, the pastor indicating that 'such a project had been much on his mind'. [6] He affirmed that its object was to train young pastors to preach 'an uttermost salvation', and also ' to guide those desirous of knowing more of Scriptural Holiness and Entire Sanctification'. The Parkhead Holiness Bible School was formally opened on Monday, October 5th, 1908, when twenty- four students enrolled; and at the opening meeting the pastor emphasised yet again 'the need for intellectual, well-trained and spirit-filled workers'.[7] The classes were held in the Parkhead church itself; later, the Executive Committee agreed that a special collection be taken in the churches 'for educational purposes and the benefit of the school'.

The venture went forward largely under the impetus of the pastor's eagerness. The only teachers were Sharpe himself, his wife, his friend George Kunz, who was at that time in Great Britain from America, Joseph Robertson, secretary of the Pentecostal League of Prayer at Motherwell,[8] and, a little later, Olive Winchester, when she came to take up Divinity

[5] Ibid., p.54.

[6] Minutes,Parkhead Pentecostal Church of Scotland, September 1908 (NTC Archives, 73).

[7] Ibid.

[8] Holiness Bible School Minutes, 1908-1909 (NTC Archives, 73). See also Hugh Rae, *Scholarship on Fire* (Agape Press, Salford, 1994), pp.12-13.

studies at Glasgow. Most of the students were intending to become pastors in the movement, a number were lay people taking classes through interest. No record mentions any kind of minimum requirements for entry, and, indeed, the main condition appears to have been that intending students should satisfy Sharpe himself as to their spiritual convictions and potential suitability. With one or two exceptions, the young men who enrolled in the classes had no previous background of higher education.

There was no professional training of ministers in the Pentecostal Church in Scotland before this time. Sharpe himself had, of course, trained in a college of the Methodist Church in the United States, and he would doubtless be familiar with the training colleges of the Congregational Church, his first two Scottish charges having been Congregational Churches, and also with the training centres established by some holiness movements in this country (at which some who were to become ministers of the Church of the Nazarene studied).[9] But he wished to chart an independent course. The majority of the young men who pastored the early churches had had only 'evangelistic' training - that is, they had come under the influence of Sharpe himself or of someone like his brother-in-law Charles Rose in Paisley or John Drysdale in Lanarkshire, or had perhaps had experience of movements such as Star Hall or the Salvation Army; they were subsequently encouraged to speak and pray publicly, and especially in 'open-air' meetings, which was indeed the acid test of commitment. The Bible College established itself more firmly, and grew to be the accepted route of study and training for pastors at that time.

[9] Rae, *Scholarship on Fire*, pp.11, 16.

From about 1908 onwards, ordination of pastors was largely a matter of George Sharpe's own authority, with the support of the teachers in the Bible School and the Education Committee. Regular attendance at the classes and satisfactory performances in the examinations set were required, and records show that most of the students performed successfully.[10] After 1915, when union was effected with the American denomination, a wider basis of study was introduced; but Sharpe was still very much in command in the British Isles District, and rarely needed to defer to the parent body on academic issues, though ordinations were, of course, approved by the General Board.

His anxiety to educate his pastors did not particularly reflect itself at a congregational level. There may be several reasons for this. One would certainly be that the period under review falls well before it came to be regarded as necessary or even desirable to set up 'discussion groups' or 'study groups' or 'teaching ministries' within a congregation: such education as was given was provided vigorously in the Sabbath Schools, but the central emphasis must be on soul-saving and sanctifying. A second reason would be the fairly autocratic nature of the leadership: this was especially true of a small denomination like the Pentecostal Church of Scotland, which had been so unmistakably the offspring of one man's convictions and authority. At a more practical level, there was the incompatibility of time available with the kind of jobs of most of the members, who worked relatively long hours with little leisure time for such educational activity - and certainly not if that meant sacrificing time given to prayer-meetings, foreign mission meetings, and the like.

The 'Ministerial Course' of study was set at four years,[11] and

[10] Holiness Bible School Minutes, 1908-1911 (NTC Archives 72).

[11] These and other details here taken from reports and leaflets in NTC Archives.

commenced with a fairly basic programme - English, Bible History, Theology, Homiletics, Life of Christ, Holiness, New Testament Doctrines. The prescribed text-books included the Bible, *Handbook of Christian Theology* [12] by Benjamin Field, an English Methodist preacher who later went to Australia, *Handbook on Homiletics* [13] by James Kern, an American minister and lecturer, as well as the classic Nesfield's *English Grammar.* The *Handbook of Christian Theology* covered such topics as Creation, Evolution and Darwinism, Inspiration of the Bible, Entire Sanctification, the Atonement, Millennialism. Although firm on principles, the text illustrates a degree of open-mindedness on some issues - for instance, that science and geology prove that the earth existed long before man's advent; that evolution (but not Darwinism) postulates a mode of divine action not inconsistent with Scripture; that while entire sanctification is instantly wrought by the Holy Spirit, it is yet a work of gradual growth, not assuming infallibility but freeing from the pollution of nature.[14]

The *Handbook on Homiletics* was an extensive source of practical advice for the aspiring minister, considerable emphasis being placed upon the value of flexibility within a ritual form of service and on a reverent but realistic approach to the use of Scripture - 'We must not fail to recognise the local and temporary in the essential and eternal', for example, might well herald the 'Sitz-im-Leben' approach given authority by later scholars. There is also careful advice on the different forms of sermons, on style, use of illustrations, delivery, and preaching to children; but, first and foremost, 'the preacher is an Evangelist', and must be committed to the planning and conduct of revivals and to achieving

[12] Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1896.
[13] W.B.Ketcham, New York, 1897.
[14] Field, *Christian Theology*, chh. 5, 13, 20.

through them prompt results.[15]

There is no record of how these specific texts came to be chosen, but there can be little doubt that Sharpe would be influenced by his own studies in America and also by the advice of Olive Winchester. The inclusion of Nesfield's *Grammar*, a text retained in some schools and colleges into the twentieth century, showed a laudable awareness that heed must be paid not only to what was said but also to the use of the language by which the message was conveyed.

