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Floyd T. Cunningham



Along with many other evangelical groups, the Church of the Nazarene began in the Philippines shortly after the Second World War. Perhaps an understanding of its early development will help to explain some of the steps taken toward church organization by evangelicals during this time. This article begins with Filipinos who became Nazarenes in the United States before the war, and extends to 1968, the year when the first Filipino became District Superintendent.

After several years when no such activity had been possible, in the mid-1940s the Church of the Nazarene's leaders sought to expand its missions rapidly around the world, and the Philippines was a fruitful-looking field to enter. Here comity arrangements, which had preserved some semblance of Protestant order from the time of the American occupation until the war with Japan, came apart in the mid-1940s. This occurred not only because myriad sects, each with its own brand of the gospel, began to enter the Philippines in a kind of second American invasion, but because the Methodist Church and the United Church of Christ, lynch pins in the comity system, themselves began to invade each other's territory.¹ The Filipino Methodists of this era were not, in fact, so different from the Nazarenes in theology, though there were both practices and forms of worship which continued to separate these two ecclesiastical heirs of John Wesley (Galang 1958a, 13 and 1958b, 36; see Santiago 1959, 9-10 on the Methodists' prohibition of smoking, dancing and drinking).

The Church of the Nazarene arose in the United States primarily because Wesley's teachings on entire sanctification were suppressed in the Methodist churches by the 1890s. Methodists and others in the "holiness movement" of the nineteenth century taught that entire sanctification was a crisis experience subsequent to regeneration by which the heart was cleansed from original sin and filled with the Holy Spirit. The roots of the Church of the Nazarene were mostly within Methodism. The polity of the church aped the Methodists,

except that the highest officials in the Nazarene church were called General Superintendents instead of Bishops, and that the goal in planting the Church of the Nazarene around the world was to build an international body (something like the Roman Catholics) rather than autonomous national organizations, as had the Methodists. Like other Protestants, the Nazarenes' missions policy stressed self-support, self-propagation and self-government. However, the church was slow to pull out financial commitments to pastors and churches once such were extended. Missionaries continued for decades in most countries to play active roles in both evangelism and church planting, and the government of the church was purposely left to decisionmakers at headquarters, who delegated authority to mission and, eventually, national leaders. The representative form of government in mission fields began only when the indigenous churches achieved measures of self-support. But all churches around the world were supposed to remain loyal to both the *Manual* and General Superintendents, who were elected by quadrennial general assemblies by and for the world church (Peters 1956, 145-80; Smith 1962; Purkiser 1983; Johnson 1982; Cook 1984, 48-64).

By the 1940s the Church of the Nazarene was known for its fiery preaching about God's demands and expectations for both personal holiness and strict moral living. It was the largest and among the fastest growing of conservative Wesleyan groups in America, numbering about 200,000 members worldwide in 1944. Like many evangelical groups its American constituency was mostly white middle class, politically conservative and, by this time, becoming suburban. Its headquarters lay in Kansas City, Missouri, America's heartland. The group was not "fundamentalist" in the technical sense of the term. It never espoused as strongly as some other evangelicals the blend of premillennial and verbal inerrancy of the Bible doctrines which characterized fundamentalism. It shunned harsh Calvinist doctrines of predestination and stressed moral choice. Neither was the church anti-intellectual. It established several liberal arts colleges and, by 1945, a graduate theological seminary (cf. *Quadrennial Reports* 1944; Armstrong 1958, based on a sociological survey; Jones 1974, 140-42).

Filipino Nazarenes In the United States

The church delayed its entrance into the Philippines until after World War II despite contacts which the church had had in the country before the war. Several Filipinos attended the denomination's

college in remote Nampa, Idaho. The first, apparently, was Marciano Encarnacion (b. 1893), a native of Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija. He was raised in a family which was one of the first in the area to accept Protestantism by joining the Methodist Church. Like many Filipinos in the 1910s, Encarnacion migrated to the States, arriving in Seattle, Washington, where he had relatives, in 1919. Within a short time he became acquainted with the local Church of the Nazarene. Encarnacion professed to be "saved" and later "sanctified" through the ministry of that church. In 1920 an evangelist persuaded him to attend Northwest Nazarene College at Nampa, where he entered the Academy or high school department. Several Filipino friends also from Cabanatuan joined him. Students there began a Philippine mission band which included these Filipinos as well as others and promoted missionary work in the country. After one year at Nampa, Encarnacion took other jobs, including a stint working on railroad construction in Montana. Then he returned to Seattle and completed a pharmacy course at the University of Washington. In 1926 he returned to the Philippines. He worked in a pharmacy in Baguio, and witnessed about his faith to his family and friends there, in Cabanatuan, and elsewhere. His wife, Epifania, whom he married in 1928, became a teacher and eventually a supervisor in the public school system in and around Baguio. When the Pilgrim Holiness church entered the Philippines in the mid-1930s, Encarnacion joined it, and made contacts through it in various localities in the lowlands. His wife, meanwhile, became active in the United Church of Christ in Baguio.²

At the same time other Filipinos in America linked themselves with the Church of the Nazarene. In Wisconsin, Rev. Basilio T. Vargas joined the church about 1934. He had been a Methodist before emigrating to the United States, and completed a ministerial course at a holiness college, God's Bible School. Local Nazarene leaders, impressed with his evangelistic skills, encouraged him to return to the Philippines ([J. G. Morrison] May 1935, 4). Meanwhile, Rev. and Mrs. Fred Feters ministered among Filipinos in Pasadena, California, and opened a work associated with the Central Church of the Nazarene in the city. In both the case of Vargas and the Feters lack of money prevented the denomination from dispatching them to the Philippines. It was still suffering from the Depression. Missionaries had to return from fields already opened, and there was no budget for entry into new fields (Pitts 1955b, 7; Pattee 1958, 29). One Nazarene missionary stationed in Japan, William A. Eckel, visited the

Philippines in 1939, and encouraged the church to enter the field, in particular to minister among the more than 25,000 Japanese living in Manila. He made contacts with two small Japanese evangelical churches. But, again, the church would not rush into this, and the war prevented further discussion of the possibility (Eckel 1939, 12-15).

