FULL SALVATION: EXPRESSIONS OF TRADITIONAL
WESLEYAN HOLINESS IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

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John Wesley regarded the doctrine of "Christian perfection" or "full sanctification," as the "grand depositum which God has lodged with the people called Methodists."1 Strawson, in his survey of Methodist theology, identifies two strands within British Methodism which, although tracing their thinking about Christian perfection to Wesley, approached the doctrine in rather different ways, one scholarly and the other more popular.2 The two most significant scholarly treatments of the subject produced in the early decades of the 20th century were by H. W. Perkins and by R. Newton Flew.3 The populist, more traditional strand, has sometimes, Strawson comments, been seen as the poor relation of the official orthodoxy. It is the rather neglected early 20th century (to World War II) expressions of this traditionalist element within British Wesleyan holiness which provide the theme of this article. The holiness platform in denominational Methodism, presided over by Samuel Chadwick (1860–1932), is analyzed, disciplined holiness—in Methodism and the Salvation Army—is examined, and the radical holiness of other groups is described. Developments in thinking about entire sanctification and revivalism are traced. Comparison is made with wider evangelicalism. For Chadwick, Wesleyanism was distinctive. It embodied a "living testimony, impassioned enthusiasm, and intense spirituality," which would "spread Scriptural Holiness throughout the land, evangelize the world, and reform the nation."4

I

The main institution through which Chadwick spread his version of Wesleyan holiness was Cliff College, situated in the Peak District of England. Thomas Champness (1832–1904), who was associated with the progressive evangelistic Wesleyan Forward Movement and was a Wesleyan evangelist,
began training lay "Joyful News Evangelists" which led to Cliff's founding. 

With his wife Eliza, Champness also launched *Joyful News*, a weekly paper devoted to promoting evangelism and entire sanctification. It soon reached a circulation of 30,000. The paper owed much to Charles Garrett, a father of the Wesleyan Forward Movement. After Champness passed his training project to the Wesleyan Home Mission Department, Thomas Cook (1859–1912), a successful Connexional evangelist, took responsibility for the "Joyful News Training." Cook was an advocate of Wesleyan holiness views, explaining his position in his influential *New Testament Holiness*. A new center for lay training was required, Cliff House was purchased, and from 1904 Cliff College was to be synonymous with a robust affirmation of full sanctification. Chadwick became editor of *Joyful News* and in 1906, at the Wesleyan Conference, H. J. Pope proposed that Chadwick be appointed tutor in biblical and theological studies at Cliff. This was implemented. In 1912, as a result of Cook's early death, Chadwick became Cliff's Principal and for the next twenty years, using Cliff and the annual Southport Convention, Chadwick dominated much of the traditional Wesleyan Methodist holiness scene. *The Methodist Recorder* saw Cliff as an extension of Chadwick's personality and J. A. Broadbelt, who succeeded Chadwick, commented that Cliff and Chadwick were expressions of each other. Chadwick viewed entitlement to his work as "my devotion to that for which Thomas Cook and Thomas Champness lived and died." His task, as he saw it, was to maintain the Methodist holiness ethos of a previous era.

The tradition was maintained by Southport's working with Cliff. The convention was started in 1885 in order to "make more vital the traditional faith of Methodism." Cook was convener of the first convention. Speakers on that occasion included Champness and Hugh Price Hughes. The latter, who came to epitomize the Forward Movement, combined progressive evangelistic and social concern with old-fashioned spirituality, hoping that Southport would be "the Pentecost of modern Methodism." A crucial development in Wesleyan theology was the prominence given to Pentecost in 19th century

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5 *The Methodist Recorder*, June 1, 1933, 6; *Joyful News*, October 20, 1932, 2; Brice, *The Crowd for Christ*, 73.
Wesleyan thinking.\textsuperscript{12} Although Southport had no official denominational standing it shared with Cliff a significant Methodist constituency dedicated to keeping alive the atmosphere of past holiness revivals. After World War I Southport's speakers were drawn mainly from Chadwick's inner circle within Wesleyanism together with some non-Methodist speakers, such as Miss Crossley and Miss Hatch from Star Hall, an influential holiness center in Manchester. "In Methodism," said Chadwick years later, Southport "stands alone."\textsuperscript{13} George Jackson, a Tutor at Didsbury College, seemed to agree, characterizing the teaching of holiness at conventions as "jargon" and W. B. Maltby, Warden of the Deaconess College in Ilkley, though concerned for spiritual renewal, kept Southport at arm's length.\textsuperscript{14} Entire sanctification needed, it seemed, a robust defence within Methodism.