A brief glance shows that the curriculum prescribed by Sharpe was intended to reach a standard comparable with that of the curricula of other colleges in Scotland. The chief of these included the Baptist Theological College, founded in 1894; the Theological Hall of the Congregational Church, founded 1896; [16] the non-denominational Bible Training Institute (later, Glasgow Bible College), founded 1896, specialising in training for evangelism;[17] the Faith Mission Training Home, established in Edinburgh in 1912 by J.G.Govan, who had earlier studied in Bible School classes at Star Hall.[18] A type of the parallel with the Parkhead Holiness Bible School may be seen in the Baptist College course of 1911-1912:[19] it included Biblical and Systematic Theology, Homiletics, New Testament Exegesis, Paul and his doctrines, Church History, with also a weekly 'Sermon Class'; some of the students combined their studies with Arts classes at university.

The curricula of the other colleges at the period 1910-1912 were very similarly based, all demonstrating emphasis upon careful grounding

[15] Kern, *Homiletics*, especially Lectures 2,3,24-26.
[16] See *Year Book, 1910-1911* (Congregational Union of Scotland, Edinburgh).
[17] See *Annual Report, 1911-1912* (Glasgow Bible College Archives).
[18] Notebooks of J.G.Govan: Faith Mission College Archives (Edinburgh).
[19] Baptist Theological College (Glasgow): *Reports* and *1944 Jubilee* booklet.

in the history of Scripture, on doctrine and on the preacher's craft. The curriculum of Sharpe's Bible School gave a special place to 'Holiness', but not at the cost of neglecting broader educational aspects; and, indeed, the instruction in other, less experiential, disciplines was intended to bring into sharper focus the principles of holiness and to intensify awareness of their importance.

The classes appear to have been taken up enthusiastically, and the numbers reached an enrolment figure of forty-one by the 1910 session, including both candidates for the ministry and interested lay members. A correspondence course was also inaugurated. However, some difficulties made themselves apparent. By 1911, the problem had arisen of residential accommodation for students who were candidates, as well as meeting the requirements of those attending day classes, the total number being about twenty; in the following year, numbers decreased, due partly to the inevitable 'falling away' in all such classes, and also to the demands on the young men of their concurrent duties as pastors, as well as dwindling attendance of those who, being working people, were 'debarred by business arrangements'.[20]

2. The Second Phase

Sharpe never lost sight of his true objective, a building solely for the purpose of study, and the classes held in Parkhead fell far short of this. His determination in face of difficulties showed itself in the ventures which succeeded the Holiness Bible School.

The Minutes of the Bible School Executive Committee record in

[20] Report, Holiness Bible School, Session 1910-1911 (NTC Archives 73).

1911 that 'Mr Sharpe suggests the selling of his own house and applying the proceeds.....towards the purchase of suitable premises [for a students' residence]'.[21] These premises, a large Victorian villa in the west side of Glasgow, became the 'Pentecostal Bible College', opening in August 1913. However, financial problems and the advent of war closed the College in 1917. 'To me,' Sharpe wrote, 'it was a great disappointment.'[22] It was an ambitious project, with its motto of 'God and Holiness', and its aim of 'Fire Baptised preachers for the work of the Ministry'.

An interesting sidelight is thrown here upon the relationship with the American branch and Sharpe's consequent independence of action. The General Treasurer in Kansas City wrote that 'We do not know who holds the title to this [Bible School] property'.[23] Sharpe's response indicated that 'all the burdens had been laid' upon himself, as the property had not been transferred 'into the hands of Church trustees', as had apparently been intended.[24]

Sharpe's next undertaking was to set up a 'Bible School' in his villa at Parkhead, where he had returned from Kelvinside. From 1920, classes were conducted between there and the church, and the 'School' was ratified by the Assembly in 1923, continuing until 1925. It still lay far from his goal, however, and his release from his pastorate in 1921 to become District Superintendent allowed him to direct his energies to his next venture.

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[21] Report of Executive Committee, Holiness Bible School, April 1911 (NTC Archives 72).

[22] Bible College Records, April 1918 (NTC Archives 120).

[23] Letter from H.R.Walker, October 1917 (NTC Archives 39).

[24] Letter from George Sharpe, ibid.

A large property in Motherwell, 'The Grange', became in 1926 the Nazarene Bible College and the Sharpe family home. But again the venture was short-lived, in spite of thorough preparation and a printed 'Prospectus and Curriculum', which included additional subjects such as Secular History, Psychology, and Music. Insufficient financial support, dearth of students (whose number never exceeded seven),[25] and family illness hastened its end, which came in June 1928.