Though the Church of the Nazarene felt the special responsibility of many American Protestants to "Christianize" the Philippines (Wiley 1928, 2) the Methodist church in the Philippines included a faction strongly influenced by the more conservative or "holiness" teachings remaining within it (Alejandro 1950, 15-18; 1951, 11-14; 1967, 68-82). One holiness group very similar to the Church of the Nazarene, the Pilgrim Holiness Church, was already at work in the Philippines. The latter began in 1932 after Miguel Zambrano, a Filipino converted in California, returned to his country.³

The attention of church leaders turned again to the Philippines through Nazarene chaplains stationed in the country during the closing days of the Second World War. One, J.E. Moore, Jr., purposely sought out Encarnacion, and found him in the pharmacy in Baguio. Encarnacion expressed his desire to see the Church of the Nazarene planted in the Philippines, and his willingness to help it do so. Moore sought and secured permission from General Superintendent Hardy C. Powers to organize the Church of the Nazarene in the Philippines, but he soon transferred to Japan. The contact and plan was followed up by another Nazarene chaplain, A. Bond Woodruff. After helping Encarnacion to begin a church among his relatives and neighbors in Cabanatuan, Woodruff officially organized it on 19 May 1946, with twenty-nine members, and appointed Encarnacion as pastor. This can be marked as the founding date of the Church of the Nazarene in the Philippines. The military transferred Woodruff elsewhere, so the work was left entirely to Encarnacion.⁴

Nazarene Missionaries to the Philippines

Meanwhile, Joseph S. Pitts, another Nazarene chaplain who had been stationed in the Philippines, and who had returned to the United States, felt especially burdened that the Church of the Nazarene enter the country in earnest. In 1947, when he pressed Hardy C. Powers in this direction, the General Superintendent suggested that perhaps Pitts himself be the one to pioneer the mission work.

After deliberation on the matter, Pitts agreed. Encarnacion met him in Manila when he and his family arrived in February 1948 (Pitts 1955b, 18-23).

Pitts (b. 1907) represented the more traditional areas of the Nazarene church on matters pertaining to dress and behavior. He was living at the time of his departure for the Philippines in Wilmore, Kentucky, and had other strong contacts in Louisiana and Alabama, where his brother had been District Superintendent. Pitts himself had attended Bethany-Peniel, a Nazarene college in Oklahoma. Indeed Remiss Rehfeldt, the director of Foreign Missions for the denomination at the time, was equally conservative.⁵

Pitts began work immediately. He had information from the Filipino Nazarene pastor in Pasadena, Rev. Catalina, regarding an independent congregation in Iloilo. Catalina had sent word about the Church of the Nazarene to the lay pastor there, Elijah Lasam. Pitts organized this group as the second Church of the Nazarene in the country in July 1948 (Pitts 1948; Scrapbook). Later in the same year Powers and John Stockton, general treasurer, visited the Philippines and advised Pitts to move his family to Baguio, to make this the headquarters of the work. (Until this time the Pittses had been staying in Cabanatuan.) Pitts and Encarnacion soon began a church in Baguio among more of Encarnacion's acquaintances, and Mrs. Encarnacion, who had been teaching Sunday School in the United Church of Christ in the city, joined the Church of the Nazarene at this time. However, Encarnacion himself remained as pastor of the Cabanatuan church until 1953, when he was appointed the first Filipino pastor of the Baguio church (Pitts 1955b, 51).

Pitts soon found that Encarnacion had made many contacts over the years, and from these other Filipino leaders began to emerge. For instance, Encarnacion introduced Pitts to some of his acquaintances in Aringay, La Union, and Pitts conducted a revival there. Pitts did the same at Bunday, Pangasinan, where a small independent congregation, in which Gil Sevidal was the associate pastor, invited him to preach. Sevidal had been converted under the holiness ministry of Ciriaco Jamandre, a Pilgrim Holiness Church preacher, and former Methodist, whom Sevidal later brought into affiliation with the Nazarene denomination. Jamandre and his son, Edison, soon became leaders. The meeting at Bunday extended to the village of Balacag, where former affiliates of the Independent Methodist Church (IEMELEF) started a Nazarene congregation after a visit by Pitts. The Fontanilla family principally carried on the work at Balacag. The

elder Fontanilla had been a local preacher in the IEMELEF church. General Superintendent Orval Nease himself organized the church in Balacag with thirty charter members on a visit to the Philippines in November 1948. The church also expanded to Oriental Mindoro, at Pinamalayan, when nine members of the Carpio family, who had been attending the Baguio church, moved there in 1949. The church remained in Pinamalayan until the assigned student pastor, Ricardo Carpio, was killed in 1956, "the victim of foul play."⁶

The Church of the Nazarene sent a second missionary couple to the Philippines in 1950, John and Lillian Pattee. They had served for several years in mainland China both before and after the war, so were seasoned missionaries with expertise in evangelism. Both were ordained elders. Lillian Pattee (b. 1902) was a registered nurse, and John Pattee (b. 1903) had earned a Master of Arts degree at Pasadena College after the war. Pitts stationed them in Baguio, where they had charge of beginning a Bible college for the training of Filipino pastors (Pattee n.d., 39-43; Watts 1984, 51-56, 77-78, 92-93).

Actually Manila had been Pitt's first choice for the site of the school. But when an initial attempt to buy property in the city did not push through, the missionaries looked elsewhere. In fact Powers recommended that the church locate the school in Baguio, principally because of its climate, which he thought would be better for the health of the missionaries.⁷ The decision, in effect, meant that the Church of the Nazarene in the Philippines remained rural and provincial in both outlook and leadership. Pattee began a Christian Worker's Institute in Baguio in 1950, and conducted a Preacher's Institute the following year. Both were intended to indoctrinate and enable emerging Filipino leaders. In 1952 the missionaries bought property overlooking Trinidad Valley. Part of the finances for this came through funds redirected to the Philippines from China, since that field was now closed. The money had been donated in honor of former Foreign Missionary Society President Susan N. Fitkin, so the church named the Bible College in La Trinidad the "Fitkin Memorial Bible College." Thirty-five students enrolled during the first year, 1952-53. From the start the church planned a solid four-year baccalaureate-level curriculum, at the conclusion of which students were granted the Bachelor of Theology degree. Between the third and last year the school required a one-year field assignment. Pattee had seen the tremendous importance of a well-educated leadership in China during the closing years of the Nazarene field there. In the Philippines during these days there seemed to be some likelihood

that the same situation would occur as in China, that communism would take over the country. At any rate missionaries such as Pattee worked as rapidly as possible to have an organized and motivated church in place if that should happen, and missionaries were forced to leave, as in China.⁸

The first students had varied backgrounds. At least three had been associated with the Hukbalahap movement. Other students came from Philippine Independent Church or Roman Catholic backgrounds. Indeed some students came against the wishes of their parents after being reached through revival campaigns and other evangelistic efforts. On the other hand, in a few cases parents sent seemingly incorrigible sons and daughters to the Bible college in hopes that it might reform them. Often it did. Pattee himself recruited students on his frequent evangelistic campaigns to the lowlands. In 1953 a young man in the Baguio church befriended Antonio Lumiqued, then a student at La Trinidad High School, and a native of remote Loo Valley in northern Benguet Province. Pattee persuaded Lumiqued to attend Bible College, and he was converted there in 1954. He became a student pastor in Loo Valley and persuaded his friend Paul Bayan also to attend Bible College. Soon missionaries were travelling across the mountains with these two Kankanaey students. The Church of the Nazarene was the first evangelical church in this particular place, and a congregation was organized there in November 1959 (Pitong 1952, 11; Pitts 1955a, 2; Wiese 1960; Copelin 1962; Butag 1989).

