

2004

A Rebel in the Ranks: A Biography of Mildred Bangs Wynkoop

Linda K. Alexander

Olivet Nazarene University, laalexand@mnu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.olivet.edu/arch_wesleybk



Part of the [Christian Denominations and Sects Commons](#), [Christianity Commons](#), [History of Gender Commons](#), [History of Religion Commons](#), [Practical Theology Commons](#), [Religious Thought, Theology and Philosophy of Religion Commons](#), [United States History Commons](#), and the [Women's History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Alexander, Linda K., "A Rebel in the Ranks: A Biography of Mildred Bangs Wynkoop" (2004). *Wesleyan Holiness Books*. 4.
https://digitalcommons.olivet.edu/arch_wesleybk/4

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the University Archives at Digital Commons @ Olivet. It has been accepted for inclusion in Wesleyan Holiness Books by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Olivet. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@olivet.edu.

A Rebel in the Ranks: A Biography of Mildred Bangs Wynkoop

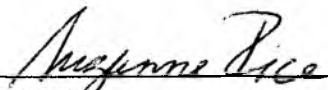
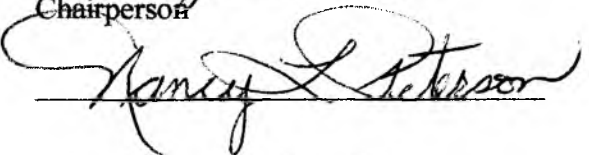
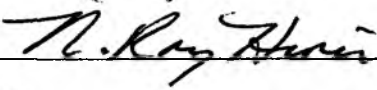

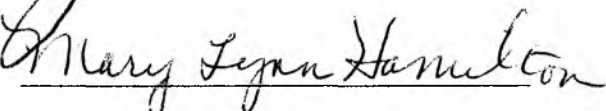
By

Linda K. Alexander

B.A. MidAmerica Nazarene University
M.A. University of Kansas

Submitted to the Department of Teaching and Leadership and the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dissertation Committee:


Chairperson





Dissertation Defended: _____

Abstract

This dissertation studied the life, the theology and the educational pedagogy of Dr. Mildred Bangs Wynkoop. Wynkoop changed the theological framework within the international denomination of the Church of the Nazarene. Wynkoop's proactive interpretation of Wesleyan theology kept the Church of the Nazarene in the forefront of theological development within the Wesleyan Holiness movement during the twentieth century.

Wynkoop was born on September 9, 1905 in Seattle, Washington. During her college years at Pasadena College she met and married Ralph Wynkoop, a religion major who wanted to be a preacher. After co-pastoring with her husband Ralph for several years, Wynkoop began to yearn for a deeper understanding of the Bible. This yearning led her to Western Evangelical Seminary where she graduated with a Masters of Divinity in 1948. She then proceeded to the University of Oregon for a Masters of Science in Education with a minor in Philosophy. In 1955 she finished her educational journey graduating from Northern Baptist Theological Seminary in Chicago with a Doctorate of Theology.

At the age of 50 she began her teaching career at Western Evangelical Seminary for five years before moving to Japan to teach at the Japanese Christian Junior College and the Japan Nazarene Theological Seminary. After five years in Japan. Wynkoop and her husband, Ralph, moved back to the States, where she taught at Trevecca Nazarene College in Nashville, Tennessee. Wynkoop finished her teaching career at Nazarene

Theological Seminary in Kansas City, Missouri in 1986 at the age of 80.

Wynkoop's interpretation of Wesley's theology was a new paradigm introduced in her landmark text, *A Theology of Love: The Dynamics of Wesleyanism* (1972), which is still used today. Her theology included several themes she observed within Wesley's theology. They are :

1. Wesley's theology is a relational theology.
2. Wesley's theology is a process theology.
3. Wesley's theology is a moral theology.
4. Wesley's theology is a qualitative theology.
5. Wesley's theology is holistic in nature.

Wynkoop believed this interpretation of Wesley's theology was truer to what Wesley had intended than the distortions of his theology she noticed as a result of the rising popularity of Fundamentalism and the by-products of the American Holiness Movement on Wesleyan Holiness theology.

Often the lone female voice in a room full of theologians, she created controversy by simply being there. But she was able to overcome prejudice to become one of the great Wesleyan theologians of the twentieth century. Among her accomplishments are: six major publications, hundreds of published articles and essays, President of the Wesleyan Theological Society, first woman as a Religion Professor at a Nazarene University, first woman Religion Department Chair at a Nazarene University, Dean of the Japanese Nazarene Seminary and one of the most influential theologians in the Wesleyan Holiness Movement. Wynkoop died on May 21, 1997 at the age of 91.

Her legacy can still be seen today. She revitalized the call for scholarship within the Church of the Nazarene. Wynkoop understood scholarship and growth go hand in hand; something she pushed all of her students to see. Secondly, her interpretation of Wesley's theology pointed the way for a "whole Wesleyan" view. Thirdly, she encouraged open debate of theological ideas. In doing so, she allowed her students to question the already preconceived "Nazarene" theological ideas. Finally, Wynkoop transformed the world for all future women students and theologians. For Wynkoop gender was not an issue. She felt all students, male or female, were called to "do theology."

"Doing theology" was what Wynkoop wanted to do as a child sitting on the front pew of her church and it was what she devoted her life to do. The theological and educational scene within the Church of the Nazarene will be forever changed because Wynkoop "did theology."

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction and Overview

Introduction.....	1
Purpose of the Study.....	2
Methodology.....	3
Outline of Chapters.....	7
Conclusion.....	19

Chapter Two: A Rebel in the Making: The Early Years

Introduction.....	20
Her Heritage.....	20
Early Years.....	22
The College Years.....	24
Life After Graduation: Pastoring and Evangelizing.....	26
Wynkoop's Sanctification.....	29
Lessons From Her Early Life: Wynkoop's Calling.....	31
The Heritage of the Church of the Nazarene.....	33
Conclusion.....	43

Chapter Three: The Education of the Rebel

Introduction.....	45
Graduate Work.....	47
Wynkoop's View of Education.....	50
Wynkoop's Classroom.....	54

Her Time in Japan.....	57
The Language of Japan.....	60
The Educational/Curricular Structure at JCJC and Japanese Theological Seminary.....	63
Conclusion.....	66

Chapter Four: The Rebel's Church

Introduction.....	68
James Arminius.....	69
John Wesley.....	73
Wesley's Theology.....	79
Wynkoop's Interpretation of Wesley.....	83
Wesleyan-Arminian Theology.....	85
The American Holiness Movement.....	87
Developing Nazarene Theology.....	89
Conclusion.....	97

Chapter Five: The Rebel's Theology

Introduction.....	98
Wesley's Theology is a Relational Theology.....	102
Wesley's Theology is a Process Theology.....	103
Wesley's Theology is a Moral Theology.....	107
Wesley's Theology is a Qualitative Theology.....	110
Wesley's Theology is Holistic in Nature.....	112

Sin.....	114
Grace.....	116
Justification.....	117
Sanctification.....	119
Holiness.....	120
Wynkoop’s Opponents.....	122
Conclusion.....	125
Chapter Six: Repercussions of the Rebel	
Introduction.....	127
Her Time at Trevecca Nazarene College.....	127
After Trevecca.....	130
Wynkoop’s Legacy.....	133
Conclusion.....	135
References.....	137
Appendix A: Interview Questions.....	141

Chapter One

Introduction and Overview

Introduction

There are some destined to be trailblazers. Lewis and Clark, Clara Barton and Martin Luther King, Jr., to name a few, were trailblazers living their lives on new paths. Another trailblazer that could be added to that list is Dr. Mildred Bangs Wynkoop. She was a trailblazer and a rebel in her own way. Her path was a path of many firsts: first woman as President of the Wesleyan Theological Society; first woman Religion Professor at a Nazarene University; first woman Religion Department Chair at a Nazarene University; first woman Dean of the Japanese Nazarene Seminary; and one of the first influential theologians in the Wesleyan-Holiness Movement. She described herself as a frontier woman at heart. “I think best when I am fighting for my convictions even out there where the personal support is weak. I guess I’m a frontier at heart” (Wynkoop, personal correspondence, File #2223-14). She later describes herself as a boundary pusher. “There are several places to stand in the church from the absolute center out to the growing edge. I find myself happier in the pioneer area” (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #1427-8). This pioneering spirit is seen throughout all areas of her life.

There seems to be two views of Wynkoop and her theology. Some viewed her boundary pushing as a catalyst for growth of the church. “A recent past-president of the Wesleyan Theological Society, she is considered by many to be not only the most distinguished woman theologian in the Holiness Movement for generations, but one who,

especially because of her publications, has few peers among the Holiness Theologians who have established their work since the death of H. Orton Wiley almost two decades ago” (Introduction to Farewell Address, Spring 1976) Others, because of her questioning attitude, viewed her as a gadfly. What was it about this woman that made all who came in contact with her or her ideas take notice?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the legacy of Wynkoop on educational thought and practices and theological development within the Church of the Nazarene. The study takes a two-pronged approach. First, research was conducted on Wynkoop as an educator. From her earliest memories, she wanted to be a teacher. Wynkoop was involved in educational settings all of her life, either as a student or as a teacher envisioning education as an exciting and wonderful field. To teach others about God was her ultimate dream; a dream realized through education. Secondly, research was conducted on Wynkoop’s theological views and how those views related to the other perspectives in the church at that time. Several research questions have guided this study.

1. What was Wynkoop’s particular educational philosophy?
2. What was Wynkoop’s theological bent and what was so different about her theological views, compared to other theologians?
3. What, if any, is the relation between Wynkoop’s educational philosophy and her theological views?

These questions will help guide the research process for this study.

Methodology

This study was historical in nature. Examination of the history of the church and the history of Wynkoop's life involves mainly a text based study. Wynkoop is no longer alive, but, fortunately, she was a prolific author, writing for over fifty years of her life. This writing provides key insights into her life and ideas. She was a scholar who was well-read in areas such as philosophy, theology, sociology, and anthropology. The texts to be examined for this study are as broad as her intellectual pursuits. The literature to be examined can be categorized into four basic areas.

1. The primary sources for this research were the writings of Wynkoop. Six books, hundreds of sermons, lectures and speeches, along with files and files of personal correspondence and personal journals comprised the bulk of the sources to be examined in this study. These resources illuminated the life of Wynkoop, her educational philosophy and her theological positions.

2. Wynkoop was a Wesleyan scholar, one who had a highly intellectual following. Her proponents said she helped the church rediscover the treasures of Wesleyan scholarship. In the early part of the 20th century Wesley and Wesleyanism was on the outskirts of theological priorities. While some scholars believed Wesley's theology was not relevant for the new century, Wynkoop believed otherwise. Wynkoop was a Wesleyan scholar studying Wesley's thoughts and ideas all of her life. She felt it was important to examine Wesley's theology as a whole unit, considering all of his works

as a complete text instead of taking bits and pieces of sermons and essays to render a view of his theology. She read and studied all of his sermons, letters and published materials, but she concentrated on some sermons more than others to understand his theology. Therefore, in this study the writings of Wesley that Wynkoop deemed important were read and studied for significance. Careful examination was given to Wynkoop's interpretation of Wesley, because it was in this way that Wynkoop affected the Nazarene church the most. She brought a fresh interpretation of Wesley to the Church of the Nazarene and other Wesleyan founded churches.

3. To understand Wynkoop's life in relation to the church she loved so much, an examination of the history of the Nazarene church was completed. Two books particularly relevant to this part of the study are: *Called Unto Holiness Vols. I and II*. These volumes explore the history of the Church of the Nazarene. Commissioned by the General Superintendents, the ruling positions of the church at the time, these volumes illustrate the "politically correct" view of the history of the church. These volumes establish the theological foundations of the Church of the Nazarene before Wynkoop's input. In order to determine if Wynkoop changed the theological landscape for the church a before and after comparison needs to be completed. These volumes helped establish the before component of the theological study. Her own writings and those after her determined the after part of the comparison. Other church related historical texts examined were writings by and about early church leaders and theologians. In particular, writings of Phineas F. Bresee, the founding father of the Church of the Nazarene, and H. Orton Wiley, the first major systematic theologian of the church, were helpful in

determining the development of Wynkoop's thoughts. As leaders and mentors, these two men had a direct impact on Wynkoop's theology and her educational pedagogy.

4. Another source examined were texts authored by contemporaries of Wynkoop. Wynkoop and other teachers and theologians communicated through the journal articles and books they wrote. It is interesting to note that Wynkoop never personally met her major opponents even though they lived in the same region of the United States. Proponents and opponents of Wynkoop theology expressed their opinions in various texts. These texts were examined to understand the different theological views of the church and to see the give and take of theological development within Wynkoop. Among the major proponents of Wynkoop were Dr. William Greathouse, Dr. Ron Staples and Dr. Paul Bassett, who have published their own theological texts. Major opponents were Dr. Richard Taylor, Dr. Donald Metz, and Dr. Kenneth Grider. These men were contemporaries of Wynkoop who also had their own theological treatises published and studied within the Church of the Nazarene.

Besides textual sources, interviews were completed in order to better understand Wynkoop's life. Many of her contemporaries are still living and they were interviewed for details on the personal struggles and triumphs they all faced during Wynkoop's life. Another rich source for interviews was the many students she mentored while teaching at Trevecca Nazarene University and the Nazarene Theological Seminary. It seems that for these students, Wynkoop is a favorite subject. They discuss their associations with her with great affection.

There were three different types of interviews completed for this study. The first

type was a formal, face to face interview usually lasting between one and two hours. These individuals were guaranteed confidentiality unless they gave permission to use their names. These interviews were recorded for use in this study and further study in the future. There were approximately eight of these type of interviews. The second type of interview used was an electronic interview. Some of Wynkoop's colleagues lived far enough away that face to face interview were not attainable. Therefore I e-mailed the interview questions to them and they responded in e-mail also. This type of interview was a bit cumbersome because exploration of a written comment by the interviewee was hard to develop in future e-mails. Also it was more time consuming for the interviewees than just speaking to myself. These conditions may have caused some interviewees to truncate their stories and comments. There were approximately five of these type of interviews. The third type of interview completed for this study was the informal, on the spot interview. Because I live within the Nazarene community and teach in Nazarene higher education it was not uncommon to hear stories about Wynkoop once people heard of this study. Many times the words, "I just have to tell you this about Wynkoop" were heard. These informal interviews were used to substantiate ideas and concepts explored in other formal interviews and in Wynkoop's publications. Often times support for these stories were found in Wynkoop's personal notes. These informal interviews helped to place emotion and context behind the events described in Wynkoop's letters and publications. There were approximately twenty of these interviews.

Using these three types of interviews I tried to interview those who personally knew her first. These individuals were either colleagues or students of hers. For

colleagues, the main thrust of the interview was exploring Wynkoop's developing theology, the acceptance or rejection of her theology, and their perception of her theology. The colleagues that were opponents shed interesting light on the difference of opinions within the theological developments of the Church of the Nazarene. For students of Wynkoop, the main thrust of the interview was her teaching philosophy and methodology.

Other interviewees were those who did not know her personally, but have either studied her theology, especially her key textbook, *A Theology of Love: The Dynamic of Wesleyanism*, or have been mentored by a professor who has pertinent opinions of Wynkoop. Because of their age and the coverage of Wynkoop's theology, these individuals will have been influenced by Wynkoop's theology, whether they know it or not. (See Appendix A for interview questions.)

Outline of Chapters

It is said that everyone has a story. Wynkoop is no exception. Her story is fascinating and compelling. Her life story intertwines with the story of the Church of the Nazarene. Her infancy corresponds with the infancy of the Church. As the church matured, so did she. As the church questioned its impact, she questioned her impact as a preacher and evangelist. As the church groaned under intellectual and theological scrutiny, she dug deeper to give answers to the questions of second and third generation Nazarene pastors and laity. And as the church started toward what she saw as a dangerous path, away from its Wesleyan roots, she tugged and pulled it back to what she

considered the right path. The theological beliefs the Nazarene church stands on today were in part developed and espoused by Wynkoop. That in itself deems this an important study. What is even more remarkable, though, is that I can find no other research or study on this fascinatingly complicated woman. A woman of such accomplishments, must have her story told. The following chapters comprise my study.

Chapter Two describes the basic history of Wynkoop's life. Where and when she was born is very important to her story. She was born in Seattle in 1905. Her parents had a profound effect on her personal development. Her father, Carl Oliver Bangs and her mother, Mery Dupertus, while they were both young, traveled many miles separately to settle in the Northwest. Carl Bangs was born in Norway and escaped military service as a young man by fleeing Norway on his uncle's steamer bound for America. The trip was long and hazardous, but he made it and jumped ship when it landed in the American Northwest. Mery Dupertus was born in Switzerland. Her family left their homeland and made their journey to the west coast via the land route across America. They met and married. Wynkoop was the first of six children for Carl O. and Mery Bangs. Her siblings consisted of four sisters and one brother. Her parents challenged all of their children, girls included, to question, search, observe and educate themselves about the world around them. This scholarly pursuit included literary classics and the scriptures.

Wynkoop insisted that her father was her main source of motivation. "My thinking and attitudes and life goals and so much of the way I have 'traveled' was influenced by my own father's own thinking. The 'classics' were my meat and drink" (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #1427-2). Two important aspects of her father's life are

important to this study. The first is that he gave his heart to God while a young man at a Salvation Army church service. Church, the scriptures and living a Christian life became very important to him. When he married, this lifestyle anchored his marriage through the good and the bad. Wynkoop relates that some of her earliest memories are of the “tom-tom ladies” of the Salvation Army. Many a night the family were found in church services or on street corners witnessing to what they considered the saving grace of God. The second aspect of her father’s life directly impacting Wynkoop was his relationship to Phineas F. Bresee and the beginnings of the Church of the Nazarene. Bangs stumbled across a group of men and women who had begun a Bible study in the Seattle area. This was a group of people calling themselves Nazarenes. “Bangs, from Norway, had found the Nazarene meetings to be more of a ‘family church’ than the Salvation Army, whose work he once led in the logging town of Roslyn, Washington” (Bangs, *Phineas Bresee*). The Nazarenes were a group of men and women who followed the teachings of Phineas F. Bresee. It was later in Seattle that Phineas F. Bresee organized this group of people into the Seattle Church of the Nazarene. “Bresee organized them into a class. The leader, together with Brother C.O. Bangs and Sister E.S. Colburn, were appointed an Executive committee” (*Nazarene Messenger*, 1905, p. 8). So her father was one of the original organizers of the Seattle Church of the Nazarene. Her earliest memories then are of church. As her life develops so does the Church of the Nazarene. For the rest of her life she walked hand in hand with the Church of the Nazarene.

Other subjects discussed in this chapter are Wynkoop’s early educational experiences, her time at Northwest Nazarene College, and her education at Pasadena

College, where she met her husband Ralph. At Pasadena College Wynkoop graduated with a Bachelors of Arts and with Ralph began their lifelong ministerial partnership. For over ten years they were partners in evangelism. They often held two to three week revivals at churches in Washington, Oregon and California. This ministerial partnership lasted their lifetimes. This chapter ends with Wynkoop's decision to further her studies in theology. She was forty years old and felt she was being called into a deeper understanding of theology. Ralph supported her decision wholeheartedly. This was a major event and turning point in her life.

Chapter Three examines Wynkoop's educational philosophy and pedagogy. For her, education was more than rote answers supplied by the teacher and absorbed by the students. Education was meant to help students question and clarify their beliefs. Wynkoop would surely agree with Socrates that an unexamined life was not worth living. "The essence of education is to develop the powers of discrimination and taste. The more properly one is able to evaluate all the experiences and facts of life and choose the most suitable, the more highly educated he is" (Wynkoop, August 1939, p. 10). This ability to think critically characterized her educational experience as a student and a teacher.

In 1935, after ten years of pastoring and evangelizing with her husband in churches all along the west coast, Wynkoop felt a calling to deepen her understanding of the Bible. She wrestled with this call for some time, but eventually gave into the hunger she felt. "A hunger came to know the depths of the Bible. I began attending a small Baptist Greek class. I started late, but made a B and an A the rest of the year"

(Wynkoop, personal notes, File #2223-3). She was forty years old and beginning her search for answers to life's big questions. She began attending Western Evangelical Seminary where often times she was the only female in the classroom. She graduated in 1948 with a Masters of Divinity degree. Continuing her studies at the University of Oregon, Wynkoop graduated in 1952 with a Masters of Science. To finish her educational studies she attended Northern Baptist Theological Seminary in Chicago where she graduated with a Doctorate of Theology in 1955 at the age of 50. She was now ready to begin her official teaching duties.

Wynkoop began her teaching career back at Western Evangelical Seminary. From there she taught in places such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan while representing the Oriental Missionary Society and later the Church of the Nazarene. After her stay in the Orient she returned to the states to teach at Trevecca Nazarene College in Nashville, TN and finally finished her formal teaching assignments at the Nazarene Theological Seminary in Kansas City.

Wynkoop was an unique teacher with an unique teaching style. From her earliest recollections she wanted to be a preacher who would teach others about God and the Bible. She was a theologian, but she was also an educator at heart. As many interviewees have said, "she was no ordinary teacher." She made students challenge, question and search for the answers to age old questions, such as: Why are we here? What does God require of us? and What is holiness? She approached the classroom as a fellow searcher with her students. She encouraged her students to question the theological precepts of the church even when it was not politically correct to do so. "The professor

learns as much (and much more), then the student in the teaching interchanges. It is stimulating and so worthwhile” (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #2223-3). Wynkoop and her students were partners in the search for truth.

Wynkoop also cared a great deal for her students. She and her husband were not able to have children, so her students became her children to be nurtured and loved. She cared for the whole student. She spent many hours talking with students outside of the classroom, asking and answering questions and living life with them. Her caring and love moved many a young man to share with her his doubts and questions about theology and God. “I’ve had a most remarkable response at the Seminary. The students want me to stay so much that it is pathetic. I ditto my class lectures and students not in my class clamber for them. I let them talk out their questions and they say, ‘no one ever let us do this before’” (Wynkoop, personal correspondence, File #2223-12). This characteristic of her teaching underscores one of her basic theological precepts. Humanness and wholeness are two concepts she discussed many times. Her students saw these two concepts linked in Wynkoop’s educational practices and theological ideals. Holiness equals wholeness for Wynkoop. She believed as God pulls and directs believers on the road to wholeness, He is also making them holy as He is holy. This wholeness is seen as believers allow God to make them humane. Wynkoop was humane. She lived her theological precepts before her students.