Through the years following the failure at Motherwell, training classes continued in the Parkhead office of the Messenger Publishing Company, managed by George Sharpe. Day Classes included Theology, Church History, and the Gospels, while Evening Classes were in English, Theology, and New Testament, and half-yearly examinations were held. The lecturers were the pastors, including Sharpe himself, James McLeod, BSc, Greenock, Robert Purvis, the District Superintendent, and George Frame, MA, Uddingston. Frame and McLeod were graduates of Glasgow University. The range of study was widened to include, significantly, History of the Church of the Nazarene, the Church Manual, and Nazarene Missions.

After his return to the villa in Parkhead (which had been rented to members of his congregation),[26] Sharpe was active in many areas, including a second pastorate in Parkhead, two periods as pastor in Motherwell, and oversight of the Pawson estate, bequeathed to the church. His ultimate vision, however, was not lost, despite ongoing financial obstacles and the economic 'depression' of the 1930s, and despite the fact that his advancing years made the vision less likely to become reality at his own hands. An unsuccessful attempt was made to

[25] Information from Mrs Isabel R. Edwards, August 1993.

[26] Mr and Mrs A.Cameron.

use Canadian Nazarene College, Alberta, for the training of British pastors. Such planned training as pastors received was often at the Faith Mission and Emmanuel Colleges.[27]

The situation was exacerbated by a growing need for pastors, and by a fairly high 'loss rate' of pastors and evangelists between 1925 and 1940. Statistics indicate losses of five men to the United Free Church, two to the Congregational Church, four to the IHM, one man to the Church of Scotland, one to Emmanuel, and one to the Unitarian Church. Six or seven men were drawn to the USA and Canada. [28]

All these factors indicated the need for a fully constituted independent college, and Sharpe, now seventy-eight years of age, gave full support when West Hurlet House, a small Georgian mansion outside Glasgow, was purchased in 1943 for £4,000 and established as Hurlet Nazarene College. It was again an ambitious - some thought an over-ambitious - undertaking. The intake of students was small and staffing difficult. Serving pastors took the theology classes, while two members at Parkhead, graduates of Glasgow University, did part-time teaching in English Literature and in Modern Languages.[29]

The credit and responsibility for this 'venture of faith' have been acknowledged as belonging to George Frame, the District Superintendent, whose aims followed those of Sharpe in wishing to establish a theological college. Frame had contributed to easing the situation by taking up residence in Hurlet, his rent going towards management costs. In 1947, Dr Sharpe proposed that Frame be appointed full-time Principal. The confirmation of this appointment,

[27] For example, J.D.Lewis and Ernest Eades trained respectively in these colleges.
[28] Information here supplied by Dr T.A.Noble, Dr H.Rae.
[29] Miss J.C.Cameron, Miss M.E.Taylor - see Rae, *Scholarship on Fire*, p.142.

coupled with financial gifts from the General Board and the Young People's Societies in 1949, cleared the property of debt and gave Hurlet greater freedom to advance under its motto, 'Scholarship on Fire'. 'By 1950', writes its historian, 'the College was on the way to becoming an integral part of the life of the Church.'[30]

It re-located in 1958 in the Manchester area as British Isles Nazarene College, and extended its curriculum to include Theology and Arts degrees. In 1990, after accreditation by the Council for National Academic Awards, the name was changed to 'Nazarene Theological College'. In1992, the College became affiliated to Manchester University.

[30] Rae, *Scholarship on Fire*, p.46.

Chapter 8

LIFE OF THE CHURCH

The aim in this study has been to demonstrate that a small group propounding principles of holiness that still rang strangely to some Scottish ears nevertheless achieved consolidation and a status conferred by its emergence as a denominational church; and that this achievement was largely owing to the insistence placed upon appropriate forms of government and observance.

Much of this, though not all, was the legacy of the founders of the Church of the Nazarene, P.F.Bresee and J.P.Widney. It is therefore in order to examine the church polity which they inaugurated and the *Manual* which embodied its principles.

1. Polity and Manual

Bresee and Widney announced in 1895 that the new denomination, although 'its government would be congregational',[1] would follow 'the historic concept of a disciplined church fellowship'.[2] There was agreement 'on the necessity of a superintendency', but a qualification that it 'shall not interfere in the independent action of a fully-organised church, each enjoying the right of selecting its own pastor'.[3] The Nazarenes continued to regard this as a 'central premise' going neither in one direction towards 'a practical Episcopacy' nor in another towards 'practical Congregationalism'.[4]

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[1] *CUH*, p.110.

[2] Ibid., p.115.

[3] *Manual*, 1908, Part III, Art. 26: 1.2.

[4] J.B.Chapman, *A History of the Church of the Nazarene* (Nazarene Publishing House, Kansas City, 1926), p.77.

This commitment to congregational order appealed to George Sharpe. 'I have always believed', he wrote, 'in proper Church government; organisation is security for the coming decades.'[5] As early as 1911 the Parkhead Church Board had agreed to Sharpe's recommendation of the printing of a Church Manual - they intimated that 'estimates make possible the publication of a serviceable little book at the nominal price of fourpence each'. It was decided to delay publication until their own printing-press was available the following year.[6] A Nazarene historian cites an earlier allusion to this booklet, when Sharpe 'mentioned having had a small book or manual sent from America in connection with the 'Pentecostal Church of the Nazarenes'; he concludes that the doctrinal articles and polity of the Pentecostal Church of Scotland were based upon Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene principles.[7]

Principles of doctrine and conduct underwent little basic change in the *Manual* statements over the years. Adjustments were made to mid-twentieth century culture and education - for example, the prohibition of 'Songs, literature, and entertainments not to the glory of God' became the less categorical 'Music, literature, and entertainments that dishonour God'. In general, such changes as occurred were the reasonable consequence of continuing development. The *Manual* of 1919, the first officially adopted in Scotland, comprised nine sections and 137 pages; twenty years and seven *Manuals* later, there were eleven very fully detailed sections running to 334 pages. Yet examination reveals that the significant doctrinal statements remained unaltered.

