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Pragmatic Holiness in the Early Salvation Army: A Theology of Holiness as Action

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Theology

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Abstract

The notion of holiness and sanctification are central to most Protestant understandings and expressions of religious life. This thesis explores whether a pragmatic understanding of holiness, particularly in the Wesleyan-Arminian stream, can have a meaningful place in the postmodern world.

This thesis endeavors to establish a theological argument for a non-linear pragmatic understanding of holiness in the Wesleyan tradition. The theological argument is supplemented by a substantial case study of the early Salvation Army, focusing on its missiology and theology.

The argument presented is that a pragmatic understanding of sanctification, as seen in the theology and practice of the early Salvation Army, speaks to three major possibilities for the present day Church. The final chapter explores these three topics: 1) covenantal living; 2) militant peacemaking; and 3) community.

Keywords

Holiness, The Salvation Army, Methodist, William Booth, Pragmatic, Sanctification.

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Chapter 1

1 Defining Pragmatic Holiness

“If the holiness of God is not perceived and understood, then the entire work and conduct of God are not grasped.”¹ This quote from a work by John Webster, one of the most prominent recent mainstream theologians to write about holiness, seeks to lay out the premise that the holiness of God is an essential attribute of his character, and in turn that this character is expressed in God’s dealings with creation. This thesis will take the further step of exploring holiness as a pragmatic theological value for the Church and ultimately the believer, apart from which again neither the church nor the Christian life can be properly understood. As used in what follows, the term “pragmatic” simply means making something applicable in a concrete manner, moving beyond theory to application in day to day life, faith, and behaviour. The pragmatic nature of holiness theology and sanctification will be examined in what follows in this chapter, as background for the outlook of The Salvation Army that will preoccupy us for the bulk of this thesis. The goal of this chapter is to develop a theological argument to support the view that holiness has an intensely practical point, and that an understanding of holiness based on the character of God will be something that is inherently pragmatic. Holiness and sanctification should be practical, active, and relatable to the context in which we exist.

Before outlining this argument it is important to acknowledge that even my assertion that holiness is a possible shared experience of both God and man would of course not be accepted by all religious thinkers. To take one notable example, Rudolf Otto would argue that holiness is primarily a category created by the human mind in an effort to comprehend what he calls the *numen* and *numinous*, and that the holy is not in the first place an attribute of God as such. He writes that “the consciousness of a ‘wholly

¹ H. Cremer, *Die christliche Lehre von den Eigenschaften Gottes* (Giessen: Breunnen-Verelag, 1983), quoted in John Webster, *Holiness* (Grand Rapids, M.I.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2003), 43.

other' evades precise formulation in words, and we have to employ symbolic phrases,"² noting elsewhere that the terms we use to describe the *numen* carry with them a profound element of analogy.³ Alternatively, Albrecht Ritschl maintained that holiness is not an essential element or characteristic of God, since the category of the holy makes sense only in regard to the wrath of God. Holiness for Ritschl is thus a relative rather than an essential term, contrasting the righteousness of God against the sinful state of creation.⁴ If, however, in contrast to Ritschl, we can accept that God is essentially holy then we can trust that the essence of holiness is indeed the character of God, and that an investigation thereof will reveal a path to move toward a clearer understanding of the pragmatic nature of sanctification.⁵ Otto and Ritschl, however, are well beyond the scope of this thesis and cannot be considered in detail, not least as their views do not enter into the position taken by our principal sources. Though we might agree that God cannot be fully known, I think it would be an error to assume that the categories we use of God are purely human invention, or that nothing can be said of God in himself. With Karl Barth, for instance, I will proceed under the premise that God has chosen to make himself known in a manner that is at the same time both comprehensible to humanity and also inherently true of him.⁶ Within the limits of this thesis, however, we will not probe the matter further.

1.1 Holiness and the Character of God

Despite these potential objections, therefore, we begin with the theological question of how the character of God itself relates to holiness. Moltmann writes that the

² Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry Into the Non-rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and its Relation to the Rational* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 61.

³ Otto, 53. See also pp. 12, 27, and 116.

⁴ Albert Temple Swing, *The Theology of Albrecht Ritschl* (New York: Longmans Green and Co., 1901), 138.

⁵ Declarations of the initial holiness of God are clear from a Biblical perspective. Leviticus 19:2, Psalm 99:5, and Revelation 4:8 are a sampling of these key texts.

⁶ In this I would join Barth when he says of God that "as He acts He is." Karl Barth, *The Perfections of the Divine Loving*. Vol. 2.1 of *Church Dogmatics*, edited by G. W. Bromiley and T.F. Torrance, translated by G. W. Bromiley (Edinburgh: T&T Clack, 1975) §30.1, 369.

“foundation [of sanctification] is found in the sanctity or holiness of God himself.”⁷ What he wants to make clear is that what it means for an individual to be sanctified or holy is based in the holiness of God himself.⁸ “God alone is essentially holy.”⁹ Such theological realism is of course not unique to Moltmann, as Webster writes that the attributes of God and the essence of God are one in the same,¹⁰ echoing Thomas Aquinas’ assertion that there is no unrealized potential in God.¹¹

Ever the pragmatist, a consideration of John Wesley’s theology in this argument provides us with not only theological support but also a glimpse into how the points are in themselves valid definitions of holiness for a believer’s life. Wesley is of special interest here because of his importance in shaping the outlook of The Salvation Army, and his ideas must accordingly be examined in what follows in some detail. In outlining an argument in favor of Christian perfection, Wesley proposes not only that holiness is found in the character of God, but that in turn the individual believer is promised sanctification based on that character. According to Wesley the admonition in Ephesians 4:24, of putting on the new self that is created after God in “righteousness and holiness,” and the similar words in Colossians 3:10, speaking of being renewed after the image of God, are in direct correlation with Genesis 1:27, which states that God created man “in His own image.” For Wesley, when an individual is made new in Christ (Ephesians 2:10) the image is restored, and he states plainly, “this is perfection.”¹² In his well-known work, *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, Wesley quotes from hymns

⁷ Jurgen Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life* (London, England: SCM Press, 1999), 174.

⁸ Webster supports this on multiple occasions, in particular he writes, “[W]hen... we talk of the holiness of God, the God of whom we speak is this God; and what theology is required to say about holiness is determined at every point by the fact that it is confessed of this one.” Webster, *Holiness*, 32.

⁹ Moltmann, *Spirit of Life*, 174.

¹⁰ Webster, *Holiness*, 32.

¹¹ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1912), I A Q3, Art II; I A Q2, Art III.

¹² John Wesley, *Sermon LXXVI: On Perfection*, Wesley’s Works, Vol. VI: Sermons Vol. II (Kansas City, M.O.: Beacon Hill Press, 1979), 414.

published by his brother Charles and himself that reference the believer taking on something of the character of God in sanctification:

Eager for thee I ask and pant,
 So strong the principle divine,
 Carries me out with sweet constraint,
 Till all my hallow'd soul be thine;
 Plunged in the Godhead's deepest sea,
 And lost in thine immensity!

Heavenly Adam, life divine,
 Change my nature into thine;
 Move and spread throughout my soul,
 Actuate and fill the whole.¹³

Thus it is at least possible to hold that sanctification and holiness in the life of a believer will be marked by a movement toward adopting the character of God, especially so since we see that holiness can be defined by that character.¹⁴ However this does beckon us into further exploration, if holiness is related to the character of God, what can we glean from considering the nature of that character?

1.2 The Character of God as Love

Having suggested that the essence of holiness is the character of God, we can move further by exploring the idea that God is love. Simply put, the character of God as revealed in scripture is best defined as love. In the Old Testament God is depicted repeatedly as the one who operates in a covenant of love,¹⁵ also as the redeeming and forgiving lover found in Ezekiel 16 and practically displayed in the story of the prophet Hosea, as well as the jealous God, *El Qanna*.¹⁶ The image of a God of love obviously carries over into the New Testament. We are told that nothing can separate the loved

¹³ Wesley, *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, Wesley's Works, Vol. XI: Thoughts Addresses Prayers Letters (Kansas City, M.O.: Beacon Hill Press, 1979), 370.

¹⁴ This point is supported biblically. Sample texts include Leviticus 19:2, Leviticus 11:45, I Peter 1:16, Galatians 5:22-24.

¹⁵ Deuteronomy 7:7-16, 1 Kings 8:23, Nehemiah 1:5, Psalm 106:5, Isaiah 54:10, and Daniel 9:4.

¹⁶ Exodus 34:14, Deuteronomy 4:24, Zechariah 1:14; 3:1-10; 8:2

from God's love,¹⁷ and that it is because of God's love that the salvific work of Christ has taken place.¹⁸ Then also 1 John 4:16 contains a definitive statement, "God is love."

Webster writes that "God is what God does, and so God's holiness is to be defined out of God's works."¹⁹ So we gather from the loving action of God that His character, and His holiness as we will consider shortly, is love. This is seen not only from the biblical references of His love for creation as outlined above, what Webster calls "the manner of his relation to us,"²⁰ but also in a more theological sense from the place of love in the Christian Trinitarian concept itself.²¹

Given the support outlined for the premise that the essence of the character of God is indeed love, we turn again to Wesley. For Wesley, Christian perfection was synonymous with perfect love. In explaining Christian perfection in reference to the two greatest commandments as outlined by Christ, to love God and love your neighbor, Wesley states, "this is the sum of Christian perfection: It is all comprised in that one word, Love."²²

So far we have explored an outline of the notion that the substance of holiness is the character of God, and in turn that the essence of that character is love, showing us that holiness and the process of sanctification is the adopting of the character

¹⁷ Romans 8:39

¹⁸ Ephesians 2:4,5

¹⁹ Webster, *Holiness*, 39.

²⁰ Webster notes, '*Holiness is a mode of God's activity; talk of God's holiness identifies the manner of his relation to us.*' *Ibid.*, 41

²¹ This can be seen in a consideration of Aquinas' thoughts on the Holy Ghost as love between the Father and the Son. Aquinas, I A Q37, Art II. The scope of this thesis does not allow a full treatment here but for our purposes I offer Loyer who supplies a good summary, "God's goodness serves as the principle of God's love for himself (essential love in God), which gives rise to the imprint of love in God's will and the corresponding immanent procession of the Holy Spirit whom the Father and the Son breathe forth (notional love in God) as love in person." Kenneth M. Loyer, *God's Love Through the Spirit* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2014), 103.

²² Wesley, *Sermon LXXVI*, 413. For an expanded treatment of this see also Wesley, *Christian Perfection*, 367, 368, 372.

of God. The receiving and showing of the love of God is exemplified in the Trinity and expressed in God's relationship with His creation. For some theologians, like Karl Barth, this in itself is grounds for an understanding of holiness in the character of God. For Barth holiness is one of the "perfections of His love,"²³ so that God's holiness is experienced in His grace expressed in creation, and in the moving of God, in love, toward the rebellion of creation, overcoming it.²⁴ However it is this very action, the exercising of grace on the part of God, which must move us into our next section. Building on what we have already considered we can now ask what the nature of love is as we see it in God.

1.3 Love and Self-Denial

If God's holiness *in se* cannot be conceived in isolation from his operations *ad extra* in consecrating creaturely being for fellowship, then God's holiness cannot be grasped without attending to its loving extension into the creaturely realm in the works of holiness which establish the creature by setting it apart for himself.²⁵ If, as Webster put it above, "God is what God does," what is implied is that the holiness of God requires in some sense that God be active in the life of His creation to bring about its consecration and sanctification. What is done is not only done out of divine love, but is divine love itself.²⁶ As we consider the actions of God toward His creation, we thus move towards the conclusion that the essence of love is found in this action. However, we would be well advised not to arrive at this conclusion prematurely. Before considering the question of holiness in action, I suggest that a deeper and more foundational element of love, namely self-denial, needs examination.

²³ Barth, 353.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 362.

²⁵ John Webster, *Confessing God* (New York, N.Y.: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 123.

²⁶ Webster writes further, "As the holy Father, God purposes that his holiness become actual in his loving work... God's holiness is love because it is actual in the Father's unshakeable determination that the creature should be and should be held in life, and thereby enact its destiny." *Ibid.*, 123. Elsewhere Webster writes, "God's holiness is precisely that which is made known in his mercy, in his coming to the aid of his people, in his taking up their cause, in his bearing their sin, in his purifying of them in in his binding them to his own life." Webster, *Holiness*, 48.

If we are to hold with Webster that God's holiness as expressed in the loving actions of God enable the creature to become a participant in a "history with God,"²⁷ then we should consider the nature of those acts more closely. The Johannine and the Pauline traditions vividly describe the nature of the acts of God in Jesus Christ. John 15:13 says, "Greater love has no one than this: to lay down one's life for one's friends." The greatest expression of love is to deny and sacrifice oneself for others. In 1 John 4:9–10 we read, "this is how God showed his love among us: He sent his one and only Son into the world that we might live through him. This is love: not that we loved God, but that he loved us and sent his Son as an atoning sacrifice for our sins." In Romans 5:8 Paul makes a similar point when he states that "God demonstrates his own love for us in this: While we were still sinners, Christ died for us." God's love is, in short, expressed in such sacrifice.

Elsewhere in the New Testament, we find similar ideas. A prime example is the account of Christ's agony in the garden of Gethsemane prior to his arrest and crucifixion, as reported in the three synoptic Gospels.²⁸ As the popular Christian writer John Stott describes it, "something takes place here which ... simply cries out for an explanation, and begins to disclose the enormous costliness of the cross to Jesus."²⁹ Jesus in prayer faces separation from God the Father because of the "cup" that he is asked to drink. As understood in traditional Christian theology, what is before Christ is nothing less than an impending break in fellowship between the Father and the Son. It is in this context that Jesus prays that if possible the cup be taken away from him. Nevertheless, he affirms his willingness to accept the will of the Father and to deny and sacrifice himself. In a great paradox it is Holy Love that both demands and enables self-sacrifice. Stott writes:

Whatever happened on the cross in terms of 'God-forsakenness' was voluntarily accepted by both [the Father and Son] in the same holy love

²⁷ Webster, *Confessing God*, 123.

²⁸ Matthew 26:26-46, Mark 14:32-42, and Luke 22:39-46

²⁹ John R. W. Stott, *The Cross of Christ* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1986), 73.

that made atonement necessary.... If the Gethsemane ‘cup’ symbolized the wrath of God, it was nevertheless ‘given’ by the Father (Jn. 18:11) and voluntarily ‘taken’ by the Son.³⁰

Stott’s ideas find a parallel in the work of Hans Urs von Balthasar, and though coming from very different theological traditions, the ideas of both line up quite well. Commenting on the garden ordeal of Christ, Balthasar writes that Christ’s “suffering was the more intense, because its ultimate cause was so much deeper – offence against God and our separation from God, and also because Christ’s excess of love made him the more inclined to suffer.”³¹ Commenting on Balthasar’s work, Brotherton strengthens the connection between love and self-sacrifice in Christ. He notes that a proper approach to redemption in the work of Balthasar has to emphasize “his understanding of God’s very being as self-surrender,” which is itself an effort to effect the “conversion of all men to His love.”³² Indeed for Balthasar, Christ’s descent is a reflection of self-sacrificing Trinitarian love.³³

However, the exhortation toward self-denial is not only portrayed within the Trinity, in the will of the Father to redeem creation and in the answering obedience of the Son. The synoptic gospels record a declaration by Jesus which outlines that self-denial is foundational to being His disciple.³⁴ If people were to be Jesus’ disciples they would have to deny themselves and take up a cross and follow Him. Even for the individual believer the exhortation is clear; love that seeks sanctification through God likeness must begin and end with denial.³⁵

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 151.