Chadwick's sense of being a faithful prophetic voice to Methodism was strong. He was determined to communicate his message about the Holy Spirit and Christian perfection, as evidenced by his books, \textit{The Way to Pentecost} and \textit{The Call to Christian Perfection}.\textsuperscript{15} Josiah Mee, a supporter of \textit{Joyful News}, told Chadwick: "I would rather see ten people entirely sanctified and filled with the power of the Holy Ghost, than a hundred converted."\textsuperscript{16} Mee's message about the priority of sanctification—repeated twice within hours of his death—represented for Chadwick a "last word and testament."\textsuperscript{17} In his traveling ministry Chadwick considered that he had always left ten people in any meeting entirely sanctified and filled with the power of the Holy Spirit. At Cliff there was a policy of urging students to claim full salvation. Turner characterizes the spirituality of Cliff in this way: "Samuel Chadwick's regime at Cliff College... though owing a good deal to the holiness tradition, was also fully Methodist..."\textsuperscript{18} Chadwick, of course, saw the emphases which he upheld as authentically Methodist. He was stung when an article appeared in \textit{The Methodist Times} enquiring why convention supporters were Methodism's "most difficult, awkward, cantankerous, obscurantist and touchy people." Critics, said Chadwick, were attacking those who affirmed sanctification in the traditional Methodist way.\textsuperscript{19} Against this background, there was some comfort in rural Methodism. Indeed, Cliff and Southport can be understood as standing for a northern and often rural Methodism which mirrored a north-


\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Joyful News}, July 19, 1923, 4; July 7, 1927, 1.

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Joyful News}, July 10, 1924, 3.

\textsuperscript{15} S. Chadwick, \textit{The Way to Pentecost} (London, 1932); S. Chadwick, \textit{The Call to Christian Perfection} (London, 1936).

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Joyful News}, April 14, 1919, 4.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Joyful News}, January 18, 1923, 4.

\textsuperscript{18} J. M. Turner, in Davies et al., \textit{A History of the Methodist Church}, 319.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{The Methodist Times}, June 24, 1926, 10; \textit{Joyful News}, July 1, 1926, 4.
south English divide. Chadwick denounced a minister who came to country Methodism and advocated whist-drives rather than prayer meetings. “I wonder what he knows of full salvation,” commented Chadwick. A convention would, he added caustically, “convert him or compel his resignation.” The hope was that Methodism could be saved by a prophetic remnant.

The conversionism of Wesley’s doctrine of salvation had to be kept to the fore. John Kent describes the period 1921–1928 as the last “flicker” of Methodist expansion, attributing it in part to efforts invested in traditional evangelism, supremely by Gipsy Smith. Cliff, though not mentioned by Kent, was another motor driving this intensification of mission, and it is crucial to understand the link consistently made by Cliff between “the warmed heart” and evangelism. In February 1920 Chadwick urged his students to receive the “Pentecostal gift of power” and the spread of evangelistic bands from Cliff emerged from a “Pentecost” at the College in 1920. As Chadwick talked about the warmed heart everyone was “stirred.” An algebra class was, perhaps with relief, abandoned. “All over the room men were pleading that they might have the assurance of full salvation.” Suddenly someone shouted “Allelujah.” “Glory had come into his soul.” Comparison was made with the Welsh Revival of 1904–1905. In June 1920 Norman Dunning (Chadwick’s biographer) arrived at Ashburton Methodist Church and proceeded to transform this “stagnant pool.” The report could hardly have been more enthusiastic, or unrealistic: “The minister’s vestry in the Ashburton Church may become as renowned in the spiritual history of the Methodist Church as that room in Aldersgate Street.” Revivalist history provided a platform for the present.