One important part of Wynkoop’s education as a student and as a teacher occurred during her teaching experience in Japan in the early 1960s. She writes in her journal that the Japanese culture predisposes the students to misunderstand the abstract theological

concepts her American students take for granted. During her six years in Japan she revolutionized her theological and educational practices to correlate with the Japanese culture. Wynkoop understood that she could not teach her theological subjects as she would a college student in the United States. These two groups of students, the Japanese and the American, were radically different, socially and culturally. To teach and minister to her Japanese students she tried to understand the customs of her students. One particular cultural custom that was difficult for Wynkoop to overcome in the classroom was the cultural tradition of compartmentalizing ideas and actions. Wynkoop recognized that her Japanese students could “box in” the theological concepts of love, God, and integrity within the parameters of school. They understood those concepts within the confines of the school environment, but once outside of the school environment the theological concepts carried no meaning and power. There was no transfer of meaning to other areas of their lives. This frustrated and confounded Wynkoop for many months. Because of this Wynkoop reevaluated her own theological views and changed her pedagogy to adapt to the Japanese culture.

As an educator she was continually seeking and reading about new ideas and concepts. For her, theology was not dead, but a continually evolving relationship between God and man and man to others. She was an extraordinary educator who saved many from leaving the church altogether. For her, the subject she loved to teach and debate about was theology. Not surprisingly, she had definite opinions and views on all theological discussions and John Wesley’s teaching in particular.

The Church of the Nazarene is a dynamic and growing organization, but like all

organizations it can be a small tight-knit group of believers, too. It can be especially close-minded in its theological circles. Until Wynkoop, for the most part, theological development in the Church of the Nazarene had been reactive in nature to past theological issues and ideas. Much of the theology of the Church of the Nazarene tried to correct the perceived errors of John Calvin and his idea of the elect and other such theologians. Wynkoop was different. Her theology was proactive and new, not reacting on others ideas, but creative from her own interpretations of Wesley. This was a different paradigm. She was not like everyone else. She was a dissenter, and when a dissenter enters a small tight-knit group, everyone takes notice. She tells of the time she began to realize that her mission might not be like that of all of the other theologians of that time. "I did not analyze it then, but I know now that I had heard a 'different drummer' to whom I should adjust my pace" (Wynkoop, personal history, p.1, File #1427-3). She saw things, ideas and concepts differently than those around her. Her interpretation of John Wesley's teachings called the church back to its Wesleyan roots.

Chapter Four discusses the theological heritage of the Church of the Nazarene. In order to understand Wynkoop's effect on the Church of the Nazarene, the theological roots of the Church of the Nazarene were examined. The Church of the Nazarene is a by-product of John Wesley and his Methodist denomination. Wynkoop believed theology was not developed in a vacuum, but altered and changed by the prevailing philosophical debates of the current time period. If this was the case, then several philosophical movements were examined to determine the impact of their ideas on the Church of the Nazarene and on Wynkoop herself. Among the philosophical and social movements

examined are; John Wesley and his Religious Revival, The American Holiness Movement, and differing Nazarene philosophical positions. All of these movements left imprints on the values, ideals, and beliefs of the Church of the Nazarene, which in turn affected the Wesleyan message of the church.

Chapter Five discusses Wynkoop's theological views and why they were, and still are, controversial. Her theological positions can be seen in her many scholarly publications throughout her fifty-year writing experience. She was a prolific writer, developing hundreds of sermons, articles, and books. Her main articles and books will be the foundation for the topics of this chapter.

Some of the texts examined are:

1. *An Existential Interpretation of the Doctrine of Holiness* (1955). This small book originally was a message presented in chapel services at Western Evangelical Seminary in Portland, Oregon on November 3, 1955. It was published by the Seminary due to the request of the faculty and students at the Seminary. It is an analysis of H. Orton Wiley's view of holiness and her interpretation of this view. Dr. H. Orton Wiley was Wynkoop's mentor and close friend. She states that he was as influential as her father in many ways. This influential address would become the foundation for her landmark text, *A Theology of Love: The Dynamic of Wesleyanism*.

2. *Foundation of Wesleyan-Arminianism* (1968). This book traces the theological roots of Wesleyanism and why Arminius was more right than Calvin in his theological thinking, according to Wynkoop.

3. *John Wesley: Christian Revolutionary* (1970). This small book began as a

series of chapel lectures at Trevecca Nazarene University. This text casts her vision of the revolutionary attitude of John Wesley and his teachings.

4. “A Hermeneutical Approach to John Wesley” (1971). In this article written for the *Wesleyan Theological Society Journal*, Wynkoop sets forth her view of Wesley’s teachings. She was considered a Wesleyan scholar, so her views are very important to the development of the Wesleyan tradition the Church of the Nazarene follows. Topics in this article include Wesley’s basic theological position regarding God and man, and the dynamic nature of Wesleyanism.

5. *A Theology of Love : The Dynamic of Wesleyanism* (1972). This is her masterpiece book that defines her theology. She suggests throughout the text that Wesley believed love was the mainstay of holiness and all Christians should be prompted by love to live a life of holiness. This text is the most controversial because it introduces the idea of relational theology. Relational theology focuses on the relationship between God and man. Because this relationship is so important, all theological issues flow from it. Wynkoop believed that sin was a by-product of a wrong relationship with God. Others during this time disagreed vehemently. They believed that sin was a thing, a substance that had to be exorcized in order to have a right relationship with God. The relational theology she develops creates a new paradigm to be discussed and examined. This book discusses the ramifications of her interpretation of John Wesley’s theology.

6. “John Wesley—Mentor or Guru” (1975). This was her Presidential address while President of the Wesleyan Theological Society. This article, published in the *Wesleyan Theological Society Journal*, defined her view of Wesley and the Wesleyan

tradition.

Besides the above mentioned texts, Wynkoop published many articles in various evangelical magazines. Along with these resources are hundreds of speeches and addresses presented at seminars and workshops throughout the years. The archives at the Nazarene Headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri also has files and files of her class notes she kept while a student and teacher. Examination of these sources gave great insight into her theology and the process she followed while developing her ideas.

As with any trailblazer, Wynkoop had her detractors. This chapter of the study also examines the critics of Wynkoop. Her relational theology was the most controversial of topics among theologians, when it was first articulated. It remains controversial today. Two outspoken critics, Dr. Kenneth Grider and Dr. Donald Metz, published materials attacking her work. Both of these men are still living and were contacted for their views on Wynkoop's theology. Disagreement came with the following concepts.

1. Her relational theology. Her critics thought the God-man relationship was important, but it was not the driving force of Wesleyanism.

2. Her concept of sin as a by-product of being in a wrong relationship to God, instead of sin as a state or condition of man.

3. Her view of the works of grace. She believed people came to know God and then deepen their relationship with God through a process. It is a continual, dynamic interrelationship between God and man. She argued that God seeks man through prevenient grace and man seeks God through revelation. Her critics believed people come to know God through a distinct two step activity. For the Christian, the initial

response to God causes regeneration, but there must be another step to move to a higher level of Christian experience. This second step is termed sanctification. Wynkoop believed salvation and sanctification were on a continuum, whereas her critics saw those concepts on two different planes.

4. Her view of wholeness and holiness was different than those around her. As stated earlier, she believed wholeness and holiness were two sides of the same coin. Wynkoop believed as a Christian moves toward wholeness of personality and the will of God, then the person is also moving toward holiness. Wynkoop suggested moving toward wholeness occurs as one moves toward humaneness.

Not being a theologian, but an educator, this chapter will be suggestive rather than definitive. Theologians today debate and ponder her theology. Volumes could be written on her views, so this study only opens the conversation concerning her theology and her opponents to this new theological paradigm.

How does one measure the success of a life? By the effect on others? By the effect on society? Chapter Six of this study examines the ramifications of Wynkoop's life on those around her and the theological world of then and now. One of the most important contributions of Wynkoop's life was her acceptance of questions. She allowed many young men and women to question and grapple with the big issues of life. Because of this, there seems to be a new openness to ideas and variations of ideas. *A Theology of Love* is still used as a standard text in many seminaries across the nation. Many young men state Wynkoop's relational theology enabled them to stay in a church that had grown too legalistic and cold. Even though she is no longer living, her writings continue to

shape pastors, laymen and theologians. Her awareness of the church's role in the "social gospel" was a step before the development of compassionate ministries within the church. The pursuit of life's big questions will continue on because Wynkoop first modeled that it was okay to question and think.

Conclusion

This study, by no means, will be complete when this dissertation is completed. So far, I can find no other study, great or small, conducted on Wynkoop. This study is indeed original research. I am hoping this study will begin a theological conversation about Wynkoop and her theological validity among Wesleyan scholars. Wynkoop's story needs to be told and now is the time to tell it.

Chapter Two

A Rebel in the Making: The Early Years

Introduction

Mildred Bangs Wynkoop was born on September 9, 1905 in Seattle, Washington. The twentieth century was just beginning when Wynkoop entered the world. But as she often said her life did not begin at this point, but a generation before with the birth of her parents. Her parents were very influential to her, so this is where her story begins.

Her Heritage

Her father, Carl Oliver Bang was born in Norway. He lived in a motherless home with an alcoholic father. Early on he came in contact with some neighbors and friends who were Quakers. It is these friends who helped Bang develop the moral convictions he held throughout the rest of his life. Because of his Quaker convictions, mandatory military service at the age of 17 did not appeal to him. In order to avoid military service, he decided to leave Norway aboard a steamer. His uncle's steamer was headed around "the horn" of South America and into the western United States port of San Francisco. He signed on for this trip with the express intention of "breaking ship" once it set port on the West Coast of the United States. After an arduous trip around the horn, the ship finally sailed into San Francisco. He fled the ship without any bag or baggage to the forests of California. He knew if he were found, severe punishment would be his. He was able to escape capture and find a family who let him earn a few meals by helping out

on their farm. Deciding to sound more "American" he changed his last name from "Bang" to "Bangs" (Wynkoop, 1984, p. 3). He then worked his way north until he arrived in Seattle. Very lonely and depending on his limited knowledge of the English language, he slipped into a Salvation Army worship center in lower Seattle and found new friends and a measure of peace as one of the recovered "down and outers."

Wynkoop's mother, Mery Dupertius, was born in the Swiss Alps, one of twelve children. Seeking a better life for the family, her parents bought steerage passage for themselves and all of their twelve children and crossed the ocean to the United States. In those days, steerage meant confinement in the bowels of the ship for the duration of the trip, complete with steerage tags on all of the children. They landed on the East Coast and began their long journey across the great plains of the Midwest in search of a place to call home. They looked to settle in on the plains of Kansas. The virgin soil provided them with a "soddy" and they tried farming in a desolate, wind scarred land. The family soon grew homesick for trees, mountains, and neighbors and packed up to journey on to the state of Washington. They finally settled on a farm just south of Seattle.

The Salvation Army was the saving factor for both of these young people. Carl Bangs was drawn to the street meetings held by the Salvation Army on the corners of Seattle. It was there he made his decision to follow the Lord in all things. He began officer training and began to wear the Salvation Army uniform. Spurning the military in Norway, he embraced the army of God. (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #2223-3). Mery Dupertius and her family had been acquainted with the Salvation Army in Switzerland through the influences of Catherine Booth, daughter of General William and Mrs.

Catherine Booth. It was in one of the tent meetings held by Catherine Booth on the Dupertius farm that Mery, her family and her alcoholic father became Christians. Once settled in Seattle the family turned to the Salvation Army to meet their spiritual needs.

It was at The Salvation Army that Carl Bangs and Mery Duperitus met and soon were married. They settled down on the outskirts of Seattle and began a life together. Soon Mildred Olive Bangs joined the happy couple followed through the years by four more girls and one boy. One of the first memories Wynkoop had of her early years was of the wonderful church services of The Salvation Army. "I remember clearly the 'bum-bum' ladies with their big drums and the Salvation Army songs" (Wynkoop, 1992, p. 1). The "bum-bum" part of the memory had to do with the large hats the Salvation Army women wore as part of their uniforms. With a growing family of girls, Wynkoop's parents often considered how dangerous the street meetings were, so when they heard about a new church in Seattle they decided to check it out. This new church that was 'aborning' was the Church of the Nazarene. For the rest of her life, the Church of the Nazarene played a prominent role in Wynkoop's life.

Early Years

Her early life seems to have been lived in a loving and growing family. Her father became a carpenter and supported the family in that occupation. Even though she was born into a family valuing education, she did not seem to value it early on. She remembers going to the public elementary school for the first time. In 1911 she entered the elementary school in Seattle, Washington as a scared six year old. This was the

beginning of her educational experience. She recalled later that the experience left her confused and frightened. The school was a "huge, cold, ugly, frightening building and introduced me to the most terrifying experience of my young life" (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #2223-1). For a young child used to being in church around adults, school was a "sea of noisy, confusing children's activities" not at all like church. She later states, "Nothing in my first five years of life had prepared me for my sixth year in the confusion of public school" (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #2223-1). After much expressed concern and pleading by Wynkoop, her "Papa" allowed her to be home schooled. Her mother was given a full teaching program, curriculum and all, to be administered at home. Home schooling for two years gave her the confidence to finally go back to the public elementary school for the third grade. From third grade on, public school was fine for Wynkoop, but she never really overcame a certain hesitancy to be around unfamiliar people. She worked on this reluctance her entire life. At times she was embarrassed by this characteristic, finding fault in herself for not being able to overcome it. This life-long reluctance, in spite of education and public leadership to mix with some groups was an embarrassing psychological block that she never fully over came (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #2223-1).

She recalls living a sheltered life her first eighteen years. She was limited in her social contacts to school, church and family. But this was not all bad. Her father was an avid reader and engaged his whole family in scholarly pursuits. She had a rich exposure to thinking, from her father, but this did not lend itself to much of a social life. "We knew the farm, we were protected from the world, but were poor in contacts" (Wynkoop,

personal notes, File #2223-3). The majority of those contacts were pastors and speakers who sat at the family dinner table after a Sunday service. It was on one such occasion that Wynkoop met Dr. H. Orton Wiley, a pastor who had spoken at their church that morning. Little did she know it then, but Wiley would become her mentor and good friend.

The College Years

Wiley was the president of Northwest Nazarene College and introduced Wynkoop to the idea of college. Attending college was never a question for Wynkoop. She would go. Paying for that college education was another matter. Wynkoop graduated from Ballard High School, a Seattle public school, on June 16, 1926 and planned to attend Northwest Nazarene College (NNC) in Nampa, Idaho. Even though her high school diploma states June 16, 1926 there are other historical documents suggesting she started college at NNC in the fall of 1924. Thus it remains unclear when her high school education ended and her college days began. Working at a dime store in town allowed Wynkoop to save for college. She started out earning twelve dollars a week and then after she turned eighteen she earned thirteen dollars and twenty cents a week. When she had saved one hundred dollars, she asked her father if she could go to Northwest Nazarene College. He said yes; she was ecstatic. When it was time to leave for college her father asked her for her one hundred dollars. She gave it to him, and he promptly gave her ten dollars back. He said he would pay her back. So it was with ten dollars instead of one hundred dollars that she set out for Northwest Nazarene College

(Wynkoop, personal notes, File #2223-3).

In Nampa she washed dishes, set tables and performed other odd jobs on campus to earn money to stay in school. She became a member of a singing quartet sponsored by the school. The quartet consisted of John Mandtler, William Penner, Minnie Hess, and herself, Mildred Bangs. They became Dr. Wiley's quartet traveling the Northwest and Canada raising money for the college. They traveled in broken down cars and suffered some sleepless nights and foodless days because during that time, 1924-26, not much money was available for a small Christian college when many were struggling to keep food for their families on the table.

While at NNC, Wynkoop flourished. Her need for academic rigor was met. She dived into the challenges of study and student life. She joined several clubs and participated fully in the life of the campus. The 1924 yearbook pictures her in clubs such as the Music Students club and the Expression Students club. She was also in the Christian's Workers Band, the Ortonian Literary Society, and sang in the school choir (NNC Yearbook, 1924). In 1926, Wiley left NNC to return to Pasadena College as its President. Wynkoop followed him there. There she attacked campus life with as much vigor as previously at NNC. At Pasadena she once again traveled with a quartet with Lee McIntyre, Marybelle Freeman and Ralph Wynkoop. The Quartettes traveled the countryside raising money for the school and creating awareness of the mission of the school. The time spent in this endeavor affected her the rest of her life, for it was here she met her future husband. Mildred Bangs became acquainted with a promising young preacher named Ralph Wynkoop. They were married while both were students at

Pasadena, in 1928.

Her activities at Pasadena included singing in the college Quartettes, Vice President of the student body in 1928, and member of Sigma Phi Mu in 1928 and 1929. She also continued her music pursuits singing in the Glee Club and participating in the Orchestra. It was at this time she contemplated a career as a professional cellist, but because of health reasons she had to give up that dream. She graduated from Pasadena College in 1931 with a degree in Sociology. She continued her education though and graduated from Pasadena again in 1934 with a Bachelor of Arts in Theology. She was ordained by the Church of the Nazarene in 1934. Ralph was ordained in 1936. Thus began their lifelong partnership in Christian ministry and marriage.

Life After Graduation: Pastoring and Evangelizing

After graduation the Wynkoops took a pastorate. They would have a succession of churches in Washington state and Oregon. Up to this point, Mildred Wynkoop had been able to squelch her call to preach she felt when she was a young child, but it began to haunt her once again. "Gradually but firmly the preaching call surfaced again. I struggled with its impervious voice, fearing displeasure from my husband. His response was one of powerful affirmation (Wynkoop personal notes, File #2223-1). Thus began a ministering partnership lasting their lifetimes. They are described as co-pastors of those churches in which they ministered. Each had their own strengths when brought together helped grow a church strong. Ralph was the preacher from the pulpit type and Mildred was the teacher from the front pew type. She helped in Sunday School, using whatever

means she could to teach others what the Bible said and meant. But she also preached from the pulpit. She recounts times when Ralph would rally her into the pulpit by stating if God had told her something to say then she needed to say it. She used many methods to teach what she believed was the Word of God. She was one of the few women preachers who used magic from the pulpit to instruct the congregation on moral and religious truth. "Being a woman as well as minister, put me at a very great advantage. No trickery is suspected in a minister and a lady is trusted implicitly" (Wynkoop, 1940, p. 81). She often used slight of hand and tricks to present her interpretation of the Word of God to the young and old alike. Always being the practical one though, she found that she had to dress the part. "Men have it easy with dozens of pockets here and there but you'd be surprised how much space can be provided for loads in an innocent looking dress. I usually wear a tailored jacket that will match any man's suit for utility" (Wynkoop, 1940, p. 81). Versatility was Wynkoop's key word in those early years of preaching.

Wynkoop and her husband were pastors for some time in the Church of the Nazarene and then they became evangelists traveling the countryside holding one, two, and even three week revivals. This occurred during the late 30s and early 40s. Times were hard and often they lived on the belief that God would provide financially and spiritually. They were church sponsored evangelists for awhile and then they returned to the pastorate in the Northwest.

During the late 1930s and early 1940s several important social issues were being debated in the Church of the Nazarene. These issues greatly affected Wynkoop. First, the role of women in ministry was changing. Always before women worked side by side

with the men. Women preachers were accepted and some were even eagerly sought as speakers. A subtle shift occurred when women were no longer eagerly sought speakers. It seemed their now acceptable place was developing missionary societies and reaching out to those in need. This bothered Wynkoop because she understood her call to preach and teach and she felt she was not getting the respect she deserved from those she worked so hard for.

Secondly, and more importantly, an ideological battle was occurring within the ranks of the leadership of the Church of the Nazarene. Fundamentalism and the legalism that followed was becoming increasingly popular within the Church of the Nazarene along with other evangelical churches. Fundamentalism, to Wynkoop, was the opposite of the Wesleyan truths she so loved. Rigid rules and enforcement of social codes took the place of grace, acceptance, and love. Wynkoop believed that salvation was now determined by an outward following of someone's rules, not by what she determined as the grace of God that is given freely to everyone. This bothered Wynkoop and she sought answers for the questions this ideological shift created. She wanted to split from the church of her youth, but Dr. Wiley and his modeling of love for all kept her in the church (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #2223-1). This shift of theological concerns along with the perceived spurning of women ministers created much tension and frustration for Wynkoop. She felt burnt out and tired. After a while she decided she had to find a solution to this bitterness and disillusionment she felt.

Wynkoop's Sanctification

When Wynkoop was a child she accepted the tenants of the Christian faith as her controlling lifestyle. This lifestyle which encourages dependence on Biblical truths could not sustain her during this period of disillusionment. Her ministry was wearing her down. She needed something more to satisfy the cravings of her heart. She felt she was missing something. Her treatment by others created a bitterness she could not get rid of.

I resented the delay God exercised in vindicating my rights before those who opposed me. I had married a minister and we had served a small church. The people were critical, I thought, and failed to appreciate the tremendous sacrifices of talent and education and personality which I had so gladly contributed to God's work. The least people could do would be to be fair and honest. And the least God could do would be to line those up for correction who were not fair and honest. Less than this no one could expect from heaven, could they? (Wynkoop, personal history, p. 4, File # 1427-3).

She didn't know what to do to rid herself of this bitterness and strife that had lodged itself in her heart. "Even in private prayer the contemplation of peoples' injustice to me raised such storms of bitter anger that I had to run away from that and quit praying" (Wynkoop, personal history, p. 4, File #1427-3). She wore a path to the altar trying to satisfy the longing for something more in her life. What she was seeking was the second blessing that Bresee called entire sanctification. According to this Nazarene belief, in entire sanctification, one gives his very all to the Lord. Bresee described it as total control for one's life is given to the One who knows all, God of the Bible. Phineas F. Bresee, the

founding father of the Church of the Nazarene, believed that in this moment of complete surrender, God comes and fills the person up with His Holy Spirit to enable them to carry out the plans God has for their life. For Wynkoop, her God of love came to her in her hour of desperation.

One day in a desperate hour of spiritual need, when I saw that the service I rendered to God was spoiled by my own better selfishness, the Holy Spirit led me patiently down into the deepest recess of my personality to show me my own unyielded heart. It was not a pretty sight. I tried to run away and cover the ugliness with the old self-righteous excuses but I could not get away. I did not pray for sanctification, nor 'something I will know about,' nor a blessing. I prayed to be made conformable to God's will at the deepest level of personality. The answer to that prayer was wrapped up in a decision of obedience and a commitment to God that cut across my self-will like a knife. The cross, my cross, so long despised and rejected was presented to me again. I took it deliberately with full conscious awareness of what I did. The whole transaction was a revolution in more integrity to which every previous step in grace had been a preparation. For the first time (but not the last) I saw myself as I was and took sides with God. This was a birthday, the beginning of a new quality of Christian life that I never knew existed. (Wynkoop, personal history, p. 5, File #1427-3)

Wynkoop experienced in that moment the Nazarene doctrine of entire sanctification. She would never be the same. Her ministry would never be the same. She took up her cross, a cross of scholarship and confrontation, dimly aware of what might come in the future,

but keenly aware of who would be with her each step of the way.

There seems to be two influences intertwining through the early life of Wynkoop. They are a "calling" on her life and the heritage of the early Church of the Nazarene. These two enduring influences challenged and shaped her into the person she came to be.