³¹ Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Mysterium Paschale* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 104.

³² Joshua R. Brotherton, “Hans Urs von Balthasar on the Redemptive Descent,” *Pro Ecclesia* 22, no.2 (Spring 2013): 168, ATLA Religion Database with ATLA Serials, EBSCOhost.

³³ *Ibid.*, 170.

³⁴ Matthew 16:24, Mark 8:34, and Luke 9:23

³⁵ John Cobb, Jr. states it clearly: “at the deepest and final level, the way to life leads through death.” John B. Cobb, Jr., *Biblical Preaching on the Death of Jesus* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1989), 135.

In regards to the importance of self-denial in the practice of perfect love and the experience of Christian perfection, Wesley calls on the believer to take on the mind of Christ, knowing that “it is certain that as there was no evil affection in him, so no good affection or temper was wanting.”³⁶ Though not expressly calling to self-denial the implication is clear: if Christ was committed to self-denial and the believer is to have the mind of Christ, then he or she will share that commitment, taking on the “whole disposition of his mind, all his affections, all his tempers, both toward God and man.”³⁷ He does however take it further a few paragraphs later by equating Christian perfection with love expressed through obeying the exhortation to offer oneself as a living sacrifice to the glory of God.³⁸

1.4 Self-Denial and Action

We can now return to the idea of action. While it could be argued that to say that the essence of love is self-denial is no different than saying the essence of love is action, I want to take a moment to explore the relation of action to self-denial as it plays a key part in the larger argument, particularly in the context of any consideration of holiness in the theology of The Salvation Army.

It is central to the theological argument to be made in this thesis that true self-denial cannot exist without some kind of corresponding action. An early edition of the *Orders and Regulations for Local Officers* of The Salvation Army contains very specific instructions on how a leader in a congregation is to deal with and counsel those seeking a new or deeper relationship with God. Throughout the guidebook there are numerous references to counselling a ‘seeker’ to an action as a corresponding response to any spiritual decision he or she may have just made. In particular there is a reference to

³⁶ Wesley, *Sermon LXXVI*, 413.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 414. There are many who, in line with John Milbank, would have issue with this category of self-sacrifice. These objections will be noted in a later chapter when we consider self-sacrifice as an outcome of the embrace of pragmatic holiness. John Milbank, "The Ethics of Self-Sacrifice," *First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life*, 91 (1999): 33-38.

how to deal with someone who is a first time convert: “He should, if possible, give his testimony before leaving the Hall [church].”³⁹ Though not explicitly stated, it is safe to say that the point of such a direction is to have the convert solidify the spiritual decision made, by a tangible action that brings them into account before God, themselves, and anyone witnessing the act. Action is key because it solidifies the spiritual transformation. We cannot simply gloss over or assume action as a part of self-denial or love or even sanctification. I argue that it is a key element of the process that is neglected in some accounts of self-denial, and of Christian sanctification.

If we look to Augustine, we see what may be a helpful analogy to support this. According to Augustine “a word is born, when, being thought out, it pleases us either to the effect of sinning, or to that of doing right.”⁴⁰ So in essence an action cannot exist without a thought. We could also say that the reverse is also true; a thought cannot exist without an action of some kind. At first the fallacy of this assertion seems clear, we think many things every day that we do not act upon, but careful consideration perhaps reveals otherwise. One could argue that to think of something is to act upon it, that is, to think something is itself an action, an action that in essence gives actuality to the thought. Further, for Augustine language was a means by which thought transcended the limitations of the embodied human condition, by giving voice to the soul.⁴¹ I want to suggest that in the same vein, a determination within oneself to act or sacrifice only reaches completion in a onetime action or a series thereof. At the very least we can say that any internal determination can only be known beyond our own self when it is acted upon in some capacity. As Webster notes, even the Holy Trinity, and the love of God, is only known to creation based on the same principle, at least in the sense that “the Holy Trinity is made known in the work of redeeming and consecrating a holy people.”⁴²

³⁹ *Orders and Regulations for Local Officers* (London: The Salvation Army, 1940), 30.

⁴⁰ St. Augustine, *De Trinitate* 9.8.13.

⁴¹ Clifford Ando, “Augustine on Language,” *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 40 (1994): 48, <http://www.brepolsonline.net/doi/pdf/10.1484/J.REA.5.104698>.

⁴² Webster continues, ‘*God the Holy Father is the one who wills a people for himself. The Father’s holiness is thus his work of purposing... God the Holy Son is the one who condescends to turn to the world in grace as its savior and redeemer. The Son’s holiness is thus his work of*

Again, it may be argued that this is a redundant point and that it is not necessary to consider self-denial apart from action. But when dealing with the realm of spiritual commitments it is possible for self-denial to become a mental or spiritual exercise that does not have a correlating external action. Perhaps we should be arguing a case of misapplied definitions, but even if this is the case, what remains evident is that action is required to externalize an internal intention or decision.

Returning to Wesley, we find a simple statement in support of this point. He writes, “When what was then devoted is actually presented to God, then is the man of God perfect.”⁴³ The importance of action in the mind of Wesley is no surprise, given his preoccupation with systems and methods. His focus on the development of spiritual discipline perhaps took things too far in one direction, but it is fair to see the idea of action as central to what he established. Wesley has much more to say on this idea of self-denial and action but we will consider these in the closing part of this argument.

Before moving on, I want to offer one more insight from Webster. Addressing the subject of the holiness of God, Webster stresses relationality. He writes:

It is difficult to overstress the importance of this relational character for grasping the nature of God’s holiness. It is fatally easy to think of God’s holiness simply as a mode of God’s sheer otherness and transcendence... not God with us, but... God apart from us. But to follow that path is radically to misunderstand the biblical testimony. The holiness of God is not to be identified simply as that which distances God from us; rather, God is holy precisely as the one who in majesty and freedom and sovereign power bends down to us in mercy, God is the Holy One. But he is the Holy One ‘in your midst’, as Hosea puts it.⁴⁴

rescuing... God the Holy Spirit is the one who completes this work of making holy... The Spirit’s holiness is thus known in his work of sanctifying.’ Webster, Holiness, 51-52.

⁴³ Wesley, *Sermon LXXVI*, 414.

⁴⁴ Webster, *Holiness*, 45.

For Webster the holiness of God is not only that which defines His otherness but also that which moves Him toward His creation, as God's covenantal commitment is manifested in action in the world. What Webster seeks to communicate here is seemingly not a sense of divine obligation so much as voluntary dedication, a relational commitment to creation that motivates action. So as a final word concerning the essence of self-denial being action, it could be said that the first requires or even demands the second because the degree of commitment in the first would, on a relational basis, demand – and in a deeper and freer sense motivate – a further tangible expression of that commitment. Correlatively, as it applies to the relationship between an individual and God, if there is no action on the part of the individual it is plausible to suggest that there has been no actual internal commitment to self-denial.⁴⁵ As Augustine has said, “no one willingly does anything, which he has not first said in his heart.”⁴⁶

1.5 Holiness in Action

Webster's words move us well into the conclusion of the logic of the argument I have presented. If the essence of holiness is found in the character of God and the character of God is defined by love, and then if in turn love is defined by self-denial and self-denial characterized and actualized through action, then we can arrive at the conclusion that holiness must involve action, and that holiness is therefore pragmatic by nature. This is not to say that the whole of holiness and sanctification in the life of a believer is defined by action, or built upon the works of the creature to try to appease and approach the Creator, because as we have already stated holiness is about God coming close to humanity not the other way around.⁴⁷ But it is to say that action motivated by an internal encounter or interaction with God is key to the process of sanctification. And even beyond that, as we will see as we proceed, action is a key element in the

⁴⁵ Delayed obedience leads to disobedience.

⁴⁶ St. Augustine, *De Trinitate* 9.7.12.

⁴⁷ As Webster notes, ‘*the rooting of sanctification in justification prohibits any conversion of sanctification into ethical self-improvement, as if justification were merely an initial infusion of capacities which are then activated through moral or spiritual exertion.*’ Webster, *Holiness*, 81.

transformative impact of holiness in the individual believer. We will see that it is both evidence and actuator.

By evidence I mean that the action of the individual believer correlates with and exemplifies the internal work of God the Holy Spirit. At the same time both bearing witness to the work of sanctification and being the appropriate response of the believer toward God for what has transpired. Webster notes that, “evangelical sanctification is not only the holiness that the gospel declares but also the holiness that the gospel commands, to which the creaturely counterpart is action.”⁴⁸

Holiness must involve action, so, no part of Christian practice should be considered static, and holiness and sanctification should be seen as a “movement or event.”⁴⁹ Webster is very explicit on the matter, stating that “the life for which the Christian is renewed is the active life of holy fellowship.”⁵⁰ He says further that the end goal of the work of sanctification in the believer’s life is an “active zeal for good deeds.”⁵¹ That to be redeemed and sanctified means being returned to “fellowship” with God and “liberated and empowered for the works of holiness,”⁵² with the end in mind that the greater purpose and objective of the holy church, and in turn the individuals that comprise it, “lies beyond itself.”⁵³

Moltmann is in some ways less explicit but he also supports this view, noting that sanctification is “not a state in itself” but instead is the manifestation of a relationship with the God involved in the active work of sanctifying.⁵⁴ This implies of

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 87. This is not dissimilar to Jonathan Edwards when he said, “as there is an infinite fountain of holiness, moral excellence and beauty, so it should flow out in communicated holiness.” Jonathan Edwards, *Dissertation I*, Works 8: Ethical Writings, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 433. Quoted in Webster, *Ibid.*, 52.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 84.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 73.

⁵² *Ibid.* 85.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 74.

⁵⁴ Moltmann, *Spirit of Life*, 174.

course that the believer, by virtue of being in relationship with an active God, is also actively engaged in the process. He says that “sanctification as a gift leads to sanctification as a charge,” meaning that the people of God have a responsibility to keep holy what God has made holy. This, he holds, is the required action in response to God’s sanctifying work. It is not that someone makes himself or something holy by works, but instead that by joining in the work of God, by the power of God, the individual believer and the Church by their actions maintain, or affirm, that which God has made holy.⁵⁵ He summarizes, “in the response of their lives to the life-giving word of God, believers are not merely the passive objects of divine sanctification. They are also the new determining subjects of the *Gestalt* or configuration of their own lives.”⁵⁶

For Wesley Christian perfection or holiness can be defined as “inward and outward righteousness: Holiness of life, arising from holiness of heart.”⁵⁷ He argues that this is played out in fulfillment of Paul’s command in Romans 12:1 for the believer to offer him or herself as a living sacrifice,⁵⁸ and he furthers the point by referring to 1 Peter 2:5.⁵⁹ He asks of the reader what sort of sacrifices these should be, and answers, “if you have truly presented yourselves to God, you offer up to him continually all your thoughts, and words, and actions, through the Son of his love, as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.”⁶⁰

To conclude this section, we might observe that such action will be inherently spiritual even though it may be carnal in and of itself, because it has as its cause and end, the glory of God. In response to the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit in an individual’s life, whether he or she engages in an act of service or removes a personal

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 174-175.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 175.

⁵⁷ Wesley, *Sermons LXXVI*, 414.

⁵⁸ Indeed Wesley says, “we cannot show this sanctification in a more excellent way, than by complying with the exhortation of the Apostle...” *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ “...you also, like living stones, are being built into a spiritual house to be a holy priesthood offering spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.”

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

idol in the quiet of solitude, the action being abstract or tangible, it is a spiritual act as it is an act of the person which solidifies the work of God occurring in their being. It is not necessary to try to produce a list of sample actions or even categories as that would only lend itself toward a perfunctory interpretation of what I mean here by action that is essential to holiness. The nature of the action is spiritual, as in many ways it should be viewed as an act of devotion and worship on the part of the individual.⁶¹ Finally, action as an essential part of holiness refers to action not only as evidence of sanctification but also actuator of sanctification. This will be our theme in the next section.

1.6 A Non-linear Model of Sanctification

Moltmann notes that “we must not interpret... growth in faith individualistically or linearly. We experience life in the interplay between what is inward and what is outward.”⁶² So it is that we move to consider a non-linear model of sanctification. What follows is, of course, a sketch only, but it will be developed more fully as the thesis proceeds.

A traditional way of viewing sanctification is to understand it as a process of conforming to Christ’s character through the work of God the Holy Spirit, becoming progressively more Christlike in character and action until reaching perfection or glorification upon death. The issue with this type of understanding is that it causes us to think of the process of sanctification in a linear manner. In this way of thinking, assimilation to the character of God can often be seen as a far off goal, something that is out there, and needs to be pursued along a path that takes a lifetime to travel. I shall argue that a more helpful approach is to begin by viewing God and His character as something always present and available to form the central hub of Christian existence, as opposed to something to be moved toward with an end goal of attainment. Moltmann notes that

⁶¹ The words of Paul in *1 Corinthians 10:31* apply here as I would suggest he too was reminding the Corinthians their actions are in essence spiritual when he appealed to them to be mindful of the Body when he said, *so whether you eat or drink or whatever you do, do it all for the glory of God.*

⁶² Moltmann, *Spirit of Life*, 161.

“sanctification... signifies a relationship and an affiliation, not a state in itself,”⁶³ meaning that in sanctification one does not so much obtain a special status as much as come into a deeper awareness of the holy presence of God in one’s life. Again, for Moltmann, “to sanctify life does not mean manipulating it religiously and morally... it means being freed and justified, loved and affirmed, and more and more alive.”⁶⁴ Webster adds an interesting insight, suggesting that in effect there is holiness and sanctification in the process itself of thinking about and considering the holiness and character of God, in short there is holiness in the seeking.⁶⁵ I suggest here that this understanding of sanctification is best viewed as operating in the believer’s life in a cyclical or non-linear way.

The non-linear model of sanctification this thesis advocates begins with the claim that God is already present with us, as opposed to being a distant goal to work toward. Paul states in 1 Corinthians 6:19-20 that the body is the temple of the Holy Spirit. Setting this kind of pneumatological insight at the center allows us to understand the Christian life as something that revolves around the presence of God within. With God the Holy Spirit as an active presence within the believer, we can apply elements of the argument presented earlier, concerning the nature of holiness, to establish a cyclical model or movement of sanctification in which action is not only the evidence but also an actuator.

Webster notes that “revelation is the self-giving presence of the holy God which overthrows opposition to God, and, in reconciling, brings us into the light of the knowledge of God.”⁶⁶ An individual confronted in revelation with the holy character of God is summoned to personal transformation, in an internal experience of the holiness of

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 176. He adds elsewhere, “no one can ‘make’ this life [holy], either through asceticism or through discipline... but one can let it be and let it come... we can clear away the hindrances.... in all the dimensions, it is not a case of sanctifying a life that is un sanctified... it is a matter of sanctifying life that is itself holy.” *Ibid.*, 177.