Meanwhile the church added to its leadership Pastor Miguel Zambrano, who actually had joined the Church of the Nazarene in Pasadena, California, about 1928. He had evangelized widely among Filipinos there and attended the Pacific Bible College, then returned to the Philippines in 1932 under the auspices of the Pilgrim Holiness Church, but supported in part by local Nazarene missionary societies in California. The Pilgrim Holiness Church used him as an evangelist and eventually ordained him, but he felt that church leaders prevented his rise into leadership positions. By the late 1940s he was inactive. Then, with the encouragement of Encarnacion, Jamandre and other former Pilgrim Holiness leaders whom he knew, he rejoined the Church of the Nazarene in 1950. Zambrano pastored the churches in Balacag, La Trinidad, and San Francisco, his hometown, and opened the work in Bangar (Pitts 1955b, 8-9; interview with Castillo Ongogan, 2 December 1991).

Another leader for a time was a former Roman Catholic priest, Jose F. Lallana, at one time secretary to the bishop. He was living in Bangar when Pattee held a revival there, and after several personal conversations between them Lallana accepted Protestantism. In 1956 the Nazarenes employed him at the Bible College teaching both Greek and English, and the church granted him a district minister's license in 1957.⁹

Early Evangelism in the Philippines

The church expanded through various means of evangelism in the early years. Pattee's method was the same as he had used in China, open-air preaching. Commonly he brought pastors or students with him to either play an accordion or translate his messages, though he attempted to learn Ilocano. Jamandre and Sevidal occasionally went with him on evangelistic trips. Pattee secured permission in various localities to set up a loud speaker system, preach and show slides in the plaza during these evangelistic campaigns—in many places right across from the Roman Catholic church! One time the Catholic priest tried to drown out Pattee's loud speakers with ones of his own. However, Pattee was careful not to directly criticize Catholicism. The message he preached was positive, centering on the necessity of exercising faith for salvation, and right moral living. In Binalonan, Pangasinan, for instance, 400 to 500 heard Pattee preach nightly, and a congregation soon organized. In one year Pattee might typically preach over 300 evangelistic messages and see 2,000 persons "seek the Lord." The church also grew through members contacting relatives who lived in other towns, or through members themselves moving from one place to another. In Carusocan, Asingan, Pangasinan, many in the congregation which emerged had formerly been in the United Church of Christ, but had been without a pastor for some time, and drifted back to Roman Catholicism before the Nazarenes came. The church in Baguio was composed of former members of various denominations. At San Francisco, the members were largely from the Pilgrim Holiness Church, which, in turn, had taken members from the United Brethren Church. As has been mentioned, the Cabanatuan Church contained former Methodists and the Balacag church former Independent Methodist Church members. But in other localities, by far the majority of lay Nazarenes were "converted" from Roman Catholicism. Pitts secured quonset huts

from the U.S. military to construct the churches in Iloilo and on Pico Road, La Trinidad. The work in Manila itself commenced only in 1952, in Malate. In 1954 Gil Sevidal transferred there from Cabanatuan. Wilfredo and Rosita Suyat, former Nazarene Bible College students, remained active lay members over the years, but not until 1968 did a second church begin in Manila.¹⁰

New missionaries arrived in the 1950s. Among them Frances Vine and Roy Copelin, both seminary graduates with masters-level degrees, strengthened the Bible College staff. Copelin assumed leadership of the school in 1955, after being stationed for a year in Manila. Vine taught Christian education and began an extensive Daily Vacation Bible School program for the denomination. Meanwhile Lillian Pattee opened a medical clinic at the Bible College ("Meet your Missionaries," *The Other Sheep* 42 [1955]: 11; "Frances Vine," *The Other Sheep* [1953], Scrapbook).

In 1955 when the church held its first District Assembly, with Remiss Rehfeldt, Foreign Missions Secretary, presiding. Pitts reported as District Superintendent. Seven churches were already fully organized: Baguio, Balacag, Binalonan, Cabanatuan, Iloilo, Loac and San Fernando. A Filipina, Rachel Carentes, served as District Treasurer. Seven Filipinos held district ministerial licenses at this time, but none were ready yet for ordination. (That required both completion of the course of study and two years of full-time pastoral service. It also required that a General Superintendent do the ordaining.) Most of the licensed ministers were pastoring local churches. Zambrano pastored the largest of these, Balacag, which had 125 members. However, the pastors received almost all of their financial support from the mission. The Baguio church paid Encarnacion P30 per month as their pastor, and rural churches provided rice and vegetables to their pastors, but that was all ("Licensed Ministers." *Journal* [1955]: 5; Pitts 1955c, 21; Statistics, *Journal* [1957]: 38f; Rehfeldt 1955, 1).

The Pitts Controversy

Lay members were expected to live by strict moral codes upon joining the Church of the Nazarene. The prohibitions of the *Manual* disallowed attending the cinema, dancing, smoking cigarettes and drinking alcohol of any kind. In addition there were a number of taboos for many Nazarenes of this generation. Filipinos added that planting tobacco was unacceptable, that Nazarenes should not become involved cockfights, and that chewing betel nuts was morally

wrong. Though prohibiting these aspects of Filipino communal life might have seemed counter-cultural, they were in keeping with the strict puritanism of Nazarene rules (Encarnacion 1955, 35; cf. Purkiser 1983, 256-86).