Despite Southport’s commitment to recapture past revivalist power, the Southport platform did experience some theological broadening. In 1926 J. E. Rattenbury, minister of the Methodist Kingsway Hall in London, speaking at Southport for the first time, said: “I make no claim to be an entirely sanctified man. I wish I could.” He had come to learn from those with a higher experience. Rattenbury’s contribution was, significantly, greeted with a “deep murmur” of appreciation. By 1931 The Methodist Times was acclaiming the recovery of scholarly exposition of entire sanctification at Southport. “There has never,” it remarked, “been a lack of impassioned evangelistic speakers . . . but sometimes the dearth of scholarly exponents of the doctrine has been noticed and lamented. But today there is a new academic interest in the subject, and theological scholars are returning to Southport.” One example was Newton Flew of Wesley College, Cambridge. Chadwick was probably unhappy,

21 Joyful News, May 1, 1919, 2.
24 Joyful News, July 1, 1920, 3.
26 The Methodist Times, July 2, 1931, 4.
however, when Southport speakers denied having “the experience.”

On a visit to North America Chadwick spoke at the Indian Springs Methodist Camp Meeting and noted that it corresponded with Southport “as at the beginning” when each speaker had to testify to entire sanctification. Was there weakening, therefore, as well as broadening? In 1934 Broadbelt regretted the “scholarship and saintliness” of earlier Southport leaders was missing and it was noted that the average age at the Convention was rather high and that a smaller tent was used. It appears that the first Southport tent seated 1,500 but that by the 1930s attendances were much larger. The advocacy of traditionalist full salvation which characterized the 1920s, with its strong appeal to 19th century models, was lending to lose its force.

II

Spiritual discipline was an overarching concept in Wesley’s thinking. Classes and bands were intended to enable lay people to live holy lives. Cliff attempted to provide a similarly disciplined environment. Students, usually aged 18–25, after rigorous training under Chadwick’s austere regime, were disgorged annually into Methodism, with roughly one-third going into lay circuit work, one-third into evangelistic work and one-third into ministry at home or abroad. Information in 1937 showed that in the previous seven years 500 students had trained at Cliff, of whom 160 had entered British Methodist ministry, sixty had gone to the Colonies, twenty-four were ministers in the USA and seventy-eight were Methodist lay workers. Joyful News had a substantial lay readership. There were also annual Whitsun meetings held at Cliff. Up to 15,000 people made this, in Dunning’s words, a pilgrimage, and “the biggest event in the Methodist year.” Cliff fostered grass-roots commitment.

Reactions in Methodism to the Cliff network were varied. Some saw it as making a valuable contribution to lay spirituality. J. E. Rattenbury said that Cliff was a “people’s institution,” helping those with little educational opportunity. But the College’s tendency to conform to the regime set down by Chadwick left it open to criticism. The 1930 Wesleyan Conference discussed the way in which Cliff staff were appointed. Chadwick found this sinister, suggesting privately that a group of Methodists planned to capture Cliff because they disliked its theology, presumably on the grounds of its traditionalism. An institution domi-

28 Dunning, Chadwick, 148.
32 Joyful News, October 27, 1932, 2.
33 Joyful News, May 12, 1932, 1–2.
nated by one person was a potential threat to Methodist unity. The public Cliff comment, from Joe Brice, was defiant. Quoting Champness, “We must keep the fire burning while the frost lasts,” Brice claimed about the impact of Cliff: “We are an offence to the frigid, for we come to scatter fire upon the earth.” The image was an intentionally militant one.

A disciplined spirituality also lay at the foundation of the Salvation Army. The Booths were products of Methodism and had been influenced by *Tongue of Fire* (1856), written by the 19th century Irish Methodist, William Arthur. Hence, the Army’s “Blood and Fire.” Insistence on holiness became an integral part of Salvation Army doctrine and discipline. Bramwell Booth, who succeeded his father William as General in 1912, was disturbed, however, that soldiers were mistakenly concluding they had been sanctified, and blamed “careless and hurried dealings” with penitents at the mercy-seat. Florence Booth, Bramwell’s wife, also feared loss of fire. She warned: “At one time the Methodists were the chief exponents of Holiness. Their preaching and their influence lit holy fires in the minds of the Founder and the Army Mother. . . . But the authority and example of John Wesley have not been sufficient to maintain a living holiness among his followers. And the authority of our General will not suffice for us. . . .” According to Bramwell, his most remarkable spiritual experience came when he was told about “another work of Divine Grace” and saw his need of “Full Salvation.” It was this holiness message which had to be reinforced.