⁶⁵ Webster, *Holiness*, 8.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

God. This internal experience then can lead to consecration on the part of the believer as he or she responds to this new revelation about the character of God. Such consecration can be seen as a natural outflow of the work of God in the life of a believer, and a way in which holiness becomes evident. So we have the experience of the believer encountering the holiness of God which leads to a response to that revelation, as we see with the story of Isaiah in Isaiah 6. Webster notes that it is through these confrontations and the resulting repentance, as opposed to an “assumption of pre-eminence,” that holiness is revealed in the Church.⁶⁷ This experience culminates in a transformation of the believer, and ultimately in a deeper expression of his or her relationship with God which in a broad sense can be called consecration.

This consecration I would suggest then leads to a deeper love for the holy God which must find expression in some manner. Webster supports this, writing that, “liberated from willful and fearful self-seeking, I am consecrated for works of love.”⁶⁸ As the believer arrives at a state of increased love for God, this love finds expression through self-denial. This self-denial then finds expression through some action that manifests itself in an external response. Webster maintains that holiness is visible when the Church confesses the holiness of God and prays “Hallowed be they name,”⁶⁹ and when coming to terms with the new knowledge of God’s holiness “it bears witness to the world.”⁷⁰ This is the half way point of the cycle; the believer has moved from some internal experience to an external expression through the means of consecration, love, and self-denial. It is in this external expression that I hold that action is an actuator of sanctification, but before we discuss this further I need to make some clarifying remarks.

The idea of revelation, consecration, love, and even self-denial as key components of sanctification in an individual believer’s life would find wide acceptance, and I am not suggesting that all these stages necessarily happen in the same order all the

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 96.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 75.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 74.

time. However, what I am arguing is that the believer moves from an internal experience to an external expression, and it is helpful to put these components of sanctification in some logical order.

With this in mind we can return to the second half of the cycle. I am suggesting that external action is a key component of the process of sanctification. The external action results in a deepening of the relationship with God, a further revelation of the character of God, which in turn leads to consecration and in turn to love, and then to self-denial, in the same manner that led to the initial external action. This in turn leads to either another external action or an internal experience which restarts the cycle, moving the individual believer further through the process.

There is danger here of placing so much focus on action. However, Webster offers some clarifying support. He talks about what he calls the “secret energy of the sanctifying Spirit of God,” but holds that this energy is not to be confused with some kind of our own “secret energies.”⁷¹ What he is maintaining is that the process of sanctification in a believer’s life is solely accomplished by the work and power of God and not by the means of human effort. He envisions the work of God the Holy Spirit infusing and empowering each process of sanctification, even those seemingly at the discretion and means of the believer. I suggest the same perspective for the model I am putting forth. Any action on the part of the believer is only provoked and made possible by the work of the Holy Spirit.⁷² Citing G. C. Berkouwer, Webster writes that “sanctification does not signal the birth of self-sufficiency, rather it indicates a ‘perpetual and inherent lack of self-sufficiency’ ... Sanctification in the Spirit means: it is not I who live, but Christ who lives in me.”⁷³

As I stated, these components of sanctification are not new, but I do suggest that the last step of moving from self-denial to some form of external action is

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁷² The simple description of what is being suggested is the work of grace.

⁷³ Webster, *Holiness*, 83-84.

often overlooked or neglected in our consideration of the process of sanctification. As with any cycle, if you remove or neglect any one component the cycle fails or does not produce at its maximum capacity. Without action the process of sanctification stalls. While removing any of the components of the cycle would have the same effect, it is action that seems to be most often neglected. So it is that action is evidence that sanctification is taking place in the believer. We can see the necessity of action, as interaction with God is never passive. At the same time the church and the believer are never finished hearing the voice of God, for this is an ongoing activity.⁷⁴ The outcome of this interaction with the gospel is transformation and a “zeal for good deeds.”⁷⁵ This action is also the catalyst that continues the cycle of growth in sanctification because within itself it is a response to and an expression of the holy character of God. So in this way it is also actuator.

What I am proposing is illustrated in *figure 1.1*. Holiness is based in action; the action of the Godhead toward and through the human person. However, we are not passive agents in this paradigm, since action on the part of man is necessary for holiness to be actualized.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 73.

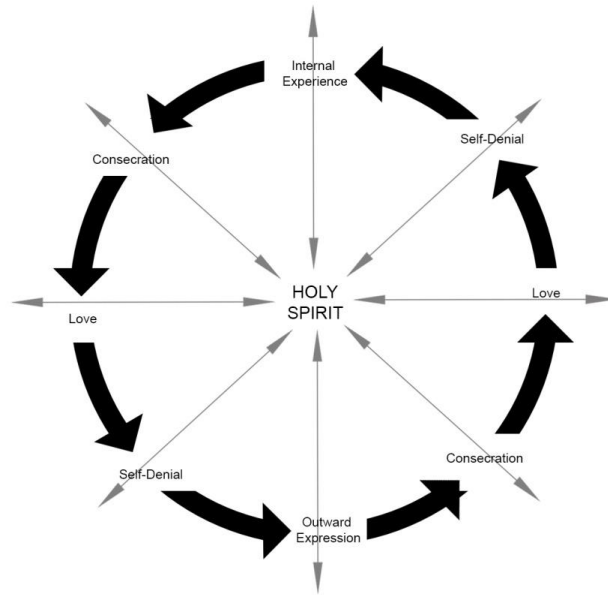


Figure 1-1 – Non-linear Sanctification Model

1.7 Concluding Comments

We have seen that a proper understanding of holiness and sanctification based upon the character of God will by nature be pragmatic and marked by action. By way of anticipation, we turn next in Chapter 2 to consider pragmatic holiness as seen in the missiology of the early Salvation Army. This will be followed in Chapter 3 by a consideration of early Salvation Army theology with a focus on their understanding of the possibility, process, and practice of sanctification and holiness. In Chapter 4, to conclude, the thesis will return more explicitly to the theological question of a non-linear model of sanctification and suggest that a proper understanding thereof holds strong possibilities for the Church. We will see that these possibilities lie in covenantal living, militant peacemaking, and community.

Chapter 2

2 Case Study Part 1 – Early Salvation Army History & Missiology

We turn now to consider the early development of The Salvation Army, focusing on the years between its first beginnings in 1865 and the death of its founder in 1912. What emerges is a story of pragmatic holiness in action, in which the necessity of self-denial and action is obvious. I will argue that this pragmatism was a key to The Salvation Army's unique missiology and success.

Though it is not something made explicit in early Army literature, we will see evidence in what follows of the non-linear model of sanctification that has been outlined. We will see that a pragmatic understanding of holiness and sanctification was a driving factor in early Salvation Army missional efforts, noting that early Salvationists were concerned with holiness and sanctification because it directly correlated with their mission of saving the lost. The early Salvation Army believed that the masses lived in condemnation because of sin, and that holiness was key to communicating to them that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, had died for the forgiveness of sins.⁷⁶ For the early Salvationists, therefore, holiness was about the presence and power of God in their lives, which translated into self-denial and sacrificial action. Non-linear pragmatic holiness was the engine that moved the early Salvation Army.

⁷⁶ Booth wrote the following in the January 1879 edition of the "The Salvationist:" "WE BELIEVE IN SALVATION.--We believe in the old-fashioned salvation. We have not developed and improved into Universalism, Unitarianism, or Nothingarianism, or any other form of infidelity, and we don't expect to. Ours is just the same salvation taught in the Bible, proclaimed by Prophets and Apostles, preached by Luther and Wesley and Whitefield, sealed by the blood of martyrs--the very same salvation which was purchased by the sufferings and agony and Blood of the Son of God. ... We believe the world needs it; this and this alone will set the world right. We want no other nostrum--nothing new. We are on the track of the old Apostles. You don't need to mix up any other ingredients with the heavenly remedy. Wound and kill with the old sword, and pour in the old balsam and you will see the old result--Salvation. The world needs it. The worst man that ever walked will go to Heaven if he obtains it, and the best man that ever lived will go to Hell if he misses it. Oh, publish it abroad!" Harold Begbie, *The Life of General William Booth* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), 406.

2.1 Historical Beginnings & Progress⁷⁷

The Salvation Army is a revival movement, birthed in Victorian England in 1865 by William and Catherine Booth. Starting in the slums of east London, from the early days of the movement it became apparent that ministry to the soul also would require ministry to the body, and that the Christian gospel would need a social conscience and practical application. In 1908, Hulda Friederichs, journalist and admirer of The Salvation Army, wrote in her aptly titled *The Romance of The Salvation Army*,

When the history of the world's great religious revivals comes to be written, one of the most thrilling pages will be that on which is chronicled the awakening of the wan [pale] East of London, what time the embryo Salvation Army came into the Mile End Waste, led by William Booth, the young Methodist revivalist.⁷⁸

William Booth was born on April 10, 1829 in Nottingham England. He was raised as an Anglican. By the time William turned thirteen, however, his father was

⁷⁷ It is important to note at the outset that a vast amount of primary source literature exists. However it is mainly, though not exclusively, a literature internally produced by the movement itself. Much of the material, therefore, is propagandist or hagiographic, as noted by Rhemick in the introduction to his work *A New People of God: A Study in Salvationism*, "As one might expect of a new movement fighting for credibility and acceptance, this literature was inspirational and apologetic. Most writings were historical in nature reporting on the work being done. In everything that the Army published or presented for publication, the Army affirmed its divine origin or its effectiveness or the appropriateness of its methods.... Here was proclamation rather than introspective self-examination. The Salvation Army was no doubt too young, too busy, and too successful to ask questions about itself." John R. Rhemick, *A New People of God* (Des Plaines, IL: The Salvation Army, 1984), 3. In this thesis, there is one source that is referenced extensively that would appear to fall into the category Rhemick describes: Robert Sandall's three volumes of, *The History of The Salvation Army*. Though the impartiality of the author should most certainly be questioned, his work represents perhaps the most comprehensive historical account of the beginnings of The Salvation Army and is a staple text for anyone considering Army history, drawing together many other earlier primary sources into one work. As this section begins I want to acknowledge the possible bias of this source and note that efforts have been made on my part to temper any bias through the inclusion of primary sources and more modern historical works. For a neutral assessment of historical Salvation Army literature, however, the bibliographic essay by Norman Murdoch in his *Origins of The Salvation Army* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 215-220, is very helpful.

⁷⁸ Hulda Freiderichs, *The Romance of The Salvation Army* (London: Castle and Company Ltd., 1908), 30-31.

financially ruined.⁷⁹ Before the age of fourteen William was forced, at the behest of his Father, to leave school and enter an apprenticeship. Booth notes of those days, “I was very young, only thirteen... but he [his father] could not afford to keep me longer at school, and so out into the world I must go.”⁸⁰ During this period his father died, leaving William with the burden of providing for the family. He recounts, “I had scarcely any income as an apprentice, and was so hard up when my father died, that I could do next to nothing to assist my dear mother and sisters, which was the cause of no little humiliation and grief.”⁸¹

These early details of William’s life have a bearing on his theological development and later missiology. First of all, it was in this childhood experience that Booth’s social conscience was awakened. This was a period that could be described as negative formation, which though debasing in nature, created within the young man a concern for the state of the poor and destitute. Robert Sandall notes of that period of Booth’s life that , “the deprivations of his early life, the misery that in his boyhood he had seen around him, his memories of children crying for bread in the streets – all helped to set up in his mind the purpose that later came to such a fruitful issue.”⁸²

In this dark time, Booth later wrote, “I went downhill morally, and the consequences might have been serious if not eternally disastrous, but that the hand of God was laid on me in a very remarkable manner.”⁸³ This brings us to a second key event. It was during the early years of his apprenticeship that William went through a spiritual awakening, and both the source and outcome of this event in William’s life is of interest. Young William found a spiritual home, not with the Anglican tradition of his

⁷⁹ John Larsson, *Those Incredible Booths* (London: Salvation Books, 2015), 8.

⁸⁰ George S. Railton, *General Booth* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912), 5.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Robert Sandall, *The History of The Salvation Army; Volume One 1865-1878* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1947), 3.

⁸³ Railton, 5.

father, but instead within the Methodist movement.⁸⁴ It was the “red-hot revival oratory”⁸⁵ of visiting American revivalist Rev. James Caughey that brought the young William to a place of surrender before God. As we will see in the next chapter, the influence of American revivalist Methodism on the theological development of William should not be underestimated.⁸⁶

Certain characteristics of Booth’s conversion anticipate the vision for mission and spiritual development that William would carry forward into the foundations of The Salvation Army. Booth recounts that upon being faced with the message of salvation he was struck and held back by the burden of a wrong he had carried out against an acquaintance of his youth. He felt that he could in no way have a true conversion unless he made restitution toward this individual in both word and deed.⁸⁷ Declaring that “God should have all there was”⁸⁸ of William Booth, he remarks that he vividly remembers the moment that he rose from prayer and with a “resolution to end the matter,” rushed out into the night to find the youth he had wronged. Upon making restitution he instantly felt the “rolling away from [his] heart of the guilty burden [and] the peace that came in its place.”⁸⁹ Booth continues:

Since that night... the business of my life has been not only to make a holy character but to live a life of loving activity in the service of God and man. I have ever felt that true religion consists not only in being holy myself, but in assisting my Crucified Lord in His work of saving men and

⁸⁴ After his conversion William found an active place within mainline English Methodism of his day but in the years that followed he would also take roles in both the *Reform Movement* and the *Methodist New Connexion* before founding what became *The Salvation Army*.

⁸⁵ Sandall, *op. cit.*, 3.

⁸⁶ Hill notes that, “Booth saw Methodism through the lenses of... New England revivalism.” Harold Hill, *Saved to Save and Saved to Serve* (Eugene, OR: Resource Publications, 2017), 160.

⁸⁷ The full details of this encounter that so convicted Booth can be found in George S. Railton’s biography. Railton, *op. cit.*, 10.

⁸⁸ Sandall, *op. cit.*, 4.

⁸⁹ Railton, *op. cit.*, 11.

women, making them into His Soldiers, keeping them faithful to death, and so getting them into Heaven.⁹⁰

William Booth's conversion experience is important to bear in mind because as Booth himself notes, it formed the foundation of how he understood spiritual experience, and this undoubtedly influenced the development of the Army. Holiness and missional living required a complete abandonment of the world and one's old way of life. Self-sacrifice was needed, should be tangible, and was intrinsically tied to missional effectiveness. Secondly, I include it because it provides a paradigmatic example of my continuing argument that self-denial and in turn holiness involve action.⁹¹

The story of how this young new convert came to eventually start a world-wide movement is a very interesting one, but not one that lies within the scope of this thesis. Suffice it to say that the fervor of his youth never left Booth, but instead seemed to drive him both toward and away from people, and from conventional forms of organized Christianity.⁹² Searching for a place in ministry that resonated with what he felt called to

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* Booth continues, One reason for the victory I daily gained from the moment of my conversion was, no doubt, my complete and immediate separation from the godless world. I turned my back on it. I gave it up, having made up my mind beforehand that if I did go in for God I would do so with all my might. Rather than yearning for the world's pleasures.... I found my new nature leading me to come away from it all.... In those days I felt, as I believe many Converts do, that I could willingly and joyfully travel to the ends of the earth for Jesus Christ, and suffer anything imaginable to help the souls of other men. Jesus Christ had baptized me, according to His eternal promise, with His Spirit and with Fire. *Ibid.* 12. For Booth, the equating of the Holy Spirit with Fire will be a recurring theme.