'The Manual under which our churches are governed', wrote

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[5] *SHS*, p. 55.

[6] Minutes of Parkhead Board meeting, September 1911: NTC Archives 120.

[7] *ISJW*, p.48.

George Sharpe in 1927, 'solves the oft-mooted point about the permanency of our doctrines. Points regarding our polity may change through necessity and experience, but as our doctrines are based upon the Word of God.....their permanency is assured.'[8] The *Manual's* rules for conduct were based on Bresee's belief that sanctified believers would conform to a rigorous style of life as the effect of 'strict admonition' rather than 'specific prohibition'.[9] The General Rules enjoined 'avoiding evil.....', which included: swearing, profaning the Lord's Day (by working or reading 'secular papers'), the use of tobacco and intoxicating liquors (unfermented wine being used in the Lord's Supper), secular songs, literature, and entertainments, lotteries, games of chance, membership of secret fraternities, ostentation in dress.[10] Sharpe's definition of this last was that dress should 'exhibit a genuine profession of holiness'. [11]

A question now due to be asked is how this transmission of polity and pattern established across the Atlantic affected the development of a small denomination in Scotland; whether the characteristics, attitudes, and aspirations of the Scottish church enabled it to retain a personality visibly its own and attractive to outsiders.

A more informed response to this question is to be gained by scrutinising the main aspects of the life and activity of the denomination from its inception to the unions of the early 1950s.

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[8] *SHS*, p.57.
[9] *CUH*, pp.115, 116.
[10] Nazarene *Manuals*, General Rules, Section I.
[11] *TMS*, p.126.

2. Worship

Like P. F. Bresee, George Sharpe gave great importance to the conduct and content of church services. He had inherited traditions which laid stress upon order, and while a certain freedom existed, it was not permitted to detract from the dignity of worship.

The sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper were given a high place. Both baptists and paedo-baptists were included, and infant baptism was held sufficient for later membership. Believer's baptism required assent to the Apostles' Creed. Infant baptism required 'assurance of necessary Christian training' on the part of parents or guardians. Sprinkling, pouring, or immersion could be chosen.[12] A form was also provided for children to be simply dedicated or consecrated.[13]

In the case of persons entering the denomination from another tradition, no official ceremony has been required; it was simply a matter of transfer of membership. The general practice, however, would be to have a period of counselling to ensure the standing of the applicant.

In the Scottish churches, the Lord's Supper has been generally held monthly - in the American branch, the practice was usually quarterly. Unfermented wine and unleavened bread were used. In the tradition of the Church of the Nazarene, the sacrament is considered to be a memorial or commemorative feast. Those who partake 'show forth the Lord's death till he come again'.[14] It may be administered only by the licensed minister ('elder'). In early days it was considered that the celebration should include 'the saved' and exclude 'the sinners'; but as time passed, it became more of an 'open table', accepting all who

[12] *Manual*, II, xiii, 18.
[13] Ibid., VII, iii, 550.
[14] Ibid., II, xiv, 19.

professed faith in Jesus Christ as personal saviour. Neither the Scripture passages forming part of these sacraments nor the wording of the exhortations would have seemed strange to a member of any older Protestant denomination, the basic form of a worship service consisting as it did of prayer, praise, the reading of Scripture and a sermon, all led by the pastor.

The musical aspect of worship always carried great emphasis. 'The Church of the Nazarene from earliest days has considered congregational singing a most important part of worship traditions.'[15] Most of the churches had enthusiastic choirs, and the church at Parkhead also had an electrically-operated organ. Interestingly, in the Parkhead church, the 'Church Hymnary' of the day, a joint production (1898) of the Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian Church, [16] was used in morning services, and the metrical psalms were sung regularly. Evening services were at a more relaxed level, with a less formal type of hymnbook.

In the 1920s, hymnody came into great prominence under the musical leadership of Haldor J. Lillenas, a Norwegian by birth, whose 'music and influence became the dominating factor in Nazarene music'.[17] Under his supervision, the first authorised hymnal of the denomination, *Glorious Gospel Hymns,* was published in Kansas City in 1931. However, a hymnbook much in use by Holiness Churches in Britain, including the Church of the Nazarene, was a Scottish production: *Redemption Songs* (still in print) was a compilation edited by J.H.Allan of the Scottish Bible and Book Society in Glasgow and published in

[15] Fred A. Mund, *Keep the Music Ringing: A history of the hymnody of the Church of the Nazarene* (Lillenas Publishing Company, Kansas City, 1973), p.8.

[16] It would now be referred to as 'CH 1'.

[17] Mund, *Keep the Music Ringing,* p.15.