Recovering the “fire” and ensuring disciplined holiness was to be a recurring Army theme in the inter-war years. A suggestion was made in 1920 that officers should aim at “enforcing Full Salvation.” Bramwell Booth himself emphasized that holiness meetings must “lead people into the enjoyment of the Blessing,” which would not happen through “indefinite generalities and goody-goody repetitions.” A rigorous approach was necessary. It was vital to make clearer how the Army as a body embraced Wesleyan holiness. In the revised edition of the *Orders and Regulations for Officers* of 1925 there was much more stress than in the previous edition on the centrality of holiness and the importance of promoting it, for example by utilizing officers with “a specially rich Holiness experience” to encourage comrades who “do not definitely enjoy the Blessing.” In 1931, however, the new General, Edward Higgins, found little to praise in holiness meetings, arguing that appeals to come to the penitent form rather than the classic “Holiness Table” showed a lack of appreciation of sanctification. Older formulations of Army spirituality were becoming more difficult to sustain.

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37 F. Booth, *The Officer*, April 1924, 266.
39 R. Hoggard, *The Officer*, November 1920, 450; B. Booth, *The Officer*, February 1920, 106–8; 110.
40 *Orders and Regulations for Officers of the Salvation Army* (London, 1925), 289–90.
41 *The Officer*, February 1931, 89, 93.
The most uncompromising 20th century promoter of Wesleyan spirituality in Army ranks was Samuel Logan Brengle (1860–1936). As an American Methodist theological student Brengle was warned that the doctrine of Christian perfection split churches. Undeterred, Brengle began to explore the Salvationist expression of holiness. In 1885, when William Booth came to Boston to hold meetings, Brengle was captivated. Within three years of his own experience of sanctification Brengle was applying to Booth to join the Army. Booth was skeptical, suspecting that Brengle was one of the “dangerous classes” of free evangelists, a category to which, of course, Booth himself belonged. There was tension between freedom and discipline. Brengle’s application was, however, accepted. Brengle felt his work would promote holiness and that he would be a holiness evangelist to the Army. This vision was fulfilled through Brengle’s extensive speaking and writing efforts. In 1930, for example, writing on the “Blessedness of the Pentecostal Baptism,” Brengle urged all officers to seek a greater fulness of the Holy Spirit. Indeed in the 1930s Brengle became, if anything, even more insistent on traditional holiness. It would be difficult to overestimate the force of his writings. Three days before his death Brengle lamented that the War Cry seldom contained reports about people coming forward for sanctification, but rather “to offer themselves for service.” There would, Brengle believed, have been neither a Salvation Army nor a Methodist movement on the basis of such inadequate procedures.

One major problem for Wesleyan spirituality was alternative, less rigid, spiritual remedies. Southport was competing with the much larger, interdenominational Keswick Convention. The founders of both Southport and Keswick had been affected by 19th century figures like the Pearsall Smiths and Asa Mahan, who brought new holiness teaching to bear on British evangelicalism. Chadwick was quite prepared, however, to insist on the differences between the holiness views of Keswick and Southport. Methodism stood for “the doctrine of eradication of inbred sin and imparted holiness, as against the Keswick teaching of repression of sin and imputed holiness.” He could on occasions be conciliatory, for example in his comment in 1923: “There are differences between the Methodist interpretation and the teaching, for instance, at Keswick, but we have no quarrel with Keswick. Some of our most effective teachers have been equally welcome on both platforms.” But this was an overstatement. Apart from Charles Inwood, there had been few

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43 S. L. Brengle, The Staff Review, April 1930, 188.
45 See D. W. Bebbington, Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s (London, 1989), Chapter 5.
46 Dunning, Chadwick, 148.
prominent Methodist speakers at Keswick, a paucity lamented by David Lambert in 1937. Keswick and Southport were essentially alternatives. The Keswick constituency had its greatest appeal within conservative evangelical Anglicanism and was wary of what it saw as extreme Wesleyan perfectionism.

A further rival to Southport was the annual conference at "The Hayes," Swanwick, of the Fellowship of the Kingdom (FK), which represented a developing form of liberal evangelical Methodist spirituality based on the historical Jesus of the Gospels in the inter-war period. Some promoters of Swanwick, Chadwick admitted, said that it had made Southport a "back number," and Chadwick could not hide his disapproval of the fact that FK, with its call for a Quest, a Crusade and a new Fellowship, made "no definite appeal along the lines of Methodist doctrine and experience." Although he never spoke at Keswick or Swanwick, Chadwick was invited to the pan-denominational Northfield Conference in the United States (founded by D. L. Moody and influenced by Keswick) and was "as happy as a sandboy" when his presentation of Methodist theology was embraced. For devotees of Southport, their own strand of holiness teaching was found to be superior to any new variety. But rigorous adherence to one interpretation of spiritual experience became more difficult as the 20th century progressed and evangelicalism was reshaped.