⁹¹ For the sake of economy I have not taken time here to detail the upbringing and spiritual development of William's wife Catherine Booth (nee, Mumford), but her influence both on William and the early Salvation Army cannot be overestimated. Her designation as the co-founder of the Army is justified in many ways. For more information on Catherine see John Larsson, *Those Incredible Booths.*; Mildred Duff, *Catherine Booth: A Sketch* (London: Salvationist Publishing and Supplies Ltd., 1924); and Frederick Booth-Tucker, *The Life of Catherine Booth*, 2 Vols. (New York: Revell, 1892).

⁹² This part of Booth's story has been told by many different authors, including many of the authors and works cited elsewhere in this work. Cf. in particular, however, W.T. Stead, *General Booth* (London: Isbister and Company Ltd., 1891), 33-51, and Murdoch, *op. cit.*, 21-42. Stead's work is a very supportive and affirming record written by a close friend of William and the Booth family. Murdoch, by contrast, was an Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Cincinnati, and provides a more critical treatment that attempts to show Booth's shortcomings as well as his accomplishments.

do culminated in a chance encounter, and an opportunity to address a shabby gathering of people in a tent pitched on an unused Quaker burial ground in the Mile End Waste of East London. This encounter would lead to the emergence of The Salvation Army.⁹³

While my focus in this chapter is on the role of pragmatic holiness, it is important to note that there were of course many other significant factors that gave rise to The Salvation Army in Victorian England. Of particular note are four influences that helped shape the movement in its infancy. First of all we may note the Home Missions movement, which saw hundreds of freelance preachers trying to reach people in the slums of London,⁹⁴ and the East London Special Services Committee that formed out of that movement.⁹⁵ Both of these were forerunners to the Booths' work. Indeed, the Committee would be the agency through which William would begin his work in the East End.⁹⁶ There was also *La Communauté*, which was formed by a group of Huguenot refugees who fled France after the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685. "The Christian Community," as they were known, held as one of its "treasured traditions" that they were at the time strong supporters and workers in the establishment of The Salvation Army.⁹⁷ Thirdly, there was The Society of Friends who were very supportive of the early tent mission and, as has been noted, were the ones who allowed the tent to be erected upon their property in the first place.⁹⁸ Finally, in addition to such systemic supports, The Salvation Army grew exponentially in numbers simply because the converts in the East End were not welcomed in the established churches of the day. Booth notes:

My first idea was simply to get the people saved, and send them to the churches. This proved at the outset impractical. 1st. They would not go when sent. 2nd. They were not wanted. And 3rd. We wanted some of them

⁹³ Sandall, *op. cit.*, 1.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 24-25.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

at least ourselves, to help with the business of saving others. We were thus driven to providing for the converts ourselves.⁹⁹

Rightmire notes in this context that The Salvation Army developed in a spiritual culture in which there was already some degree of concern for the poor masses, and consequently concerted efforts from the church of the day to reach them.¹⁰⁰ These efforts, however, had met with very little success, but where so many others seemed to struggle and fail the early Army thrived. Such was the success that in 1882-1883 the Church of England, feeling a need to better reach the new growing urban population, engaged in formal talks with The Salvation Army in an attempt to bring them into their ecclesiastical fold.¹⁰¹ A major factor in the Army's success is highlighted in a report on social conditions from 1851 which was commissioned by then Prime Minister, Lord John Russell. It notes that the disconnect between the poor and the church stemmed from three factors: distrust of ecclesiastical structures; apathy from the church toward the plight of the poor; and the simple binding factor of poverty itself.¹⁰² The Salvation Army was able to meet all these factors head on, which I am suggesting was due in part to their distinctive practice of holy living, based upon self-sacrifice and action.

From the meager beginnings of one hired preacher in an old tent in the East End of London, what became known as The Salvation Army grew.¹⁰³ Though, as we will see shortly, the statistics reveal remarkable success, growth did not come without challenge, especially in the first year between 1865-1866. In the very early days the

⁹⁹ *Twenty-One Years Salvation Army* (London: The Salvation Army, 1886), 22.

¹⁰⁰ R. David Rightmire, *The Sacramental Journey of The Salvation Army* (Alexandria, VA: Crest Books, 2016), 6.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 41. For other detailed accounts of this proposed union and negotiations between the two entities, cf. Sandall, *The History of The Salvation Army; Volume Two 1878 – 1886* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1950), 146-152, and Roger J. Green, "The Salvation Army and the Anglican Church, 1882-1883," *Fides et Historia* 47, no. 2 (Summer / Fall 2015): 19-32.

¹⁰² Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 6.

¹⁰³ Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army; Vol. 1*, 85, notes that, "the names first applied to the Mission varied. There was The Christian Revival Association... and there was also The East London Christian Revival Society.... But a ticket of membership (September 1865) and a temperance pledge card (January 1866) both bear the designation, The East London Christian Revival Union."

movement was called the “Christian Revival Union,” and the membership after the first year of operation was only sixty, with significant attrition in the early days.¹⁰⁴ Historians note the main reason for this was Booth’s understanding and practice of both theology and mission. Sandall records that “objection was taken” to Booth’s teaching regarding sanctification, which some felt “laid too much stress upon repentance and good works,” as well as to his insistence on the use of the “penitent form.”¹⁰⁵ This practice, as we will see, is closely connected to the “Altar Theology” of Phoebe Palmer, which had a great influence upon the Booths. The dissension did not seem to deter William, however, nor did it cause him to reconsider his theological convictions or methods. As Sandall writes:

William Booth’s insistence upon definite decision for Christ and out-and-out consecration to His service, as being essential, was happily so strong that no-one could be comfortable under his leadership who was not prepared to go all the way with him in applying these principles to the work in which they were together engaged.¹⁰⁶

Here again we see evidence of a strong focus on self-denial and action.

These somewhat eccentric expectations, at least by the measure of the times, nevertheless bore fruit, and in time arguably served to attract people to Booth and the mission.¹⁰⁷ Sandall reports that:

In the course of three years 1881-83, there was a marked change in the general character of The Salvation Army. Its progress up to the beginning of this period had been amazing, but... while its pace hitherto had been that of the short quick steps of bounding childhood, before this period closed it was that of the great strides of a young giant!... within the three years the Army’s strength had been more than quadrupled!¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* The use of the penitent form refers to imploring seekers for both salvation and sanctification to come forward publicly in the meetings to pray and make decisions in relation to their relationship with God.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army; Vol. 2*, 201.

By the Autumn of 1877, things were growing so quickly that Railton noted in a letter to Booth that the next year would find them “changed almost beyond recognition.” But perhaps the most telling comment from Railton comes later in the same letter when he says, concerning the training of candidates, “if we can only drill and mobilize fast enough, we can overrun the country before Christmas.”¹⁰⁹ Ten years later the annual report of 1887 noted that the total number of corps worldwide stood at 2,262 and the total number of Officers at 5,684. In addition, there were 148,000 conversions recorded for 1886 in the United Kingdom with an average of over 16,000 people attending week night meetings in London Army barracks (churches). Even if we take into account the obvious tendency toward romanticizing by early Army chroniclers, the growth and progress is still by all reasonable standards impressive.

By the time of the death of William Booth in 1912, The Salvation Army had become truly a global movement with a presence in fifty-eight countries with over 15,000 officers working in thirty-four languages.¹¹⁰ How did what was practically a one-man evangelistic campaign become a global movement in just forty-seven years? Why was Booth so successful? Clearly, the circumstances listed earlier, such as the existing efforts already happening amongst London’s poor, the distrust of ecclesiastical structures by the masses, the ability of Booth to meet the poor on their own level, as well as the influence of American revivalism, most certainly gave Booth an advantage. But, beyond Booth being the right person, in the right place, at the right time, I am suggesting that something more was happening. As we will see shortly, Booth and his followers had a self-sacrificing attitude that enabled them to push further than most others, and I argue that this self-denial and action was based upon their application of the principles of Wesleyan holiness, which they saw as the Fire of God at work in their lives.

¹⁰⁹ Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army; Vol. 1*, 225. In 1878 Booth himself said, “we have never moved so quickly before... we have not only extended the work within two months to an extent equaling the whole extent of The Mission at the beginning of the year, but we have kept up and, we believe, greatly improved the efficiency of all the old corps.” Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army; Vol. 2*, 2.

¹¹⁰ Henry Gariepy, *Christianity in Action: The International History of The Salvation Army* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 85.

2.2 Missiology

In our examination of early Salvation Army theology, there is a problem in that, early Salvationists, particularly the Booth family, were pragmatists and concerned themselves much more with the how as opposed to the why.¹¹¹ For this reason early Salvation Army literature is notably light on deeper theological matters and very heavy on history, biography, and details of missional efforts and other exploits. This is not to say that Booth himself, for example, was not theologically predisposed at some level, or Catherine Booth either, who was the more theologically inclined of the two.¹¹² But, as Rightmire summarizes,

From its earliest days as the Christian Mission, the Army saw its ministry as a spiritual offensive... the deployment of forces into battle occasioned a development of a theology of action rather than reflection.... Doctrinal formulation within The Salvation Army was oriented around the universal soul-saving task of its mission.... Innovation seems to be a mark of the Army's early history, as it responded to human need in dramatic and bold ways.¹¹³

Later we will take time to explore a selection of sources of early Salvation Army theological thought, but we will supplement this by first considering the theological clues found in both early Army missiology.

When considering the missiology of the early Salvation Army we would be well served by first asking how early Army missiology might be classified. To help

¹¹¹ I offer a qualifier here. As we will see, Booth was very clear on the why in the simplest terms, his concern was lost souls. What I mean by saying that he was more concerned with the how opposed to the why is that his focus, and that of other early Salvationists, was on how to get the masses to acknowledge Jesus Christ as saviour, and less time was given to expounding theological principles.

¹¹² William Booth was a strategist, as an account of conversation between Booth and an acquaintance in 1863 illustrates: “Excuse me Mr. Booth... what is it that engages your thoughts so frequently and protracted as you pace the garden?” Mr. Booth, with face all ashine, answered, “My friend, I am thinking out a plan, which, when it is implemented, will mean blessing to the wide, wide world.” Wesley Campbell and Stephen Court, *Be A Hero* (Shippensburg, PA: Destiny Image Publishers, 2004), 121.

¹¹³ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 59.

answer that question, we will first briefly consider the “missionary motifs in the Enlightenment era” as laid out by David Bosch his classic work, *Transforming Mission*.¹¹⁴ Bosch lists the themes of “The Glory of God,” being “Constrained by Jesus’ Love,” “The Gospel and Culture,” “Manifest Destiny,” “Colonialism,” “Voluntarism,” “Fervor, Optimism, and Pragmatism,” “The Biblical Motif,” and “Millennialism,” as standard ways of thinking about mission in the modern era.¹¹⁵ The missiology of the early Army, however, does not lend itself to easy classification according to these options, since one can find elements of Army practice and mindset in many of these categories, but also a nearly equal number of characteristics that simply do not seem to fit. The problem of overly neat definitions is acknowledged by Bosch himself, who remarks that, these many and varied mission motifs were at times self-contradicting and at other times conflated.¹¹⁶ In the case of The Salvation Army, however, it is clear that some do not apply at all. The American idea of Manifest Destiny, for instance, does not appear in the primary source material, despite the influence of American revivalism. Nor is Colonialism *per se* an obvious factor, despite the fact that the Army was a movement hitting its stride at the height of British Colonialism. While in-depth study of the political question is beyond the scope of this thesis,¹¹⁷ and despite these reservations, there is still value in an attempt to measure the Army in the broader theological sense against Bosch’s parsed motifs. In the next chapter, for instance, we will give consideration to how the Army was influenced by Millennialism. However, from the missiological themes Bosch provides, I argue that the one that best fits the Army is “Fervor, Optimism, and Pragmatism.”

Bosch notes in this motif that modern missionary endeavor was characterized by “enormous amounts of Christian energy,” and that “more than in any preceding period Christians ... believed that the future of the world and of God’s cause

¹¹⁴ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2011).

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 291-347.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 349.

¹¹⁷ For a helpful introduction to early Army missionary methodology see, Andrew M. Eason, “The Strategy of a Missionary Evangelist,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 38, no. 4 (October 2014): 183.

depended on them.”¹¹⁸ He notes that therein lay the conviction that the Gospel was a tool for the betterment of the world and the transformation of humanity, so that when applied with an industrious spirit, it almost guaranteed victory over the evil of the world.¹¹⁹ For Bosch its practitioners were characterized as, “purposeful, activist, impatient, self-confident, single-minded, [and] triumphant.”¹²⁰ He notes elsewhere that it was seen as a “decisive hour” for the church, and the goal was “world conquest.” The latter in particular is admittedly a term that fits well within a Colonialist mindset, but as used in our sources, the “conquest” in question was spiritual rather than political. Terms often applied to describe Christians were nevertheless “soldiers,” and “forces,” along with military terms or metaphors to describe the mission and its elements.¹²¹ Bosch’s descriptions are strikingly similar to those used by the early Salvation Army, as we will see.

The missiology and exploits of the early Salvation Army has become the stuff of legend in the present day ranks of the movement, almost unconceivable in the realm of truth and history to some. Often used as a rallying cry by those who long for a return to the ideals and spirit of the early Army, these stories offer insight into what the early Salvationists believed about the purpose of Christianity, the nature of the Kingdom of God on earth, and their place and role within and through it. Booth is noted as having a four-fold scheme to his early mission work, a scheme that can be traced through The Salvation Army’s development. His four sign posts were 1) go to the people; 2) attract the people; 3) save the people; and 4) employ the people.¹²² We will examine each of these briefly.

¹¹⁸ Bosch, 340.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 343.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Bosch notes additional terms such as; “council of war,” “conquest,” and “marching orders,” all of which run very deep in the Salvation Army tradition and structure. Cf. Bosch, 346.

¹²² Freiderichs, 54.

2.2.1 Going to the People

As was noted earlier, one of the likely keys to The Salvation Army success amongst the masses was its willingness to go the people on their own level. Booth was explicitly concerned with reaching the “submerged tenth” of society, the poorest of the poor. To accomplish this he took the fight literally to the streets.¹²³ Booth and his movement took this to the most literal extent by taking evangelism and preaching to the streets of London’s East End and beyond, hiring out dance halls and the like for meetings as needed.¹²⁴ Booth’s goal was to go to the people that no one else was reaching. He notes, “we do not fish in other’s people’s waters, or try to set up a rival sect. Out of the gutters we pick up our Converts.... We are moral scavengers, netting the very sewers. We want all we can get, but we want the lowest of the low.”¹²⁵ On the same occasion Booth said,

I was told that ninety-five in every hundred of the population of our larger towns and cities never crossed the threshold of any place of worship, and I thought, “Cannot something be done to reach these people with the Gospel?”... ‘I resolved to try, and “The Salvation Army” is the outcome of that resolution.’¹²⁶

This fight had concrete social implications. The former international leader of The Salvation Army, General Shaw Clifton (Rtd.) notes that, “Its method was to attack the Enemy in his own camp, namely in the taverns and the place of worldly entertainment associate with the drinking of alcohol, for Booth blamed alcohol for the enslavement of the poor.”¹²⁷ By choosing to combat the prevalence of alcohol and drunkenness in Victorian London, Booth was combatting an acknowledged social ill, and

¹²³ Shaw Clifton, *Who Are These Salvationists?* (Alexandria, VA: Crest Books, 1999), 132-33.