Lessons Form Her Early Life: Wynkoop's Calling

Wynkoop's earliest recollection as a small child was sitting on the front row of Seattle Church of the Nazarene listening to preachers. She sat on the front seat eagerly watching and absorbing everything that went on. She was inexplicitly drawn to the fellowship of the believers and to the many speakers and preachers who graced the pulpits at that time. She wanted the speakers to explain to her and help her understand what they were espousing, but they could not or would not. It was then and there she prayed "Dear God, why doesn't the preacher say things so I can understand them? When I get big Lord, if I am a preacher, I'll explain things to people" (Wynkoop, personal history, p. 1, File #1427-3). From this point on she felt a sense of call on her life: "The sense of call was always present in my mind. There had never been a blinding flash of light or supernatural voice but only a deep conviction that God had called me into His service" (Wynkoop, personal history, p. 1, File #1427-3). Of course at this time she did not understand all this would involve, but she was willing to answer the call to preach. Women served with distinction in those early days of the church. It did not occur to Wynkoop that female leaders would eventually be all but rejected by the church.

Along with this call to service was a call to depth of character. The superficial

and shallow aspects of life did not appeal to her. She grew weary of the games young girls played. She craved a deeper meaning to life. One very important part of this call to depth was her father. Education was very important to him and he impressed this on each of his daughters and son. He led by example in this case, taking classes at a small Free Methodist school tucked in the center of Seattle. He took classes there until the financial demands of the growing family were such that he could no longer afford to do it. Even when not in school, Wynkoop's father read extensively from European classical literature. Indeed, the classics were alive and well in the Bangs household. Wynkoop grew up then with Bunyan's, *Pilgrim's Progress*, Longfellow's, *Hiawatha*; C.S. Lewis', *Out of the Silent Planet*, *The Great Divorce*; Oswald Chambers' *Shade of His Hand*; E. Stanley Jones', *Christ of the Round Table*. And the list goes on. One very important characteristic developed because of this wide reading experience was the ability to think and reason without prejudice and restrictive boundaries, something quite uncommon to a young girl of the early twentieth century. "Getting lost in that treasury of literature on the long street car ride from home to grammar school" helped her develop her life long love of great literature. "Undoubtedly that reading set my own mind in directions not usual for young grade school kids" (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #1427-4). This call to depth wove itself into her very being and would be with her for the rest of her life. She continually sought experiences that would quench this insatiable appetite for the things she understood pertaining to her God and the things of the deep.

The Heritage of the Church of the Nazarene

One other constant in Wynkoop's early life was church. Whether it was the street meetings of The Salvation Army or the church services of the Church of the Nazarene, Wynkoop was in church much and the environment was very safe and comfortable for her. The Church of the Nazarene has its roots in the West and Northwest where Wynkoop resided in her growing up years.

The Church of the Nazarene was founded by Phineas F. Bresee, a Methodist minister who felt the need to leave the confines of the Methodist organization in the early 1900s. He did not start out with the vision to start a national and eventually an international denomination. He just wanted to minister to those in need.

Phineas F. Bresee was born on December 31, 1838 in Franklin, Delaware County, western New York. He was converted in a Methodist meeting in February 1856. It was then that he began his journey to preach the Methodist view of the Word of God. He accepted an "exhorters license" soon after, which was the first step toward becoming a preacher. Soon his family moved to Iowa where "preachers were scarce and traditions free" (Smith, 1962, p. 91). It is here Bresee began his lifetime occupation as a preacher. Through his ministry many accepted the Biblical concept of forgiveness of sins by the God of Moses and Abraham. He began to rise in the ranks of the Methodist denomination. He moved to bigger churches which brought in more money and more people. He became active in the missionary and temperance causes supported by the Methodists.

For several years Bresee moved around to various churches in Iowa. Tradition

dictated that preachers move at least every three years. His first circuit was in Marengo, Iowa. He later received his own circuit in Pella, Iowa which was a Dutch settlement. Because of his anti-slavery views, he asked for a transfer from Pella. Even though Pella was located in Iowa there was a strong southern influence in the town. Slavery and anti-slavery sentiments ran high causing conflict and problems. He did not want his anti-slavery views to hinder anyone from going to church. Because he felt his own convictions were an offense to certain people in his congregation of southern blood, he asked for a transfer to another church. He was granted a transfer to Galesburg, Iowa. This pastorate was a very tough and challenging one. The churches were poor and times were tough. Later in his life, Bresee said the time at Galesburg "did me more good than any I ever had" (Moore, 1970, p. 24). He learned that faith in his God would see him through even the toughest times, financially and spiritually. At the age of twenty-three Bresee had "won his spurs as a Methodist pastor" (Smith, 1962, p. 92). Des Moines, Iowa was his next stop. Each pastorate enabled Bresee to hone his preaching and teaching skills. Other stops for him and his family were Chariton, Council Bluffs, Red Oak, Clarinda, and Creston. In each place Bresee brought his own preaching style and his love for people. His congregations grew and many revivals broke out while he was pastoring these churches. He was flourishing within his pastorates and within the Methodist denomination.

At Red Oak a revival broke out lasting all winter. Many seekers came and found what they saw as salvation under Bresee's preaching. While at Red Oak, Bresee began to believe that "a large and commodious building was necessary to any successful gospel

work" (Smith, 1962, p. 93). This conviction was pressed so hard that many in the community believed a new creed was developing within the Methodist denomination. "Its first article was, 'Do you believe in Bresee?'" and the second, "Do you believe in the early completion of the new Methodist church?" (Smith, 1962, p. 93). Obviously the town believed in both because the church was built.

More importantly to the history of the Church of the Nazarene is what happened to Bresee in the winter of 1866-67. Bresee experienced what the Church of the Nazarene would later call entire sanctification. He was in the midst of a serious time of doubt and "worldly carnality" as he would describe it later. Anger, pride, and worldly ambition seemed to be controlling him and these impulses took on the form of doubt. He finally fell across his church altar and "cried to the Lord for an experience of Christ which would meet his need" (Smith, 1962, p. 94). He believed God answered his plea bringing peace to his soul. At the time, Bresee was not quite sure what had happened to him, but he realized his tendencies to "worldliness, anger and pride" were gone along with his doubt. Later Bresee would describe this experience as the receiving of the Holy Spirit in baptism which was also the Wesleyan view of entire sanctification. It was not until much later that Bresee could fully articulate what exactly happened to him. This Wesleyan concept he perceived as entire sanctification would later become a theological foundation for the Church of the Nazarene.

In 1879 Bresee's life took an unexpected turn. He was speculating in some gold-mining ventures in Mexico. He was brought into this business by his good friend, Rev. Joseph Knotts. Bresee had requested a smaller church to pastor so more time could be

spent on this business deal. Things seemed to be going well until 1883. The mine and all of the machinery and tools were destroyed when "native laborers at the old Prieta mine at Parral, Mexico set off a blast which caused an underground stream to pour into the diggings" (Smith, 1962, p. 95). Everything, including Bresee's finances, was ruined. Two important things happened because of this episode, though. One, Bresee decided to move to California because of his embarrassment over the mining venture and two he decided never again to attempt to make money but to devote the rest of his life to preaching what he understood as the Word of God.

Bresee settled in Los Angeles, California in the midst of the Holiness revival being experienced there. Many individuals were trying to bring a revival to the Methodist churches at this time. Leslie F. Gay, William McDonald and George D. Watson were three of the main instruments for the great awakening that occurred during this time. It was under their preaching that Bresee fully understood this "second blessing" or in other words, entire sanctification he had received. Bresee understood the first blessing of God was to be saved from sin and the second blessing of God was the experience of entire sanctification espoused by John Wesley. From this point forward Bresee was a wholehearted advocate of the second blessing. Around 1890, when the holiness revival had reached a crisis in southern California, Bresee determined to make the doctrine of entire sanctification the supreme issue of all of his preaching. This would eventually become the knife that would slice the Methodist denomination in two.

Because many of the Methodist preachers did not necessarily believe in or preach about entire sanctification a rift began to appear in the denomination in California. The

“second blessing” preachers had to repeatedly demonstrate their loyalty to the Methodist church. The Methodist denomination was increasingly circling their wagons for a fight with those who would take their members, the American Holiness movement. Bresee continued to work under the auspices of the Methodist denomination, even though he was increasingly becoming dissatisfied with their reaction to and lack of involvement within the Holiness Movement.

In 1892, Bresee along with J. P. Widney set out to rescue the University of Southern California in Pasadena, California. Due to financial difficulties, the University was on the verge of collapse. Widney and Bresee partnered together to try and save the school. Widney had the money and Bresee had the piety to do such a thing. Their plan to save the school from financial ruin was adopted in large part because the two most distinguished and trusted leaders of the church were guiding the ship. Dr. Widney became the president of the University and Bresee watched over the moral development of the school. Once the school was again on firm footing financially, Bresee and Dr. Widney turned their attention to a new project, that of mission work.

Bresee truly embraced John Wesley's admonition to help those in need; to minister to the down-trodden, the lonely, and the poor. While at Pasadena, California, Bresee "won as much public notice for his efforts to apply Christianity to social problems...as he did for his holiness preaching" (Smith, 1962, p. 104). He was the first to establish mission work to the Asians of the area and he campaigned for Pasadena to become a "dry" town.

California in the late 1880s was a progressive state which realized some people

needed help in overcoming their poverty and addictions. There had been a mission to help those in need in Los Angeles since 1886. This mission was nondenominational, meaning people from different religious walks of life were helping with it. But by far, the majority of people involved with the mission were people involved with the American Holiness Movement or "holiness people" as they were called and people with a Methodist religious background. This interdenominational character of the mission began to provoke suspicion within the ranks of the Methodist denomination. In 1894 an Englishman named G.T. Studde gave the founders of this mission, Rev. and Mrs. T.P. Ferguson, money to erect a building for this endeavor. Knowing Bresee's concern for social issues, the Ferguson's asked Bresee to come and help with the mission and its ministry. The mission was called Peniel Hall.

At this point Bresee was one of the most prominent Methodist ministers in southern California. Bresee asked the Methodist's Southern California conference to be reassigned to Peniel Mission to help with the work there. They said no. He then asked for a "location" which was in Methodist terms a release from his duties to the Methodist conference. This was monumental because in essence he was asking to no longer be associated with the Methodist denomination. This request came after three days of prayer. It was very difficult for Bresee to break his connection with the Methodist movement because he loved his church very much. "I was now out of the Conference. I had been a member from the time of my boyhood. My heart was full of almost unbearable sadness" (Moore, 1973, p. 40). But something had become more important to him. "The call of the poor had joined with his concern for an unfettered holiness crusade

to pull him out of the church" (Smith, 1962, p. 50). For the first time since he started preaching those many years ago, he was without a pulpit from which to preach. That did not last long for on October 21, 1894 Bresee stood and preached in Peniel Hall. This started his official work linking holiness and humanitarianism.

Because education was so important to Bresee and Widney they began the Training Institute at the mission. Biblical studies and practical nursing were the principal studies at the Institute. Peniel Mission was entirely undenominational at this point. All who wanted to help minister to the poor could. But Bresee knew that he could not accept some volunteers at "face value." Holiness meant different things to different people at this point, and Bresee wanted to make sure those who helped had the same mind as he in spiritual matters. Therefore, Bresee created a statement of belief to be followed by all those who would associate with Peniel Mission. This creed was the archetype of the earliest Nazarene creed. What Bresee envisioned was a loose organization, not a church at this point, that would combine those who did not want to leave their current churches, and those who did not have a church affiliation, into a coherent group for the sake of the mission work. At this point, it was not quite a church, but not quite a mission either.

The work of Peniel Mission grew and Bresee busied himself with the workings of the mission. During the following summer Bresee traveled East to hold several camp meetings and to see for himself what other missions were doing. In late summer he received a letter from Peniel Mission stating that he was no longer needed. It gave no reasons and no hope for further contact with them. He was crushed in spirit. He had left the Methodist denomination so he was without a church and without credentials to

preach. He was without a place to preach once again, and he was without income. What would he do? He returned to California finding his friends rallying around him. They urged him to begin a new church. It could be a mission church where he could reach out to the poor, but also a church where he could preach holiness as he wished without the confines of another denomination. Above all they supported him and promised to join him in the cause. He prayed for guidance and after a few days he decided to organize a church work emphasizing the Wesleyan view of entire sanctification. Thus, the Church of the Nazarene was born.

On October 20, 1895 the Church of the Nazarene came into being. This church was a single entity with no affiliation to any other current denomination at that time. A total of 82 men and women came and pledged themselves to this new work. Many of these first members were recent converts from the Bresee's mission work. Within the first year, 350 members joined the church and Bresee traveled quite extensively urging all those he met to join this new church. Churches were established all along the west coast of California and Washington. As Bresee traveled East more churches were established and more holiness bands were identified as having like theology. Eventually several bands of holiness groups formed a partnership with this new denomination.

Because of the American Holiness Movement, in the early 1900s hundreds of little groups of dedicated Christians left their denominations. These small groups of people began to see the need for an organization of like-minded people to meet and support one another. These bands saw a common thread in Bresee's preaching. Once the Church of the Nazarene was established in Los Angeles, many of these small bands of

people wanted to become associated with it. Delegates from these small groups met together to form an alliance of ideas and to draft a manual of their beliefs.

The birth of a new national denomination occurred in Chicago in 1907. A delegation from churches from the northeastern United States called "The Association of Pentecostal Churches of America" was there to partner with the Nazarene movement to create a nationwide holiness denomination. A merger occurred after much debate on theological beliefs and the organization was named "The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene." The word "Pentecostal" was dropped years later and the official name was once more the Church of the Nazarene. At this assembly was a delegation of holiness people from Texas. They were called "The Holiness Church of Christ." Most of the delegates believed they should join this new denomination. But first a common core of beliefs had to be found in order to overcome the emotional hurts many of these Southerners brought to the debate.

The hatred and bitterness of the Civil War was still carried in the hearts and minds of some in the United States at the turn of the 20th Century. For the south to join in partnership with a northern organization required much forgiveness and love. A leading concern also was the south's very legalistic form of religion. Many of the churches in the South developed their churches through rules and regulations. They wanted their rules for behavior and conduct to be a part of the core beliefs of the new denomination. A compromise was made and The Holiness Church of Christ and The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene were united in a General Assembly at Pilot Point, Texas in October 13, 1908. Over 1,000 holiness people from all over the United States were there for this

historic event. The East, West, and South came together under the umbrella of the organization of the Church of the Nazarene that day.

Bresee brought to this new denomination values he had long held. Of the most important was the belief in entire sanctification. This was the cornerstone on which the church would build. He fully believed, as John Wesley did, that a second blessing or entire sanctification could be experienced by all who were willing to give themselves totally to God. Added to that inward experience was the outward experience of loving man. Holiness and humanitarianism were partners in this new denomination. Also Bresee brought to this union the belief that laypeople were as important to the church as pastors. In each of his pastorates he trained laypeople to help with the mission duties of the church. Also in the church services much music and shouting were allowed. While a Methodist minister earlier in his career, he was one of the first pastors to use popular choruses within the church service. This characteristic carried on within the Nazarene churches. Even though he could not carry a tune, he often clapped while his parishners sang. Much praising and waving of hankies often accompanied his preaching. Also he brought to this new religious movement a strong interest in and emphasis on education for young people. Bresee believed ministers and laypeople needed to have a good education to be able to serve the God they believed had called them. Along with a strong emphasis on education was an interest in publications. His early church paper, the *Nazarene Messenger*, began in 1900, continuing throughout his ministry.

The Nazarene movement continued to grow. Each year they held a General Assembly where new churches were recognized and new members counted. The last

General Assembly Bresee attended was held in Kansas City, Missouri in the fall of 1915. There he presided once again over the proceedings. He was 77 and in ill health, but the people who had come to hear him preach were not disappointed. He did his very best and his interpretation of the Word of God touched every heart there. In November 1915, Bresee knew his time on this earth was limited, so he called his family and friends together to pray and counsel them one more time. "He begged them to humbly live and work together in the love of the Holy Spirit" (Moore, 1973, p. 67). He faced death without fear because of his faith, and died peacefully on November 13, 1915. Over his grave is a modest memorial stating: Rev. P. F. Bresee, 1838-1915: Founder of the Church of the Nazarene.

Bresee was very influential to Wynkoop. Not only were Wynkoop's parents on the executive board to start the Seattle Church of the Nazarene, but Wynkoop heard Bresee speak on numerous occasions when he traveled to Seattle and surrounding areas. It was through the denomination Bresee started that Wynkoop felt her call to preach her interpretation of the Word of God. It was through Bresee's association with Dr. Wiley that Wynkoop developed her theological base; and it was through Bresee's emphasis on the social issues of the day that Wynkoop developed her social consciousness and her passion to reach out to those who needed help. It was also at the educational institutions he established she blossomed into the theologian she would become.

Conclusion

Wynkoop's early life intersects the early life of the Church of the Nazarene. As

the Church of the Nazarene grew and developed, so did Wynkoop. All of her life, Wynkoop felt at home within the confines of the Church of the Nazarene. She can be called one of the first homegrown Nazarene theologians. She did not grow up within the theological context of another denomination coming to the Nazarene scene with preconceived theological ideas, as many of the early Nazarene leaders did. She grew up within the Nazarene context, so it seems appropriate that she be the one to change that context with her views of education and her interpretation of John Wesley's theology.

Chapter Three

The Education of the Rebel

Introduction

Phineas F. Bresee, the founder of the Church of the Nazarene, once said if he had ten years to live, he would go to school for five of those ten years. Such was the importance of education to him and the religious denomination he formed. His call to holiness, a total commitment to God, required a spiritual and intellectual awareness enhanced by experience and education. It is not surprising then that by 1908 the group of people called the Nazarenes had founded and were operating fourteen institutions of higher education across the nation. These institutions were not only Bible colleges but Liberal Arts institutions. From the very beginning, Bresee was interested in a grounded Liberal Arts education for all students attending a Nazarene institution. From the Certificate of Incorporation of the Illinois Holiness University in 1909 comes the importance of a Liberal Arts educational experience. "The object for which it is formed is to encourage, promote, maintain and support Christian education in all of its branches, such as Ancient and Modern Languages, Science, Art, Music, Philosophy, Mathematics, History, including all subjects in Colleges or Universities, also Bible study and Theology" (Metz, 1991, p. 45).

The Nazarene higher educational institutions developing at this time had a two pronged goal for curriculum development. First and foremost these colleges needed to develop students who were grounded in the Nazarene doctrine of holiness and educated

into the Nazarene denominational beliefs. Bresee in his last public address emphasized this very point.

The very first thing for this institution (the Nazarene College in Pasadena) and for all our institutions is to see that our students are led into the holy of holies and filled with the fulness of God...It is not our job to turn out worldly men...There are a thousand institutions in the United States that are engaged in that business; it is our business to turn out men and women of God. (Metz, 1991, p. 49)

The second emphasis of the educational institutions was on pursuing vital academics and scholarly pursuits. Academics were very important to Bresee and the early educators of the church. Educators such as H. Orton Wiley, the President of Northwest Nazarene College and Pasadena College; Olive Winchester, educator at Northwest Nazarene College; and Bresee consistently emphasized the need for rich and vital academics in their educational institutions. "We have not forsaken the old classics, Bresee declared. We do not fear philosophy, we delight in mathematics. We cultivate the sciences. In all of learning, however, the rule of life was the Word of God. It is appealed to, favored, studied, It is the standard of experience, morals, life" (Girvin,, 1916, p. 441). Thus, the educational philosophy for the early Nazarene educational institutions is seen. A liberal arts education and a Christian education are not two distinct orientations, but their orientations are united in Christian experience and perspective. It is this educational philosophy that enveloped Wynkoop at Northwest Nazarene College and later at Pasadena College.

Graduate Work

While Wynkoop and her husband, Ralph, were pastoring in a small church in Brentwood, Oregon, she sensed a sort of "burnedoutness" and began to seek a radical renewal of herself. "In a hungry search for a life of deeper meaning, I slipped over to a little Baptist seminary within a few blocks of the Nazarene church we pastored and timidly inquired about the possibility of sitting in a few days on the class in Greek" (Wynkoop, personal history, p. 1, File #1427-3). Yes, the college had Greek classes, but the semester had already started she was told. She convinced them to let her sit in on the class for no credit. She came to class five weeks into the semester and she flourished. Within a day or so she was totally captivated. She had found her niche. The riches of the Biblical God were opened to her when she discovered the Greek language and the deeper meanings of the New Testament Bible she had read for so long. She requested to take the test at the end of the semester. She did and received a B; her only B in Greek ever again. The radical renewal she sought had begun. At this time further education was not on her mind. She was a pastor who was trying to revitalize her ministry and her life.

About this time a new seminary was opening up in the Seattle area. When Wynkoop came to Western Evangelical Seminary it was in its second year of existence. "I had no idea of going back to school, but wherever I could get some Greek to open the Biblical depth to me drew me like a magnet" (Wynkoop, personal history, p. 2, File #1427-3). She enrolled in classes and a week or two after classes began it was discovered that some of the students had not taken Greek in college. The Dean asked her to instruct them in the Greek language. They were as she called them, the Greekless.

"And there is no incentive quite equal to a challenge like that. I learned more Greek by teaching it than just learning it cold--to fill a requirement" (Wynkoop, personal history, p. 2, File #1427-3). She was in her element. Wynkoop later described this time as her "awakening." Since Greek was so captivating to her, she enrolled in Hebrew. After all, is there not an Old Testament written in Hebrew? Then something happened changing the course of her semester and eventually her life. A theology professor at Western Evangelical Seminary was leaving for a year to help another seminary. Wynkoop was asked to teach his first year theology class. She did and loved it. The pastor with a teaching heart had found her calling. She finished her Masters of Divinity at Western Evangelical in 1948. She then went on to the University of Oregon for a Masters of Science in Education with a minor in Philosophy and finished her formal schooling with a Doctorate of Theology at Northern Baptist Theological Seminary in Chicago. It was May 1955 when Wynkoop received her Th.D. credentials. She was fifty years old and finally starting her teaching career.

She always described herself as the preacher with a teacher's heart, so it is no wonder she ended up with teaching as her vocation. After many years and much schooling she was finally ready to start teaching in a Nazarene College. The only problem was no Nazarene College wanted her. It was devastating to her. The president of Western Evangelical Seminary, having kept in contact with her through the years, asked her to come and teach. It was not a Nazarene school, but it was an opportunity to teach theology, so she took it. Those years at Western Evangelical were some of her best. She eventually became the Chairman of the Religion Department before being called into

a new area of learning.

After being at Western Evangelical Seminary for five years, she was contacted by the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS) while they were on campus recruiting workers for possible work in the Orient. The OMS wanted her to travel to Taiwan, Hong Kong, Tokyo and other Asian cities to teach and train their educators and students. After much prayer she decided to tackle this new adventure. The students at Western Evangelical Seminary raised over five thousand dollars for her so she could go. This was supposed to be a short term teaching experience of several months, so her husband Ralph stayed behind. While teaching for the OMS the Nazarene church in Japan began to notice.