Army spirituality, too, was tending to become less standardized. Edward Higgins, writing for staff officers, emphasized that in many areas, including entire sanctification, the Army had little in common with other religious organizations. It stood apart. Others, however, saw Army methods themselves as in need of fresh formulation. In 1935 "One of the Younger End" wrote that Army teaching was particularly suited for one type of person: "the sunny, clear-cut, emotional natures, who are always having a good time, who can accept and make their own the doctrine of living daily without sin." The plea was for an acceptance of varieties of spiritual experience, a line which seemed to be present, at least implicitly, in an article by Frederick Coutts (later to be Army General) in the same year. Coutts commended the World War I chaplain Studdert

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Kennedy, or "Woodbine Willie," as a "gallant soldier of Christ" and a "modern prophet." It was such broader thinking which was destined to prevail.

III

Other Wesleyan streams sought to follow Wesley in espousing radical holiness. The Pentecostal League of Prayer, founded by Richard Reader Harris, a barrister and Queen's Counsel, in 1891, was an interdenominational organization dedicated to praying for revival and spreading scriptural holiness. By the end of the century the emphases of Harris and the League (the word Pentecostal was eventually dropped to distinguish the League from the Pentecostal movement) were promoted through 150 centers in Britain. The influential devotional writer Oswald Chambers lent his support to the League's work, but the League itself suffered a serious schism when a prominent associate of Harris, David Thomas, a prosperous businessman, seceded with four other leaders to form the Holiness Mission. Radicals could, inevitably, be uncomfortable with each other.

Harris warned against those who wanted to work in opposition to the established denominations, but for his part Thomas had concluded that promoting holiness within existing churches was hopeless. Thomas and the International Holiness Mission (as it became) took an uncompromising line, launching virulent attacks on those in established denominations. Pleasure seekers in the churches, as Thomas saw it, were going to the devil. This kind of tone was characteristic of Fundamentalism, and Thomas enunciated explicitly Fundamentalist themes, arguing that it was criminal to support higher critics and asserting that his Mission comprised "genuine Fundamentalists" who believed the Bible from Genesis to Revelation. Yet the doctrine which was always most important for Thomas was "full salvation from SIN." Those who denied this teaching, Thomas exploded, were fostering modernism. Here was a ferocity about holiness not to be found on wider Wesleyan platforms.

Thomas' stated policy was to avoid starting missions where there was already a church preaching "Scriptural Holiness." He was, nevertheless, accused of encouraging church members to leave their churches. Although he denied the charge of "Come Outism," some Mission leaders had indeed abandoned their denominations. The whole professing church was, in Thomas' eyes, crippled. Holiness called for separation. But the emergence of a younger

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54 F. Coutts, The Officers' Review, Vol. IV, No. 5 (1935), 446.
55 See H. A. Snyder, The Radical Wesley (Downers Grove, 1980).
57 J. Ford, In the Steps of John Wesley: The Church of the Nazarene in Britain (Kansas City, Missouri, 1968), 91; P. James, A Man on Fire (Ilkeston, Derbys, 1993), 8.
58 D. McCasland, Oswald Chambers: Abandoned to God (Grand Rapids, 1993).
60 Thomas, Holiness Mission Journal, October 1924, 4; April 1927, 4; September 1925, 4.
Mission preacher, Maynard James, was to change the ethos. James had trained under Chadwick at Cliff College and in 1929, at the age of twenty-seven, was appointed pastor of the Manchester Tabernacle, the Mission’s main center. The evangelistic ability and personal dynamism which characterized James soon ensured that he became the most formidable force in the Mission. Unlike Thomas, James was keen to draw from any source of authentic spirituality. He was deeply impressed by Chadwick. The success of the “Revival and Healing Campaigns” conducted by the brothers George and Stephen Jeffreys, leaders in the 20th century Pentecostal movement, also made such an impact on James that he began to incorporate prayer for physical healing into his meetings. George Johnson of Oldham, who had suffered from spastic paraplegia was, in front of an audience of 600 people, anointed by James and immediately walked. It was a dramatic moment. Pentecostal power was apparently at work.