1930. Gospel songs by favourite British and American writers such as Fanny J. Crosby and Phillip B. Bliss are represented, as well as more traditional writers, including Horatius Bonar and Isaac Watts, and also Charles Wesley himself. Nazarene hymnody has been defined as 'New-Testament oriented.....' with its main themes being 'love, Jesus, salvation, sin, and heaven'.[18]

3. Ordination of ministers

The right to call a minister of their choosing was prized by the Scottish congregations. Sharpe did nothing to weaken this, influenced perhaps by his Congregational background, brief though that was. He was probably also aware that the Congregationalist core of Parkhead members would be unwilling to accept anything else. There was no vitiation of this foundational element through the union of 1915. It is to be noted that 'elder' is the designation of the ordained minister; the eldership is 'the one order of the official ministry'.[19]

The ordination service, however, was not carried out in the local congregation but was held at the closing session of the Assembly. Originally conducted by Sharpe himself, it later came, through expansion and the American union, to be conducted by the visiting General Superintendent and the District Superintendent. This did not imply any kind of 'episcopal' ordination - the ordination is by all the elders in the Assembly district.

Prior to the Assembly, a Nominating Committee of the candidate's own Church Board would have recommended him to the Committee of

[18] Ibid., pp. 28,29.
[19] *Manual*, Section III, Arts. 280, 281.

Orders and Relations of the District Assembly.[20] Thus, the significant body was the District Assembly with its lay delegates from each church: it alone could 'elect to elder's orders' on the recommendation of the Board of Orders and Relations, comprising originally both ministers and laymen. This procedure meant that the laity, who constituted by far the majority of a District Assembly, carried in effect the weight of opinion, though there is no record of a recommendation being rejected. The dissimilarity from the Presbyterian system is that in the Presbytery ministry and laity are in equal numbers.

Certain further features of ordination may be noted. First, those submitting themselves for 'elder's orders' required to have served at least two years as licensed pastors in the active ministry. Second, as the ordinand went forward to the altar, he would be accompanied (if married) by his wife, this signifying that the commitment made to the Church would be fully accepted by both. A condition of ordination to the eldership was that '[the ordinand's] marriage relationship does not render him ineligible to ordination'.[21] It may be pointed out that Nazarene use of the term 'altar' refers, not to the location of the communion table, but to the rail at which seekers knelt after an 'altar call'. The usage originated with Phoebe Palmer's teaching of 'laying all on the altar'; from this the term became transferred to the altar rail with which, as a Methodist, she would be familiar in communion services.[22]

An ordained pastor was called to a charge after recommendation to the membership by the Church Board in consultation with the District Superintendent. Having heard the nominee preach, the membership

[20] Ibid., Section IV, Art. 183; information also supplied by Revd Colin H. Wood, Parkhead Church of the Nazarene.

[21] Ibid., Section III, Art. 282.

[22] This development pointed out by Dr T.A.Noble.

must have a two-thirds majority in favour. In instances of very small congregations, say under thirty in number, the District Superintendent had authority to appoint a pastor. In any disagreement, the case was taken to the Board of General Superintendents. The amount of the pastor's salary was determined by the Church Board and its payment in full 'was to be considered a moral obligation by the church'. [23] A pastor resigning his charge need give no more than thirty days' notice, and he was called to a charge initially for a term of one year,[24] although the call could be (and invariably was) extended. It was the practice to hold an annual review of a pastor's performance, this being decided upon by vote of the congregation and then by the District Assembly, 'to which he shall..... give testimony to his personal Christian experience'.[25] The procedure was unsatisfactory, and fostered tension and a sense of insecurity for both pastor and his family. It was early recognised as uncongenial, but not until the early sixties was it replaced by the 'extended call' of four years.

4. Missionary Activity

In his autobiography, George Sharpe wrote: 'The new Church had in it most of the elements necessary to create and formulate foundations for stability and continuity.'[26] Among these elements, high priority was given to foreign missions. ' Since I gave my heart and life to God,' he wrote, 'my vision has extended beyond the immediate confines of my physical activities.'[27] In 1923 he was appointed a Missionary

[23] *Manuals*, Part IV, Section IX, Art. 84.
[24] Ibid., Art. 82.
[25] Ibid., Section VIII, Art. 78; information also supplied by Revd Colin H. Wood.
[26] *TMS*, p.80.
[27] Ibid., p.86.

Superintendent and spent two years overseeing the areas of Nazarene work in Africa, India, Palestine, Syria, the Cape Verde Islands.

Enthusiasm for missionary work has been demonstrated by most of the holiness movements. But a special interest was created within the Scottish branch of the Church of the Nazarene when in 1925 David Hynd, Sharpe's son-in-law, secured an appointment under the British government to establish a hospital in Swaziland, south-east Africa. Under his supervision, this became a 200-bed hospital with a training college and outpost clinics. Hynd later established the Swaziland Conference of Churches and the Swaziland Medical Association, became an adviser of King Sobhuza II, and was a member of the Constitutional Conference which led to independence in 1968.[28] He was later awarded the CBE in acknowledgement of his work.

5. Women in the Nazarene ministry

An American writer states: 'It is Evangelicalism that next to Quakerism has given the greatest role to women in the life of the church.'[29] In Britain, women such as Lady Glenorchy and Lady Maxwell publicly supported John Wesley, and among the American evangelists, women were prominent. Scotland had its 'petticoat preachers' of the late nineteenth century, particularly in Lanarkshire.[30] Strong impetus was also given to women's activity by the preaching of Catherine Booth.