In fact it was over some unwritten taboos that serious controversy developed within the church. Pitts, being among the most conservative Nazarenes to represent the church, told the Filipinos from the beginning that consistent holy living demanded that women not cut their hair, wear make-up, or adorn themselves with any sort of jewelry (even including wedding rings). The basis of this teaching rested upon a literal reading of I Timothy 2:9 and other Scripture. One by one as Nazarenes missionaries entered the country Pitts and his wife persuaded each to toe this line, and women missionaries took off their wedding rings and allowed their hair to grow long. The Church of the Nazarene in America still had some missionaries as conservative as Pitts, who were worried about modern trends within the church, but largely the church was not so strict on these issues—as evidenced by Sunday School and other periodical literature from the Nazarene Publishing House, which clearly depicted women with short, “bobbed” hair. Pitts persuaded the Filipino workers that these trends were contrary to biblical holiness, and to the true Church of the Nazarene. But how long could he buck the movement of the general church away from such narrow legalism? (Pitts 1958, 6-7, 17-18)

The general church leaders decided by 1956 that either Pitts must change his position or go. The Pattees were furloughed that year and reported the legalistic extremes to general church leaders (though the Pattees themselves had gone along with Pitts on these matters while in the field). The general church appointed Robert and Mathilda McCroskey as missionaries, knowing that Mrs. McCroskey had short hair, and that neither she nor her husband were disposed to her removing her wedding band. When Pitts heard of their appointment he protested to headquarters. One of the crucial tests for new missionaries was their willingness to adjust to situations in the field, Pitts reminded them, and Kansas City knew full well the standards of the Philippine field. He wanted the Philippines to remain a bastion of what he considered to be true holiness, whatever the church in America might become. However, in a letter to Pitts the General Board stated that the McCroskeys were sent to the field with the “full backing” of the church. Leaders must have known that there would be problems with this in the field. Indeed there were when

the McCroskeys arrived early in 1957 and, unlike the previous missionaries, refused to obey Pitts's dictates on these matters. Pitts assigned them to Manila, where they would have the least influence upon the Filipino church. At the 1957 District Assembly, with the McCroskeys sitting there, and in front of all the delegates who knew full well what he was referring to, Pitts declared:

We regret to speak about worldliness coming into our mission work. When the late General Superintendent Dr. James B. Chapman was editor of the *Herald of Holiness*, he went on record in his editorials against the bobbing of hair and the wearing of rings as well as other forms of worldliness, and we want to go on record against these things also. We regret that a double standard now exists in our mission work: one for the nationals in our Bible School and churches and another among the missionaries. (Pitts 1957, 35-36; see Copelin 1957, 49)

He went on to declare that the Filipino pastors would stand by him 100 percent. He also sent a letter to the general superintendents (GS) stating: "If my stand upholding the standards set in this field is not upheld by the Board of General Superintendents, I will consider it as sufficient grounds to resign and request to be brought back to the States" (Pitts 1958, 12). He advised that one of the G.S. visit the field to investigate. Clearly he was laying down a challenge, and he convinced Encarnacion, Lallana, Jamandre, and other licensed ministers that he was right.¹¹

The general superintendents proceeded to do what Pitts had challenged them to do, and asked him to return immediately to the States. Before returning, however, and, perhaps, anticipating the worst, he organized a "Filipino Nazarene Ministers Association" which could stand with him against the mission. Long and heated discussions took place in Kansas City between Pitts and the General Superintendents. The G.S. believed that the Nazarene church in the Philippines must, like the rest of the denomination, resist legalistic holiness. In 1956, at the quadrennial General Assembly, the church had turned back a movement among reactionaries to ban television from Nazarene homes, and the generals were likely more bold by this time, sensing a mandate of the general church not to be ruled by the consciences of a few. Meanwhile, some on the extreme right bolted the church, and formed their own denominations. The generals decided not to reappoint Pitts to the Philippines. They were willing to appoint him to Barbados, however, so as not to make a

martyr of him within the denomination. Pitts countered that the Lord himself had called him to the Philippines. He was willing, he told them, to work high in the mountains, and resign leadership to other missionaries, but to the Philippines he would go. The Generals did not trust him to take such a reticent role. Pitts rallied his lay supporters, particularly around Wilmore, who were as disconcerted as he that the Church of the Nazarene was becoming too modern. He secured pledges of financial support and began sending money directly to several of the Filipino pastors who sided with him—more money, in fact, than the mission was paying them.¹²

The Filipino pastors were caught in a dilemma. There was loyalty to Pitts, who had brought several of them into the church. There was a debt of gratitude to him for supplying their needs. Furthermore, there may have been cultural affinities between what he stood for and what they naturally believed about women's attire. Most Filipino women in the rural areas where the Church of the Nazarene was strongest did not cut their hair. A wedding ring was not so much a part of their customs either—women might wear many rings, none with special significance. Pitts's standards on make-up made little difference on rural farms. And, after all, how could it be morally wrong one Sunday for women to cut their hair, and permissible the next? How could pastors who had preached strongly on these issues face their congregations without shame and tell them they had been wrong? Was the Bible changeable? The Church of the Nazarene was distinctly known for these standards. At Pitts's prompting several pastors wrote along these lines to the leaders in Kansas City. Mrs. Encarnacion stated for them (or for Pitts): "We only want worldliness banned and a little voice in the running of the mission field, because we feel we know our people and our country" (Pitts 1958, 23-24). Pastor Encarnacion felt a closeness to Pitts, after working with him for almost ten years, though in fact he knew full well that the extreme legalism which Pitts preached was not truly representative of the American Church of the Nazarene. The older pastors had already changed denominations more than once, so sensed no particular loyalty to the general church. The pastors sympathized with Pitts because it seemed as though he was standing with them as Filipinos against impersonal forces in faraway Kansas City.¹³

That perception became even clearer to some when General Superintendent Hugh C. Benner personally presided over the 1958 District Assembly. Some were still wavering between the general church and

Pitts. In fact Encarnacion himself hoped that Benner would listen to the Filipino side. He thought that the denomination had been too hasty in making decisions which affected the Filipino church, without conferring with its own leaders. Kansas City administrators could not possibly understand Filipino customs, he believed. But Benner's method of handling the difficulty seemed brusque. He refused even to meet with Filipino leaders to discuss the situation, and this wounded Encarnacion all the more. Benner felt no sympathy for legalists like Pitts, and felt that it was better for the mission to make a decisive break with him. This caused Encarnacion and several others to walk out of the Assembly and out of the Church of the Nazarene.¹⁴