She was contacted by the Church of the Nazarene about her availability and desire to go to Japan and teach in the Nazarene Seminary in Tokyo. It seems the Seminary needed someone with a Ph.D. or a Th.D. for accreditation purposes with the Department of Education in Tokyo. She agreed and began her greatest intellectual and spiritual challenge of her lifetime. Her husband Ralph joined her in Tokyo and began his own career as chaplain to the military forces in Tokyo. Later she described this time as good, but extremely busy. She was often described by her students as the little lady with the white hair. The Japanese loved her.

While in Japan Wynkoop was called to formalize an educational structure for the Japan Christian Junior College (JCJC) and the Japan Nazarene Theological Seminary. Up to this point the main thrust of the Nazarene church had been on evangelism with education in a secondary role. Realizing ninety-five percent of the country was literate, education became an important part of evangelizing the young adults in the 1950s and

1960s. No long term planning had been completed for JCJC, so something needed to be done if the educational institution was to stay a viable part of the evangelism work in Japan. It was through the educational plan Wynkoop sets forth that her educational philosophy and pedagogy can be seen.

Wynkoop's View of Education

For Wynkoop, education was a journey of discovery and experience. It was a process of molding a student to see outside of him or herself to the world around them. "The essence of education is to develop the powers of discrimination and taste. The more properly one is able to evaluate all the experiences and facts of life and choose the most suitable, the more highly educated he is" (Wynkoop, August 1939, p. 10). Then, for Wynkoop, the main purpose of education was maturation of the student, not in terms of age, but in terms of ideas and world views.

Ignorance and maturity were at opposite extremes of each other Wynkoop believed. Both of these terms have to do with the students' self and how that self relates to the world. Ignorance or immaturity has the "self" as the center of life. Everything occurs for the self, and to the self. Maturity or being educated means the self is no longer self focused but other focused, world focused, and idea focused. It is an enlarging of the self to include other views and voices. To this end, she felt education should be holistic in nature. Education is a process of putting the pieces of information together to form a view of the world outside of the self.

The purpose and process of education could be illustrated by the experience of

looking through the lens of a fine telescope. As we are young and necessarily ignorant, expanding life looks bewildering, complex, confused, out-of-focus.

Various parts of the vision stand discretely from other parts. There may be two or more distinct pictures, similar in outline, but unrelated to each other. As we adjust the lens properly the whole view gradually comes into focus, clear and unified. The view has depth and beauty and meaning. (Wynkoop, April 1963, p. 24)

For Wynkoop education meant more than the teaching and learning of rote information and mechanical skills. It was the creating and designing of a holistic view of the world. Education served the purpose of focusing students on a life outside of themselves and how a plan for that life would be fulfilled. Education, then,

must include in its scope the focusing of life into a meaningful unity. The purpose of life must be clarified. This means that all the areas of experience, personal and social must be seen as belonging to a single and controlling center. The inevitable mental outlook of immaturity is a divided heart and world. It is inevitable because immaturity and ignorance is a divided world and heart. This is its definition.

Immaturity sees life as indiscrete and unrelated units. Only a broader and ever widening understanding acquired by knowledge of all kinds is capable of showing the larger relationship which unifies the parts. Education is the door into a solution to immaturity and ignorance. Therefore education, if it be true to its name and function must be engaged in pulling the variant centers of interest in life together into a strong maturity. (Wynkoop, April 1963, p. 25)

Therefore, for Wynkoop, the motive of education was to guide students into maturity in all areas of their life; spiritually, intellectually, morally and socially.

This task of enlarging the world view of students is not always an easy one. Students come to the classroom with preconceived ideas, perceptions and notions of the way things are. For Wynkoop, knowledge then was the ability to use the information being presented in the class to discern and clarify these preconceived ideas. For Wynkoop then, knowledge was not the accumulation of facts, but the activity of enlarging a view of the world. The ability of comparison and contrast, clarification and denunciation of ideas was what made students knowledgeable. They were able to use the information presented in class to inform themselves and create a vision of the world outside of themselves. This changing of ideas is difficult for some.

Students who come to places of learning are ignorant (limited opportunity), narrow minded (limited interests), shallow-minded (limited information) and prejudiced (limited understanding). They are afraid of new ideas because new ideas threaten their premature and immature security. The 'know it all' because they are terrified by the unknown. (Wynkoop, April 1963, p. 33)

It would seem that Wynkoop had a dim view of the students. But she did not. She saw potential in each and every one of her students. She hoped that in engaging students in open debate of ideas, that the students would then begin to question and clarify their own beliefs. She wanted students to struggle with information, question what was being said, and to align or change their own ideas according to the information being presented. "I would rather have a student who pesters me with questions until I'm glad when the bell

rings than to try to arouse from his lethargy one who doesn't know that there are problems and would be afraid to admit their existence if he met one" (Wynkoop, 1970, p. 32).

Information, then, was the teacher's tool to help the student progress from ignorance to maturity. Wynkoop believed all distinct academic disciplines have their own set of values, beliefs, and their own foundational information that must be taught to each student in order for them to begin to develop a holistic view of the world. It was up to the teacher, according to Wynkoop, to understand and teach those basic values and informational issues. It was also the teacher's role then to show the student how each academic discipline overlaps with other disciplines.

The teacher's moral responsibility is first, to know his field and [to have] enough general knowledge to put his "field" in a proper perspective to the whole of life, and, secondly, to competently select the truly important things out of that field and to show how these things bring truth into focus and, third, to break up the important things into digestible chunks for the student to chew on, and help him chew the tough bites. (Wynkoop, April 1963, p. 32)

The teacher was to be truly the expert of his or her field so students could ask questions and experiment with ideas.

For Wynkoop, education, this maturation process, was hard. It required much from the teacher and the student. In her classroom, there was a daily struggle to confront students with ideas not yet understood in order to help them develop into critically thinking persons. Wynkoop wanted each student to approach the classroom fully aware

that they would have to question, clarify, examine and maybe change their own ideas in comparison to the ideas being presented in class. All this was done to help the student develop a holistic view of the world and his place in that world.

Wynkoop's Classroom

The methodology practiced and advocated by Wynkoop further illustrates her holistic view of education. She felt the method of education should be characterized by several things. First, the method of education must serve and support the purpose of unifying the entire curriculum into an integrated whole. Each lesson, assignment, lecture, and course must contribute something to every other course at the institution and help the student see the "big picture" of his education. Remember, for Wynkoop, the goal for education was a unifying of experiences and information to an enlarging of the self. Secondly, fundamental courses must lay a foundation for the following classes. The teacher must understand how their field of study fits into a general base of information. Thirdly, the method must take into consideration the personality growth of the student.

The newer understanding of human personality has made profound changes in teaching methods. Personality is not a blank page upon which the teacher inscribes knowledge. It is not a passive, empty vessel into which one pours information. Personality is rather a dynamic self which must be awakened and made curious about the things it ought to know and hungry enough for it to begin to stretch its capacities out to lay hold on it. (Wynkoop, April 1963, p. 33)

The dynamics of personality and relationships must come into play within the classroom.

The teacher needs to adjust methodology accordingly. Finally, "Methodology must include a practical approach to all subjects" (Wynkoop, April 1963, p. 34). This was a major point for Wynkoop. Teachers must make their disciplines and methodologies practical to the student. In doing so, the teacher will awaken that dynamic personality willing to be engaged in scholarly pursuit. This will bring the student into full participation of the goal of education--to bring all of life into clear, meaningful focus and foster the development of maturity.

Wynkoop felt she had a particular role to play in the classroom. Often it was the "gadfly" of Socrates fame. She arranged the lessons for each class around a particular question or provocative statement. These questions provided the road to the true topic of discussion. She defended her educational methodology and philosophy in a handout given to students in her Human Nature/Human Development class at the Nazarene Theological Seminary. "My teaching philosophy is not to dispense answers before the question is clear. To locate a question properly is about 90% of the learning procedure. And there is no neat way to do that. Every time I started to dispense answers half of the class began to wave its arms skyward. That was when a question nerve was touched and that was good" (Wynkoop, May 1980, p.1). For Wynkoop, locating the right question was part of the educational journey. This methodology achieved its purpose. It made students think, argue, debate and examine the issue at hand. Anger and bitterness were not part of the activity though. She used her calm and gentle voice to guide the students to the place she wanted them to be.

She required much from herself and her students. "We will have to have a

measure of adaptability, the capacity to criticize ourselves, patience, emotional stability, curiosity and grace. The weather will be bumpy....Without this adaptability the class will be in trouble. This is not a new theology. It is a study of the terms and concepts finding the original intent of them" (Wynkoop, class notes, File #1439-15). The idea of "Original intent" of a subject was very important to Wynkoop. Wynkoop stressed the importance of reading and researching in primary texts. It was in the primary texts she felt that the original intent of the author could be understood. It was in the examination of original intent that the core chunk of truth could be found. Whether it was interpretation of the Bible or Wesley's theology, back to the original text was the cry of Wynkoop in her methodology and her theology.

Besides adaptability, Wynkoop required her students to come to class with an open mind. The teacher knows what the student should learn and as the journey begins the teacher and the students share in the process of discovery. "We (teachers) are not a little island of truth holders." Relationships need to be built when possible. The journey for the teacher and the student is to "realize our interdependence and maintain our distinctiveness--in the love of God and enlarge the view of the narrow minded and to give the student world wide sympathies--a big heart" (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #2227-23). She expected the student to be open to what she had to say and to where she would lead. Her purpose of re-examining foundational beliefs determined her methodology.

In her classroom, Wynkoop modeled the life of holiness she was teaching to her students. Rev. Dan Boone, a student of Wynkoop's at Trevecca Nazarene University, understood her methodology.

Mildred had a keen sense of humor. She smiled and laughed softly with the students. She was soft in deconstructing the theological myths of the students. I remember one assignment she gave me--read every text in the New Testament that contained the word 'grace.' She could have hammered at my southern Mississippi legalism, but she chose to go at it a different way. Her questions were dislodging. She forced us to defend the things we believed, but she never stole our dignity as thinkers. She constantly told us that we were theologians. (Boone, 2002, personal communication--e-mail)

All of these characteristics of Wynkoop's classroom can be seen in her teaching experience in Japan. Her view of a holistic educational experience for all students and her view of maturation as the goal of education can be seen in the educational vision she set forth while in Japan shaping and forming the educational and curricular structure of the Japanese Christian Junior College (JCJC) and the Japanese Theological Seminary.

Her Time in Japan

It was October 23, 1960 when the "President Wilson" steamer left port in San Francisco headed for Japan. Aboard the steamer was Wynkoop sailing to the most rewarding six years of her life. Two weeks and two typhoons later, the boat sailed into the port of Yokahama, Japan. There she began her work for the Church of the Nazarene. She had already spent some time in the Orient; Taiwan, Taipei, Hong Kong, while working for the Oriental Missionary Society and their educational institutions, but now she would be working and teaching in the Japan Christian Junior College (JCJC) and the

Japan Nazarene Theological Seminary supervised by the Church of the Nazarene. She also continued working for the OMS on a limited basis, teaching conversational English in a nearby public university. These were busy days for her. Her husband Ralph joined her in Japan and partnered with her in the mission to the Japanese. This time was most challenging for her intellectually and spiritually, but one she always cherished.

Wynkoop spent the first months acclimating herself to the culture and life of Japan. Wynkoop had trouble adjusting to the trains crammed so full of people that when the doors opened people literally fell out. It must be remembered that at this time she was fifty-five years old. She spent many hours on buses, trains and walking to her destinations. While many of her colleagues in the States were thinking about retirement, Wynkoop was learning a new language and daily receiving new responsibilities. At fifty-five years of age she was accepted and revered in Japanese society because of her age and her white hair. She also became acquainted with the earthquake tremors felt from time to time. One of the things that helped her adjust to Japan was the view from her living room window in the apartment she and Ralph shared. The living room window gave an impressive view of Mt. Fuji which daily reminded her of her beloved Mt. Hood in Washington. All of these situations were small when considering her greatest challenge in Japan: trying to understand the culture of the Japanese. She immersed herself in this new context in order to know how to structure the educational curriculum at JCJC and the Japan Nazarene Theological Seminary.

While in Japan, Wynkoop saw first hand the different levels of evangelism of the Church of the Nazarene at work. First of all is the initial phase of evangelism. In the

initial phase people hear about the Biblical Christ and the Wesleyan view of salvation for the first time. The second phase of evangelism entails the transforming of the new Christian into a person of strong character with Biblical foundations providing a roadmap for their life. “Today, evangelism must be defined broadly enough to include not only the special evangelistic mission but also the tedious rebuilding of the foundations of thinking in the young people in order for strong character to develop and for a strong church to be built” (Wynkoop, April 1963, p. 1). Her job, as she saw it, was in that second phase of evangelism building on the missionary work already completed in Japan. “We stand on the shoulders of heroes. We must not forget the foundation but be careful how we build the superstructure” (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #2227-8). Building the infrastructure for the schools was her mandate while in Japan.

The Japan Christian Junior College in Chiba needed a formal educational structure to guide it toward accreditation, as did the Japanese Seminary in Tokyo. Wynkoop, using her educational expertise and her observations while in Japan, set forth and put into place a formalized educational plan for these two colleges. She observed, discussed and examined Japanese culture for over a year before she cast her vision for these two institutions. Her educational vision can be seen in the Key-Note Message to the Theological Faculty of the Japan Christian Junior College and the Japan Nazarene Theological Seminary given on December 8, 1961. She stated that for the educational systems to be successful in Japan foreign educators needed to teach with the Japanese culture in mind. This realization changed Wynkoop’s pedagogy and her theological perspective, thus changing her as an educator and a person. Wynkoop had an uncanny

ability to understand facets of the Japanese culture and how it applied to education in general and Nazarene education specifically. For Wynkoop, the language, the culture and the religions of Japan intertwined to create a unique challenge of educating the next generation of Christian pastors and laymen and laywomen.

The Language of Japan

Wynkoop quickly learned she could not merely simplify the lessons given previously to American students. She needed to change her whole perspective on language and the meaning of language. Translation was a continuous challenge for Wynkoop and her husband, Ralph. There are surface meanings, easily translated for the most part, and there are the deeper meanings of words embedded in the culture and the very essence of society. These meanings must also be understood for translation to be effective.

The Japanese language was complex and difficult to learn. The entire six years Wynkoop taught in Japan she taught through an interpreter. She wanted to learn Japanese, but did not have time for formal language instruction, so she learned some language as she interacted with her students, but it was not a systematic language study. Interpreters, then, were her lifeline to her students. While in Japan, she worked with sixty to seventy interpreters. "Communication requires interpretation...interpreters were very valuable and desirable. Very few foreigners attempt to teach in Japanese, especially theology and philosophy because the language is so complex, intellectually sophisticated that the westerner must simplify his thoughts to compose into Japanese" (Wynkoop,

personal notes, File #1426-1). Interpreters use words in translation that mean somewhat the same denotatively, but when the speaker and the interpreter differ on definitions of the words, translation and teaching becomes very challenging. Wynkoop dealt with this situation on a daily basis.

No positive statement can be made in the Japanese language. All characters are subject to interpretation and only an approximate assurance of original meaning is expected. This has its headaches in teaching theology....Something of a problem in the classroom can be understood when it is known that some words in English have many choices in Japanese, e.g., My cousin can be translated only after it is known whether it is a boy or a girl, older or younger than you, whether it is a relative from the mother's side or fathers's family. (Wynkoop, November 4, 1961, letter to sister Flo).

So she never really knew if what she was saying in English was being translated in a way that preserved her original ideas. It was difficult to teach in a culture where no denotative equivalent could be found.

Teaching involves communication and communication changes from culture to culture. To teach in a different culture the educator must know the common idiom. "Every culture is an idiom. It is the way life is judged. It is the basic concept of right/wrong, good/bad, true/false, by which the values of a people are formed. The idiom expresses in these intangible things that which a people consider worth living for and dying for. Without these deep-rooted ideas, language is parrot-talk, bird chatter" (Wynkoop, November 1961, p. 8). She wanted to do more than bird chatter so she

needed to understand the underlying idioms of the language. To do this she studied common patterns of thought among the Japanese.

Wynkoop thought there were two basic differences between the American culture she came from and the Japanese culture she was living in. The two differences affecting the educational situation and Wynkoop were the main way the Japanese categorized ideas and the basic foundation for their ideas.

Wynkoop believed the Japanese she observed analyzed ideas, problems, etc within the context of relationships. The family and then the country were the most important things to her Japanese students Wynkoop observed, so the students analyzed ideas in relation to the effect on these two groups. For example, for many of her students, they felt, pledging allegiance to the God of the Bible denied their responsibility to their family and country. So they could not turn to one without giving up the other, and for many of Wynkoop's students this was impossible. The responsibility to the family and the country was too strong. The students could not be an individual first and countryman second. That was not in their belief system.

The second part of the Japanese culture Wynkoop observed totally different from American culture was the lack of words for what would be called basic western Christian concepts. The Japanese students Wynkoop encountered came from a background that had no Judeo-Christian concepts embedded in their culture. The Japanese students had many religious words coming from the religions of Japan, but the Japanese meaning of sin and God and other religious terms were totally different than what Wynkoop implied. The religions of Shintoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism had infused the culture with

religious words and meanings, but when Wynkoop used certain religious terms, she meant one definition and her students thought another definition.

To establish a common base for Wynkoop and her students to discuss ideas she formulated a plan. Wynkoop developed a two fold solution to the problems of preaching and teaching the young men and women of Japan. She tried to resolve the problems presented to her by the language, culture and religions of Japan by developing a strong, fundamentally driven Seminary.

The Educational/ Curricular Structure at JCJC and the Japanese Theological Seminary

With her view of education as being a unifying force, holistically bringing together the parts of the student with the information being presented, it was only natural Wynkoop envisioned the educational and curricular structure of JCJC and the Japanese Theological Seminary to be interdisciplinary. For her, to divide information into distinct fields or subjects negated the goal of education as an unifying activity. Wynkoop believed there was an "inter-relationship of truth at the deeper level. Each department in the college and in the Seminary is but a door into the same general subject, life. Each subject finds itself treading on the toes of every other subject" (Wynkoop, November 1961, p. 6). This was not accepted by those who wanted to maintain a clear distinction between departments, but Wynkoop truly believed that each department should find itself intermeshed with other departments. Not that the teacher must be an expert in every field, but the teacher must know where their specific field of knowledge intersects with

other departments. "The student must be able to see the co-relation between subjects and departments" (Wynkoop, November 1961, p. 7).

Secondly, she wanted all the students to be exposed to the history of the Christian church. She suggested for the curriculum such topics as basic Christian Philosophy and History of Christian Doctrine thus emphasizing the relational aspects of Christianity. These types of classes would help the Japanese understand their place within the Christian church as a whole. This also would help counteract the idea that the Japanese were totally unique. If the students could see the long history of Christian thought and practice they would see they are not altogether unique in their Christian experience. All Christians have some similarities. History in general was weak in Japanese culture so these type of classes would also help ground the Japanese students in the foundation of philosophical and theological developments. Particular classes devised to help the students see the "big picture" were History of the Hebrew People, Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls, Readings in Church History, History of Christian Missions and Types of Religious Philosophy. All of these courses were designed to link the Japanese student into the historical movement called Christianity. Also Wynkoop wanted to build a base of common understanding for all of the students. They needed to dissect the differences between the philosophies ingrained in their society and the philosophies developed by the early church. To do so entailed laying brick by brick, course by course for the foundation of Christian thought that many Westerners receive subconsciously all of their lives.

From there the students would delve into the Bible. For Wynkoop, the Bible was the one and only authority in matters of life and theology. The students needed to

develop a way to interpret the Bible using Christian connotations instead of the Japanese cultural connotations.

Wynkoop stated once that the obstacles in teaching theology in Japan seemed almost unsurmountable, but they could be overcome. How? “A rugged gospel message and a heart filled with love” (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #2227-23). For Wynkoop, the rugged gospel was the gospel of Christ and His love for all. She tried to preach and teach this Gospel in the midst of all of the language and cultural barriers, and she was successful because she taught the message with a heart filled with love. She loved the Japanese and modeled for them the holiness message she so desperately wanted them to hear. This was clearly seen when one semester she prayed that her God would help her show and teach the holiness message she so desperately wanted her students to hear correctly. Little did she know how God would answer that prayer. The first words to a class that semester were, “Teaching and preaching holiness cannot be separated from an involvement in one’s own truth. We will be led into a personal situation which will force us to live our own truth. I did not know how prophetic this would be” (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #1426-1). While in Japan in the early 1960s, a wave of nationalism, struck the country and enveloped the Seminary. Foreign missionaries and teachers were asked to leave the Seminary and they lost the respect in which they were once held by the students. Students revolted and caused much disruption on campus. Wynkoop tells of this trying time.

I was Dean of the college, head of the Religion Department, President of the graduate Seminary, teacher...had a comfortable house, a car and even a flush

toilet. I was respected and on top of life—and vulnerable. Then a crushing time came. Loss of status, misunderstanding, trouble and heartache came my way.

From the Japanese point of view, I lost face. But through it all Christ's power sustained—my face was lost, but in the brokenness the meaning of holiness began to be released. (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #1426-1)

Something happened in the midst of social unrest. God filled Wynkoop with the holiness she was so longing to teach and the Japanese saw by example what Wynkoop wanted to teach. "The Japanese are a suffering people. Suffering is a virtue—heroes suffer. They are never triumphant in life. They identify with one who suffers. And they said, 'Mrs. Wynkoop suffered. We caused you to suffer—you still loved us, now you love us. Please come back'" (Wynkoop, Sermons, File 1426-1). She was restored and the faith of the Japanese was strengthened because they saw holiness in action. She was forced to live her own truth and her truth did not let her down. It is in the interaction of life and relationships that theology is made practical. For her students, Wynkoop made holiness practical to them.

Conclusion

Above all, Wynkoop was an educator. To her very core, her heart and soul, she was a teacher who made connections with her students. She discovered the best way to teach holiness when she discovered that educating young men and women meant to become actively involved in their lives. In Japan especially, she learned words were not enough; actions say more. "In our classrooms the great task is to invest the words we use

with Christian meanings. To preach or teach holiness is to become personally involved in it, to live through its truths” (Wynkoop, personal notes, File #1426-1). This is what she did in Japan and in every other classroom. She invested her life in the lives of her students. She was an educator who modeled what she taught. In doing so, she educated hundreds of men and women in what it really means to be a Christian and live a life of holiness.

Chapter Four

The Rebel's Church

Introduction

In her text, *Foundations of Wesleyan-Arminian Theology*, Wynkoop suggested theology exists in a reactionary and reciprocal relationship of the prevailing philosophy or emerging philosophies of a particular time. That is to say, theology is never isolated from the swirling and changing philosophies of a current time period.

The history of Christian doctrine is in some degree a history of the development and dominance of prevailing philosophies into which the Christian faith has been fitted. A shock always accompanies the emergence of a new philosophy into history, and certain features of Christian theology undergo more or less significant changes. (Wynkoop, 1967, p. 21)

If this is so, then what have been the prevailing philosophies of the twentieth century changing and challenging the Church of the Nazarene? Also, what were the major philosophies forming the foundation of the theology of the Church of the Nazarene initially? These questions are important to explore if one is to understand Wynkoop's theology and how her theology shaped or changed the theological development for the Church of the Nazarene and the larger Christian church as a whole.