¹²⁴ Booth himself writes on this, “after a time we secured an old dancing-room for Sunday Meetings... for our week-night Meetings we had hired an old shed, formerly used to store rags in, and there we fought for months.” Railton, *op. cit.*, 57.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹²⁷ Clifton, 133.

at the same time associating his new movement with the politically charged Temperance movement.

Hill notes that the poverty and drunkenness of the day was pronounced and nearing its high water mark as the early Salvation Army was coming into existence. He remarks that at this point people began, more and more, to look to government and other agencies for “remedies to grievances.”¹²⁸ Rhemick comments that, “The Salvation Army, along with other church groups, labor movements, university movements, and government movements, did go to the poor... all kinds of schemes were proposed to bring a better life to them.”¹²⁹ The Temperance movement was at the forefront of these efforts. Shiman traces the growth of the temperance movement in England, noting its political falling out by the 1860s and 70s. She continues by showing how the void of political support was filled by religious movements, that came together to form a “great crusade against drink.”¹³⁰ She writes, “much of the force of this fresh anti-drink campaign came from a new relationship that was forged between temperance and religious forces in England.”¹³¹ The early Army was one of these crusaders,¹³² which would have run them afoul of some of the political leaders of the day. The correlation between this and the lack of political support for the Army against societal naysayers and opponents is likely not coincidental.¹³³

¹²⁸ Hill, 2.

¹²⁹ Rhemick, 51.

¹³⁰ Lilian Lewis Shiman, “The Blue Ribbon Army: Gospel Temperance in England,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 50, no. 4 (December 1981): 394, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42973859>.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Murdoch notes that by the late 1880s the Army had become the largest abstinence organization in the world. Norman H. Murdoch, “Wesleyan Influence on William and Catherine Booth,” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 20. No. 2 (Fall 1985): 98, ATLA Religion Database with ATLASerials, EBSCOhost (accessed July 2, 2018)

¹³³ Rhemick, 51.

2.2.2 Attracting the People

Campbell and Court quote the 1879 Orders & Regulations of The Salvation Army, noting how Booth instructed that, “under ordinary circumstances a daring, reckless, determined Commanding Officer can make himself known to 30,000 people in less than three days.”¹³⁴ This instruction for Officers is indicative of the outlook of early Salvationists: any and every means necessary should be employed to attract the attention of the masses and communicate the gospel to them. Booth himself said in a public address:

Beginning as I did, so to speak, with a sheet of clean paper, wedded to no plan, and willing to take a leaf out of anybody’s book that seemed to be worth adopting, and, above all, to obey the direction of God the Holy Spirit, I have gone on from step to step.... We tried various methods, and those that did not answer we unhesitatingly threw overboard and adopted something else.¹³⁵

It is from this approach that some of the most colourful stories from Salvation Army history emerge. Even before the adaptations of brass bands as a part of Army methodology, loud and even abrasive street marches were a tactic used to attract a crowd.¹³⁶ Once a sufficient crowd had been attracted, preaching would commence.

Another tactic often employed was elaborate or provocative waybills promoting upcoming Salvation Army meetings or campaigns. Elijah Cadman, a fiery Mission Evangelist, who was leading the work of the soon to be Salvation Army in Whitby in the late 1870’s, was a pioneer in this practice and created a stir among the general public on many occasions.¹³⁷ Handbills from the day included one that announced

¹³⁴ Campbell & Court, 126.

¹³⁵ Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army; Vol. 1*, 208.

¹³⁶ It was in the *War Cry* in March 1880 that Booth urged as many Salvationists as possible to learn to play instruments to aid in attracting crowds for open air ministry. Sandall adds an interesting anecdote, noting that one Officer “headed a march with a four-shilling fiddle which he could not play, but was quite satisfied because his attempting to do so was “an attraction”!” Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army; Vol. 2*, 102.

¹³⁷ Cadman was employing the military metaphor extensively in 1878 and it coincided with a time in British history when the thought and threat of physical war was very much prevalent. On one

a “Great Fair at the Salvation Market” that would have appearing “Moorhouse and Bricky, Skelton the Thrasher, and Wells the Converted Thief.”¹³⁸ The Army did its best to ‘bill’ the most extravagant characters it could come up with. This had a twofold purpose. First, it served to attract a crowd, these were often new converts from the masses that had a reputation among those whom the mission sought to reach, such as a prize fighter or a known cat burglar, and secondly, it engaged these new converts in mission work. Commissioner George Scott Railton had a large banner attached to the headquarters in Whitechapel which read:

THE SALVATION FAIR!
COME AND SEE THE FAT MAN, WEIGHTING 333 POUNDS,
AND THE DWARF!¹³⁹

These set of meetings apparently involved one or both men being pushed up a hill in a “pig cart” in the effort to attract a crowd for open air meetings.¹⁴⁰

It seems that most anything could be used to attract a critical mass of people. Another early Salvation Army evangelist had a series of railway tickets printed to pass out to the public. One in particular said, “Hallelujah Railway, Leicester to Heaven, First Class, 1877,” and on the back it read, “conditions fully explained at every service by

occasion Cadman arranged for two declarations of a “warlike character” to be made to attract attention to upcoming meetings. The first banner proclaimed, “*War is declared! Recruits are wanted!*” The local people, not taking time to notice the second banner which read, “*The Hallelujah Army, fighting for God!*,” assumed that Britain had declared war and recruits for the pending conflict were urgently needed, causing many to respond to the call only to discover there was not an actual war pending. Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army; Vol. 1*, 227.

¹³⁸ Bramwell Booth, *Echoes and Memories* (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1926), 100.

¹³⁹ Eileen Douglas & Mildred Duff, *Commissioner Railton* (London: SP&S, 1920), 53.

¹⁴⁰ Railton, *op. cit.*, 75.

Corbridge, the real old Hallelujah Man, and crowds of Blood-washed passengers.”¹⁴¹
 Along similar lines, we have the following original images.

His Staff, and Native Regiments.
 At 9.30 a.m., all will Muster in the TOWN HALL SQUARE, for a
TRIUMPHANT MARCH
 HEADED BY **MILITARY BRASS BAND**
 To the Circus, arriving at 10.30 for Great CONVENTION before
 the THRONE.
 At 1.30 p.m. Troops will assemble in NORTH ST. BARRACKS
 for another MARCH, arriving at the Circus at 2.30 for an
EXHIBITION
 OF LIVING WONDERS, Men who were once as wild as
LIONS
 SAVAGE AS **TIGERS**
 and as stubborn as OLD
JUMBO !!
 Who were found PROWLING through the BLACK
 JUNGLES of Sin, but CAPTURED by our Troops and
 TAMED. Now they are on the LAWN of the KING'S
 PALACE. These will give an account of their Marvellous
 ADVENTURES and Escape from the
BLACK MONSTER I
 At 6 o'clock, in the Circus,
MAJOR CADMAN WILL READ THE PROCLAMATION
 AND TERMS OF PEACE WILL BE OFFERED
 Cockney Jack, the Bradford Express, The Happy Irishman,
 The Taproom Whistler, Taproom Deserters, Poor Reuben,
 Army Miriams with their Tambourines, and a host of others
 will defy the Enemy.
TRANSFORMATION SCENES
 Will take place, and all Leeds will be lighted up, not with
 Electric Light, but with the FIRES of MOUNT SINAI.
 MAJOR CADMAN and Commanding Officers will conduct
 all REBELS into the KING'S PALACE, who will make a
FULL SURRENDER! APPLY EARLY.


Figure 2-1 - Cadman Waybill 1

BLOOD & FIRE
 THE GREAT
ASSIZE
 OR DAY OF
JUDGMENT
 SUBJECT
ON SUNDAY NIGHT NEXT
 AT 7 O'CLOCK,
 IN THE
SALVATION
FACTORY,
 BY
CAPTAIN
CADMAN
ALL SEATS FREE.
COME.

Figure 2-2 - Cadman Waybill 2

¹⁴¹ Bramwell Booth, *op. cit.*, 100.

**READER,—If you are not SAVED, you will go to HELL!
'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.'**

**SALVATION  ARMY!
ATTERCLIFFE.**

BLOOD AND FIRE!

**LOOK OUT! LOOK OUT! LOOK OUT!
CAPTAIN MORRELL**
And SOLDIERS of the 37th Corps (Regulars) will challenge the DEVIL for War
and make a SPECIAL ATTACK on his Territory.

ON SUNDAY, SEPT. 19th.
Guns loaded at 7 a.m.; First Volley fired at 10 a.m., NEWHALL ROAD.
Musical Instruments in the Battle Field. Wounded picked up as we go along, and handed over to THE GREAT PHYSICIAN.

CAPTAIN MORRELL
(Better known as the DEVIL DRIVER), from Leicester, letting the enemy have it right
and left. Barracks at 11, with a garrison kept by Capt. Morrell.

A HOST OF DARE DEVILS !!
Will repeat the firing on the Battle Field.
Again at PINFOLD LANE, at 2 p.m., right in front of the Enemy,
And from thence march off to the VESTRY HALL, where they will arrive at 3 o'clock p.m.

The HALLELUJAH CHORISTERS, or POP-GUNS,
Will be going off in all directions, also a Band of the Devils who need to be, will testify as to what the GENERAL has done for
them since they enlisted in this great and glorious Army.
Skirmishing at 5.30 at AMBERLEY SQUARE and VESTRY HALL, at 6 p.m. when the Devil Driver will Sing and Speak!
Subject—TALKING THEM OUT OF THIS FIRE!

Figure 2-3 - Sample Waybill

From propaganda, to the use of military uniforms, to loud and unconventional meetings; great lengths were pursued to attract the people. The early Salvationists were both accused of being, and at the same time encouraged to be, “God’s great disturbers of the peace.”¹⁴²

¹⁴² Slous continues, “Salvationists were encouraged to turn the world upside down – to overthrow the Devil – to annihilate selfishness – to make all things new.” Julie Slous, *Preaching a Disturbing Gospel* (Toronto, ON: The Salvation Army Canada and Bermuda, 2013), x.

2.2.3 Saving the People

The mission of the early Salvation Army was clearly very utilitarian by nature, having a sole focus in the salvation of lost souls.¹⁴³ On one occasion, having been granted an audience with King Edward VII, Booth was invited by the King to sign his autograph book, in which he wrote, “Your Majesty, some men’s ambition is art. Some men’s ambition is fame. Some men’s ambition is gold. My ambition is the souls of men.”¹⁴⁴ Even outsiders could not deny that this was the primary goal of the movement and its leader. Cecil Rhodes, after meeting with Booth in 1898, said to William as they parted company, “I am trying to make new countries; you are making new men.”¹⁴⁵ Commissioner Frederick Booth-Tucker, who pioneered the work of The Salvation Army in India, described the movement as such, claiming that, “we have no hobbies... unless it be a hobby to want to save the largest number of souls with the highest possible salvation in the quickest space of time by the best imaginable methods. That is the sum and substance of our mission.”¹⁴⁶ The description of William Booth, offered by Sir Philip Gibbs, illustrates how Booth practiced what he expected of those in the ranks:

He used every art and trick of oratory, every crude and vulgar method to “win souls to God.” He would jibe and jest at them with a biting humour. He would use the slang of the slum, and the cant of the thieves’ alley. He would sing to them and dance to them, in a kind of religious ribaldry. He would make himself a buffoon for the love of God, and by these methods he would drag people up from the depth of misery, drag them by the scruff of the neck from the mire to cleanliness, give them back their manhood

¹⁴³ The Salvation Army held to a traditional Wesleyan / Armenian theological understanding that humanity is born into, and subsequently is lost in, a state of spiritual death due to sin. They believed that due to the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ grace and the opportunity for redemption has gone out to the entire world. One needed only to repent from his or her sins and believe in the atoning work of Christ to be forgiven by God, a stated referred to as being rescued or saved.

¹⁴⁴ Garipey, 80.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁴⁶ Campbell & Court, 124.

and womanhood, and fan into a flaming torch the little spark of divinity which never goes out in the human heart.¹⁴⁷

That assessment essentially echoes what Booth wrote himself in 1879, “we are salvation people – this is our specialty – getting saved and keeping saved, and then getting somebody else saved, and then getting saved ourselves more and more, until full salvation on earth makes the heaven within.”¹⁴⁸

Accounts of these early efforts show that they were not only committed to the idea of saving souls but were also very effective in practice. Staff Captain “Happy George” Taberer was responsible for the opening of the Salvation Army work in Bristol in 1880, and through his efforts there were recorded 3007 conversions in just six months.¹⁴⁹ Between 1881 and 1886 alone there were more than 250,000 conversions, and by 1901 there were reported to be 30,000 converted drunks within the Army.¹⁵⁰ The stories and accounts left by the early Army chroniclers are extensive and the picture painted of the work in England was repeated in country after country during the period of the Army’s rapid global expansion.

2.2.4 Employing the People

The final part of Booth’s methodology was to employ the people converted from the masses. This was practiced from as close to the point of conversion as possible. Addressing the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in 1880 he spoke to this aspect of the methodology of The Salvation Army, in that, “as soon as a man gets saved we put him up to say so, and in this testimony lies much of the power of our work.”¹⁵¹ So it was that the Army had a practice, recorded the Orders and Regulations for Officers, to have

¹⁴⁷ Slous, 35.

¹⁴⁸ William Booth, *The Founder Speaks Again; A Selection of the Writings* (London: SP&S, 1960), 45.

¹⁴⁹ Arch Wiggins, *The History of The Salvation Army; Volume Four 1886-1904* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1964), 372.

¹⁵⁰ Campbell & Court, 123.

¹⁵¹ Railton, *op. cit.*, 78.

new converts and seekers for consecration give a testimony to the work of God in their lives immediately after any spiritual breakthrough.¹⁵² All converts were expected to immediately become engaged in the work of the movement. This has a direct correlation to my point that the understanding of sanctification in Army theology involves a tangible action in response to a spiritual experience or encounter, with the external action solidifying the commitment made.

This kind of engagement was often accompanied by becoming first a soldier and then possibly an Officer.¹⁵³ Even very new converts were encouraged toward Officership if they showed promise. It is noteworthy that the work to which Booth called his new converts, especially that of an Officer, was neither glamorous nor easy.¹⁵⁴ In the same address to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference referenced earlier, Booth notes about his officers,

We have got all those Officers without any promise or guarantee of salary, and without any assurance that when they reach the railway station to which they book they will find anybody in the town to sympathize with them. The bulk would cheerfully and gladly go anywhere.¹⁵⁵

George Scott Railton was equally passionate about Officership and perhaps even more challenging with his words. On the final page of his book *Heathen England*, published in 1877, he placed what amounts to an ad or call for individuals to consider becoming an Officer in The Salvation Army, emphasizing in uncompromising terms what the commitment involved (Appendix A). Railton was a serious and often provocative writer who is noted as one who meant exactly what he wrote. Since Railton is generally reckoned to be next only to William and Catherine Booth themselves in influence on early Salvation Army development and missiology, we can take it that the

¹⁵² See footnote 39 in chapter 1.