Pitts returned to the Philippines the same year, supported independently by sympathetic Nazarenes throughout the States. He gathered Encarnacion, Lallana (whom the other missionaries had prevented from teaching at the Bible College because he had sided with Pitts), Jamandre, Victoriano Luzong, who was then pastoring the Manila church, and other licensed ministers and formed the "Holiness Church of the Nazarene." Within months of the 1958 Assembly the mission dropped those who left from church membership rolls. However, as late as 1960 the general church held hope that the schismatic group would return. In some localities Pitts began local congregations very close to the Nazarene churches, and attempted to lure members away. Seven locations were most affected: Baguio, Cabanatuan, Balacag and Laoag among organized churches, and Binalonan, Paniqui and Manila among unorganized groups. (Jamandre, for instance, pastored the Holiness Church of the Nazarene in Binalonan). Furthermore, Pitts raised legal problems. It seems that there were two deeds to the Bible College property, one in Pitts's name. The legal procedures and maneuvers took several years to clear in the courts, which finally decided in favor of the mission. Pitts incorporated the Holiness Church of the Nazarene in December 1961, but Pitts remained an elder in good standing in the Church of the Nazarene until 1962. In 1968 Pitts turned over the Holiness Church of the Nazarene to the Church of the Bible Covenant, which Remiss Rehfeldt and other breakaway Nazarenes as well as other holiness leaders had founded in the United States the previous year. The Bible Covenant Church also protested the perceived creeping modernism among the Nazarenes. Thus the Encarnacions and other former Nazarenes affiliated with this group when Pitts retired from the field.¹⁵

Philippine Ordinands

Meanwhile, the Philippine Church of the Nazarene regained its balance. Benner ordained seven in 1958: Prisco Contado, Gil Sevidal, Carlino Fontanilla, Geronimo Galindez, Jaime Galvez, Castillo Ongogan, and Andres Valenzuela. Each became a leader in succeeding years. All except Contado were quite young men and each had ties to the newer missionaries.

Contado (b. 1907), the only Visayan among the group of ordinands, was from a long-time Protestant family in Samar, where the Presbyterian had held comity. Before the Second World War he studied at Silliman University in Dumaguete and accepted a pastorate on the eastern coast of Samar. However, he was disturbed by growing "liberalism" within the denomination (by this time the United Evangelical Church). When American forces returned to the Philippines toward the close of the war Contado became acquainted with Nazarene serviceman Adrian Rosa, who, with other Americans, held evangelistic services alongside Contado in Samar. Rosa secured a promise from Contado that should he return to the Philippines as a missionary, Contado would join him. Rosa stayed in touch with Contado, and notified him when he arrived as a newly-appointed Nazarene missionary in 1952. Contado journeyed to Baguio to greet him. Rosa and Pattee held him to his earlier promise and immediately appointed him to help open the work in Bacolod City. Contado took an indefinite leave of absence at the next United Church of Christ Assembly, of which he was a prominent member, and worked with Rosa in both Bacolod City (though the church there was not organized until several years later) and Iloilo. He became pastor of the Iloilo church in late 1954, and remained there nine years. When Pitts stationed the Patees in Iloilo in 1956, he and Contado began services in Samar. Contado eventually transferred there, to pioneer a church in Balangiga, in 1963. He also had contacts in Mindanao, where some of his relatives lived, and helped to begin Nazarene work on the island at Mahayag, Zamboanga del Sur. In 1967 he began the church on Leyte, at Tacloban City, then after two years he returned to Samar, where he pastored at San Antonio until his retirement in 1977 (various issues of the *District Assembly Journal*; Ganchorre 1959, 29-31; Montecastro 1989; Prisco Contado to the author, 28 October 1991).

Among the others, Sevidal had been previously affiliated with an independent Protestant group in Cabanatuan called the Christian

Mission. He became acquainted with Encarnacion, and through him joined the Pilgrim Holiness Church, and, later, the Church of the Nazarene. He was slightly older as well as among the better educated of the first ordinands, a strong leader in potential. He pastored in Manila, La Trinidad, Bunday, San Fabian, Pangasinan, and Baguio City, and he served as a district evangelist several years in the early 1960s. During his pastorate in Manila he pursued education at Far Eastern University, where, eventually, he received a master's degree. Disagreements with missionaries over his desire for higher education, along with some other personal conflicts led him to leave the church in 1969. By this time Sevidal had begun teaching at the Lyceum in Baguio, where he taught for many years. Briefly he affiliated with Charles Tryon, a former Nazarene missionary who returned to the Philippines about that time. But Sevidal soon left him also.

Fontanilla served as the first Filipino District Secretary, 1955-57, and pastored churches in Agbannawag, Rizal, Nueva Ecija, San Fernando, La Union, Baguio, Carosucan, Asingan, Pangasinan, and La Trinidad. While pastoring in Baguio and La Trinidad he attended secular colleges, despite missionaries' opposition to this. As Pastor he encouraged his local congregations to be self-supporting. While he was pastoring, the La Trinidad church missionaries asked him to teach at the Bible College. In 1972 he became a full-time faculty member and in 1974 the first Filipino President of the Nazarene Bible College (serving 1974-76 and 1980-83).

Galindez, like Fontanilla an Ilocano, was raised in the Philippine Independent Church. He pastored congregations in Aringay and Bangar, La Union, and for ten years, 1958-68, in Cabanatuan. He was the first Filipino to hold a major district-wide office as president of the Nazarene Young People's Society, 1962-65, and Filipino pastors sensed that the missionaries were grooming him for the superintendency. He pastored the College Church for a year, 1968-69, before being sent to study at Nazarene Theological Seminary in Kansas City, where he received the Master of Religious Education degree in 1973. He returned to teach at the Bible College, but personal complications arose. He left the Church of the Nazarene in 1977 and joined the Social Brethren Church, becoming that denomination's first "missionary" to the Philippines.

Galvez had been converted from Roman Catholicism in the Pilgrim Holiness Church, before joining the Church of the Nazarene. He pastored in La Trinidad and Agbannawag, and then in Binalo-

nan, Pangasinan, where he stayed for about ten years. In 1967 he moved to Hawaii, and pastored a Nazarene Filipino congregation there.

Ongogan was raised in the Philippine Independent Church, but frequently attended both the United Brethren and Pilgrim Holiness church in his hometown, San Francisco. He joined the Roman Catholic Church while attending a Catholic high school, and aimed for the priesthood. He was brought into the Nazarene Church through his uncle, Miguel Zambrano, and John Pattee, who encouraged him to attend the Nazarene Bible College. Ongogan pastored several places, including a year in Manila, but for more than twenty years he remained pastor of the Bangar church. He also served frequently as an evangelist for other congregations.