The Church of the Nazarene from its inception encouraged its women members. 'We recognise the equal right of both men and

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[28] See T.A.Noble, 'David Hynd', in *DSCHT*, p. 426.

[29] D.W.Dayton, *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage* (Harper and Row, New York, (1976), p.86.

[30] N. Dickson, 'Modern Prophetesses', in *RSCHS*, vol. xxv, 1993, pp.89-117.

women to all offices of the Church including the ministry'.[31] The official history acknowledges women's contribution, especially 'the company of devoted women ministers on whom [Bresee] so often relied',[32] as well as those who taught in the colleges.

George Sharpe, influenced by this background, encouraged the work of women, even more essential in so small a denomination. However, the cultural norms of the day were rather against women presenting themselves for ordination, and the early decades saw only three exceptions.

The American, Olive Winchester, gave significant service to the denomination while studying Divinity at the University of Glasgow from 1909 to 1912. She was the first woman to gain the Bachelor of Divinity degree there, and she was ordained shortly after by George Sharpe. Another probable 'first' for a woman was her part in officiating at a wedding in Glasgow in 1914.[33] Jane B. Rose married George Sharpe in 1887 in America, where her family lived for a time. She had no formal theological education, but even in the Methodist Episcopal days she had preached in her husband's absence. 'She had a winsome passion in the pulpit', he wrote.[34] She was ordained by Sharpe in April 1917, and is noted in the Church Records as having pastored the Govanhill congregation from 1923 to 1924. Seven years later, the Sharpes' second daughter, Agnes, was ordained to the Nazarene ministry by her father. In addition to her Arts degree, she took teaching and nursing training in order to assist her husband, Dr David Hynd, in Swaziland. The Church of

[31] Articles of Belief and General Rules, October 1895 (NTC Archives 160).
[32] *CUH*, p. 142.
[33] Unidentified, undated press cutting, Glasgow, 1914 (NTC Archives 10).
[34] *TMS*, p. 37.

the Nazarene has thus asserted a claim to have the first three women ordained to the ministry in Scotland.

6. Young People's and Women's Organisations

The early Pentecostal Church of Scotland had, like most holiness movements, an eagerness to establish flourishing young people's groups. From the 'Sabbath Schools', future congregations would grow; and earlier Statistical Tables show remarkable numbers in the Schools of even quite small churches. The Tables of 1911 on the five churches[35] show Parkhead as having 420 children, and a small church such as Blantyre had 90, the overall total of the Sunday Schools being 650. By 1925, this had become 1,006 over eleven churches; by 1950, it was 1,117 over seventeen churches. The picture is therefore one of proportional decrease in the Sunday Schools, and consequently a drop in potential adult membership. A week-night meeting for youngsters, the 'Sunshine Band', with singing, talks, and occasional 'lantern-slide' presentations, had an underlying but strong temperance message. Young people's groups were established unofficially in the churches from about 1916, but in 1923 the American headquarters established officially the 'Nazarene Young People's Society', and this was quickly taken up in Scotland. The Dunfermline church claims to have formed the first 'NYPS', in 1923, and the second was established in 1926 in Uddingston.[36]

The interest in missions, particularly in Swaziland, led to the formation of the Women's Missionary Society, re-named the Women's Foreign Missionary Society from 1921, beginning in Parkhead.

[35] Statistical Tables, Pentecostal Church, March 1911 (NTC Archives 261).

[36] Reports in *Holiness Herald*, January 1926.

Statistical Tables show the membership peaking around the 1930-40 period, with an average of 31 members to each congregation, but this decreased gradually, and 1950 saw an average active membership of about 17.[37] Later, an organisation with similar aims was set up for younger women, and named 'The King's Daughters'.

7. Pentecostal and Nazarene Publications in Scotland

George Sharpe was keenly aware of the power of the printed word, and he lost little time in producing a regular bulletin to be identified with the new Pentecostal Church. At first, space was taken in the *Way of Holiness* magazine produced by Star Hall. However, in 1912, after disagreement over sales and space, it was decided to embark upon an independent publication. The recently-formed Publications Committee chose *Holiness Herald* as the name of this 'Second Blessing, holiness paper'. It was printed by Sharpe and his students on their own machine, housed in the basement of the College in Kelvinside.

The outbreak of war in 1914, as well as Sharpe's other responsibilities, made publication economically and practically difficult. A monthly sheet supplement was produced, and after 1917, when the College closed, a printing firm took over. In 1922, full publication resumed, and in 1924, the *Holiness Herald* was 'enlarged to give space to the interests of the whole church'.[38] In 1934, it became *The Way of Holiness*, its price remaining at one penny. Its size was again reduced during World War Two.

The expenses of printing had been met largely by contributions from the churches, but not all pursued sales whole-heartedly, and

[37] Statistical Tables, Church of the Nazarene (NTC Archives 261).
[38] *Holiness Herald*, Editorial, June 1924.

occasional exhortations to improve performance appeared: the December 1932 and April 1937 issues, for example, printed reproofs about lack of support and active selling.

While the format of the paper saw some adaptation over the years, style and content changed little. Emphasis was upon the holiness theme, but a fairly wide range of related topics stressed commitment, doctrinal awareness - 'How may I know I am Sanctified Wholly?' - and spiritual experiences. Articles from the writings of John Wesley, William Booth, D.L.Moody, Hannah Whitall Smith and others were printed. Regular features included church notes, a children's section, and a strongly-emphasised missionary section. Advertisements from other holiness groups appeared - for example, Bethel Hall in Glasgow, Helensburgh Town Mission Hall, Forfar Holiness Mission.