¹⁵³ In The Salvation Army the term “Officer” refers to clergy, while “Soldier” refers to lay ministers and congregation members, both of which have entered into a specific covenantal relationship with God.

¹⁵⁴ This, as I will highlight shortly, was a part of the reason they all were generally successful and grew so rapidly.

¹⁵⁵ Railton, *op. cit.*, 76.

norm and expectation of service in The Salvation Army, as laid out in selection mentioned, was one of self-sacrificial action.

It is clear that the sacrifice required came not only from the expectations of the movement itself, but also from opposition faced both from the public and from the broader church establishment of the day. The radical methods used, though often met by success, also generated opposition. There were those in church and society who stood to suffer monetary loss due to the Army's reforms among the masses. This in itself speaks to an understanding of the gospel involving not only private decisions but also clear public action. The persecutions endured during the early days demanded a high degree of commitment and sacrifice on the part of the Salvationist, even to the point of physical death.

According to Railton, "In one year alone, 1882, no fewer than 669 of our Officers and Soldiers, 251 of them women and 23 children under fifteen, were brutally assaulted... and 86, of whom 15 were women, were imprisoned."¹⁵⁶ Other reports exist noting "violent opposition" and a "good deal of trouble," as opponents of The Salvation Army tried in earnest to disrupt proceedings both inside and in the open air.¹⁵⁷ As already mentioned, such opposition did lead to physical injury and even death. Campbell and Court offer two striking accounts from early Salvation Army history that illustrate this reality. They cite an early field report that stated, "My heart is cheered. We are making the devil mad. Victory will come! Look out for some martyrdom here in the near future....we are saved to die, and don't care much where our bones are buried."¹⁵⁸ They also note a telegram sent from Captain Albert Brice to Commissioner Thomas Coombs

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 82-3.

¹⁵⁷ "Christian Mission Work," *The Christian Mission Magazine* October (1874): 274. Quoted by Slous, 35. For a more detailed introduction to the opposition and persecution of early Salvationists, including the formation of the *Skeleton Army*, see Campbell & Court, 130-153, Garipey, 29-32, and Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army; Vol. 2*, 170-200.

¹⁵⁸ Major Wells, *The War Cry*, n.d. Quoted by Campbell & Court, 126.

during heavy persecution in 1887 against The Salvation Army as it progressed its work in Canada, which simply stated, “Expecting to go to Glory Wednesday night.”¹⁵⁹

One would expect, such opposition and even the threat of death, to lead to some attrition, but overall, The Salvation Army maintained growing ranks of soldiers and Officers during the period.¹⁶⁰ It becomes very clear that the aggressive forward movement of The Salvation Army was driven in large part by a commitment to sacrifice among the members of the early Army. The question that begs asking is, what was it that enabled this sort of total self-sacrificing commitment among the ranks?¹⁶¹ We do not have to stretch to see the connection here with the argument that what is operative is a model in which spiritual movement and growth, holiness and sanctification, need to be accompanied by tangible action. According to the argument of this thesis, if the members of the early Salvation Army were constantly being called to self-sacrifice and consequently engaged in tangible physical activity in response to that challenge, then the process described earlier in terms of the non-linear model of sanctification would have been at work.

¹⁵⁹ R. G. Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada: A History* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1977), 58. Quoted by Campbell & Court, 126. For an account of the first recorded Salvationist martyr see, Alan Bateman, *They Gave Their Lives* (London: Salvation Books, 2008), 1-7.

¹⁶⁰ It should be noted that it wasn't that The Salvation Army never lost members from its ranks in those days. Rhemick notes a statement by George Scott Railton, 'Owing to our adherence to this rigid military system, we are losing almost every year officers, as well as people, who, having lost their first love, begin to hanker after the "right," and "privileges," "comforts," "teaching," or "respectability of the churches." No one remains with us, or is likely to remain, whose sole object in life is not the attainment of the one purpose ever kept before the Army – the rescue from sin and hell of those who are farthest from God and righteousness.' At the same time there seems to have been something in the understanding of the application and practice of the Christian life that enabled those committed to The Salvation Army to live a self-sacrificing life. Railton, *Heathen England* (London: S.W. Partridge, 1877), 145. Quoted by Rhemick, 79.

¹⁶¹ Slous, joining with others, asks the same question when she notes as an invitation to inquiry that, "*something kept this homiletic hot!*" She is asking how and why did the mission and preaching of the early Salvation Army develop and maintain such militant fervency. Slous, 27.

2.3 Conclusion

The commitment of the early Salvationists to holiness of life and engagement in mission is very clear. It is also clear that an underlying theological emphasis on sacrifice and action were essential to the movement. As a paradigmatic case, Booth's experiences in his younger days were a definite influence on his motivations and methods, and as we will see in the next chapter on his theology.

The call to sacrifice by the leaders, based upon an understanding of the sacrificial love of God, was a catalyst for growth, keeping spiritual experience fresh and vital. Actual physical responses made in their labors, caused Salvationists to rely on the power and provision of Christ. Theologically, the self was removed from the figurative throne of people's lives, so that, as Paul admonishes, in a crucifying of self, it was no longer they who lived but Christ who lived in them.¹⁶² A continuation of the cycle of self-giving, towards deeper revelation, consecration, love, self-denial and further action seems to dominate Army thinking in this period. In this way, in theory, the harder the challenge, and the deeper the sacrifice, the closer to God and his character the early Salvationists would become. In advocating this, Booth among other leaders summoned a literal army of individuals constantly growing in commitment and willingness to embrace the physical challenges of seeking to bring a realization of God's Kingdom to creation. Railton himself notes in an early publication that "the Army succeeds by teaching converts to be holy."¹⁶³

But lest we paint the picture that the early Salvationist was concerned only with works or action, Catherine Booth makes it very clear in one of her discourses that what the early Salvationist was to be concerned about, and what was the driving force of the movement, was an internal experience of the Glory of God that translated into an external manifestation. The basis of this is a strongly pneumatological understanding of

¹⁶² Galatians 2:20

¹⁶³ Railton, *Heathen England*, 146.

the gospel, and of the work of mission. In 1879 at a Council of War she declared to the congregation of over 4000:

The time has come for fire. All other agents have been tried: intellect, learning, fine buildings, wealth, respectability, numbers. The great men and the mighty men and the learned men have all tried to cast out these devils before you, and have failed. Try the fire.¹⁶⁴

As we turn to the question of Salvationist theology, therefore, what can be said by way of anticipation is that a recurring motif of blood and fire appears, which buttresses themes that have already been picked up. These themes are obvious in early Salvationist songs, among other places, though there is not scope in the body of this thesis to explore such sources (see Appendix B). What we will see in the theology, however, is that the idea and terminology of “fire” was synonymous with holiness, sanctification, and the work of the Holy Spirit. These theological ideas need now to be laid out in more systematic fashion.

¹⁶⁴ She continues, “there are legions of the enemies of our great King. Fire on them. There are legions of strong drink, damning millions; of uncleanness, damning millions more; of debauchery, blasphemy, theft, millions more! Charge on them, pour the red hot shot of the artillery of heaven on them, and they will fall by the thousands!” Campbell & Court, 122.

Chapter 3

3 Case Study Part 2 – Early Salvation Army Theology

We now turn to early Army theology. At the outset, I again want to acknowledge that systematic study of early Salvation Army theology from the perspective of primary sources is a challenging task, as Booth was a mission pragmatist and not a theologian. In fact, Booth had close to no formal academic theological training, and even his schooling as a child was limited. Indeed, he only spent a total of approximately ten months in two different segments, once in 1852 and again in 1854, engaged in actual academic study during the whole of his adult life.¹⁶⁵

It would be, however, unfair to say that Booth was unconcerned with theological matters or failed to see them as important to the missiology of the movement. Eason holds that it is a disservice to Booth to portray him “as an ill-educated man driven more by instinct and practicality than by theory of religious doctrine,”¹⁶⁶ as he accuses some scholars and commentators of doing. The argument that follows will tend to support Eason’s assertion, however, it should be juxtaposed with the recognition that Booth abandoned both his periods of academic study out of his passion for evangelistic work. In 1852 he was engaged in study to become a Congregationalist minister, but ended his studies and his association with the denomination abruptly over the doctrine of limited atonement, which he could not bring himself to embrace.¹⁶⁷

It should be said that Booth was by no means alone in the mid-nineteenth century in having these misgivings, but the extent of his discomfort is telling. Stead reports that for Booth “every instinct of his heart” rejected these ideals.¹⁶⁸ It is not a

¹⁶⁵ Hill, 159.

¹⁶⁶ Eason, 183.

¹⁶⁷ Both Sandall and Stead give an account of this juncture in Booth’s life, but Stead leaves us with the most vivid picture. Robert Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army; Vol. 1*, 6. Stead, 42-43.

¹⁶⁸ Stead, 42-43.

stretch to see that Booth's great passion for evangelism could have been at least partially responsible for such an emotional rejection of this doctrine. Hill records that Booth's second season of academic study ended when his sponsor Dr. William Cooke, of the Methodist New Connexion, noticed that Booth "found study frustrating and wanted to be out evangelizing," and so disbanded his study program to release him to his consuming passion.¹⁶⁹

Though clearly not an academic, Hill notes that Booth was not "proud of ignorance,"¹⁷⁰ and history shows that he held close counsel with individuals who were more theologically and academically inclined than himself. These included his wife Catherine, his son Bramwell, his secretary George Scott Railton, and in later years, Samuel Logan Brengle. Additionally, it is documented that Booth strongly encouraged his son Bramwell to pursue theological studies, which he was both gifted for and inclined to do.¹⁷¹

In regard to Catherine and her influence on William and her contribution to early Army theology, the evidence is clear and in agreement across authors both old and new. John Read notes that "Catherine Booth was the principal architect of The

¹⁶⁹ Hill, 159. This was Booth's tendency through life. Even the task of writing seemed to irritate him in regard to the time it took away from practical evangelistic efforts. The preface of many of his literary works bear reference to this. One poignant example comes from the preface to *Salvation Soldierly*, published in 1889, where he writes, "Since I have neither time nor inclination for book writing in the presence of the fearful necessities of the millions perishing around us...." William Booth, *Salvation Soldierly* (London: The Salvation Army, 1889), 1.

¹⁷⁰ Hill, 159.

¹⁷¹ Hill quotes a letter from William to Bramwell dated August 27, 1876, "You must have among other things a knowledge of systematic theology.... You have lately felt your need here ... to hold your own with the preachers and with the public you must have information and skill in controversial theology." Catherine Bramwell-Booth, *Bramwell Booth* (London: Rich & Cowen, 1932), 70. Quoted by Hill, 160-61. Even in this practicality ruled Booth's recommendations and decision making. While he saw the great value in having Bramwell go away to study theology at a college he was concerned with how the mission would cope without the presence of Bramwell, and we can assume was afraid that it would suffer by his absence. To that end he recommends that Bramwell instead "adhere to a moderate round of reading and [self] study."

Salvation Army's theology ... it was she who provided the intellectual and theological foundation and framework for their shared mission ... the source lay with Catherine."¹⁷²

As was noted earlier, George Scott Railton, who joined the Booths in the Christian Mission in 1873, quickly became a part of Booth's inner circle. He was a confidante and advisor to Booth for his lifetime, and his influence on the mission and theology of movement is easy to see in the primary source literature. Railton was a gifted and convincing orator, able to engage the skeptic and philosopher. In addition, he was a linguist, being fluent in five languages and having working knowledge of many others.¹⁷³ Railton rounded out an integrated support network for Booth in the early days of the movement.

The other major theological influence internal to the movement was Samuel Logan Brengle. Brengle never joined The Salvation Army until 1887, but his influence theologically was profound, and by the time of Booth's death in 1912 he had risen to a high place of leadership, and become one of the leading theological voices of the Army.¹⁷⁴ Rightmire writes,

The importance of Samuel Logan Brengle is not to be underestimated. His teaching further institutionalized Salvation Army holiness doctrine and provided the movement with a practical explication of the same. He understood the experience of entire sanctification as essential to God's saving purposes – a work subsequent to regeneration.... Understood as union with Christ, entire sanctification equips the believer for effective service. Brengle defined holiness as “pure love,” and thus the baptism of the Holy Spirit is a “baptism of love”....

Brengle maintained that entire sanctification is available to all believers in this life.... Having experienced the purifying and empowering presence of the Holy Spirit, Brengle consistently urged others to pursue holiness

¹⁷² John Read, *Catherine Booth: Laying the Theological Foundations* (Eugene, O.R.: Pickwick Publications, 2013), 25-6.

¹⁷³ Douglas & Duff, xiv-xv.

¹⁷⁴ For a full treatment of Brengle's life and theology see the following works: R. David Rightmire, *Sanctified Sanity* (Alexandria, V.A.: Crest Books, 2003); William Clark, *Samuel Logan Brengle* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980).

throughout his life and ministry. He believed that this experience was central to the message and mission of the Army.... The impact of Brengle's holiness teaching was far-reaching, both within the Army and in the church at large... his theology served first as the standard for Salvation Army holiness self-understanding and later as the foil for further doctrinal modifications.¹⁷⁵

I have included this lengthy quote from Rightmire to signal that an exhaustive treatment of Salvation Army holiness theology would not be possible without a consideration of Brengle. However, the scope of this thesis does not allow me to give Brengle a full treatment.

3.1 Influences

The theology of the Booths and of the early Salvation Army did not develop in a vacuum free of external influences. There were a number of factors that acted upon them and helped shape development of the theological principles to be outlined in this chapter. Rightmire notes, "They were influenced not only by the pragmatic theology of the movement but also by theological forces existing concurrently in the late nineteenth-century milieu."¹⁷⁶ This chapter will explore these influences in order to round out our picture of the theological landscape of the early Salvation Army.¹⁷⁷

3.1.1 John Wesley – The Grandfather

The Wesleyan roots of The Salvation Army are the most prominent and well known influence upon the movement's theological development. Both William and Catherine developed their theological views within the context of Wesleyan Methodism, particularly the Methodist New Connexion.¹⁷⁸ In Garipey's words, Methodism was the

¹⁷⁵ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 157-8.

¹⁷⁶ Rightmire, *Sacramental Journey*, 97.

¹⁷⁷ It should be noted that this topic within itself could merit a whole chapter, or indeed be the center of an entire study itself, but I will give it only a surface level treatment in order to maintain a focus on the central concepts of this thesis.

¹⁷⁸ Clifton, 47.