Valenzuela, among the youngest of the 1958 ordinands, was from a Roman Catholic family. He pastored in San Fernando and Baguio, and from 1961 to 1967 in Agbannawag. In 1967 the District Assembly elected him Assistant National District Superintendent on the third ballot (the runner-up was Galindez). During the following year he travelled extensively with McCroskey, then Mission Director, throughout the field. The 1968 District Assembly elected Valenzuela as District Superintendent through a "yes or no" ballot. He received sixty-two "yes" votes out of sixty-five ballots cast. At that time the district, which still included the entire Philippines, had twenty-one organized and eighteen unorganized churches with 677 full and probationary members. In 1980 he became Superintendent of the Metro Manila District, when it divided from Luzon District, and remained as such until accepting a position with the Nazarene church in California in 1987.

Each of the first ordinands except for Contado and Sevidal were among the first two classes of graduates of the Bible College, in 1957 and 1958. There was no more mention of wedding rings and bobbed hair among either the missionary or national leaders, but the other standards of the church remained intact. In fact leaders zealously proved through both revivals and preaching that theirs was still a holiness church, vitally alive.¹⁶

Mission Directorship of Harry Wiese

Even before Pitts had left the mission the general church had planned to send Harry Wiese (b. 1896), a former missionary to China, to the Philippines as Mission Director. Upon arriving Wiese helped

to put the church, suffering from the Pitts split, back together. Wiese complained, indeed, that his five years in the Philippines were frustrating. He had to close his ears, as he once said, to taunts that the Nazarene church had "gone modern." He spent much of his time clearing the titles to property. As much as Pitts, he also wanted to maintain a pure church. To do so he imposed high standards for church membership. He wanted a "glorious church, without spot or wrinkle," he said (Wiese 1958b, 23; *Journal* 1952, 32). Prospective members spent at least one year on moral "probation" before the church granted full membership. For a time Wiese personally interviewed every Filipino who wished to unite with the church, and he implied or stated that each member should first be in the experience of entire sanctification, the "second blessing," even though this was not required by the church's *Manual*. Wiese wanted to emphasize a positive Christian message—that Christians were marked by what they did rather than what they avoided—but perhaps it remained easier to preach against various personal sins than about spiritual life and growth. He provided money for church properties, but he purposely kept pastors' salaries low so that local congregations would be compelled to pay them more. And he prevented pastors from taking part-time work. That was the only way, he felt, toward self-support.¹⁷

The administration of the church remained largely in the hands of missionaries during the 1960s, but national leaders took increasingly important roles. Missionaries challenged Wiese's role as District Superintendent, which depended upon election by the missionary council, and at the 1961 meeting he failed to garner the necessary two-thirds. The general church leaders, however, reappointed him to the position. When General Superintendent V.H. Lewis visited in March 1962, the missionaries agreed that Wiese remain as District Superintendent until his furlough in early 1963, and elected Copelin to take his place at that time. However, the missionaries elected McCroskey over Copelin as D.S. at their October 1963 meeting. But, again, the decision was reversed in Kansas City, and Copelin remained as D.S. until September 1964. Then McCroskey took over. At the 1964 District Assembly Lewis ordained seven (the first ordination ceremony since 1958) and recognized the ordination papers of Zambrano. (He retired in 1970.) The 1965 District Assembly elected one of the new ordinands, Meliton Bernabe, District Treasurer, and for the first time, a Filipina to head the Missionary Society, Rebecca Fontanilla. During the next year the Society

collected money among Filipinos for the Nazarene hospital in Papua New Guinea.¹⁸

The Spread of the Nazarene Church

While the church matured organizationally, it spread to various parts of the country. While the Pattees were stationed in Iloilo from 1956 to 1959, they began contacts in Negros Occidental which led to a church in Binalbagan. As mentioned above, Pattee and Contado began holding revivals in Samar in 1958, though a church was not planted there until 1963. By 1958 there was already talk of beginning a second Bible College, this one in the Visayas. Baguio was at a distance in both kilometers and culture, and misunderstanding frequently arose between students from distinct ethnic groups. The church purchased property for a missionary residence across from the church in Iloilo, on Zamora Street, and a two-year program began there with twelve students under the leadership of missionaries Stanley and Flora Wilson, both with masters degrees in education, in 1964. In 1965 Ronald Beeches, who arrived in January 1963, began a soon-thriving church in Angeles City, Pampanga, with the help of Nazarene servicemen stationed at Subic Naval Base (Annual Council Meeting 1958, John and Lillian Pattee to Friends, December 1958; Minutes of the 1962 Council Meeting, Nazarene Archives; *Journal* 1964, 1; McCroskey 1965, 4-5; Beech 1967, 4-6; Gabrido 1991).

The role of Filipino women as leaders emerged naturally, since the Church of the Nazarene had always ordained women as elders, and women missionaries preached and took other active roles in the mission. In fact Mrs. Pattee served as President of the Bible College (1962-70). At first the church listed provisions for "deaconesses," but later this category was changed to "Bible women." Those women who pastored churches in whatever capacity were called "pastoras." In 1961 the Filipino church licensed its first female minister, Ricareda Valenzuela, and she was ordained in 1971. In fact the strength of her character and influence was one factor leading Filipinos to elect her quieter husband as Assistant Superintendent in 1967 (*Journal* 1961, 45, 53; 1962, 37; 1971, 11; interview with Rev. Castillo Ongogan, 2 December 1991).

The ethical positions of the Church led it to focus more on personal than social morality. The list of prohibited behavior grew by 1964 to include attendance at dancing halls, cockpits, theaters, cañaos

(feasts to honor dead ancestors), gambling and participation in any games of chance, including lotteries, sweepstakes, jueteng, mahjong, bingo, and the daily double, the planting, wrapping, or any other labor involved in raising tobacco, or chewing betelnut or tobacco, or smoking tobacco, and the use of alcoholic or intoxicating liquor, including fermented *tuba*, or using *benubodan* (fermented rice) as a beverage. Most of these items were introduced by the Filipino pastors themselves as amplifications and adaptations which applied *Manual* strictures to the Filipino context. It showed that members of the Church of the Nazarene would be known primarily among their neighbors by the limitations the church placed on their behavior—that obedience to these morals would be the sign of holiness. Even compared to other evangelical groups in the Philippines, the Church of the Nazarene was strict. The behavior elicited from members would clearly separate them from the rest of society.¹⁹ Only a few other social issues in the 1960s drew Nazarenes' interest. Filipino Nazarenes viewed a proposal to allow religious instruction in public schools by teachers on a voluntary basis as an attempt of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to control education in the Philippines, and opposed it.²⁰