It was a heightened interest in Pentecostal phenomena which contributed to a breach between Thomas on the one hand and Maynard James and three of his younger colleagues, Jack Ford, Leonard Ravenhill, and Clifford Filer (all trained at Cliff), on the other. Divine healing was, James believed, to be practiced. Tongues should not be forbidden. In January 1935 a new Calvary Holiness Church was formed, with James as President. From then on the Mission lost impetus while Calvary Holiness Churches increased to nineteen by 1940. James launched his own magazine, *The Flame*, which achieved a circulation of 18,000 and which ensured the spread of James’ spiritual emphases on healing, full salvation and the second coming of Christ.

During the early decades of the 20th century other related holiness groups also developed. The Church of the Nazarene was a holiness denomination with its headquarters in America but with a British arm. Its presence was strongest in Scotland, where its roots were in the Pentecostal Church of Scotland which began in 1909. James had close associations with the Church of the Nazarene from the 1930s. Another strongly independent movement committed to entire sanctification was what became the Emmanuel Holiness Church, founded by the rather idiosyncratic John Drysdale who was indebted to Star Hall and whose wife had experienced sanctification through David Thomas. Paget Wilkes, Field Director of the Japanese Evangelistic Band, the most important Wesleyan holiness movement engaged in overseas mission, had been inspired by Brengle and distributed hundreds of copies of Brengle’s *Helps to Holiness*. The evangelistic “Faith Mission,” which had started in

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1886 under the leadership of John Govan, tended to stand apart in the 1920s, but from 1939 Faith Mission training was under the direction of David Lambert, a central Cliff figure. Despite their differences the many links between the radicals fostered some coming together in the 1930s and beyond. In 1946 the rupture between James and the International Holiness Mission was healed and there was a subsequent merger with the Church of the Nazarene. It was under their radical holiness banners that disparate holiness groups found common identity.

IV

Entire sanctification was primary in traditional Wesleyan holiness thinking. But Chadwick noted in 1929 that at the recent Southport Convention some speakers had insisted on traditionalist expressions while others had “seemed anxious to round the corner of the sharp issue.” This was not to Chadwick’s liking. Bebbington has delineated a shift in the 19th century from Wesley’s concept of the crisis of sanctification coming at the end of a spiritual quest to the expectation that holiness was readily available and should be normal. The experience was being democratized. The Army’s The Officer suggested that everyone should achieve entire sanctification. Normal procedure was for those who were converted to be led at a later stage in their Christian experience “to that step of consecration and Faith which admits us into the blessing of Full Salvation.” In almost identical phrases, other holiness groups could speak about justification and sanctification as the two main works of grace. The commonality showed the massive dependence on tradition. Chadwick admitted it was “easier to prove the doctrine of a Second Blessing from John Wesley, than from the Bible.” At a time when holiness thinking was perceived as changing, traditionalists found security in an appeal to past history in which, for them, the authentic doctrine of entire sanctification had been preserved.

Chadwick was not complacent about contemporary holiness apologetic. He dismissed much of it as “composed mostly of milk and eggs—good and nutritious, soft and luscious, but not exactly strong meat.” His call was for young scholars to explore and restate holiness teaching. Nevertheless, Chadwick did not seem to encourage Cliff to engage in fresh thinking. He explained that Cliff had “gone back to the old communion-rail method” which symbolized a return to “the old paths.” Although Chadwick was probably not fully aware of it, the “old paths” represented by the communion rail

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68 Bebbington, Evangelicalism, 172–3.
69 The Officer, August 1919, 165.
70 S. Chadwick, Christian Perfection, 68.
72 Joyful News, April 14, 1921, 2.
were not a product of British Wesleyanism but derived from an American, Phoebe Palmer. As McFadden has shown, Palmer made kneeling at the communion rail an integral part of her ritual. It was when someone laid all on "the altar" that holiness was achieved. While Chadwick was calling for creativity, his practices were uncritically rooted in the past. David Thomas, for his part, was proud that the question of "SIN" divided Keswick and almost all the denominations from a Holiness Movement which "teaches practically the same truth as John Wesley did." Tradition was venerated and fresh thinking was limited.