“matrix of his [William’s] theology.”¹⁷⁹ The ideal that full salvation was available to every believer, and that a continued growth in grace would be an outcome of that experience, is clearly inherited from Wesley.¹⁸⁰

John Read writes at length to show the degree to which Catherine lines up theologically with Wesley. He is particularly interested in showing how they converge on the matter of the process and nature of sanctification, arguing that, contrary to popular opinion, Catherine aligns much more closely to Wesley on this point than to Pheobe Palmer.¹⁸¹ While acknowledging some differences he states, “In broad outline, and also in much of the detail, Catherine Booth’s doctrine of holiness derives from John Wesley’s.”¹⁸²

None of these are surprising assertions given that both William and Catherine would have considered themselves Methodist for a large portion of their lives. In fact, there is evidence that William felt that, through The Salvation Army, he was bringing Methodism to its fulfillment. According to W.T. Stead it was William Booth’s view that The Salvation Army represented “what Wesleyanism would have come to if it had not ceased to develop when its founder died.”¹⁸³

3.1.2 The Quakers – The Distant Cousin

It has been argued that there are clear lines of continuity between the Quakers and The Salvation Army. W.T. Stead, for instance, maintained that there was an influence of the Quakers on William Booth and the early Army, and considered William

¹⁷⁹ Garipey notes that it was Wesley’s Arminian theology that led the Booths to the conviction that conversion was not an end but a beginning.’Garipey, 12.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁸¹ John Read, 89-92.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 92.

¹⁸³ An avid supporter of Booth and his cause, Stead joined Booth with his own analysis, effectively saying that the Army’s social conscience and its connection of the Gospel with social action, particularly in the care and service of the poor, was an extension and in some ways a completion of Methodist beginnings. Stead, 13.

to be the George Fox of the nineteenth century. He took pains to promote the idea that there were many similarities between The Salvation Army and the “Society of Friends as it existed in the early days.”¹⁸⁴ For Stead, both Booth and Fox were men of intense spiritual conviction and enthusiasm. He noted that both their movements, though centuries apart, shared commitment to social reform, authentic worship, foreign missions, care for the poor as an expression of the Christian faith, and an equal place for women in ministry. At the same time, both men underwent severe opposition and personal attack for their subversive thought and practice.¹⁸⁵ There is a case to be made for Stead’s position.

Rightmire notes that for George Scott Railton too there appeared to be a “direct link” between the Quakers and The Salvation Army, showing “theological continuity and affinity.”¹⁸⁶ In Rightmire’s own opinion, “both movements shifted the basis of religious authority from outward belief to inward experience, from an assent to certain doctrinal truths to experiential reality.”¹⁸⁷ It is also evident that people outside The Salvation Army also saw the Army as a possible continuation or revival of Quakerism. Many Quakers left the Society of Friends to join Booth in his work in London’s East End, and Catherine found a strong following among the Quakers for her preaching and ministry.¹⁸⁸

However, continuity and affinity, or even duplication of principle, does not necessarily equate to influence, and the question could be asked whether the Quakers

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 9-12.

¹⁸⁶ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 95. Railton composed a monograph entitled *George Fox and his Salvation Army 200 Years Ago* in which he drew parallels between the Society of Friends in 1681 and The Salvation Army in 1881. A portion of that text is included in a compilation of his writings published in 1981, *G.S.R.: Selections from Published and Unpublished Writings of George Scott Railton*, ed. John D. Waldron (Toronto: The Salvation Army, 1981), 37-39.

¹⁸⁷ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 94. Frederick Booth-Tucker, a member of the Booth family inner circle, believed, as Rightmire states it, that, “the doctrines of these two spiritual movements were identical.” 95.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 94-95.

were an influence on the theology of the early Army or if the two movements were just very similar in certain respects. There is very little in the literature, and nothing direct, that demonstrates that any doctrinal positions taken could be said to stem from the early Salvationists' understanding of Quakerism.¹⁸⁹ That being said, the number of voices in the early Army that were speaking of the connection between the two groups could have led to influence as doctrine was being solidified, even if it such influence was indirect or secondary.

A review of the 16th century *Inner Light* spiritualists, and Quakerism that was birthed out of those influences, do reveal many strong theological connections. An examination of George Fox highlights, for instance, two particular concepts regarding sanctification that merit mentioning. First of all, Fox taught that the process of sanctification was not only “eschatological in orientation,” but that it has implications in the present that should result in societal and moral transformation.¹⁹⁰ This fits the paradigm of pragmatic holiness closely, and as we will see, it fits the theology of the Booths and early Salvationists as well. The second theological principle of note is that Fox believed that holiness and sanctification did not result from ritual.¹⁹¹ Though William Booth may appear at times to be committed to an almost formulaic process of sanctification, it is clear that in this prescribed approach to seeking full salvation there was a fundamental abandonment of ritual, akin to what Fox calls for. However, it is not possible to be more precise about the question of influence than this, as there simply is no direct evidence in our primary sources for the connection.

¹⁸⁹ Rightmire has some interesting insights on this in regard to the Army's sacramental position, *Ibid.*, 96-98. It also would appear that the Booths and their cohort did not have an issue with printing literature or espousing ideas that were not originally their own without giving credit to the originators. This is the case with the writings of some of the American Revivalists such as Palmer. *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 87.

3.1.3 Millennialism – A Good Time Coming!

A more interesting question in many ways is opened up by the idea of millennialism. In the August 1890 edition of *All The World*, William Booth wrote an article entitled, *The Millenium [sic]; or, The Ultimate Triumph of Salvation Army Principles*.¹⁹² He begins by commenting on how there is a general expectation that society is on a growth pattern toward utopian ideals of “socialistic blessedness,” that will be ushered in by human and governmental progress. He continues by saying that such a time is coming, but that it will be ushered in not by human means but by the return of Christ. He goes on to explain:

We Salvationists, however, expect it [the reign of Christ] to be preceded by further and mightier outpourings of the Holy Ghost than any yet known, and reckon that the war will, thereby, be carried on with greater vigor.... About these things however, we have neither time nor disposition to argue. Enough for us to know that there is a very general concurrence of opinion that there is a good time coming....¹⁹³

Before exploring this further it may be beneficial to return to Bosch’s categories of missiology as considered in the previous chapter. Bosch takes time to explore the different categories of Millennialism, drawing the main distinction between pre- and post-millennialism. For Bosch pre-millennialism defined a belief in the imminent return of Christ to remove evil from the world and establish the Kingdom of God, so that Christians had the role and responsibility to spread the gospel around the world in order to prepare for Christ return, and even speed its arrival.¹⁹⁴ In this mindset society is on a path of steady and irreversible degradation and the return of Christ is the only solution to this downward spiral.¹⁹⁵ The focus in evangelism was on a personal

¹⁹² William Booth, “The Millenium [sic]; or, The Ultimate Triumph,” *All The World* VI, no. 8 (August 1890).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 337.

¹⁹⁴ Bosch, 323.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 325.

individual decision to turn from sin and to be “saved from the world.”¹⁹⁶ At first consideration, given what we have already covered in a previous chapter on the early Army methodology and motivation, it would seem that they were very much pre-millennialist. However, as we will see shortly this was simply not the case.

According to Bosch, post-millennialists of the period were motivated by a conviction that the transformation of society would come *before* the return of Christ. Instead of being concerned with escaping a corrupt world, post-millennialists were concerned with leveraging the transforming power of the Church to transform society so as to build Christ’s kingdom in the present age.¹⁹⁷ In this paradigm, Christian mission equates to social transformation.¹⁹⁸ Bosch also notes that the prevailing post-millennial perspective was that natural effort should replace the supernatural; that grace should supersede judgement; that society should be transformed above the individual; and that salvation be seen at least in part as a means to a better life now in this world.¹⁹⁹ Again, we have seen enough in our study to this point to know that these characteristics do not line up with early Army belief and practice. However, Webb notes that although in some religious movements there was a shift toward “*dispensational pre-millennial thinking*,” the Army’s roots were very much post-millennial.²⁰⁰ It would seem, then, that the early Army, while holding a post-millennial hope, operated in a pre-millennial fashion, existing in a sort of hybrid millennial paradigm.

Returning to Booth, it is clear that he saw The Salvation Army as playing a key role in ushering the new age of God’s reign in the world. After describing the principles of the Millennium, William notes in the article mentioned that “the practice

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 327.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 330.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 328-329.

²⁰⁰ Geoff Webb & Kalie Webb, *Authentic “fair dinkum” Holiness* (Melbourne: The Salvation Army Australia South Territory, 2007), 206.

and propagation of these principles is the work of The Salvation Army.”²⁰¹ William writes,

The most effective methods of advancing the happiness of mankind, and bringing the Millennial [*sic*] reign, must be the extension of the rule of God in the hearts and lives of men.... The only way to do this is to bring that individual into harmony with God; to make him a true man – empty him of selfishness and fill him with love.²⁰²

As this passage points out, for William it was holiness in the life of the believer that was key to bringing the Millennial reign of Christ into being. Webb supports this, stating that Booth believed that corporate holiness was important because only a holy people could “usher in” the Kingdom of God.²⁰³ William was of the simple conviction that “hard work and holiness [would] succeed anywhere.”²⁰⁴

Again, however, there is no direct evidence that any such early Army post-millennial outlook influenced the formation of its later theology in any extensive way. What we are considering here are only literary fragments. There is, however, support for the idea that the Booths valued Millennial ideals and possibilities, saw the Army as an instrument in the plan of God to bring it about, and believed holiness of life to be an essential requirement to be effectively used to these ends. Thus it may very well be that the influence of Millennialism was not so much upon the formation of doctrine but instead upon practice. Undoubtedly a part of William and Catherine’s embrace and insistence upon holiness of life was motivated by their desire to see the Millennium ushered in.

3.1.4 American Revivalism – The Extended Family

Turning now to Revivalism we find ourselves on firmer ground, as Gariepy writes, American Revivalism was the “dominant influence” in William’s life and

²⁰¹ William Booth, *op. cit.*, 343.

²⁰² Booth, *op. cit.*

²⁰³ Webb, 206.

²⁰⁴ Stead, 78.

in turn “gave him his methodology and mission.”²⁰⁵ The influence was profound, and did much to shape his movement in the early days. Murdoch goes so far as to see The Salvation Army as “Revivalism’s most lasting institutional legacy.”²⁰⁶ We need, therefore, to take some care in giving an account of it, and to this end, there were several key figures from American Revivalism who had a profound and formative effect on both William and Catherine, and in turn on the early Salvation Army. The list includes, in particular, James Caughey, Charles Finney, Asa Mahan, and Pheobe Palmer.

Caughey was a major influence on the young William Booth and then in later years on Catherine as well. This Irish-born Methodist, who was active mainly in the United States, came into contact with William when conducting a campaign in the United Kingdom, and an eventual relationship would develop between the three evangelists.²⁰⁷ Caughey’s influence went beyond the confines of personal relationship, however, as he did have a significant theological influence. Rightmire notes that Caughey preached “full salvation” everywhere he went,²⁰⁸ and that his campaign in Nottingham in 1846 “awakened” a hunger in William for “purity of heart.”²⁰⁹ Caughey was the first of the revivalists to stress the importance of the act of faith in the holiness process to William. He affirmed a connection between holiness and atonement, and stressed the need of ongoing growth in grace and dependence on the blood of Christ after full salvation was obtained.²¹⁰ James Caughey would be one of a number of revivalists whose writings William would later reprint in early Christian Mission and Salvation Army publications.²¹¹

²⁰⁵ Garipey, 12-13.

²⁰⁶ Murdoch, *Origins of The Salvation Army*, 19.

²⁰⁷ Catherine recounts how in 1858, upon visiting with the Booths, Caughey baptized their newborn son. Melyvn Jones, *That Contentious Doctrine: Studies in the History of Holiness Teaching* (London: The Salvation Army, 2015), 238.

²⁰⁸ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 121.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 128.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 121.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 105.

It could be argued that the influence of Caughey was greater than that of other American revivalists. Though, as we will see, the influence of others was indeed profound, it was the teaching of Caughey that set the young William on the path with a hunger for more. It was Caughey who influenced William's decision to become a full time minister, and also primed his ministry toolkit with revivalist methodology.²¹²

This groundwork was amply built upon by Charles Finney. A Professor of Theology at Oberlin College in America, the "New School Presbyterian evangelist"²¹³ profoundly impacted the Booths. Finney's *Lectures on Revival* became a near sacred text for them, and they emulated him in many missiological matters, implementing what Rightmire calls "Finneyan"²¹⁴ measures. Finney's impact was also very much theological. Read notes the connection between Catherine and Finney, and quotes Booth-Tucker concerning this, "He was a theologian after Mrs. Booth's own heart.... [She] studied his writings perhaps more than those of any other author...."²¹⁵

A number of theological points are worth mentioning. Finney emphasized the role of the will in the process of sanctification, maintaining that the believer has a responsibility in the process.²¹⁶ This was a view he shared with Asa Mahan, the President of Oberlin College, who himself was a notable influence on the Booths and their circle.²¹⁷ Mahan taught that the "way of holiness" was not merely, as Rightmire puts it, "a matter

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 106.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.

²¹⁵ Booth-Tucker, *The Life of Catherine Booth*, Vol. II, 123-24. Quoted by John Read, 92-3. Her admiration for Finney is illustrated in a comment from a letter written to William in August 1853 that Rightmire notes in his comments on this subject. She writes, "I wish I could talk an hour with Finney. I should like to see him if he ever comes to England again." Catherine Booth, *Booth Papers* (London: British Library), 145. Quoted by Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 92.

²¹⁶ Rightmire, *Sacramental Journey*, 106.

²¹⁷ The influence of Mahan, and the respect the Booth's had for his theological views, is displayed in the fact that Mahan was invited to be the principal speaker at the 1876 conference of the then Christian Mission. Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army; Vol. 1*, 209.

of mental assent,” but very much required the “exercise of the will.”²¹⁸ Finney also would say that the key to regeneration was a prerogative of the will of the believer. This in the sense that the work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration is fundamentally moral, whereas the action is taken by the believer who determines to submit by an act of his or her will to God.²¹⁹ We will shortly see these threads in aspects of the early Army theology of sanctification, particularly in the claim that an act of the will in consecration, sacrifice, and action is required to propagate holiness.

Finney also taught that there was no middle ground in sanctification, a sentiment we see repeated in early Salvationist theology; it was all or nothing, and there were no holding patterns in the process.²²⁰ For Finney, as for the Booths, sanctification was a promised possibility and the central doctrine of Christian living. Though Finney was not the primary source of the claim, his voice was one of several joining Wesley in reinforcing this ideal. On the subject Finney writes, “I was satisfied that the doctrine of sanctification in this life, and entire sanctification, in the sense that it was the privilege of Christians to live without sin, was a doctrine taught in the Bible, and that abundant means were provided for the securing of that attainment.”²²¹

The final major influence from the Revivalist camp was Pheobe Palmer. Palmer and her husband were “prime movers of the developing holiness revival within Methodism,”²²² and the Tuesday holiness meetings that Palmer took over from her sister in 1837 grew immensely in popularity bringing Palmer’s influence along with it in proportion.²²³ The consensus is that Palmer had a deep and weighty influence on the Booths. Read states that the fact of her influence is “beyond doubt.”²²⁴

²¹⁸ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 106.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 109.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 108

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 107.

²²² *Ibid.*, 111.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 112.; Jones, 237.