The theological ideas of two prominent philosophers and theologians helped shape the theological foundations for the Church of the Nazarene. These theologians lived in separate times and separate places, but their ideas form the core beliefs of the

Church of the Nazarene. These two men were James Arminius and John Wesley. A quick survey of their ideas shows the theological underpinnings of the Church of the Nazarene.

James Arminius

James Arminius was born in 1560 in Oudewater, a small town near Utrecht in Holland. When he was an infant, Arminius' father died and his mother allowed Arminius to be raised and educated by Theodore Aemilius, a clergyman who was distinguished for piety and learning. Arminius lived with him until Aemilius' death, when Arminius was fifteen. While with Theodore Aemilius, Arminius showed great intellect and creativity. After the death of Aemilius, Rudolph Snellius a native of Oudewater, then residing in Marburg in Hessa, became acquainted with Arminius and invited him to go to Marburg under his own patronage. Arminius accepted and followed him there. Disturbing news came to him at this time, though. Oudewater had been destroyed by the Spanish army, so Arminius returned to seek out his family. He found that his mother, brother, and sister were among the victims of the indiscriminate destruction of the town and its inhabitants after the capture of the town. He was devastated. He retraced his steps back to Marburg, performing the whole journey on foot as a pittance to the sorrow he felt.

In 1575, the same year of his family's death, word came to him that a new Dutch University at Leyden was forming. He soon prepared to go and study in Leyden. He remained there for six years, enjoying the highest place in the estimation of his instructors and students. At the end of these six years, Arminius signed a bond of service to

Amsterdam for future usefulness in exchange for continuation of his studies. If the Burgomasters in Amsterdam would help him finish his education he then would devote the remainder of his life to the service of the church in that city. Both parties signed the bond, and Arminius left for Geneva to finish his education.

Arminius was drawn to Geneva by the reputation of Beza, a student and successor of John Calvin, the famous theologian who believed in the predestination of all men to salvation or damnation. Beza was lecturing in the University at that time. It is here that Arminius first created a stir about his own unique theological ideas. Arminius defended Ramus and his system of dialectics in opposition to that of Aristotle. This gave offense to some of the professors in Geneva, so Arminius left to go to the University of Basle where he resided for a year. During this year stay he spent much time preparing and delivering lectures on theological subjects required by all outstanding undergraduates. He acquired such a good reputation that at the time of his departure, the faculty of Theology at the University of Basle awarded him the title and degree of Doctor. He modestly declined this prestigious award and left for the University of Geneva to engage in the study of divinity. He was there for three years.

After a tour of Italy and adjoining countries, Arminius began his public ministry in Amsterdam. All of his creative and intellectual powers were called upon when the ecclesiastical senate of Amsterdam requested that he expose and refute the theological errors of Coornhert, a deeply religious man who attacked John Calvin's views on predestination. After much work, research and study Arminius came to believe in the theories of Coornhert. He developed his own views of predestination which bears his

name now. At first he kept his opposing views to himself, but he realized this attitude was inconsistent with his duties of a professed teacher of religion, so he began to modestly reveal his views on numerous occasions.

While in Amsterdam in 1590, he married a young lady of great accomplishment named Elizabeth Real. He enjoyed married life, but it was not without tragedy and sorrow. They had seven sons and two daughters, all of whom died except Laurence, who became a merchant in Amsterdam and Daniel, who became a doctor. He enjoyed great popularity among the laity and other clergy for over thirteen years. Occasionally he presented views different than the accepted Calvinistic rhetoric, but for the most part he lead a quiet life of reflection and service.

In 1602, with the death of Francis Junius, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, Arminius' life changed drastically. He was asked to fill the vacancy of Francis Junius, but his appointment met with much opposition from those who had heard and read Arminius' opposing views. Also the authorities of Amsterdam, who Arminius had signed a bond with, did not agree to let him break this bond. Finally they relented and Arminius was on his way to the University in Leyden. He arrived with many adversaries already on campus. His biggest opponent was Francis Gomarus. Gomarus regarded Arminius a heretic for his views contradicting Calvin. Throughout Arminius' stay at Leyden, Gomarus tried all he could to get Arminius dismissed. Finally in 1608 Arminius publically defended himself. Through a letter and two published articles, Arminius sets forth his theology and defends his ideas against the popular Calvinistic theology. During the stress and busyness of that time Arminius contracted a "bilious disorder" from which

he would not recover. On October 19, 1609, Arminius died at the age of forty-nine. He leaves a theological legacy still influencing religion even today (Bangs, 1971).

Part of the theological foundation for the Church of the Nazarene is borrowed from James Arminius' concept of man's free will. The most popular belief of his time was Calvin's predestination theory or the holiness of the elect. John Calvin begins his theological ideas with the conclusion of Augustine that God predestines some men to salvation. This was the starting point for Calvin's theology. Through his own research and work he created a theory that progressed Augustine's ideas one step further. Calvin believed that "If God is absolutely sovereign and He predestines some men to salvation, it is only reasonable to suppose that He also predestines all other men to damnation " (Wynkoop, 1967, p. 39). This examination of predestination was not based on the Bible though, but on a Calvin's theories and ideas. Calvin, in his theology, postulated Augustine's ideas one step further. Beza, Calvin's student and successor, then postulates Calvin's view one step further making God the author of sin since he saves some and damns others. This theory of God as the author of sin was what Coornhert tried to contradict. This is also the theory Arminius finally contradicts in his published sermons and essays. Through Biblical research and study, Arminius refutes this theory and advances his own theory of free will and God's grace.

Arminius rejected this view of double predestination on the following grounds:

1. It was not supported by Scripture.
2. It had not been held by responsible Christian scholars in fifteen hundred years and had never been accepted by the whole Church.

3. It made God the author of sin.
4. It made the decree of election refer to uncreated man.

By a thorough study of the Bible, Arminius defined his philosophy to contradict the extreme concept of divine determinism. His Biblical philosophy included the following ideas:

1. Man is born in sin and is saved by faith.
2. Christ died for all men, but men may resist God's love.
3. Salvation is conditioned on faith in Christ.
4. Man is personally responsible to accept or reject God's love offered to him.

Today, Arminianism is a religious movement following Arminius' groundbreaking work on the free will of man to accept or reject God's salvation. This part of Arminius' theology is the component John Wesley used to help his followers understand the grace of God and His unfailing love for all mankind. Arminius' concept of free will and Wesley's view of free grace are partnered together to form the unique theology of the Church of the Nazarene.

John Wesley

John Wesley, an Anglican minister in the 1700s, gave birth to a new theological movement named "the methodists." His theological viewpoint not only changed the Church of his time, but continues to change Christianity even today. Those who follow Wesley's Biblical theology call themselves Wesleyan. The theological perspectives and belief system supported by the Church of the Nazarene has a distinctive Wesleyan

viewpoint.

Wesley was born on June 17, 1703, the fifteenth child of Samuel and Susanna Wesley. Eventually four more children would be born into this very busy household, though, only ten of the nineteen children would live to see adulthood. Susanna Wesley taught all of her children at home thereby providing for their early education. She was very learned for her time, reading widely and showing interest in all subjects. Samuel Wesley was a somewhat disorganized Anglican minister in the town of Epworth.

Wesley grew up in a politically aware household. Both parents were firmly committed to the Church of England, yet both came from Nonconformist families who had separated from the Church of England. This background gave the young Wesley a deep sense of two traditions in English religious thought. One was the importance of the organized church, with its rules and teachings. The other was the vitality of Puritan inward religion, with its focus on a direct relationship with God. One day these two religious components would come together in Wesleyan theology.

In 1720 Wesley was admitted to Christ College at Oxford University and was ordained a priest in the Church of England in 1728. He returned to Oxford in 1729 as a fellow of Lincoln College. There he became a spiritual advisor to some students including his brother Charles. It was at Oxford Wesley and his group of disciples earned the nickname, the "Methodists." During this time he became very methodical in his study of the Bible and his interpretation of the Bible's instructions to the followers of Jesus. He was seeking assurance that he had been saved and thought that assurance came through good works and self-discipline. He worked his body to conform to the spiritual

disciplines of fasting, prayer, witnessing, Bible study and good works. Self-examination was also very important to Wesley. His mother stressed the need to always be in "a serious examination of yourself, that you may know whether you have a reasonable hope of salvation by Jesus Christ, that is, whether you are in a state of faith and repentance or not" (Pollock, 1989, p. 37). He formed small groups or societies to better help other students in the development the spiritual disciplines. They met four or five times a week to discuss the Bible and examine their spiritual practices. "Wesley strongly urged 'method and order' on all his disciples so that every hour of the day had its proper use, whether study, devotion, exercise, or charity, He urged them to 'keep in their minds an awful sense of God's presence'" (Pollock, 1989, p. 54).

Through his study of the Bible, Wesley first believed the God of the Bible was a God of the law. Wesley believed this God was a God of rules and regulations to be followed with almost no personal relationship between God and man. Two books that shaped this view of God was *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* and *Christian Perfection* by William Law. These two books further supported Wesley's view of God as a God of the law without much emotion or heart involved. Unfortunately, this methodical, rational, self-denial way to salvation did not work for Wesley. Even though he performed many charitable works in the places of need of his time, he still sought the peace he believed only God could give.

An important event in the life of Wesley, personally and spiritually, was his time in America. In October 1735 John and his brother Charles set sail for Georgia in America to become missionaries representing the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the

missionary agency of the Church of England. Wesley had no doubt why he wanted to be a missionary. "My chief motive, to which all the rest are subordinate, is the hope of saving my own soul. I hope to learn the true sense of the Gospel of Christ by preaching it to the heathens" (Pollock, 1989, p. 70). He was still seeking the assurance of salvation he needed.

His time in America was disastrous. Contacts with Native Americans were almost non-existent and the colonists who were trying to survive day by day did not have time for the self-denial ritual Wesley expected of them. After two years of frustration and searching Wesley left America on a ship bound for England. In hindsight, his time in America was not wasted because on the way to America and on the way back to England he came into contact with German immigrants who were Moravians under the leadership of Count Zinzendorf. The Moravians were unlike any religious group Wesley had ever met. On board ship Wesley tried to maintain a rigorous religious schedule of private Bible study and prayer, public Bible study and prayer, exercise, mealtime fellowship and corporate worship. "The Moravians were not impressed, for they detected that Wesley's tight routine was chiefly intended to acquire merit. They offered him, in contrast, the great Reformation doctrine of justification (salvation) by faith" (Pollock, 1989, p. 72). Several fierce storms rocked the ship and Wesley cried out in despair, but the Moravians did not seem bothered by the storms. They were not afraid to die. Their faith in their God shook Wesley's faith to its foundation. "The Moravians taught a simple personal faith within an intimate disciplined fellowship. Wesley found them comforting Christian companions, even though he envied their confident trust and experience of God's

presence" (Yrigoyen, 1996, p. 15). Through Wesley's contact with the Moravians and the dismal circumstances in Savannah, Georgia, Wesley began to question the personal nature of Christianity. His ability to live a holy life, pleasing to God, was seriously shaken. Everything for which he had worked and strived for was being questioned and tried. He was in spiritual distress for several months after returning to England. Then something happened changing his life and his ministry.

On May 24, 1738 Wesley attended a prayer meeting on Aldersgate Street in London. It was there that Wesley had his "heart strangely warmed."

In the evening I went very unwilling to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me, that he had taken away my sins, even mine and saved me from the law of sin and death.

(Wesley in Yrigoyen, 1996, p. 15)

Wesley finally felt an assurance of his salvation. He felt he was saved from his sins and he was loved by God. "Aldersgate convinced him that the holiness he sought does not begin with human striving but by trusting the pardoning and empowering grace of God in Christ" (Yrigoyen, 1996, p. 16). His life and ministry changed completely.

Wesley was a man of his time, knowing and understanding the social constraints of 18th century England. He embraced those who needed to hear the Gospel. He preached in open air services, on hills by the coal mines, on street corners and anywhere

else he could find an audience. He traveled extensively, converting, teaching and training those who believed in salvation through his preaching. Throughout his life he traveled thousand of miles on horseback, in carriage and on foot in order to minister to those who needed the good news of the Gospel. In February 1791 he became gravely ill and friends and family gathered around his bed suspecting he would not make it. "During his last night he tried to sing Isaac Watt's hymn, 'I'll praise my Maker while I've breath, And when my voice is lost in death, Praise shall employ my nobler powers.' He was too weak to say more than, 'I'll praise....I'll praise.' As his life continued to ebb, he struggled to say what are believed to be his last words, 'The best of all is, God is with us'" (Yrigoyen, 1996, p. 16). He died on the morning of March 2, 1791. Through his many years he gave much of his wealth and worldly possessions away to the poor, so there was not much left. His will did provide for paying the six poor men who carried his coffin to its grave. This was his final act of caring about those around him.

Wesley was a man of paradoxes. He was a man of methodical obsessions, but one who gave his whole heart to his mission in life. His personal relationships were not always successful, but he was immensely successful reaching out to those in need. "He was completely dedicated to bringing the gospel of Christ to bear on the lives of everyone he met, to meeting the needs of his age, and to spreading holiness across the land" (Yrigoyen, 1996, p. 22). John Wesley was used by God to bring the Gospel to many in need. Even though his death was so long ago, his sermons, journals and letters continue to shape Christianity today.

Wesley's Theology

Because Wesley was not a systematic theologian many did not regard him as a scholar or a theologian like Calvin or Luther. But he did leave a wonderful legacy of the printed word. Wesley thought it would be helpful to his followers if they were able to have printed materials to read and discuss. With that in mind he wrote extensively, often atop a horse while in transit to another preaching point. He effectively used the printing press of that time to make known his views on such matters as salvation, Biblical authority, and Christ's love. One edition of his collected writings includes thirty-five large volumes. One important writing was *Wesley's Explanatory Notes Upon the New Testament*. This publication contained Wesley's own translation of the New Testament with notes from both his own interpretation and the work of other scholars. He wanted this to be a study aid for "plain people who love the Word of God" (Yrigoyen, 1996, p. 24). Wesley also published many of his sermons as teaching tools for other Christians. One other source for Wesley's theology comes from the many hymns he published. Hymns were an excellent way to instruct Christians in scriptural teaching and to stir people's faith. He held special regard for those hymns written by his brother, Charles.

From these many sources a picture of Wesley's theology develops. He believed he was teaching the Biblical way of knowing and experiencing the love of God. Albert Outler, one of America's foremost Wesleyan scholars coined the phrase the Wesleyan Quadrilateral as the structure for Wesley's critical framework. "Using this as a model, there are four sources of Wesley's doctrines or four factors that helped to shape his thought--Scripture, Tradition, Reason, and Experience" (Staples, September 2002, p. 8).

This quadrilateral is more like a trapezoid where Scripture is the base supporting the other three ways of knowing God. The four factors are described below:

1. Scripture

Wesley was a man of one book and that book was the Bible. Wesley thought the primary source for Christian belief and life was the Bible. Wesley stressed that the Bible was the book of extreme importance for him and every Christian should take the Christian faith seriously. Because of this belief, he immersed himself in its language, stories, images, and themes, making it the central item in his daily study and meditation. Out of this immersion comes Wesley's beliefs. Wesley's theology is often described as "Biblical Theology" because his core beliefs stem from the Bible not other philosophical beliefs of his day.

2. Tradition

Wesley was not only a student of the Bible but of the universal Church. He studied and understood the importance of the Early Church and its experiences. He was a scholar of the history of the Church and he realized that its traditions were gravely important to his own view of religious matters.

Tradition is the process by which the accumulated wisdom of one generation is passed on to the next. Although there has been much variation in beliefs, there is also a common thread of teaching in the mainstream of Christianity that has remained constant. An honest regard for Christian truth will not lightly dismiss what the Church has proclaimed through the ages. A knowledge of the Christian tradition can guard against wrong interpretations of Scripture. (Staples, September

2002, p. 8)

Wesley believed, any interpretation of the Bible must be weighed against the wisdom of the ages.

3. Reason

Wesley lived in the Age of Reason. Many thought truth could only be found through reason, observation, and scientific experimentation. Because of this, many also believed reason and religion could not exist side by side. Wesley tried to dispel this myth. He believed men, who were created in God's image, had the ability to reason and to put that ability to proper use thereby avoiding unchecked fanatical or erroneous interpretations of the Bible. Wesley wrote in a letter to Rev. Dr. Rutherford in 1768, that "It is a fundamental principle with us [Methodists] that to renounce reason is to renounce religion, that religion and reason go hand in hand, and that all irrational religion is false religion" (Yrigoyen, 1996, p. 27). Reason and religion were fully compatible in Wesley's thinking and he tried to convince his followers and critics that faith and thought were partners in experiencing God.

4. Experience

Wesley believed that when Scripture is read and interpreted with the help of reason and tradition, a personal religious experience would follow. Experience in turn helps one to interpret and understand Scripture also. Here it is important to understand Wesley's personal spiritual history. Before his Aldersgate experience, Wesley preached ideals and values he had not personally experienced. He did not want other Christians to fall into the same trap of liturgical forms without personal experience. "Experience is the

appropriation of the message of Scripture. Wesley saw experience as one of the spiritual senses by which we apprehend truth. When we read the written Word, or hear the Word preached, the Holy Spirit illuminates it and throws light on Christ, the Living Word, who is himself the essence of the gospel" (Staples, September 2002, p. 8). This emphasis on experience branded him as an "enthusiast" by some of his critics. He tempered this emphasis on experience with the knowledge that genuine religious experience was disciplined by Scripture, tradition, and reason. For Wesley, according to Outler, all four sides of the Wesleyan Quadrilateral helped one another in a reciprocal relationship. And at the base was the power of Scripture.

Keeping these four sources for religious authority in mind, there are several key points to Wesley's particular theological message. These ideas are found in many Holiness churches and organizations. These ideas are therefore not just "Nazarene," but Wesleyan in tradition. These key ideas created what is now called "Holiness Theology."

This "Holiness Theology" became apparent during the great revivals sweeping England because of Wesley's preaching. His theme for the masses was one heard from him each day. The key components of his theology are:

1. He believed in salvation by grace (God's love) through faith, not by works as some theologians preached.
2. He believed in Christian perfection or sanctification by grace through faith.
3. He believed in the witness of the Holy Spirit to the assurance of this grace.

Wesley's concept of entire sanctification can be seen in the combination of these key concepts. Wesley believed any man could be totally consecrated to God in every aspect

of his life. Wesley preached that entire sanctification was an instantaneous gift from God, but also a daily process of consecrating all aspects of life to God. These key ideas of Wesley along with the key ideas from Arminius became the unique theological foundations for the Church of the Nazarene.

Wynkoop's Interpretation of Wesley

Wynkoop's scholarship dwells mainly on an interpretation of Wesley's theology. Her own unique interpretation is presented in the next chapter in length, but it is important to mention here that Wynkoop had a distinct interpretation of Wesley the man. She described Wesley as a mentor and a revolutionary. These terms seem contradictory in nature, but to Wynkoop they made perfect sense.

In Wynkoop's Presidential Address to the Wesleyan Theological Society, John Wesley is described as a mentor to all theologians who follow him. For Wynkoop it was wrong to place Wesley on a pedestal and treat him like a "prima donna" who was followed, obeyed, imitated, honored, but never questioned. A mentor would never allow that to happen. Wynkoop believed Wesley would not want that to happen either. For Wynkoop, Wesley was a mentor guiding and directing his followers.

A mentor is a guide and critic. His task is to introduce his charge to sources of information, to prevent the student from drifting into unfruitful, erroneous by-ways, and to encourage him to exploit his own potential as he learns to master his field. A mentor is satisfied when his student out paces him. The mentor taps resources of creativity and personal fulfillment in his student. He is a transformer,

opening doors to freedom. (Wynkoop, Spring 1975, p. 6)

Wynkoop interpreted Wesley exactly as that—a mentor. One who set a student on a particular path and then encouraged them to go forth and experiment with the ideas flowing from the investigation. This was why Wynkoop was able to interpret Wesley's theology in a new perspective. She envisioned Wesley's ideas as the starting point for investigation and discovery, and was not afraid to question, probe and research Wesley's ideas.

Wynkoop also interpreted Wesley as a revolutionary in her book, *John Wesley: Christian Revolutionary*. According to Wynkoop, Wesley was a revolutionary because of his perspective, his doctrine of perfection and his call to practical performance of the Christian. The distinction for Wynkoop between revolution and rebellion is one of constructive reforms versus destruction of norms. Wesley was about the personal dedication to constructive, idealistic, remedial, creative reforms of life. Wesley called his followers to a revolution of the heart which radiated out to the world around them. "Wesleyanism in the best sense was, and is or ought to be, a revolution" (Wynkoop, 1970, 13). Wynkoop believed if Christians truly embraced all that Wesley meant in his holiness theology, then the world would be made better by the power of a heart revolution displayed in outward actions. The catalyst for this revolution Wynkoop felt, was Wesley's view of holiness equaling perfect love for God and man. Love was the instrument for this Wesleyan revolution, Wynkoop believed. And this love should not be centered within the corporate church but in the secular world.

If we can isolate one major weakness in the Wesleyan holiness movement, it is a

reluctance to harness our dynamic to the wheels that need to be turned in this world. It seems we have been afraid to be contaminated with the world, and in our increasing opulence and secular strength we have drawn back from dedicating what we have gained by way of intellectual strength and material wealth along with our 'hearts' which we give so quickly but so imperfectly. (Wynkoop, 1970, p. 46)

Wynkoop believed a revolution would change the world. But to change the world, one needed to be in the world, sharing, guiding, directing, and questioning those who need to know the good news of Wesleyan theology. The good news of Wesleyan holiness was that God loves each and every man, God wants each man to be whole, living in the love of Christ, and radiating that love to those around him. With this in mind, John Wesley was not content to sit quietly in his study preparing sermons for Sunday. He was out in the coal mine fields, in the prisons, on the streets of London and in the poor house revolutionizing his world with the love of his Christ in his heart. Wynkoop suggested to be Wesleyan was to do the same. This was a revolutionary way to envision Wesley; a vision Wynkoop wished all to capture.

Wesleyan-Arminian Theology

The Church of the Nazarene is considered theologically to be part of the Wesleyan-Arminian tradition. That means it takes parts of each of these philosophical and theological traditions and combines them to form the core beliefs of the church. Therefore, the church is distinctive in that it has developed a particular spiritual direction

researched and developed by its theologians. Wynkoop understood that Wesleyan-Arminianism was a distinct theology different than Calvinism, Arminianism, or Wesleyanism individually. Wesley gleaned insight from Arminius to help with his theology thus passing on his own interpretation of Arminius within his own theological framework. With the partnership of John Wesley and James Arminius there is a sound philosophy of human responsibility, on the basis of a deep study of the Bible by both of these theologians. Wesley partnered "his insight regarding the personal nature of Christian experience to the Arminian philosophy of human responsibility and God's grace, to lay the foundation for what is now called Holiness Theology" (Wynkoop, February 15, 1963, p. 1). Therefore, Wesleyan-Arminianism theology has distinctive religious components which the Church of the Nazarene adopted for their distinctive theological makeup. The components are summarized below.