Yet the tradition had been remolded in the area of pneumatology. Wesley did not identify entire sanctification with baptism in the Spirit. That identification, together with the stress on Pentecost, owed a great deal to Charles Finney, Mahan, and Palmer. In turn, as Dayton has argued, Wesleyanism's interest in Pentecost contributed (especially in America, much less so in Britain) to the rise of the Pentecostal movement. When, however, 20th-century Pentecostalism highlighted the gifts as well as the power of the Holy Spirit, many holiness advocates were cautious or opposed. Frederick Booth-Tucker, for the Army, saw the "gift of languages" as a supernatural ability to speak in known languages during mission and dismissed the church members at Corinth as "sincere but mistaken fanatics," while Brengle, on a visit to Scandinavia, was gratified that following his teaching many who had been "babbling around in tongues" came to the penitent form, at which point tongues ceased. Reader Harris of the League of Prayer accepted the possibility of tongues, but opposed the notion of tongues as evidence of baptism with the Holy Spirit and considered that Pentecostalism's extreme features, such as people rolling on the floor, suggested "confusion, errors of doctrine and errors of conduct." The International Holiness Mission forthrightly dismissed Pentecostalism as fanaticism.

Chadwick was unusual in arguing that the nine gifts of I Corinthians 12 were still to be utilized. "The Lord the Healer," said Chadwick, "still gives to men the gift of healing by His Spirit . . . quite apart from medical knowledge." On the issue of tongues, Chadwick saw a typically Pentecostal two-fold gift: one a "sign" and the other "for the perfecting of the saints and the building up of the body of Christ." Healing appealed to some Salvationists. A. G. Cunningham regarded the healing of an officer named Alfred Brown, as "one of the most remarkable cases of healing on record." Brown collapsed

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8Holiness Mission Journal, October 1924, 4.
9D. W. Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism (Grand Rapids, 1987).
10F. Booth-Tucker, The Officer, June 1919, 540; Hall, Brengle, 235.
12Joyful News, May 2, 1919, 1.
13The Officer, August 1919, 111.
with severe bleeding while leading a meeting and was told by his doctor that he would never work again, but he experienced instantaneous recovery when something passed through him at lightning speed. Maynard James believed that God was restoring miraculous gifts, including tongues, although he warned about obsession with gifts. It was difficult for Wesleyan advocates of the power of the Spirit to come to terms with claims about new manifestations of that power.

What these Wesleyans longed for was the old-fashioned power. "The Methodism in which I was brought up," Chadwick complained, "has been largely relegated to the lumber-room of the Church. . . . The change may be for better or for worse, but the works of the old are the witness of its power."

Why had the power lessened? Declining interest in prayer was often mentioned. Prayer meetings and class meetings, Chadwick sighed, were judged to be irrelevant, lacking spiciness and "jazz." "Worldliness" instead of holiness was another problem. Higgins wrote that of all the dangers threatening Salvationists, the encroachment of worldly practices was "the subtlest and most deadly." Should not, though, the church be involved in the world? Hugh Price Hughes had attempted to hold together holiness and social action. Joyful News, as Howarth has shown, was far from being entirely world-renouncing. Significantly, however, Chadwick suggested that there had been a crisis in the Salvation Army when the emphasis moved from spiritual experience to social redemption and other holiness commentators similarly thought that the Army had concentrated on "second-rate" material matters. There was limited enthusiasm in inter-war traditionalist holiness circles for what other evangelical Nonconformists and such Wesleyans as Hugh Price Hughes had seen as an authentic social gospel.

How could old-style revival be generated? Active steps were taken to seek to promote revival. Exhibiting traits of the medieval romanticism current at the time Chadwick called for the formation of a band of "Evangelistic Friars," arguing that the church would have to "resume its relations to poverty." David Lambert, his colleague, may not have been impressed, since he wrote: "The day for bare-footed Christianity has gone by. It was a monkish understanding." Nevertheless, at Whitsun 1925 Chadwick announced his determination to enlist Methodist Friars to evangelize England and from 1926 these uniformed "Trekkers," as they were also called, went out in bands each year.

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82Joyful News, March 27, 1919, 1.
83The Officers' Review, Vol. III, No. 6 (1934), 483.
85Joyful News, May 1, 1919, 2; N. H. Murdoch, Origins of the Salvation Army (Knoxville, 1994), 146–67. has examined the bifurcation in the Salvation Army; Ford, In the Steps, 208.
86Joyful News, October 23, 1919, 1; December 30, 1920, 2.
to attempt the task. Chadwick conceived of his Friars as an Order, raised up by God in the same way as were Dominic, Francis, the Wesleys, and the Booths. The essential equipment for Cliff revivalists, as with the evangelists of the past, was their experience of entire sanctification. The old-fashioned Wesleyan revival, however, which was so often prophesied, ultimately failed to materialize.