On the union with the International Holiness Mission in 1952, the *Holiness Mission Journal* merged with the Nazarene paper, the joint paper being entitled *The Way*.

8. General Assessment

Some appraisal can be made of, first, relevant features of the denomination's continuing presence as a church in Scotland; second, the longer-term effect of its 'churchly way of life'; third, the extent to which these factors and others enabled it to maintain confidence in and hopefulness for the future.

A strong contributory factor in maintaining a sense of identity and independence was undoubtedly that George Sharpe's position within the context of the American union was little affected, so that the image of the 'head' for these small churches stayed visible and active. Sharpe's

writings indicate enthusiasm for the union and, if it was a matter of necessity - though it is nowhere so presented by him - it was one which he welcomed, seeing it as opening up 'a larger outlook for our faith'.[39] His leadership was sufficiently strong to carry the membership with him, and although the statistics of the voting indicate some leanings towards retaining independence, very little serious hostility seems to have emerged.[40]

Along with this, the Scottish branch of the church was able to retain most of its autonomy, being represented whenever possible at the General Assembly in Kansas City, from which the delegates returned with reports. The form and procedure of the annual District Assembly in Britain changed very little. After World War Two, it was invariably attended by a General Superintendent from the States, acting as 'president'. The various Boards and Committees were represented and submitted reports, as well as lay delegates, usually two, from each congregation. The Assembly was generally held in the Parkhead Church, occasionally in Morley. The Assembly proceedings consisted of morning and afternoon sessions, each opening with devotions and closing with prayer; visitors were introduced - for example, from the States (other than the president) or from the missionary areas - and sessions often concluded with an address from the General Superintendent.[41]

The District Assemblies, while occasions of lively expression of opinion, proceeded generally without any serious tensions arising. One or two examples may serve to show where Scottish independence may

[39] *SHS*, p.57.

[40] See section on the union, chapter 6 above.

[41] Journals of Proceedings of Assemblies (NTC Archives 85).

have been encroached upon or American organisation been somewhat disconcerted. A simple example of the latter is the surprise of a General Superintendent in an early Assembly meeting at encountering question and objection 'from the floor', this being a highly unlikely occurrence in the well-regulated American Assembly gatherings.[42] But American opinion carried in the matter of the Assembly date. Customarily, the proceedings extended over five days during the Easter period. However, in the early 1950s, on the recommendation of headquarters at Kansas City, the period was shortened to two days. The argument was that it was inappropriate to hold these meetings in the Easter season, especially on Good Friday; but the change was not particularly welcomed by the home churches, which had the traditional Scots leaning towards lengthy discussion and debate. [43]

Nevertheless, the Scottish branch was still fairly independent, and situations of difficulty were generally dealt with by the Scottish Assembly under Sharpe, without reference to General Assembly. This applied to instances of resignations of pastors, or to a case such as arose in 1940, when Robert Purvis, who for nine years exercised a highly effective superintendency, resigned and refused to stand for re-election. This produced deeply-felt division, and nine ballots were cast before a successor was appointed. Purvis's disagreement with the executive caused him to resign from the Nazarene ministry in 1941.[44] In that situation, George Sharpe's influence had eventually helped to bring about a conclusion; but a later Assembly of 1948 had to make its decisions without his guidance when division arose over the election of a

[42] Information from Dr S. Martin, interview, November 1994.

[43] Ibid.

[44] *ISJW*, pp.68-70, n. 255, p.87.

District Superintendent: the first two ballots were controversial and were not recorded, and the third only was minuted after directives from the General Superintendent.[45]

At an early point, the Scottish branch had held out firmly in a significant direction for traditional allegiance and practice. Its Sunday Schools had since inception followed the course of lessons prescribed by the Scottish Sunday School Union, and also used the *Scottish National Hymnal for the Young*. The churches indicated their unwillingness to replace this by the American church's Sunday School programme, and a qualification was inserted in the 1919 *Manual* acknowledging the right of the British Isles District to formulate their own Sunday School constitution, as being 'in accord with the provisions of the *Manual* of the Church of the Nazarene'.[46] These conditions being met, the result was that the traditional sources of instruction and praise continued in use for many years.

[45] Information from Dr T.W.Schofield, at that time Assistant Secretary for the British Isles District, August 1994.

[46] *Manual*, Section VII, Constitution for Sunday Schools, Art. xiii.

CONCLUSION

The denomination's continued presence has been shown to be the outcome of several factors, mainly: a positive leadership proclaiming profound holiness convictions; a loyal if not large following; a willingness for sacrificial giving and for rejection of the world's diversions; a high value placed upon theological education; and, predominantly, a constantly-held vision of a **church** with all due form and pattern.

This last, the 'churchly way of life', enabled it to retain congenial relationship with other religious communities - relationship from which it could, in the best sense, benefit. George Sharpe wrote in 1926 that the denomination was 'large enough in its catholicity to admit all kinds of baptizers',[47] and ministers and speakers from mainstream and other churches were invited to participate in special services. This is not to deny that there were 'pockets' of exclusivist tendencies, and this resulted in some losses; but there always had been such losses, both before and since one pastor testified regretfully in his Review report that his congregation had lost those who were 'unwilling to pay the full price of walking in the highway of holiness'.[48]

In its journey along that highway, the denomination was indeed sustained by its confidence in itself and its hopefulness for the future. From its birth as the Pentecostal Church of Scotland, it had seen itself as a bulwark of holiness, its aims being 'holy Christian fellowship, conversion of sinners, entire sanctification of believers, their up-building in holiness.....together with the preaching of the gospel to every

[47] *SHS*, p.62.