1. The Christian religion is properly a matter of a personal experience of God's grace which has enormous practical consequences.
2. A holy life, or a life lived out of a heart motivated by God's love is the chief purpose of God for man and that this purpose may be fulfilled in this life.
3. Entire sanctification of life is the means to the fulfillment of God's purpose and is based on faith just as justification (salvation) is based on faith in Christ (Wynkoop, February 15, 1963, p. 1).

This Holiness Theology was not only relevant for Wesley's time but is a catalyst for change even today. Holiness Theology became prominent within the United States during the American Holiness Movement. This social movement is very important,

because it is out of this movement the Church of the Nazarene was born.

The American Holiness Movement

The American Holiness Movement traces its roots back to the revival started by John Wesley in 18th-century England. The name “holiness” comes from Wesley's theological view that all men are called to be holy in heart and mind. This religious movement began during the middle to late 1800's in America as people began to seek answers to the problems left by the Industrial Revolution. Within the Methodist and other evangelical denominations a few hearty men and women began to seek the holiness Wesley professed. The moment of conception of the American Holiness Movement has been attributed to Sarah Lankford when "she combined the women's prayer groups of two Methodist churches in New York to create the Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness. That action, coupled with the publication of Boston pastor Timothy Merritt's *Guide to Christian Perfection*, marked the Holiness Movement's advent " (Ingersol & Tracy, 1999, p. 21). Phoebe Palmer, Lankford's sister also created enthusiasm and desire for the Holiness Movement. Palmer formalized, somewhat, the process of entire sanctification Wesley read about and experienced. She supported a second work of blessing where the Christian consecrated all of his heart and life to God, thus being sanctified for God's purpose. Palmer helped reaffirm “the Wesleyan belief that salvation was accomplished through a spiritual process encompassing two stages, regeneration and entire sanctification” and she helped delineate “both the processes and results of full salvation” (Jones, 1974, p. 82).

As Christians sought this “second blessing,” holiness churches began to spring up across the United States. Many of those who called themselves holiness believers wanted to gather with those who were like minded, therefore, new churches and new denominations developed during the early 1900s. It was their endeavor to propagate Wesley’s teaching on entire sanctification and Christian perfection. “The more focused Holiness revivals called on all Christians to yield their redeemed selves in a second crisis experience of faith. By this grace they could be freed from the rebellious inner bent to sinning and freed to a life of wholehearted love and discipleship” (Dieter, 1998, p. 23).

Several things happened because of this religious shift in America. First, holiness people came together for spiritual renewal in camp meetings. Early in the American Holiness Movement there were no holiness denominations, therefore, holiness people came together to share common ideals in camp meetings. Often times these were one, two, three week revivals with special holiness preachers, sermonizing and baptizing those who were sanctified in the meeting. Out of these camp meetings came an increased number of Christians believing in and experiencing sanctification. With the increased numbers, denominations were formed. Allegiances were made between like-minded holiness groups. The Church of the Nazarene is a by-product of this partnering of holiness people.

Two important characteristics of these holiness denominations were evangelism and social reform. Holiness Christians took seriously their role of evangelism given to them by the Bible. They believed all Christians had a responsibility and a duty to bring those who had not been “saved” to their meetings to become saved. Wynkoop

participated in these revivals while pastoring with her husband in Seattle and other parts of the West Coast.

An outgrowth of these revivals was an emphasis on social reform. Many holiness denominations supported social reforms and programs for the poor, homeless and others in need. This was also an ideal supported by Wesley. For Wesley, perfect love for God and man revolutionized how men helped and supported those who were less fortunate. Temperance, equality for all, and help for the poor and homeless were a few of the issues many holiness denominations tackled because of their commandment to love their neighbor. Bresee's mission for homeless men illustrated his concern for those less fortunate. Wynkoop followed his direction by making social action for those in need important to her.

As the twentieth century dawned, holiness groups that were forming into denominations, began to formalize their beliefs and governing systems. The Church of the Nazarene began this task as early as 1908 when it became a national denomination. Many of these early holiness denominations contained believers from all different faiths and belief systems, so it was only natural that there would be a time of delineating a common core of beliefs. For the Church of the Nazarene, this occurred in the early 1920s.

Developing Nazarene Theology

As early as 1919, Nazarene church leaders understood they needed a theological text to record and organize the church's unique view of Wesleyan-Arminian theology.

The church leaders asked H.Orton Wiley to write the "official and authoritative systematic theology" for the Church of the Nazarene. Wiley was a careful scholar and began to research and write this text. It took twenty years and three volumes to cover the ideas needed for Wiley's satisfaction. It was published in 1940 and has been the approved text in the Nazarene colleges and seminary since then. The only problem was the twenty years the church had to wait to get the "official" work. During those twenty years A.M.Hills wrote and published his systematic theology. This text was used in Nazarene colleges between 1932-40. The only problem with this text was that philosophically the ideas did not follow Wesley's view on some major points of his theology. "Hence, two very different ways of interpreting the unifying doctrine exist in the church, neither side always aware of why the difference exists nor why each side holds the position it does" (Wynkoop, personal notes, p. 6, File #2227-11). Wynkoop points to this difference of opinion on theology as the reason the church's message and theology in the 40s, 50s and 60s began to slip from the unique perspective Wesley afforded.

Each of these scholars, Wiley and Hills considered themselves Nazarene, who followed the Wesleyan perspective in their theology. But as Wynkoop described, their individual perspectives and goals for their theologies were totally different. Wynkoop suggested it was this difference of perspective that caused the church to adopt some ideas contrary to Wesleyan theology. The official theology recognized by the church was very important, because it was this ideal that was taught to preachers who taught it to their parishioners who taught it to their children and so on. The theology espoused as the official theology of the Church of the Nazarene affects the current generation and

generations to come. That is why it was so important for Wynkoop to adjust the theology of the church when she realized Hills was directing the church the wrong way--not the true Wesleyan way.

Both Wiley and Hills claimed to be Wesleyan so to compare them Wesley will be the control. First of all, their motives for writing their own theology down was different. Hills was educated under the influence of Charles Finney at Oberlin College and in Yale by Timothy Dwight. This gave him an unique perspective. For him, the main reason to write a systematic theological text for the church was to refute Calvinism. Because he was arguing against an idea, his first premise is based on a negative and argumentative tone. As Wynkoop observed, his work was "polemic in nature and in the spirit of controversy" (Wynkoop, personal notes, p. 6, File #2227-11). Hills represented his theology in a spirit of defensiveness which divides and conquers fellowship. Wiley's purpose on the other hand, was totally different. Wiley does not begin to develop his doctrine on the negative in relation to another philosophical idea, but he examines each of his ideas Biblically, historically in the Church, critically, and practically. He is a theologian not a controversialist. Wiley sought common links with Christian tradition that answer the question "What is a Christian like?" As Wynkoop put it, "Hills was Anti-Calvinist, Wiley was pro-Christian" (Wynkoop, personal notes, p. 7, File #2227-11).

Both men also differed in their particular theological ideas. For example, they both viewed human will in different terms. Because Hills was refuting Calvinism with its option of no human free will, he glorified the human will as being in complete freedom from any and all outside influences which could move man. Because of this, Hills was

forced philosophically into a position that made sin not much more than the action of a will. Hills used Arminius as his example and support for free will. He forgot though that Arminius was a Calvinist and Arminius stressed the grace of God over the free will of man. According to Wynkoop, Wiley supported the Wesleyan view of free will. "Wesley rejected 'free will' and affirmed 'free grace.' God's preventing love is preserving all men savable (Wynkoop, personal notes, p. 7, File #2227-11). Therefore, Hills placed a too high of estimate on free will causing many to overlook God's grace and think salvation was given because of man's choice to choose God and not God's choice to choose man affirmed by Wesley.

Another area of difference was their views of faith. For Hills faith was a human achievement. It was a virtue; something to be cultivated. Here again, notice the emphasis on man's involvement. It was up to man to develop faith. Wiley on the other hand viewed faith as a personal relationship with God. "Faith for Wesley and Wiley is a total life change, a newness of life-aiming at God. Rather than faith having merit it is precisely that which ends all merit because all faith is made possible only by grace. For Hills, the emphasis is on what faith can do to obtain grace. For Wesley, the emphasis is on what grace can do to give us faith" (Wynkoop, personal notes, p. 7, File #2227-11). Once again, for Hills the focus was on man's involvement, what man can do to earn faith, and grace, not that grace was a free gift from God.

Another point of contention was their differing views of what made up the corporate church. For Hills the church was a voluntary association of individuals of like beliefs. These beliefs or ideals were specific theological statements, creeds that needed to

be accepted to be a part of the group. Also Hills believed obedience to certain rules and regulations were very important for the members of the organization. This definition of the church tended to isolate and separate its members from the larger Church which all members who are Christian belong. Wiley believed in a more universal corporate structure. Wesley taught that Christians live their lives within the larger part of the Christian community. Denominations were not important to Wesley. Thus Wiley emphasized the same thing. For Wiley, the relationship with God and then other believers was much more important than the rules or regulations followed by a group of people. "The behavioral ethics and life-style of the Christian flows out of that relationship as a consequence of the new life in which love operates" (Wynkoop, personal notes, p. 7, File #2227-11). Relationships then rules was the order of the day for Wiley. Hills was just the opposite. First came the rules and regulations separating a group of people and then relationships flowed from the common adherence to those rules.

Wynkoop saw this difference in definition very harmful to the church. Legalism was the end result of Hills' theology. Wynkoop believed legalism was against all that Wesley preached. The difference of these two views can be seen in the changes in the Nazarene Church Manual over a period of several years. Wynkoop was alarmed to notice the changes in the wording of some of the key concepts discussed in the official church manual. On the one hand is one doctrine of the Church.

The Church of God is composed of all spiritually regenerate persons whose names are written in heaven...Recognizing that the right and privilege of persons to church membership rest upon the fact of their being regenerate, we would require

only such avowals of belief as are essential to Christian experience. (Wynkoop, personal notes, p. 8, File #2227-11)

On the other hand, after several years in the church manual in the General Rules section comes this statement:

To be identified with the visible Church is the blessed privilege and sacred duty of all who are saved from their sins and are seeking completeness in Christ Jesus...and they shall show evidence of this by....Then follows the General Rules....(Wynkoop, personal notes, p. 8, File #2227-11)

Wynkoop noticed a shift in emphasis from a focus on the theological aspects of salvation and church membership to a focus on the rules that needed to be kept to be a part of the Church of the Nazarene. This mortified and scared her. She saw the basic underpinnings of the church being swept away by the philosophical differences of Hills and Wiley. There was one other area where this disparity was evident. This area was the bedrock of the church's theological foundation; namely the idea of sanctification.

Sanctification for Wesley was an act of grace of God in which God takes away the sin every man is born with and reestablishes a right relationship between Himself and man. Within that relationship, man gives his entire "self" to God and God gives man freedom from sin and an assurance that his sin is forgiven. It was confusing for many Nazarenes because Hills and Wiley approached this topic very differently also.

Wynkoop believed Hills, in his approach to refute Calvinism, gave away too much grace in order to refute what he interpreted as the 'bound will' of Calvinism. Namely that man has no choice or free will in the matter of God granting salvation. By

taking away the possibility that God chooses man through grace then Hills makes sanctification a human achievement rather than a reliance on Christ. "Sanctification became to Hill's the end result of applying certain rules and forcing God to comply to human demands. In this way sanctification was limited to a crisis experience and the kind of experience was standardized by means of certain specific conditions that were to be met" (Wynkoop, personal notes, p. 8, File #2227-11).

For preachers accustomed to Hills way of thinking, all that one had to do was to tell the parishioners to complete the following steps and they would be sanctified.

1. Conviction of wanting sanctification
2. Repentance for not seeking sanctification earlier
3. Feel the importance of sanctification
4. Believe sanctification is for you
5. Hunger and thirst for sanctification
6. Obedience to code of dress and behavior as an outward sign of sanctification
7. Consecration of all of life
8. Faith that sanctification had occurred

If a seeker of God followed the above steps then Hill maintained they were sanctified.

The only problem for Wynkoop was that nowhere in the above steps is Christ mentioned. The focus is on the seeker not the One being sought. Wynkoop cried out that this was not the Wesleyan way. She tried it Hills' way and she even preached Hills' way, but she could never find the peace and assurance she needed to know that she was truly sanctified. That is why she had twenty plus dates in her Bible to show the time she went to the altar to

"give God her all." Or in other words she was trying to find God in this formulaic way, but Wesley said God would not be found that way.

Wiley understood sanctification in a thoroughly dynamic way, not at all like Hills. Wiley believed sanctification was Christ-centered. Christ must be placed on the throne of the inner most being part without a rival for that center part. Wynkoop suggested that man was sanctified 'in Christ Jesus' not by the depth of repentance, the size of the bundle turned over to Him, nor the agony of the seeking, but by the grace of Christ. Christ performs the action, not man. Also Wiley saw sanctification as relational, meaning that sanctification was personal and life transforming. The relationship between God and man was righted and man was able to become truly human, the way he was intended to be from the first moment in time.

In summary, Hills and Wiley from the very start had different agendas for their theologies. Wynkoop summed up their differences like this:

Hill's theology became an individualism, with obedience to rules, a way of standardizing Christian experience and behavior. Wesley's theology was rooted in Christ and final, deep transforming allegiance made to him. Hills stressed the human methods of achieving entire sanctification, lifting the method above the content. Wiley and Wesley stressed the content over against the method. The content is the new life in Christ. The steps into that life and the steps in it are concessions to our human nature in the appropriation of grace. (Wynkoop, personal notes, p. 10, File #2227-11)

Conclusion

When Wiley's three volume systematic theology was published, the Nazarene church was in a quandary. For over ten years students and pastors were taught Hills and his formulaic sanctification and then Wiley published his three volume systematic theology with a totally different approach. The struggle over whom to follow still continues today. It was this struggle Wynkoop wanted to address. It was from this point she determined to develop a "whole Wesleyan" theology for the Church of the Nazarene. To this end she dedicated her life research and writing.

Chapter Five

The Rebel's Theology

Introduction

Amid all of the swirling fogs of controversy with Hill's and Wiley's different perspectives, and the lingering effects of the American Holiness Movement, Wynkoop emerged as a voice of balanced reason. Wynkoop felt some interpretations of Wesley had strayed too far left or too far right of its initial message and felt her mission was to "restore a Wesley Wesleyanism today" (Wynkoop, Spring 1979, p. 3). There was at this time many interpretations of Wesley's theology. Some interpretations included perspectives described as Calvinism-Wesleyanism, Lutheran-Wesleyanism, Social-Gospel Wesleyanism and so on. Each of these perspectives, Wynkoop judged, took one or two aspects of Wesley's theology and encapsulated all of Wesley's theology into that one aspect. Some perspectives highlighted Wesley's doctrine of sanctification. Some perspectives divorced and highlighted his call for social action from all of his other ideals. Wynkoop saw a danger in this splintering of Wesley's theology. These differing interpretations caused problems within the churches who were foundationally Wesleyan in their theology. Wynkoop believed the greatness of Wesley's theology was discovered when his theological ideas were taken as a whole not in parts.

When Wesley's theology is studied in a holistic way, then Wesley's place in theological history is revealed. Wynkoop believed Wesley was great because he was a practical theologian. Wesley tried to bridge the gap between theology of the Church and

the real, practical, everyday life. Above all, Wynkoop interpreted Wesley's theology as practical in solving problems of his day. If Wesley's theology solved many social problems of his day, Wynkoop proposed his theology could solve problems created by modernity, the rise of technology, the splintering of the social fabric of life, and the changing family dynamics. She felt Wesley, in his full perspective, could and would address the needs of a contemporary world. Her mission, she felt, was to interpret his theology in a new, holistic way to give the "big picture" of his theology. This is what she did in her landmark text, *A Theology of Love: The Dynamic of Wesleyanism*.

In this landmark text she proposed her unique interpretation of Wesleyan theology. Her interpretation postulated five key elements to Wesley's theology. These overarching aims of Wesley's theology drives Wynkoop's interpretation of Wesley. The five elements of thought Wynkoop identified in Wesley's theology are:

1. His theology is foundationally a relational theology.
2. His theology is a process theology.
3. His theology is qualitative not quantitative.
4. His theology has a moral component.
5. His theology is holistic in nature.

Because Wesley was not a systematic theologian, scholars and theologians have tried to categorize his ideas into some type of theological system. Often these systems take a reactive perspective. They judge Wesley according to other previous theological ideals, often times perspectives relying on Calvin or Luther. Wynkoop interpreted Wesley's theology in a proactive way. She examined him on basis of his belief and not his relation

to others' beliefs. This was a new way to examine Wesley. With the declaration of the five key elements in Wesley's theology Wynkoop created a new paradigm in which to view Wesley. To understand Wynkoop's interpretation of Wesley, careful examination must be given to this new paradigm. This examination follows. This study is by no means definitive or exhaustive of Wynkoop's theology. This is a beginning, a first step in a study of her interpretation of Wesley and Wesleyanism.

Wesley was a Holiness theologian. He felt that holiness, a likeness to God, was attainable on this earth. For other theologians holiness came from performing good works or following the rules. Calvin believed holiness came from being part of the "elect." Wynkoop interpreted Wesley as saying holiness comes from love. Holiness, or a becoming like God, is loving. First loving God with a whole heart and then man in like terms was holiness according to Wynkoop. Love, Wynkoop believed, was the catalyst for all of Wesley's theology. "Wesleyanism (that segment of the Church taking its cue from Wesley) in its most authentic moments interprets Christian theology in terms of love. John Wesley's theological and religious contribution to the Church was not new dogma but a real, spiritual vitality infused into traditional, mainline Christianity. This vitality is love" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 22). Love is what defined and fueled Wesleyan holiness according to Wynkoop.

When holiness and love are put together, the analogy of the two sides of the coin would be closer to the truth. Neither side can be both sides at the same time.

Sides are not be equated, but the obverse side is as essential to its existence as the face. Love is the essential inner character of holiness, and holiness does not exist

apart from love. That is how close they are, and in a certain sense they can be said to be the same thing. At least Wesley consistently defined holiness as love.

(Wynkoop, 1972, p. 24)

Because Wynkoop saw love as the vehicle for holiness, the beginning and the end in Wesley's theology, love is what defines and categorizes the five perspectives of Wesley's theology. Love is found in personal relationships, is a process, dynamic and growing, and it draws all parts of life together in a unified unit. Love according to Wynkoop, is where Wesley begins his distinct theological perspective and where he ends it in practical life. Love is the unifying factor in the following discussion of Wynkoop's interpretation of Wesley's theology.

A quick definition of Wesley's view of love needs to be examined. For Wesley, love was not a sentimental feeling, but the day to day deliberate action of the heart, mind, soul, and strength on one focus. Wesley believed love was active.

In the biblical and Hebraic sense it is the deepest motivational focus of personality. It is that centering, organizing principle which gives direction to life. It is everything the person is and does to find personal fulfillment. It is the dynamic of the personality....It is not surprising, then, that Wesley stresses love as God's relation to man, and man's relation to God and to his fellowmen. This, to him, is the key to the nature of God and to the meaning of holiness. Love touches the quick of rational existence. The gospel appeal, then, is grounded in this kind of divine-human interaction. (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 87)

Thus, the name of her book, *A Theology of Love*. Wynkoop observed that love was the common denominator in all of Wesley's writings. It is this kind of love that directs and forms the five elements of Wesley's theology Wynkoop suggests in her book, *A Theology of Love*. (An interesting side note. Wynkoop wanted to entitle her book *Toward a Theology of Love* understanding the fluid nature of theological development, but the editors of her book would not allow that title. They said it was too tentative to sell well.)

Wesley's Theology is a Relational Theology.

If the core of Wesley's theology is love and love is an action and a relationship then his theology can be described as a relational theology. The very foundational belief in Wynkoop's interpretation of Wesley was that Wesley's theology was based on a relational perspective. What this means is that how man knows God, and how man relates to God is based on relationships. "Theology" means the study of God, so a relational theology studies God in terms of relationships. Wynkoop believed God is known and revealed through a personal relationship with man. God seeks man in love to form a covenant relationship and man has the will to respond or reject God in that relationship. This perspective sees the Bible as a dialogue between God and man. Wynkoop believed God revealed Himself through the Bible in love so that man could have a relationship with Him. Man is able to respond to God because God first sought him out and established a relationship with him. From that point, man can have a relationship with God which also affects his relationships with other men.

Wynkoop believed this relational interpretation was accurate because of several

factors. First, Wesley stressed over and over again the Bible verse Mark 12:29-31 which reads: "Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind and with all your strength. ...Love your neighbor as yourself." Wynkoop interpreted this as holiness according to Wesley.

Secondly, Wynkoop believed Wesley interpreted the Bible through a Hebraic perspective and not a Greek perspective so common in his day. For the Hebrew man, the meaning of life was found in relationships and community.

The Hebrew man found his dynamism, not in static beingness, but in social relatedness. His "living" self, his totality, stood in relation to a larger unity, the social entity....Hebrew man was in an essential way one with "his fathers" and his family, his tribe and his nation. This is a...spiritual interconnectedness that penetrates to the core of what mankind is. Only in this way can man be understood in relation to a God who communicates himself to him, and with whom fellowship is possible. (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 123)

This interconnectedness Wynkoop detailed can be found in relationships. Therefore, the essence of all things springs forth from a relationship. Wynkoop believed Wesley interpreted that important relationship to be with God first then man second. This relational view colored the other perspectives of Wynkoop's view of Wesley's theology.

Wesley's Theology is a Process Theology

Wynkoop believed this relationship developed by God and man and man to man was to be nourished in a continual process. "It is a life of love to God" (Wynkoop, 1975,

Second is depth, File #1237-24). According to Wynkoop, once a relationship with God was established it needed to be nourished, tended to, cared for and looked after on a daily, even moment to moment basis. Definitions of two terms are important at this point. In this relationship between God and man crisis and process experiences are important.

Wesley felt Christians experienced God in two ways, through crisis and process.

Wesleyanism has made two terms more important (in a sort of parochial way) than other theologies have, i.e., crisis and process, as essential elements in the Christian life. These terms derive their specific Wesleyan meaning from the need to show the relationship of God's grace to human nature, preserving the essential integrity of both. So long as crisis and process are considered means to an end, no insurmountable problems are encountered. It is when crisis and process become ends in themselves--become the content of what holiness means--that serious clashes begin between theological constructs and human nature. (Wynkoop, April 1976, p. 36)

Wynkoop believed crisis experiences were times when God came to man suddenly in order to reveal Himself. It is as if God invaded the rational world in order to make Himself known to man. Process experiences were the times God worked through and in the historical context, creating meanings of the present by emphasizing the continuity of events. Wynkoop believed Wesley thought that God works in the process of the rational world to give meaning to life and relationships. Not that Wesley believed God revealed Himself only in this way, but Wesley cautioned his followers not to get caught up with the emotion of a crisis experience. "Wesley understood God's grace (love) as operating in

the context of human experience-in history. This informed his concept of the way the Bible was given and the way it was to be read. To him crisis experiences were only valid and meaningful in the context of the on-going process of human development" (Wynkoop, Spring 1979, p. 8).