The general church in the 1960s under the leadership of World Missions secretary E.S. Phillips encouraged greater indigenization. The missionaries' decision in November 1965, to secure permission for the election of a national district superintendent seemed overdue. The missionaries hoped that each existing church would be able to fully support its pastor within six years, but when the missionaries proposed a ten percent per year phase-out of support for any new work, Phillips cabled them to reduce the time period to only three years. But the missionaries themselves were increasingly aware of the necessity of reducing dependency on the mission, and of creating a greater sense of responsibility among the local churches for both their pastors' salaries and church buildings.²¹

Conclusion

The early history of the Church of the Nazarene in the Philippines indicates that while most converts were formerly Roman Catholic, the leadership by and large had Protestant backgrounds. Two had had contacts with the Nazarene church in America, several others came out of the Pilgrim Holiness church, a very similar denomina-

tion, and one from the United Church of Christ. Others as young men had belonged to the Philippine Independent Church. If this is an indication of the other groups which entered the Philippines in the postwar years it shows their indebtedness to earlier Protestant movements in the country. It also may have been one factor which led some of the older ones to leave the Church of the Nazarene with Joseph Pitts. Like other evangelical groups, if not more so, the Church of the Nazarene was counter-cultural in its expectations for Christian life among both pastors and laity. While that may have limited early growth, it was both consistent with the doctrinal distinctives of the church and compensated for by the boldness and zeal of American missionaries' pursuit of converts and Bible College students. The organization developed in typical evangelical fashion to conserve the converts through the establishment of local congregations and Bible Colleges. Indeed the educational program of the church from the early years was strong, including a full collegiate program with competent, well-educated teachers. Soon the Bible Colleges produced Nazarene pastors and the earlier dependency upon leaders who had transferred from other denominations waned. Of course it also meant that, unlike the older leaders, many of whom left with Pitts, there was a paternalistic relation between the Filipino leaders and the somewhat older missionaries. Both the exit of strong leaders with Pitts and this paternalism may have delayed greater measures of autonomy, but there were other factors as well. The church worked mostly among lower-class provincials with Catholic backgrounds who had little familiarity with or capability for tithing, the principal means by which the Church of the Nazarene financed itself. With subsidies from America for both property and salaries there seemed to be little need for tithing anyway. So the relationship of dependency persisted for many years. The Luzon District became a "regular," or self-supporting district under the leadership of Meliton Bernabe in 1985.

A historian is not allowed to ask "what if," but perhaps the readers can imagine what might have happened if the early, older leaders had stayed. Or if the church had concentrated early on building strong urban congregations in Manila and elsewhere. Nevertheless, as it was, the Church of the Nazarene in the Philippines in the early decades maintained the mission and character of the church worldwide as a conservative evangelical denomination known for its theological fidelity to Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification, and its strict moral prohibitions.

Notes

1. Hayden (1947, 579-80); Gowing (1967); Guansing (1950, 25-26); Sobrepena (1953, 5-6); Bush (1954, 4-5; 1959, 39); Deats (1964, 111-12); Valencia (1978, 97-107).
2. *The Oasis* (1922, 40, 81; 1923, 44; 1926, 34); Pitts (1955b, 7-8); Encarnacion (1952); Department of Foreign Missions (1952, 86-87); [Epifania] Encarnacion to Carol Bestre, 11 March 1989; interview with Castillo Ongogan, 2 December 1991.
3. Interview with Rev. Castillo Ongogan, 2 December 1991. On the Pilgrim Holiness group, which merged in 1988 with the Wesleyan Methodists, see also *Wesleyan World* 63 (July/August 1987). The Free Methodist church, another group much like the Church of the Nazarene, entered in 1949. The Free Methodists, in fact, were about the only group among the postwar sects to secure approval from the Protestants' Philippine Federation of Christian Churches before arriving. The Federation assigned them to a remote area on the Surigao coast of Mindanao at Lianga and in Agusan Valley. The Free Methodists established their headquarters at Butuan City. See Schlosser and Groesbeck (1956, 24-25).
4. Moore (1946, 53-54); Pattee (1958, 30); Purkiser (1983, 185-86); Bestre (1989). See also the broad study of Rulloda (1990).
5. Philippine Islands Scrapbook, 2 vols., in the Asia Pacific Nazarene Theological Seminary Library, Taytay, Rizal, contains undated clippings. For the context see Purkiser (1983). Elbert Dodd, the conservative Louisiana District Superintendent who split with the Church of the Nazarene in 1956, was speaker at the Philippines' annual preachers' meeting in April 1954. See Pitts (1955c, 19).
6. Jamandre (1951); Scrapbook; Dept. of Foreign Missions (1952, 86-87); Pitts (1955b, 30-40, 74-78); Lallana (1957, 45, 52); (Copelin 1957, 51); Verceles (1989); interview with Rev. Carlino Fontanilla, 3 November 1991; interview with Rev. Castillo Ongogan, 2 December 1991.
7. Powers to Remiss Rehfeldt, 27 July 1951, and 20 August 1951; Rehfeldt to Powers, 26 September 1951, World Mission Division Office, Church of the Nazarene headquarters, Kansas City, Missouri.
8. Pitts (1958, 4); Pattee (1951); Copelin (1962, 18-22); Owens (1979, 57-61). For the context see Kerkuliet (1977, esp. ch. 6).
9. Lillian Pattee to Mary Scott, 20 May 1955, Pattee correspondence, Nazarene Archives; *Journal* (1957, 1, 44, 46); Watts (1984, 108-109).
10. Orval J. Nease to Remiss Rehfeldt, 1 July 1949, and Rehfeldt to Nease, 22 July 1949, General Board of Foreign Missions, Nazarene Archives; *Journal* (1955, 26-28; 1958, 32); Pattee (1956, 4); Manaois (1959, 3). John and Lillian Pattee to Friends, 15 September 1957, and 9 June 1958, Pattee correspondence; Watts (1984, 95-97); Pattee (1950); Scrapbook; interviews with Rev. Carlino Fontanilla, 3 November 1991; and with Rev. Castillo Ongogan, 2 December 1991.
11. Pitts to Rehfeldt, 2 November 1957, World Mission Office; Lillian Pattee to Mary Scott, 9 January 1958; Pitts (1958, 4-5, 8-9, 11-12).
12. Rehfeldt to Pitts, 15 January 1958, World Mission Office; Pitts (1958, 12, 18); Wiese to Rehfeldt 7 March 1958; Pitts to Rehfeldt, 2 May 1958; Pitts to Department of Foreign Missions, 17 May 1958; Wiese to Rehfeldt, 18 December 1958, World Mission office; D. I. Vanderpool to Rehfeldt, 2 June 1958, Nazarene Archives.
13. Pitts (1958, 6, 13-14); Paul Pitts (1958, 24); Pattee to Board of General Superintendents and Remiss Rehfeldt, 9 October 1957, World Mission office; Epifania Encarnacion to Carol Bestre, 11 March 1989.