V

What did materialize after World War II was a renewal of British evangelicalism. The influence of Billy Graham was highly significant. Wesleyan revivalism gave way to organized interdenominational "crusades." But the Wesleyan stress on experience of the Spirit was to surface again in the charismatic movement of the 1960s. To what extent, therefore, was Wesleyan spirituality linked to wider evangelicalism before World War II? In 1927 Chadwick stated: "The theology of the Methodist is Catholic; the religion of the Methodist is Evangelical; the experience of the Methodist is distinctive." It was the "warmed heart" that made Methodism. Broadbelt illustrated the areas of overlap between holiness and conservative evangelicalism when he explained what had controlled his life as conversion, evangelism, love for the Bible and full salvation. While three of these were classic evangelical themes, the fourth, full salvation, was distinctive.

Traditional Wesleyan approaches to conversion, evangelism, and full salvation have been examined. What, then, was the place of the Bible in Wesleyan holiness? The Flame, in 1935, stated that it stood on Scripture as the infallible Word of God and on the truth of holiness, along with Wesley, Booth, and others. Most holiness writers set the Bible alongside spirituality. Entire sanctification was to be found in the Word of God as it was interpreted by those who possessed such an experience. This dynamic view influenced the understanding of the theory of biblical inspiration. Chadwick proposed that the Bible itself did not define inspiration, that the key was the Spirit, and that a mechanical view of the Bible which saw it as a substitute for the "inactive Spirit," resulted in bibliolatry. It is implied by Strawson that popular holiness tended towards obscurantism in theology and conservatism in critical approaches, but Chadwick actually affirmed the importance of biblical criticism in formulating a saner doctrine of inspiration, and when the Methodist scholar, A. S. Peake, died in 1929, Chadwick remarked that Peake
belonged to the aggressive school of biblical criticism but that whenever he spoke it was "deeply spiritual." 93

Given this emphasis on experience, holiness movements had reservations about the angular "orthodoxy" of the Fundamentalism. 94 Thomas alleged that liberal ministers were practically strangers to regeneration, and James spoke about modernism heralding the (premillennial) "rapture of the saints," but Thomas insisted that the real problem was failure to proclaim salvation from the "inherited sinful nature." 95 When Chadwick called for an end to wrangling over doctrine the Fundamentalist Wesley Bible Union was outraged, feeling that Chadwick's stance was one of "pitiable failure." In response, Chadwick talked about his worries over "heterodoxy of temper" and said that the spirit of the Bible Union was one to which he could not reconcile himself. 96 Commenting in 1924 on the way in which American churches were dividing over the Modernist-Fundamentalist controversy, Chadwick suggested that both sides needed spiritual revival. 97 Wesleyan spirituality could foster evangelical breadth.

VI

By the inter-war period traditional Wesleyan holiness teaching was perceived as being in decline. W. E. Sangster, known for his crowd-pulling ministry at Westminster Central Hall, London, described in 1938 his astonishment when he read Brengle's testimony to entire sanctification. Although his views were to change, Sangster had seen holiness advocates as the Methodist "underworld." 98 Cliff College and Southport attempted to sustain a traditional holiness platform in Methodism. Like Chadwick, some Salvation Army leaders wished to foster disciplined holiness. Radical holiness movements joined in the attempt to revive the Wesleyan tradition. For Chadwick "the Methodism that saved England," a typical reference to the past, did not go "with bottles and mugs to the world's cisterns for joy." 99 Chadwick had himself known great revivalist fervour. But such memories were fading by the 1940s. Nevertheless, there were those searching for a new and relevant spirituality, W. E. Sangster could say by 1943 that there was an experience of the Spirit "available for all who will seek it with importunity, which imparts spiritual power far above the level enjoyed by the average Christian..." 100 Traditional Wesleyan evangelical experience could be renewed.

93 Strawson, "Methodist Theology," 229; Joyful News, September 8, 1921, 2; August 29, 1929, 4.
95 Holiness Mission Journal, April 1924, 4; February 1924, 4; April 1934, 2.