Even though this is what Wesley believed and preached, Wynkoop saw a shift in emphasis among his followers in the early part of the nineteenth century in the Holiness Movement. This change of ideas was called the apocalyptic interpretation of existence. "The apocalyptic stressed the discontinuity of events, the breaking in history of new, unrelated forces and events" (Wynkoop, Spring 1979, p. 7). This was disturbing to Wynkoop, because it was distorting the clear views of Wesley on how God interacted with man. This philosophical shift began to reap consequences quite disheartening to Wynkoop.

In the apocalyptic view crisis experience 'happens' but cannot be made to mesh with life prior to the experience. There is a total qualitative disjunction between God and man, grace and human nature, supernatural and nature, What God does to us, or in us, is thought to be a divine invasion cutting across our existence as rational beings, unrelated to our understanding and responsibility resulting either in a new status in God's sight, or in some mutation of human nature below the level of consciousness. In the apocalyptic view the human nature is not considered a real asset to the life of Christian grace. (Wynkoop, Spring 1979, p. 9-10)

In this view, process and crisis cannot work together because they are opposite means of

knowing and experiencing God. Some who followed the crisis view tried hard to attain the "crisis" experience thinking that once that is achieved then there was no more work to do to know God. The fear of Wynkoop was realized when the crisis experience became not the means to an end, but the end itself. Somehow Wesley's view of a life of growth with God was lost in this apocalyptic view of Christian experience.

Wynkoop believed Wesley was preaching a process theology for knowing and experiencing God. He did not discount the ability of God to interrupt man's world in a crisis experience to make Himself known, but Wesley believed God wanted His people to experience and grow a relationship with Him each and every day. This is how God reveals Himself to man, Wynkoop believed. Wynkoop suggested that for moral development, crisis and process experiences must be attained in order to nurture a relationship with God.

Wynkoop's favorite word was "dynamic." She described Wesleyan theology as being dynamic. She described the Christian experience as dynamic. She described love as dynamic. Dynamic also describes the process of growth required by all Christians. She never wanted to be described as static--not growing. For Wynkoop, she interpreted Wesley's process of growth as dynamic and man being part of that process as dynamic also.

If man is a historical being and a person, then dynamic is a proper way to characterize him. Man is not a lump of clay upon which is written the events of his life. He is, rather a rational being reaching out, searching, reacting to, desiring, loving, changing, selecting and rejecting, reorganizing, maturing, making

choices between alternatives--in short, a thoroughly dynamic entity. (Wynkoop, Spring 1971, p. 6)

Always growing, moving forward, evolving, dedicating was how Wynkoop characterized Wesley's view of God's relationship with man. The process by which God reveals Himself to man is dynamic. For Wynkoop, Wesley suggested a dynamic, process theology.

Wesley's Theology is a Moral Theology

Wynkoop interpreted Wesley's theology as being relational and process oriented, and she also saw it as being moral. Wynkoop interpreted Wesley as calling all Christians to become moral individuals. For Wynkoop the word moral had a very special meaning when used in reference to Wesley's theology. "Moral means that man acts in relation to right and wrong, good and bad, true and false. He is responsible for whatever decision he makes about these pairs, however he may or may not understand what is the right or wrong, good or bad, true or false. In other words a moral 'nature' is capable of integrity, and goodness is defined as moral integrity" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 170).

For her study, Wynkoop attributed "moral" with several characteristics in order to interpret Wesley's theology. They are listed below.

1. The Moral is Personal.

There needs to be a differentiation between persons and things. This is the difference between I and it. An I is self-determining and self-conscious. It is determined. The I part of something is personal. The "it" is not. "It is in the personal in contrast to thingness

that moral begins to have meaning" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 174).

2. The Personal is Moral.

Wynkoop believed to be moral is to be responsible. Men have wills and the will is an important part of personality. The will is rational, allowing man to make decisions on the basis of principle. This also occurs in the spiritual life. The personal nature of morality requires a rational will to maintain its existence. Wynkoop postulated further that "persons are not free not to be responsible" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 175). She maintained that even in the lowest, most primitive levels of consciousness, moral responsibility and will are not lost or cease to function.

3. Moral Capacity is an Awareness of "Ought"

Men, according to Wynkoop, are not only personal and responsible, but also aware of themselves as they face the tension caused by ethical situations.

Moral awareness is precisely in the consciousness of being in oneself the locus of moral tension. Not only do we say, 'I can choose,' or 'I must choose,' but, 'In this choice I am violating or approving the right.' We may not know which of several possibilities may be best, or we may not want to do the right were we to know it, but we know that there is a right and a wrong, and that we ought to do the right and ought not to do the wrong. (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 175)

4. The Moral is a Multiple-Foci Relationship

Moral capacity and responsibility requires a relation to another person to complete its meaning. Moral cannot be achieved by a man within himself. It needs community to find its fulfillment. Christian morality finds its completion in the person to person

relationship of the community.

5. The Moral is Structured by Love

The decision for anyone to be moral is a whole self commitment. It does not matter if the whole self commitment is right or wrong, just the desire to commit oneself wholly to it is desired. Moral and love derive meaning from each other. "Love is the moral integrity which gives commitment its stability. The essence of love is not emotion, not simply will, not sentiment, but man's full dedication to some object. To be moral is to love wholly" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 179). "Love is the personalizing of moral integrity which relates it to a practical expression of man's relationship to God and men" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 175).

6. The Moral Life Consists in Crisis-Decision Tensions

Deep in the heart of morality lies its life giving force, which is decision. To be moral is to make decisions and take decisive action. These actions and decisions last all of life.

7. Moral Integrity is the Goal of Redemption.

Because man is in this responsible relation to God, each individual must "square up" to God personally. Each step in grace is a conscious, decisive act. The God of the Bible calls each one of his own to an ever deepening moral experience.

The word and meaning of morality helps structure holiness. Morality is the inward workings of holiness. It is fundamentally different than other elements. Morality is not a time-space concept, but a quality concept.

Wesley's Theology is a Qualitative Theology

Wynkoop firmly believed that spiritual and religious qualities do not have "linear dimensions nor do they have the sort of reality that can be measured by the rules of corporeal things. There is no past or future or mathematical sequence in the moral life. It transcends space and time just as person transcends them" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 342). Therefore, if holiness which is comprised of moral qualities cannot be measured by mathematical calculations, then holiness cannot be either. "Holiness cannot be weighed or counted" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 343). Because holiness cannot be measured quantitatively, then the commonly held belief by some Wesleyan Holiness followers of the first work of grace is salvation and the second work of grace is sanctification must not be right. Some Wesleyan scholars view salvation and sanctification as two separate, different types of grace; one building on the top of the other. Wynkoop stated these two types of grace were really one grace or one love in action. For her, the matter was not a stair-step process, but one of depth. "True moral experience is not exhausted by or completed in the experience of the grace of justification. Sanctification is not simply a mathematical addition that is needed, but the rounding out of what constitutes true spiritual life" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 345).

This was a major argument in the Nazarene church during Wynkoop's time and it still is today. The Nazarene church believed, during Wynkoop's childhood, that a believer comes to know Christ in a series of steps. The steps were thought to follow Wesleyan theological tradition. First God, through his prevenient grace seeks out those who do not know Him. Second, man sees and acknowledges his need for God. Third,

man seeks forgiveness from his sins from God. Fourth, after awhile, man asks for more grace to live a sanctified life. God gives him more grace and he becomes sanctified and lives a gloriously, full life for the rest of his years on earth and then goes to his reward in heaven. In this process was a definite two step process as discussed above. Wynkoop saw in this process a quantifying of spiritual matters. She saw great problems with that. The most important problem Wynkoop saw was that experience with God becomes almost rote and ritualistic. The emphasis becomes following the rules instead of living a Christlike life. The rules become the end instead of a means to an end.

For Wynkoop, this quantifying of Wesley's theology was drawing the Nazarene church into religious places it should not want to go. Wynkoop saw salvation and sanctification as the two sides of a coin. In salvation a person orients himself toward God and in sanctification more depth is sought in this orientation toward God.

Salvation takes place in the rendezvous of God and man in which all of man's responsible nature is brought to bear upon the task of total orientation to God's person and His will. Forgiveness is the launch into a new orbit. The second "moment" is a crucial midpoint correction which 'locks' and compass to the Morning Star. (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 347)

In qualifying the religious experience, Wynkoop opened the flood gates of personal interpretation to the experience of God. No longer was the question for the Nazarene, "Have you proceeded through the two steps into sanctification?" but "Do you know Christ and is He the center of your life?" It was so much easier to know who was "sanctified" using the two step formula. It was easier for some to outwardly show sanctification in

this two step mentality than to actually change the direction of a life and demand the depth of an experience with God one needed to be sanctified according to Wynkoop.

When Wynkoop changed the mathematical paradigm to a relational paradigm then all sorts of other questions began to emerge in theological discussions. Such questions were: Can salvation and sanctification occur at the same time? How much time needs to go by for someone to become sanctified? Wynkoop opened up the spiritual condition of sanctification to new definitions.

The signature of “two works of grace” is not in a quantitative addition, nor a higher level of grace or a certain kind of psychological experience. It is, rather, a religious relationship to God which includes forgiveness and discipleship. But since it is a religious relationship, it can become a genuine reality at any stage in the development of human life. Love is possible in any and all stages in life, but there are changes in love's contour through life that cannot be implanted whole, anywhere. It must go through the grid of love. (Wynkoop, April 1976, p. 39)

Wynkoop was allowing for the work of God to happen in different circumstances in different ways. Thus the criticism of some.

Wesley's Theology is Holistic in Nature.

Wynkoop's biggest challenge in Japan was helping her students see they could not compartmentalize their daily lives from their spiritual lives. For Wynkoop holiness was wholeness. Wholeness in mind, body, spirit, heart, and actions creating a healthy healing wholeness in man is what Wynkoop envisioned in Wesley's theology. She believed the

Bible and Wesley's interpretation of the Bible called all believers to become wholly human.

Once again Wesley looked to the past for support of this theological perspective. Greek philosophy, when used as a lens to examine biblical concepts, Wesley maintains, changes the direction and focus of the text. Classical Greek philosophy defined man as a dichotomy. Man had a soul and a body. These parts were separate and independent. Circumstances affecting the soul did not necessarily affect the body and vice versa. Wesley did not use this philosophy to establish his view of man. Instead, Wesley sought the original Hebraic concepts of God and man. The Hebraic view of man was that man was an unit, not a union of parts. There was no division between heart, soul and mind. A divisive trichotomy as seen in Greek philosophy, does not work in Wesley's theology. Wesley believed anything affecting man affected the whole man. Therefore, for Wesley, salvation, forgiveness, and sanctification addressed the needs of the whole man in relation to his God.

A question Wynkoop grappled with in her later years was, "What does it mean to be fully human?" She surmised to be fully human was to be whole. She approached this idea of wholeness in two different ways. The first way to be whole was to center all thoughts, attitudes, actions, and loves into one being; her view of God. This refocusing of the personality led to transformation into being whole, meaning singularly directed and focused. Wynkoop believed that only in wholeness of life could transformation occur. The divided heart and attentions of the modern world troubled Wynkoop much. She also believed that in this process of transformation into wholeness the personality is made

whole from its hurts of the world and in doing so the soul is healed. Wynkoop understood Wesley as saying this wholeness came from love. God's love of man and man's love of God enabled man to become whole in focus and at heart. This wholeness then transformed man's relationship to God and man's relationship to other men. In the Hebraic custom, all things were done within the construct of the community. This concept of wholeness to God and man is no exception.

Wynkoop interpreted these five elements as the driving force of Wesley's theology. A relational theology was the foundation for a process, moral, qualitative and holistic theology. These overarching themes gave a distinct perspective Wesley used when interpreting single theological concepts, such as sin, grace, forgiveness, salvation, and sanctification. "Wesley's fundamental point of view, the characteristic which made it identifiable from other points of view is the conviction that man's relationship to God and God's relation to man is a personal relationship and that all facets of theology and life partake of the personal nature and must be interpreted in this light" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 100). Keeping this perspective in mind it is now time to see how Wynkoop used these overarching themes to interpret Wesleyan abstract concepts of the Bible such as sin, grace, forgiveness, salvation and sanctification.

Sin

Sin, according to Wynkoop, needs to be examined within the confines of the five Wesleyan perspectives. Sin is a relational and qualitative concept. "Sin is a relational term and derives its meaning from its relation to the whole" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 149).

There are two types of sin that theologians debate. The first type is the sin of everyday. The second type of sin is the sin each man is born into according to the Bible. Since Adam sinned, all mankind has sinned. Wesley said, "nothing is sin, strictly speaking, but a voluntary transgression of a known law of God. Therefore every voluntary breach of the law of love is sin; and nothing else" (Wesley in Wynkoop, 1972, p. 151). It is in this context that Wesley places sin within the confines of a relationship. Sin, any sin, is a break in the relationship between God and man.

At no point does the personal relationship motif (between God and man) become more clear and important than here. Holiness consists of this unobstructed personal communion and deep, personal fellowship with God. God seeks our love and gives His love without measure. Sin is simply the absence of this relationship because man has repudiated it. This repudiation is ethical to the core and has consequences in all areas of the rational life of man and reaches into everything man touches. This rupture is a disintegrative force, religiously, in the psyche of the person sinning in society, in the world, in all relationships he sustains to persons and things. (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 154)

Sin creates a wrong relationship to God and the original image of God made in man becomes out of focus. If Wesley's original contention of love as the essence of everything is applied to sin, then Wynkoop said that sin was "love gone astray" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 157). Sin is love focused and directed on the wrong thing. "Sin is love locked into a false center, the self. Sin is the distortion of love, It is a substitute for the real, resembling it superficially. Sin destroys" (p. 158). Sin is "the centering of devotion in

pride, on self and the things of 'the world.'" (p. 161). In other words, Wesley and Wynkoop contended sin was the by product of a wrong relationship with God.

Grace

Grace in Wesley's experience was simply God's love. "Grace, being nothing other than God's love, is not selective, according to Scripture. It is said to include all man: 'God so loved the world' (John 3:16). Never is it said that love is limited in any way" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 154). Wesley, when he stated God's love is not limited, was addressing the Calvinistic message of limited love and salvation. Wesley firmly believed the Bible spoke of love for all. Wynkoop understood this distinction between Calvinism and Wesleyanism. "Grace is not the irresistible power of God overcoming the will of man [a Calvinistic view], but it is the loving hand of a Father enabling the child to use the resources given him in the first place by that Father" [A Wesleyan View] (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 155). Wesley saw this love of God working out in the lives of men even before men were able to recognize God. It was this "prevenient grace" that was important to Wesley. Wesley believed prevenient grace was God's love seeking men out before they knew they were being sought.

This poured-out love, Wesley called prevenient grace, or preventing grace. All men are preserved savable. No man can save himself. He can claim no merit or credit for any good he ever does. Before he exercised his ability, this prevenient grace had been given him, and the power to use it is also a gift of God. No man, then, is now in a mere state of nature but is under the privileges and

responsibilities of grace. (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 155)

This grace that is given and received is acknowledged in a personal relationship between God and man.

Justification

Wesley described justification as a reorientation of the self in a different direction. This act within the relationship between God and man has several names, sometimes used interchangeably, but all with their own little nuances. Some names for this act is the “new birth,” “salvation,” or “being born again.” Wynkoop believed Wesley was very specific about this relational occurrence between God and man.

I believe [the new birth] to be an inward thing; a change from inward wickedness to inward goodness; one entire change of our inmost nature from the image of the devil (wherein we were born) to the image of God, a change from the love of the creature to the love of the Creator; from earthly and sensual, to heavenly and holy affections; in a word, a change from the tempers of the spirits of darkness, to those of the angels of God in heaven. (Wesley in Wynkoop, 1972, p. 224)

Within the confines of this reorientation is the concept of salvation. Wynkoop believed salvation was the saving from sin by God. Within the act of salvation man acknowledges his need of God and God restores a right relationship between God and man. Wesley described salvation as the beginning of the holistic healing process between God and man. Wesley stated further:

By salvation I mean, not barely, according to the vulgar notion, deliverance from

hell, or going to heaven; but a present deliverance from sin, a restoration of the soul to its primitive health, its original purity; a recovery of the divine nature; the renewal of our souls after the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness, in justice, mercy and truth. (Wesley in Wynkoop, 1972, p. 110)

Wynkoop described this process of salvation and justification in terms of the self. When man is born the self is control. Self will and selfish concerns are what motivates and drives the child, teenager and the man. When man becomes aware of God, no matter what age, Wynkoop suggested it was God's prevenient grace working to awaken God's image in man. Man then, as Wesley stated, is called and drawn to God. It is at a point of decision that man must decide if he will accept God's control--His will-- and follow that guidance or remain under control of the self with all of its desires, likes and dislikes, still in control of the person. If man should decide on God's control and His love, he repents of his sins, and then the self takes a back seat to the control of God. This is salvation. A turning of desires and motivations accompanies this decision. An inward change of the controlling force produces outward manifestations. Man is no longer in control, but God is in control, drawing man into a healing process of love. But it must be kept in mind that Wynkoop believed this was not the only thing that must be done. This was the beginning of the process of sanctification. At this point, Wynkoop stressed that the heart of man held two controlling images, self and God. It was a divided heart. Because Wesley's theology is a process theology, Wynkoop stressed that the life of a Christian was a daily, moment to moment, process of giving up of self in order to follow God's will. This was what Wesley termed sanctification.

Sanctification

Wesley argued sanctification or "Christian perfection" could and should happen in a man's lifetime. Wesley believed sanctification was an instantaneous act by God and a continual life process. Wesley believed that man, through love, could have an undivided heart so that every act, thought, desire, motivation was God led, creating in man an unified heart. Wesley said this undivided heart was Christian perfection achieved through love. Complete love for God and for man was the result of the undivided heart.

What is perfection? It is loving God with the whole heart regardless of the relative ability or capacity of the person at any one time. Perfection has a dynamic element when related thus to love. It must continue and grow or it is lost. Its very nature is growth....Sanctification is the life of holiness beginning in the new birth and never ending. Within it are the crucial crisis moments which moral experience demands. Holiness is not static. It is not a goal but a highway. It is not the end of problems but the beginning of them. (Wynkoop, 1975, p. 7.)

This complete love for God and man is a radical life transformation, demanding moral alterations running inward to the deepest root of the human personality. Wynkoop envisioned all of the above actions as stages in the life of salvation. She explained grace, repentance, salvation, sanctification on a continuum of depth. She liked to use the analogy of marriage to explain the process of salvation. When someone first meets another person, interest or no interest is shown. A decision is made to pursue the relationship or not. This is prevenient grace and the acknowledgment of man of God. If the decision is made to pursue the relationship then an actual relationship is begun. Likes

and dislikes are discovered along with developing a relationship. Like turns into love and a couple becomes engaged. For Wynkoop this was like salvation. The future man or wife now becomes actively involved in seeking the other's opinion and point of view. Love is discovered and pursued. In marriage the love is deeper and more committed than before. The commitment takes precedence over the individual. The self will of each individuals is now superceded by the relationship will. The love for each other is not a different type of love but is deeper, stronger and more devoted. For Wynkoop this was the difference between salvation and sanctification. The engagement type of love is like salvation and the marriage type of love is like sanctification. It must be understood that the love was found and developed within the confines of a relationship. For Wynkoop, this was the crux of Wesley's theology.

Holiness

For Wynkoop, holiness was the compilation of all of the theological concepts discussed by Wesley. Holiness to Wesley, according to Wynkoop, was the deepest kind of right relationship--the total man in right relationship with God in all dimensions. Because Wesley believed that Christian perfection was found in perfect love, holiness, which is the living out of Christian perfection, is a life of perfect love. "Holiness is love--love is a life direction not merely a word, sentiment or thing. Holiness is setting our AGAPE (love) on God--making Christ absolute Lord and this in turn invades every nook and cranny of life" (Wynkoop, Spring 1969, p.1). Holiness is a life of love directed toward God and fellow man. As such, it affects all aspects of life.

Christian Holiness begins with a Spirit-directed search among our agapes, our commitments, our values, our priorities. Human persons to be truly human must discriminate sharply between the rival claims to one's total self. Who will be Lord? It is a moral choice. Total love for God puts every other love into its proper place and gives a perspective that permits it to come to its highest expression and fulfillment without a loss of any essential integrity. Everything Holiness demands is fulfilled by that total love. Cleanness and love are not different things but two sides to one thing--holiness. There is only one God, and when we have made Him Lord, there can be no other God for us, and we become a whole person. (Wynkoop, 1978, Notes on the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, p. 1, File # 1439-3)

Holiness was the capstone of all Wesley's theology. This concept was not new with Wesley, but when he said holiness was attainable in this life, on this earth, that was something new. Holiness, a life of love, is the bridge between theological concepts and the practical aspects of life. Wynkoop saw that interpreting Wesley's theology through a lens of love was the "whole Wesley" she wanted the Nazarene church to embrace. It was this love that would solve the world's problems and make Christianity relevant for her day. It was this type of love that made Wesley a practical theologian. But not everyone interpreted Wesley in this way. Because this lens of love was different than the lens which rendered the traditional interpretation, Wynkoop collected many opponents.

Wynkoop's Opponents

Just as Wynkoop had many supporters of her theology she also had many detractors. Her opponents started with a different basic premise. They believed the theology of God started with a substantival view of man not a relational view as Wynkoop believed. In the substance theory, man, born in Adam's image, had something wrong with him from the moment of birth. By nature, man was thought to be sinful. In order to get the "sin" out, some type of operation needed to be performed in man to have salvation. This view point, according to Wynkoop stems from the Platonic dualistic system of man.

Following logically from the dualism in Platonic philosophy, sin is interpreted genetically, an evil inhering in the flesh and propagated as the physical body is propagated. Great concern is given to the substance of the soul. Sin is in that substance, sub-rational, essential to humanity, real. If it be granted that sin can be removed, in the Greek way of thinking a virtual operation would be required removing, quite literally something. The debate about the sin of mankind, and freedom from it, is conducted in a framework of thought foreign to the Bible.

(Wynkoop, 1972, p. 49)

The basic substance view affects the interpretation of all other theological precepts. Within this substantival view rose a tendency to perceive other theological concepts in a mathematical dimension. Wynkoop believed, that this view distorted Wesley's true message. "In one tradition the limitation of the extent of the atonement is the result of calculating sin in weight or number or legal terms. It affirms that Christ died for a

specific and measure amount of sin, no more, no less, else all sin would be 'paid for' and all men would be saved" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 164). In another tradition, original sin is seen as a "something" born with --"a virtual substance with real existence in some way attached to the substance of the soul but not essential to it. Its removal is taken out of the moral responsibility of men and divorced from a conscious response to the demands of grace" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 164).