14. Yet the Pattees stated that Benner had acted wisely. John and Lillian Pattee to Friends, 9 June 1958. See Pitts (1958, 22-23); and Paul Pitts (1958), for some of the other issues within the church as a whole.

15. Pitts (1958, 19, 25; Wiese to Rehfeldt, 23 September 1958, World Mission office; Annual Council Meeting, Philippine Mission, October 13-18, 1958, Nazarene Archives. See also PiepKorn (1979, 60-61); Jones (1974, 474-75); Vanderpool to Pitts, 15 April 1960, and Vanderpool-Rehfeldt correspondence regarding the "Historic Enon Covenant" (File 906-9), Nazarene Archives; Annual Council Meeting (1958); Pitts (1961), Nazarene Archives; Lillian Pattee to Mary Scott, 20 May 1962; John and Lillian Pattee to Mary Scott, 28 December 1964; Council Meeting, March 1962, Nazarene Archives. A copy of the Holiness Church of the Nazarene articles of incorporation is also in the Nazarene Archives.

16. Wiese to Benner, 15 November 1958, World Mission office; Benner (1958, 3-4); Wiese (1958a, 10-11); Vine (1958, 10-11); Wiese (1959). For details on the lives of these seven ordinands see various issues of the *District Assembly Journal*. The preceding paragraphs are also based on interviews with Carlino Fontanilla, 3 November 1991; and Castillo Ongogan, 2 December 1991.

17. Pitts to Rehfeldt, 4 March 1957, World Mission office; Philippine Council Minutes, September 1959; Wiese, Report to the Council Meeting, 12 October 1959, Nazarene Archives; The Wieses, *The Other Sheep* (1958, 12); *Journal* (1958, 25; 1961, 31, 47; 1962, 26-27, 38).

18. Philippine Council Minutes (1959); Philippine Mission Council Minutes (160); Council Meeting (1962); Council Meeting (October 1963); Council Meeting (September 1964), Nazarene Archives.

19. *Journal* (1964, 62). This study will not attempt to provide sociological analysis but cf. Jocano (1981, 70-72); Pertierra (1988, 138-39, 153-69).

20. "Minutes," *Journal* (1965, 27). Among those drafting the objection to this was Wilfredo Manaois, a former teacher and principal. See also Osias (1965, 117-30).

21. Philippine Mission Council Meeting, November 1965; Philippine Mission Council Mid-Year Meeting, April 1966; Annual Council Meeting, October 1966, Nazarene Archives.

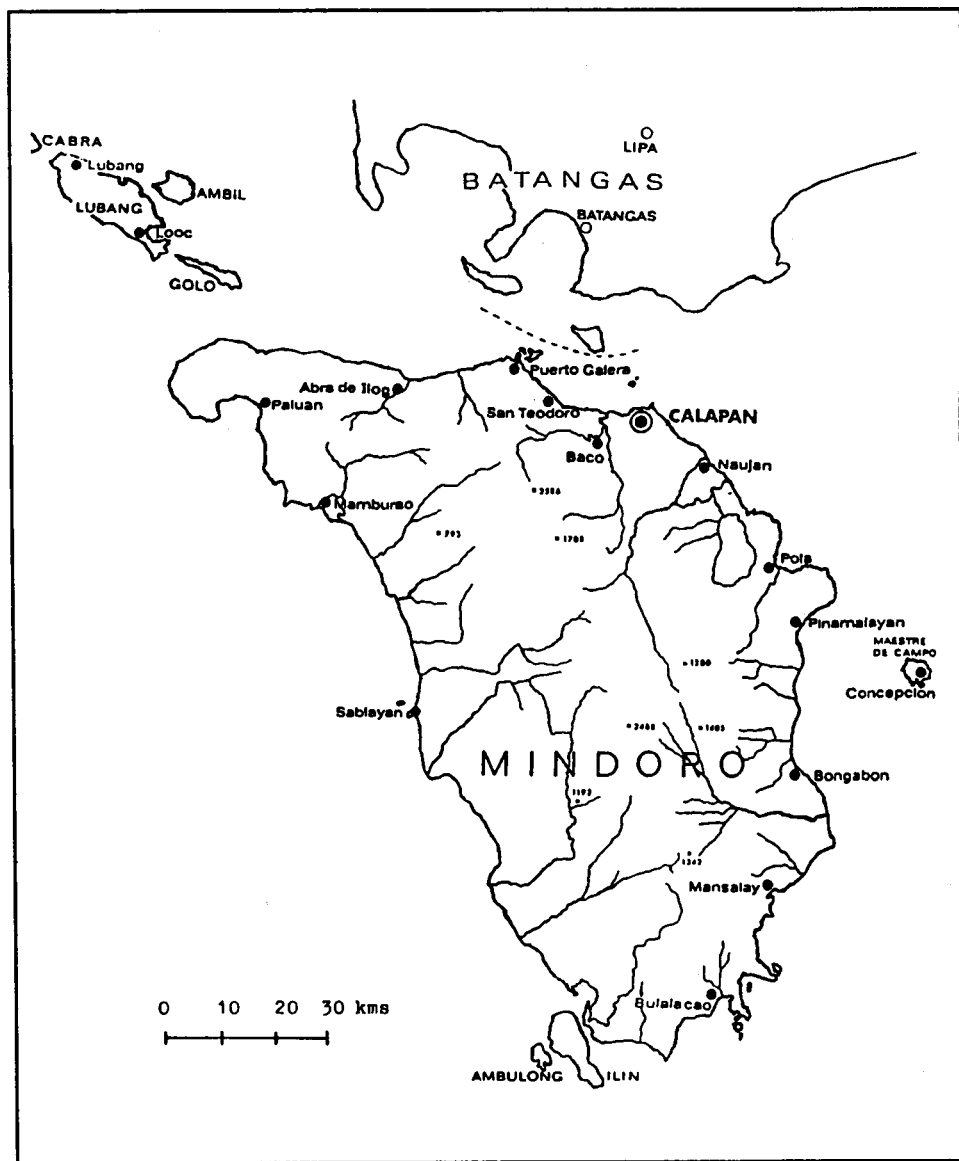
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Mindoro Island (1900)