[48] *Holiness Herald*, 1925 Review issue.

creature'.[49] These were maintained as the church's objectives, summed up in the assertion that 'The core of the proclamation of God's Fatherhood is the invitation to men and women to become His children', and that 'only as each member makes his contribution - whether as eye, ear, hand, etc. - can the Body as a whole exercise its functions effectively'.[50] The objectives were kept in view within a conventional structure, being demonstrated outwardly in such features as the continuing practice of the 'altar call' and the 'after-meeting' which often accompanied it, the designation 'Brother', 'Sister', the opportunity in the more freely-organised evening services for spontaneous prayer and testimony and the endorsing 'Hallelujah!' or 'Praise the Lord!' from those in the congregation.

At the close of its fourth decade, the Scottish Church of the Nazarene had achieved a settled position. This had not been arrived at easily, but the achievement owed much to the personality of George Sharpe, who from the time that he founded the Church in 1906 sustained and developed it by qualities of conviction and determination. For many of these years, he maintained the leadership virtually alone, and his contribution was acknowledged by his Church in Scotland and America. Although he retired officially, he served actively for several more years, and he was able to hand over to a band of pastors trained (in many cases by himself) in firm Nazarene principles; this did much to reinforce the Church's strength and commitment . He saw his life's work, begun in inauspicious circumstances, achieve what must be termed, in the light of those circumstances, success. His attitude to the unions of 1952 and 1955, occurring after his death in 1948, can be only a matter of surmise;

[49] *Manual,* Part II, Section 3.
[50] Dunn et al., *Opportunity Unlimited,* p.99.

but it is likely that he would have approved the wider spread of congregations throughout the United Kingdom under the denominational name and structure of 'Church of the Nazarene'.

END

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
1		Statistical Reports of Pentecostal Church of Scotland and Church of the Nazarene																	
2																			
3		Table 1. Year ending March 1911.																	
4	Church	P	Pa	Ud	M	B	Total												
5	M/ship	292	80	27	90	50	539												
6	S/Schl	420	80	60	70	90	720												
7																			
8		Table 2.Year ending March 1921.																	
9	Church	P	Pa	Ud	M	B	A	Pe	Gs	Total									
10	M/ship	200	29	42	63	19	33	40	26	452									
11	S/Schl	250	90	92	102	40	60	68	35	737									
12	Y P S*	150	30	23	31	nil	nil	12	35	281									
13																			
14		Table 3 Year ending February 1925																	
15	Church	P	Pa	Ud	M	B	A	Pe	Gs	Be	D	Gl	Mw	PG	Total				
16	M/ship	200	70	35	85	39	60	56	24	12	15	20	18	7	641				
17	S/Schl	250	110	107	121	115	80	70	25	53	50	82	61	24	1152				
18	Y P S	56	24	47	nil	12	15	20	nil	nil	15	nil	nil	nil	189				
19	Note-Bellshill closed 1932 Govanhill closed 1930.																		
20																			
21		Table 4 for year 1934 - 35.(Scottish Churches only)																	
22	Church	P	Pa	Ud	B	A	Pe	D	Mw	PG	Ay	Gk	I	Ir	T	Tw	Total		
23	M/ship	186	53	76	23	58	68	23	31	66	12	13	20	29	18	24	700		
24	S/Schl	302	145	239	108	95	122	89	124	175	n/a	90	30	66	56	47	1688		
25	Y P S	40	23	48	19	27	20	16	32	26	nil	8	30	nil	14	nil	313		
26	Note 1.- Inverness closed 1940. Note 2. YPS - Young Peoples Societies.																		
27																			
28		Table 5 for year 1949 - 50 (Scottish churches only)																	
29	Church	P	Pa	Ud	B	A	Pe	D	Mw	PG	Ay	Gk	Ir	T	Tw				
30	M/ship	186	63	65	34	49	62	31	22	72	32	20	24	24	41	-continued			
31	S/Schl	206	85	82	61	72	40	52	68	200	24	39	40	26	46	- continued			
32	Y P S	66	45	16	nil	24	23	14	21	38	nil	11	17	nil	17	- continued			
33																			
34		Table 5 - continued.																	
35	Church	Vp	G	Du	Total														
36	M/ship	23	42	17	802														
37	S/Schl	77	36	23	1177														
38	Y P S	nil	22	nil	314														
39	Note - Ayr Greenock and Dundee.					- Closed													
40																			
41	Key -	P - Parkhead					D - Dunfermline												
42		Pa - Paisley					Mw Motherwell.												
43		Ud - Uddingston.					PG - Port Glasgow.												
44		M - Morley.					Ay -Ayr.												
45		B - Blantyre					Gk - Greenock.												
46		A - Ardrossan.					I - Inverness.												
47		Pe - Perth.					Ir -Irvine.												
48		Gs - Gildersome.					T -Troon.												
49		Be - Bellshill.					Tw-Twechar.												
50		Vp - Viewpark.					Du - Dundee.												
51		G - Govan.					Gl - Govanhill												

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