Throughout Wynkoop's landmark text *A Theology of Love* she addressed this issue of the substance versus a relational view of Wesley's theology. For her, no truth could be found in the substantival view of man and God. She squarely placed the blame of sin on the shoulders of man in the context of a relationship with God. She felt it was only through a right relationship, one where man had an undivided heart toward God, that truth and meaning for life could be found.

In a word, biblical psychology is personal and is concerned wholly with personal relationships, individual and social. God's relation to men is in personal, historical context, and man's response to God cannot be gauged by any unit measure. The biblical message drives back into the heart of mankind, back to where the deepest, most responsible, most personal level of life is played out. It is ethical in the most real and profound sense. (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 164)

Opponents attacked her theology on other fronts. From the beginning of the Church of the Nazarene, the American Holiness Movement affected Nazarene theology greatly. This has already been discussed in this study, but one particular part of the movement affecting this discussion was the formalization of sanctification. Phoebe

Palmer, a very prominent early crusader of the American Holiness Movement, tried to formalize the experience of sanctification. Palmer believed there were certain common experiences all men needed to progress through to become sanctified. She tried to formalize these experiences order to define the sanctification. In time it came to be seen sanctification happened in two steps. As Wynkoop suggested, the "two step process" became the end instead of the means to the end. In this two step process, a Christian came first to salvation through repentance and progressed in his walk with Christ. As Wynkoop defined this stage as the divided heart stage. Both self and God are vying for control. Palmer then stressed a second decision to "go further with God" and give everything to Him and sanctification occurred. In the Nazarene church this was called "laying all on the altar" or "giving it all to God" or "letting Him have His way." It is interesting that in this second step the "it" in the substance theory is emphasized. Somehow if a Christian gives "it," whatever it is, to God then sanctification will occur. If this argument is followed to the end, then there must be two different types of experiences and two different types of grace, because the first decision-making time did not do it all the way. Over time a sort of sanctification legalism could be seen in the church.

Wynkoop gives a resounding "no" to this theological premise. For her, salvation, justification, sanctification are on a continuum of depth not on two or three different plains. "Justification and sanctification are not two kinds of grace, but two dimensions of the experience of God's love and grace. Something begins in justification that has no ceiling. It ushers the new Christian into a relationship to Christ that entails a way of life.

It opens up new depths and new vistas of meaning and new levels of personal relatedness to our Lord" (Wynkoop, 1972, p. 310). Because she envisioned a continuum relationship she argued that there is not a time concept to it. Salvation and sanctification could happen at once or there might not be a first "crisis" [a time of decision] and a second "crisis" so commonly espoused by her critics. Many of her critics believed she did not believe in sanctification because of this continuum view, but she did. This continuum view is based on her view of Wesley's theology as a process theology, something else her critics did not really believe.

Conclusion

Wynkoop and her critics did not find too much common ground. This may be partly political because she was a woman in a man's field doing theology in a new and creative way. Many of her supporters and critics addressed the idea of gender and the tension of that topic. Many suppose that her gender did either shield her from criticism or garner her more criticism. Wynkoop, on the other hand, only wanted to "do theology." She was not concerned by her gender, only that she noted she was often the only woman in the room. She just wanted to be like "one of the guys."

The other main reason for the criticism aimed at her was her creative way of examining Wesley. She was proactive, not reactive. She proposed new paradigms and new perspectives in her interpretation of Wesley that some did not like. Change is difficult for some and in the age old field of theology new ideas are examined with skepticism. Her theology opened the possibility of new theological ideas and new

interpretations of Wesley. For Wynkoop, debate was good.

Chapter Six

Repercussions of the Rebel

Introduction

In 1966, at the age of sixty one, Wynkoop and her husband Ralph arrived back in the United States after their adventure in Japan. Wynkoop wanted to be appointed as a missionary to Japan and thus return for further work, but that did not happen. She was not yet ready to retire, but was ready for another adventure. It did not take long for the adventure to find Wynkoop. Dr. William Greathouse, then the President of Trevecca Nazarene College in Nashville, Tennessee, asked Wynkoop to come teach in the Religion Department at Trevecca. Greathouse knew of Wynkoop's growing scholarship and valued her interpretation of Wesley and Wesleyanism. After much thought, Wynkoop and her husband Ralph set off for a new chapter in their life together.

Her Time at Trevecca Nazarene College

Wynkoop's time at Trevecca was very important in the life of her theology. It is during this time Wynkoop continued to work on her interpretation of Wesley's theology and formalized this view in her landmark book, *A Theology of Love: Dynamics of Wesleyanism*. The thoughts for this book began in the 1950's with her small pamphlet *An Existential Interpretation of the Doctrine of Holiness*. This was published in 1955 while she was a professor at Western Evangelical Seminary in Oregon. The basis for this series of chapel services later printed in pamphlet form was a summary of H. Orton Wiley's

theology. This exercise she later stated was the foundation for her book *A Theology of Love*.

The Trevecca years, 1966-76 were very busy for Wynkoop. It is interesting though, that Wynkoop did not want to initially go to Trevecca.

I had no place to go, so those in the Education Department at Nazarene Headquarters let all the colleges know I was available. Only I was very loud in my instruction NOT to let Trevecca know. Not there, thanks! But Dr. William Greathouse, President of Trevecca and also a member of the book committee who read 'Love' [her book *A Theology of Love*] found out I was free and he put on the pressure for me to go to Trevecca. With deep reluctance I went. (Wynkoop, personal notes, p. 8, File #2227-11)

Wynkoop held a negative perception of Trevecca because she thought it was "a second rate school" and she did not want to be associated with it. But she could not get away from what she interpreted as a "call" to go to Trevecca. Once on campus, her students, colleagues and the school itself helped change her perception. It was while she wrote the 75th *Anniversary History of Trevecca* that Wynkoop understood the great educational and religious heritage Trevecca had to offer its students. (Wynkoop, 1986, March 15, oral interview). Her time at Trevecca became very rich for her spiritually and personally.

Even though Wynkoop had misgivings about going to Trevecca, in 1966 she and her husband Ralph left for Nashville, Tennessee to begin a new work. Much earlier in their marriage Ralph had decided he would support Wynkoop in her academic endeavors. He was able to see her scholastic ability and her seriousness about theology. Ralph was

the "house husband" taking care of things and going where Wynkoop needed to go.

Trevecca was no different. While at Trevecca, Ralph worked in various jobs on campus ministering to the Trevecca students.

Wynkoop's writing career blossomed during the ten years at Trevecca. She published four books during this time. They were:

1. *John Wesley: Christian Revolutionary* in 1970
2. *A Theology of Love* in 1972
3. *Occult and the Supernatural* in 1976
4. *The Trevecca Story* (75 years of Trevecca history) in 1976

Also while at Trevecca she received several awards. She was named Teacher of the Year in 1970 by the students at Trevecca. In 1975 she was elected to the Outstanding Educators of America. She was also the recipient of the Citation of Merit in Education by the Nazarene denomination in 1976.

Wynkoop also held several academic positions while at Trevecca. She was a professor and Acting Head of the Religion/Philosophy Department during the years of 1968-1972. Trevecca then created a new department of Missiology and Human Services and Wynkoop was the chair of that department from 1972-1976. She also directed a college self study for accreditation purposes. Also during the early 70s, 1972-1974, Wynkoop was the President of the Wesleyan Theological Society. Many of her colleagues in the Society believed Wynkoop directed the Wesleyan Theological Society into the mainstream of Wesleyan theology instead of allowing it to veer philosophically to the left or the right.

The events of her time at Trevecca created many warm memories for her and Ralph. She tells of an uniting feeling and a growing togetherness between her students and herself during these ten years. An example of this was her class on the Church Manual. Many of the seniors in that class had waited to take this "dull class" until their senior year so the class was not overly excited about the topic. Wynkoop, with her quick wit, soft laugh and deep scholarship drew these students into an interesting discussion of the beliefs of the church. Many of the students said that "dull class" became their favorite of all of their classes on campus. (Wynkoop, 1986, March 15, oral interview). This time at Trevecca was very important to Wynkoop. "Trevecca was a big thing in my life. I was there longer than any other assignment that I had. Each change in my life was about five years, but my time at Trevecca was double that" (Wynkoop, 1986, March 15, oral interview). Wynkoop was at Trevecca for ten years. In 1976 she retired at the age of 70.

After Trevecca

After retirement from Trevecca, Wynkoop and her husband Ralph headed for the Nazarene Theological Seminary (NTS) where she was placed on staff as the "Resident Theologian" for about five years. While at NTS she taught, read, researched and lectured a great deal. It is in these years Wynkoop also was able to travel and lecture at many Nazarene District Assemblies, Pastor's Retreats and scholarly seminars. During this time her health, which had always been relatively good, began to decline. She had to have major heart surgery requiring a long recuperation time.

On April 13, 1982 Wynkoop endured a mitral valve replacement surgery. She had

rheumatic fever when she was young, which caused her to develop a heart murmur, damaging her heart. This initial surgery was to correct that damage. About two weeks later, on April 28, 1982, Wynkoop received a permanent pacemaker. This surgery which was supposed to correct the heart problem only created more trouble for Wynkoop.

The hospital people let me go too long without getting my heart going after the surgery. I was completely off the heart and on machines--and a minor but troubling head problem developed. I have light-headedness problems which sometimes blocks out the specific words I try to find. Not many people notice it because I can usually find other words to serve. Of course I am very sad about this and have not been able to accept the invitations to speak that are coming again. The reluctance to venture into public speaking is a new thing to me. I only hope it is merely psychological and not too great a change in personal identity.

(Wynkoop, 1983, Jan. 3, File # 2223-14)

For Wynkoop, this subtle change in her personality was unsettling. She wanted to use her full intellectual abilities even then at the age of 77, but now she even questioned her ability to engage in a simple conversation. Through time she was able to overcome somewhat this inability to think quickly and efficiently, but this major change in her also affected her emotionally. "My major handicap is recovering from a total loss of personal confidence. It is slowly returning...Recovery of a full sense of personal identity (maybe that is a too strong a word) is slow in coming, but it is on the way." (Wynkoop, 1983, Jan. 15, File # 2223-14). This loss of personal confidence changed the way she approached life and the adventures still to come. She never fully recovered from her loss

of self due to the surgery. Two years later she still discussed low times as a result of the surgery. In April, 1985 she writes of a time she was supposed to travel to Washington D.C. for a conference. She decided she could not go. "The problem of being in a large, bustling city with no place to ride out the low times (for me) overcame my own enthusiasm. I have much longer 'fair to middin' periods but all too much 'low to say' times to venture too far away from the hiding place." (Wynkoop, 1985, April 22, File # 2223-14). Like many older individuals, Wynkoop's world was shrinking. She stayed in her home for longer periods of time, but she was ever the scholar, spending her time reading, researching, and writing.

Wynkoop was approached by Dr. Stan Ingersol, the church Archivist, during this time and asked to begin the monumental task of putting together a representation of her theology and life work for the archives for the Church of the Nazarene. Wynkoop was a woman who saved everything. In the Archives today researchers can find two different collections of her things. One collection she put together to represent her theology and her life. In this collection are class notes, book notes, original research, and so forth. In the other collection is the rest of her life as seen through her personal things, donated to the Archives after her death. In this second collection the "real Wynkoop" comes forth. Small scraps of papers, napkins, and notepads all contain scribbles, pictures, snatches of thought, points to ponder and ideas to research. In her personal correspondence the care and compassion for those around her is evident as she shares the joys and sorrows of former students, colleagues, and family. Class notes taken while she was a student and class notes she wrote as a professor show the progression and growth of her theology.

Revision of her notes from class to class show her view of the dynamics of theology. For Wynkoop, theology was not dead, but always changing, evolving in relation to the world around it. Other personal mementoes in this second collection include pictures of her and her husband fishing and camping in the mountains of the Northwest, her doctoral cap and gown, certificates of merit and other family photos.

She officially retired from teaching a second time in 1986. Even in this second retirement she continued to teach and research. She developed devotions and scholarly lessons for the Breakfast Club at Nazarene Theological Seminary, a monthly scholarly meeting. She also developed devotions for a Women's Bible study. She loved talking about the Bible and she loved sharing all that her God had done for her.

Toward the end of her life, her brilliant mind began to fail her. This was probably more disturbing to her than the decline of her physical health. She passed away while a resident of Delmar Gardens Retirement Community on May 21, 1997. She was 91 years old.

Wynkoop's Legacy

Wynkoop's favorite Bible verse was Romans 12: 1-2 which reads,

Therefore, I urge you, brothers in view of God's mercy, to offer your bodies as living sacrifices, holy and pleasing to God-this is your spiritual act of worship.

Do not conform any longer to the pattern of this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind. Then you will be able to test and approve what God's will is—his good, pleasing and perfect will. (NIV)

Wynkoop allowed her God to transform her into what He wanted her to be and in doing so she transformed the world around her. She set the standard for educators and theologians alike and in doing so left the world a different place than what she was given. Her many changes can still be seen today. First of all, she revitalized the call for scholarship within the Church of the Nazarene. In researching and writing proactive, theological scholarship she cleared the path for others to continue the work of Wesleyan theological development. Her scholarship efforts are still some of the most demanding and rigorous to read and understand. She called all of her students to critically think about the world around them, just as she did. Secondly, her interpretation of Wesley's theology pointed the way for a "whole Wesleyan" view that the Church of the Nazarene needed. In doing so she allowed young men and women the opportunity to think, question, and research the most basic beliefs of Wesleyanism. Wynkoop encouraged an open debate of theological ideas. Some said this caused divisiveness within the church, but Wynkoop always said that debate was good.

Finally, Wynkoop transformed the world for all future women students and theologians. Theology had been typically a male dominated world, but she opened the theological doors to everyone, men and women. She was often the only woman in a room full of men, but she was able to be the lone female voice who supported her views with dignity and grace. But to Wynkoop, gender was not an issue. She believed all were called to think about theological issues. Throughout her life, all she wanted was to "do theology." With this aim in mind, the Nazarene Theological Seminary has opened a new resource for those who want to "do theology." On March 12, 2003, the Wynkoop Center

for Women in Ministry opened its doors as a resource and avenue for support for women who are in ministry. It hopes to offer the support and resources that Wynkoop often had to do without.

The Center tries to fulfill the mission of Wynkoop's life and help others attain their own academic and personal goals.

The mission of the Wynkoop Center for Women in Ministry is to equip, empower and encourage women called by God to serve in and through the Church of Jesus Christ. We equip women by helping them recognize and nurture the spiritual gifts endowed by God and prepare the Church to receive their ministry through educational initiatives. We empower women to be confident representatives of Jesus Christ and seek to clear the systemic roadblocks they sometimes encounter. We encourage women in ministry by providing opportunities for interaction with effective women leaders in the church. (Nazarene News)

The Wynkoop Center for Women in Ministry is important because it will help create and publish scholarship on Wesleyan theological issues. That is one issue Wynkoop stressed her entire life. For Wynkoop, to live, to breath, was to think and to love. This center will help start the process toward this part of Wynkoop's legacy.

Conclusion

Wynkoop was quite successful in her life. She did not have a lot of material possessions, but something far greater. She had a sense of accomplishment for fulfilling her childhood dream of "explaining things so people could understand." It seems a fitting

tribute to Wynkoop that her ashes were spread in a special spot on the Nazarene Theological Seminary campus, for she loved her Nazarene church and its schools almost as much as she loved her God. Wynkoop's legacy will continue to grow as more theologians and scholars study her work and generate more scholarship and debate, for that was the stuff of life for Wynkoop.

References

- Boone, D. (Feb. 7, 2002). personal communication. e- mail.
- Bangs, C. (1971). *Arminius: A study in the Dutch reformation*. Nashville: Abingdon Press.
- Bangs, C. (1995). *Phineas F. Bresee: His life in Methodism, the holiness movement, and the Church of the Nazarene*. Kansas City, Missouri: Beacon Hill Press.
- Dieter, M.. (Ed.). (1998). *The 19th century holiness movement*. Kansas City, Missouri: Beacon Hill Press.
- Girvin, E. A. (1916). *Phineas F. Bresee: A prince in Israel*. Kansas City, Missouri: Nazarene Publishing House.
- Ingersol, S., & Tracy, W. (1999). *Here we stand: Where Nazarenes fit in the religious marketplace*. Kansas City, Missouri: Beacon Hill Press.
- Jones, C. E. (1974). *Perfectionist persuasion: The holiness movement and American Methodism, 1867-1936*. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
- Metz, D. (1991). *MidAmerica Nazarene College: The pioneer years 1966-1991*. Kansas City, Missouri: Nazarene Publishing House.
- Moore, E. B. (1973). *Phineas F. Bresee: Mr. Nazarene*. Kansas City, Missouri: Nazarene Publishing House.
- Nazarene Messenger. (1905, July 6). p. 8.
- Nazarene News. Electronic newsletter. February 2003.
- Northwest Nazarene College Yearbook. (1924).

- Pollock, J. (1989). *John Wesley*. Wheaton, Illinois: Harold Shaw Publishers.
- Smith, T. (1962). *Called unto holiness. The story of the Nazarenes: The formative years*.
Kansas City, Missouri: Nazarene Publishing House.
- Staples, R. (2002, September). Man of one book. In *Illustrated Bible Life*. Kansas City,
Missouri: WordAction Publishing.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1939, August). My estimate of its value. *Herald of Holiness*, 10-11.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1940, November). Magic in the pulpit. *Magician's Magazine*, 81.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1961, November). Lecture. Japan Christian Junior College. File #
2227-18. Archives- Church of the Nazarene.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1961, December 8). Key-Note message. Japan Christian Junior College
and Japan Nazarene Theological Seminary. File #2227-18. Archives-Church of
the Nazarene.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1963, February 15). Wesleyan-Arminianism as a distinct theology. File
#2227-8. Archives- Church of the Nazarene.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1963, April). The educational situation in Japan as it relates to JCJC.
File #2227-6. Archives- Church of the Nazarene.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1967). *Foundation of Wesleyan-Arminian theology*. Kansas City,
Missouri: Beacon Hill Press.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1969, Spring). A Wesleyan view on preaching holiness. *Wesleyan
Theological Journal*, 4, 1. <<http://wesley.nnu.edu.theojrnl/06-10/06-2.htm>>
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1970). *John Wesley: Christian revolutionary*. Kansas City, Missouri:
Beacon Hill Press.

- Wynkoop, M. B. (1971, Spring). A Hermeneutical approach to John Wesley. *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 6, 1. <<http://wesley.nnu.edu.theojrnl/06-10/06-2.htm>>
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1972). *A Theology of love: The dynamic of Wesleyanism*. Kansas City, Missouri: Beacon Hill Press.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1975, Spring). John Wesley—mentor or guru? Presidential address to Wesleyan Theological Society. *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 10, 1.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1975). Second is depth. File #2223-27. Archives- Church of the Nazarene.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1976, April). Wesleyan theology and Christian development. *The Asbury Seminarian*, 35-41.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1978). Notes on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. File #1439-3. Archives- Church of the Nazarene.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1979, Spring). Theological roots of Wesley's understanding of the Holy Spirit. *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 14, 1. <<http://wesley.nnu.edu.theojrnl/06-10/06-2.htm>>
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1980, May). Notes for human nature/human development class. File # 2223-1.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1984). Me (?). personal history. 1-3. File #1427-2. Archives- Church of the Nazarene.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1986, March 15). Tape of oral history. File #1166C-8. Archives- Church of the Nazarene.
- Wynkoop, M. B. (1992). Satisfactions, regrets, concerns. Farewell address—Kansas City

Nazarene Theological Breakfast Club. File #1561-32. Archives- Church of the Nazarene.

Wynkoop, M. B. (undated). Sermons and personal notes on Japan. File #1426-1.

Archives-Church of the Nazarene.

Wynkoop, M. B. (undated). Personal history. File #1427-3. Archives- Church of the Nazarene.

Wynkoop, M. B. (undated). Personal history. File #1427-4. Archives- Church of the Nazarene.

Wynkoop, M. B. (undated). Personal history. File # 2223-3. Archives-Church of the Nazarene.

Wynkoop, M. B. (undated). Personal correspondence. File #2223-12. Archives-Church of the Nazarene.

Wynkoop, M. B. (undated). Personal correspondence and notes. File #2223-14. Archives-Church of the Nazarene.

Wynkoop, M. B. (undated). Notes about Japan. File #2227-8. Archives-Church of the Nazarene.

Wynkoop, M. B. (undated). Notes-The foundations of a theology of love. File # 2227-11. Archives-Church of the Nazarene.

Wynkoop, M. B. (undated). Notes about Japan. File #2227-23. Archives-Church of the Nazarene.

Yrigoyen, C. (1996). *John Wesley: Holiness of heart and life*. Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press.

Appendix A

Interview Questions for Colleagues

1. Detail your educational and theological background.
2. How did you come to know Dr. Wynkoop? In what capacity did you know her?
3. What did you think about her? Her personality?
4. Did you ever have the chance to observe her teaching? Did you hear students talking about her teaching style or manners?
5. Do you agree or disagree with that teaching methodology?
6. How would you summarize her theological views? What seemed important to her theologically, educationally?
7. If you could determine the 2 or 3 key points that seem to drive her own particular view of Wesley, what would they be?
8. Do you agree or disagree with her interpretations of Wesley and his theological views? Specific examples? Why or why not?
9. What do you see as her legacy within the Church of the Nazarene? Among other evangelical churches?

Interview Questions for Wynkoop's Students

1. Explain your educational and theological background.
2. In what capacity did you know Dr. Wynkoop? In what educational institution did you encounter her?
3. Describe a typical day in her class. Did you like the educational approach she used? Why or why not?
4. What was the general consensus among your peers about Wynkoop's educational methodology?
5. Describe 2-3 things you remember the most about Dr. Wynkoop. (What you learned, how she affected you....)
6. Did she change your theological or religious beliefs in any way? How?
7. What did you think about her landmark text, *A Theology of Love*? Important issues she raised that you remember?
8. Did any of your other professors share their concerns, issues they had with Wynkoop's theology? What were the issues discussed?
9. How do you think Dr. Wynkoop should be remembered? What is her legacy?

Interview Questions for Students or Professionals Who Did Not Know Her

1. Detail your educational and theological background?
2. When did you come in contact with Dr. Wynkoop's theology?
3. How was it characterized for you? Who was the one who described it for you?
4. Did you read her landmark text, *A Theology of Love*? In what context did you study that book?
5. What did you think about the issues raised in the book?
6. Has her theology and her interpretation of Wesley affected you in any way?
7. If she was sitting here with us today, what would you ask her about her theological ideas and beliefs?
8. When comparing and contrasting her theology with other Wesleyan views, what do you think about her theology?
9. How do you think she should be remembered?