²²⁴ John Read, 74.

Palmer is also credited with being a key influence upon Catherine in taking on a public speaking ministry as a woman.²²⁵ In more than one way she was, as Read describes it, a “catalytic influence”²²⁶ on Catherine. Catherine wrote in 1861 that she would be “eternally grateful that [she had] read Mrs. Palmer’s books.”²²⁷ As we will see, it was also Palmer’s “shorter way” to holiness, based upon her “altar theology,”²²⁸ which appears to have been the defining influence upon both William and Catherine in their understanding of “full salvation” or sanctification. The fact that William counselled Catherine using Palmer’s formulaic approach to sanctification²²⁹ shows that Palmer was likely as strong an influence upon William as she was on Catherine. There is evidence that the Booths became very connected with the Palmers overall. A letter survives in which Palmer comments on the Booths’ decision to leave the Methodist New Connexion, that then continued by asking the Booths to speak at a meeting that the Palmers were no longer able to conduct due to illness.²³⁰

The Booths believed that sanctification could be claimed immediately by faith, and this, Rhemick writes, is a result of Palmer’s influence.²³¹ Indeed she pioneered a focus on the immediacy and completeness of the “second blessing” that could be received by “faith and consecration.”²³² Rightmire quotes and summarizes Palmer from her work *Way of Holiness*: ‘By placing the sacrifice of full consecration upon the altar, the offering, “by virtue of the altar,” becomes holy and acceptable. Continuance in sanctification (“the way of holiness”) requires a “continuous act” of faith and consecration.’²³³ The spirit of this statement and even some of the language is very similar

²²⁵ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 105.

²²⁶ John Read, 83.

²²⁷ Jones, 237.

²²⁸ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 112.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 129.

²³⁰ Jones, 237.

²³¹ Rhemick, 88.

²³² Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 111.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 114.

to the 9th doctrine of The Salvation Army, which states that “continuance in a state of salvation depends upon continual obedient faith in Christ.”²³⁴

A key part of this continuous state of sanctification for Palmer was the act of testifying to the work of God in one’s life, in order to retain and perpetuate it.²³⁵ It is this point that John Read uses to argue against the view that Catherine Booth’s holiness theology was based on Palmer’s. Read prefers to say that though Palmer was a major influence on Catherine, her theology of sanctification, and in turn the theology of the early Army, its outlook was nevertheless more based upon Wesley and other Methodists that followed him.²³⁶ Read writes, “Catherine does not insist on testimony as a necessary third step.”²³⁷ It is true that we do not have direct evidence that this was Catherine’s conviction, but we do have strong evidence that it was William’s. In outlining some guidelines for continuance in full salvation William says that once you obtain full salvation you should confess the reality. He gives a clear call to testify about the work that has transpired in the believer’s life, instructing, “confess it to your comrades at every reasonable opportunity.”²³⁸ But that aside, for Catherine the need to testify could be equated with her need to submit to the action of answering the call to preach, a reality we will consider shortly.²³⁹ Both are actions solidifying the cycle of sanctification. Whether Read is right or not, the influence of Palmer cannot be denied, and a proper understanding of early Salvation Army theology is not possible without taking Palmer’s influence into account.

²³⁴ Sandall, *op. cit.*, 288-9.

²³⁵ Righthire, *Ibid.*, 113.

²³⁶ John Read, 74-84.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 75.

²³⁸ William Booth, *Purity of Heart* (London: Salvation Books, 2007), 63-64.

²³⁹ See John Read, 75. This account will be explored in a later section of this chapter.

3.2 The Doctrines

This introduction to some of the key players and influences in early Salvation Army theological development helps to set the stage for a consideration of early Army doctrine. But, as noted earlier, outlining a systematic theology based on primary sources, particularly from William Booth, is a challenging task. As Hill notes, “Booth was not a systematic thinker and produced no systematic theology,” leading to his theology having to be “pieced together” from his writings and accounts of his life and ministry.²⁴⁰ The closest The Salvation Army comes to a system of theology is a handbook of doctrine, which was first produced in 1881 under the title of *The Doctrines and Discipline of The Salvation Army*.²⁴¹ Multiple versions followed in the early years, under modified titles, but the documents themselves were far from a true systematic treatment of belief and thought. The early editions, produced, edited, and likely predominantly written by Booth himself, are characterized by a prevailing pragmatism and push toward application for mission. Take, for example, the following excerpts from the 1891 version entitled *The Doctrines of The Salvation Army*. In section 7.31 the question is asked “What other passages have you to quote against these doctrines [election]?” The reply is “Half the Bible. But especially those passages which represent the yearning pity of God for perishing men.” This is followed up by the quoting of Luke 13:34 and Luke 19:41-42.²⁴² Booth was not looking to lay out a systematic theology here, but instead a practical understanding of what Salvationists were to believe, say, and practice.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Hill, 160.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 165.

²⁴² *The Doctrines of The Salvation Army: Prepared for the Training Homes* (London: S.A. HQ, 1891), 36. Elsewhere in section 8.15 the question reads “Are the heathen as favourably circumstanced for obtaining mercy as those who have the Gospel?” to which the reply reads, “Certainly not. Therefore it is our duty to get at them as quickly as possible.” *Ibid.*, 41.

²⁴³As one present day Salvation Army historian puts it, “The Salvation Army has tried to keep its doctrinal teaching simple and uncomplicated by what it considers needless intellectual enquiry. The nature of its early membership... meant that all doctrines except those deemed absolutely essential – salvation and sanctification – were underplayed.” Moyles, 237.

In the place of a systematic theology Booth adopted eleven stated beliefs, or doctrines, to guide the work and belief of the movement. The eleven doctrines were simplified theological statements meant to facilitate mission effectiveness.²⁴⁴ General Fredrick Coutts, the 8th General of The Salvation Army, reflecting on the theological development of the early Army, notes that “for the militant mission on which [the Army] set out... its doctrinal impedimenta had to go into the smallest of knapsacks.”²⁴⁵

These eleven doctrines (Appendix C) were legislated by an act of the British Parliament as a part of the 1878 founding Deed Poll of The Salvation Army,²⁴⁶ and have remained unchanged up to the present.²⁴⁷ They did, however, undergo development prior to 1878. The doctrines have their origins in the theology of the *Methodist New Connexion*, which was Booth’s last formal denominational tie before the inception of the soon to be Salvation Army in 1865. As we have noted, Booth’s theology was heavily influenced by Methodism. It is clear that Booth had no theological issues with New Connexion and it was matters of governance that caused the Booths to leave them,²⁴⁸ so it is not surprising that Booth reached back to those roots doctrinally.

There is, however, no direct line of succession from the New Connexion to The Salvation Army or even to the earlier Christian Mission. When Booth began his work in the East End of London he was a part of the *East London Christian Revival Society* which adopted seven doctrinal statements, and it was from these that Booth would develop the eleven doctrines of the Army. The extra statements came from

²⁴⁴ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 74.

²⁴⁵ Frederick Coutts. “The Smallest of Knapsacks,” *The Officer* (November 1981): 504. Quoted by Hill, 157.

²⁴⁶ For the full text of the Foundation Deed Poll (1878) see Sandall, *op. cit.*, 287-91.

²⁴⁷ The doctrines remained an Act of Parliament until the revised Salvation Army Act of 1980 when the British Parliament said that law should not constitute what Salvationists believe, and that it was up to The Salvation Army to do that with the freedom to make adjustments outside of an Act of Parliament. So, since 1980 the doctrines have been included as a schedule of The Salvation Army Act (1980) allowing the organization freedom to make changes according to its internal ecclesiastical structures and procedures.

²⁴⁸ Rhemick, 29.

splitting one statement from the Revival Society into two parts and adding three more statements that mirror very closely doctrines from the New Connexion.²⁴⁹

Though a case can be made that all the doctrinal statements point the adherent toward a different aspect of sanctification and holiness theology,²⁵⁰ for the purposes of this study, I will focus primarily on only one of the eleven doctrines. Doctrine ten states, “We believe that it is the privilege of all believers to be wholly sanctified, and that their whole spirit and soul and body may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.” We will take this statement as the mooring point for Salvation Army holiness teaching, as my effort and goal will not be to necessarily dismantle or deconstruct and then reconstruct this statement in any way, but instead to consider the theology and influences that the broad strokes of this statement represent.

Booth wrote in 1902 that, “from my youth to this very day that subject of holiness has always had an unspeakable charm for me... [and] the charm is as fresh to me today as ever.”²⁵¹ A review of early Salvation Army theology makes it very clear that holiness as a doctrine and practice was not optional for William and Catherine.²⁵² Writing in 1887, George Scott Railton stated its prominence and purpose very clearly, “From the beginning, one of the most important features of the work has been the teaching of Holiness, as a pure and heavenly state, which can be attained by a costermonger, or anybody else, and enjoyed in perfect peace.”²⁵³ Of particular interest is what Railton says next: “Only such hearts can be equal to the Divine toil of raising the most guilty and

²⁴⁹ Rhemick, 30.

For a very helpful overview of succession of doctrinal statements see Hill’s adaptation of Rhemick’s comparisons. Hill, 162-3.

²⁵⁰ Ray Harris makes this case in his work *Convictions Matter: The Function of Salvation Army Doctrines* (Toronto, O.N.: The Salvation Army Canada and Bermuda Territory, 2014).

²⁵¹ William Booth, *op. cit.*, 55.

²⁵² Rightmire notes that Catherine described it as “the ‘cardinal doctrine’ of the movement, [and] the ‘secret of its conquering power.’” Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 130.

²⁵³ *Twenty-One Years*, 35.

miserable to a similar life of love and self-sacrifice for the salvation of the rest.”²⁵⁴ This aspect of their holiness doctrine will factor into our study shortly.

What did the early Army believe concerning holiness and sanctification? Since a full answer cannot be given within present constraints, we can focus particularly on the documented understanding of what William and Catherine Booth believed, practiced, and taught on the subject. Even this would likely prove too broad an endeavor, so I will further curtail my exploration and comments to content concerning my arguments to show they practiced and taught what I am calling a non-linear pragmatic understanding and application of sanctification.

There are many terms the Booths used to describe the state of sanctification in a believer’s life. These were used interchangeably by the Booths, and across the early Salvation Army in general. In an early doctrine study book entitled *The Salvation Army Directory*, holiness is directly referred to as a “clean heart” which the text defines as “a heart so cleansed, indwelt and kept by the Holy Spirit, that sinful feelings and desires find no place in it.” Further it states, “a Clean Heart is sometimes called Holiness, Full Salvation, Entire Sanctification, the Blessing, or Perfect Love.”²⁵⁵ “Full Salvation” was a term used heavily by both William and Catherine, carrying with it the connotation that sanctification was, in reality, the fulfilment of redemptive work of Christ. Catherine often also used the term “baptism of the Spirit,” though writers are divided as to whether this was for Catherine a metaphor as opposed to a doctrinal interpretation.²⁵⁶ One of William’s preferred terms was “purity of heart,” and he would talk and write at length about cognates such as “purity,” “purifying faith,” and the like.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ *The Salvation Army Directory* (London: SP&S, n.d.), 78.

²⁵⁶ The phrase is not used consistently by Catherine in describing the process of holiness, but at the same time Pentecostal language is clearly important to her and the Biblical account of Pentecost seems to have been a foundation to her understanding of the possibility of sanctification for the believer. John Read, 78-79.

²⁵⁷ This will be reinforced when we consider his collection of letters by the same name, first published in 1902. William Booth, *Purity of Heart*.

Throughout his lifetime, William rarely described his views on holiness and sanctification in exactly the same way twice, often changing terminology and metaphors, presumably to make the teaching fit his context or that of his intended audience. This aside, both he and Catherine followed a general line of thought that I will now try to retrace so as to assemble a coherent picture. I will consider the following three categories, the possibility, the process, and the product.

3.2.1 The Possibility and Process

Holiness to the Lord is to us a fundamental truth; it stands in the front rank of our doctrines. We inscribe it upon our banners. It is with us in no shape or form an open debatable question as to whether God can sanctify *wholly*, or whether Jesus does save His people from their sins. In the estimation of The Salvation Army that is settled for ever; and any Officer who did not hold and proclaim the ability of Jesus Christ to save His people to the uttermost from sin and from sinning, I should consider out of place amongst us.²⁵⁸

For both William and Catherine Christian living without the sanctifying indwelling of the Holy Spirit was considered worthless.²⁵⁹ Booth believed that holiness was of utmost value and importance to the “Christian Church, to the entire Salvation Army, nay, to the wide, wide world.”²⁶⁰ This conviction coupled with a traditional Wesleyan belief that a second work of grace was needed in the life of the believer,²⁶¹ led to a theology strongly committed to the possibility or, more accurately, the promise of sanctification for the Christian.

Doctrine 10 speaks plainly to this, stating, “We believe that it is the privilege of *all believers* to be wholly sanctified...” (emphasis mine). Catherine was as

²⁵⁸ William Booth, *Salvation Soldierly*, 85-6.

²⁵⁹ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 144.

²⁶⁰ William Booth, *Purity of Heart*, 13.

²⁶¹ Booth wrote definitely on this in *Purity of Heart*, “But here I may be asked the question, ‘Does not God bestow this wonderful deliverance from sin on the soul at conversion? Does He not sanctify and make it good and holy at the same time that He pardons its sins? No, I reply; although a great work is done for the soul at conversion, its deliverance from sin at that time is not complete.’” William Booth, 14.

strong as her husband on the subject, at one point she stated that, “We are told over and over again that God wants His people to be pure, and THAT PURITY IN THEIR HEARTS IS THE VERY CENTRAL IDEA AND END AND PURPOSE OF THE GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST.... The will of God is your sanctification.”²⁶² William wrote in 1877, “I simply insist that it [holiness] is described in the Bible.”²⁶³ Because for Booth holiness was at the heart of the scriptures, he believed every believer was called to it.²⁶⁴

William Booth laid out eight assurances of sanctification in a letter entitled *Purity – Is it Possible for Me to Obtain this Treasure?*²⁶⁵ The first two are more of action steps but he includes them in his list. 1) Don’t doubt “God’s ABILITY to make and keep you from sin.” His main point in this regard is that if God is able to redeem you from your sin and eventually enable you to live for eternity in Heaven, then we can be sure that he is able to keep a believer from sin in this life.²⁶⁶ 2) Don’t doubt God’s “WILLINGNESS to do it.” He asserts that this must logically follow the first point and it must be “equally plain” to the reader “that Jesus Christ is not only able, but perfectly willing....”²⁶⁷ 3) “The very nature of God proves his willingness to make you holy.” Booth argues that if God himself by nature is Holy, then there should be nothing he would like to do more than to make us, His creations, holy as well.²⁶⁸ 4) “God tells us, in plain language, in the Bible, that he wants to make you holy.” He makes his case by quoting, among other passages, 1 Peter 4:19.²⁶⁹

²⁶² Catherine Booth, “Addresses on Holiness I,” in *The Privilege of All Believers*, ed. John D. Waldron (Toronto, O.N.: The Salvation Army Canada and Bermuda, 1981), 157.

²⁶³ William Booth, “Holiness,” in *The Privilege of All Believers*, 11-12.

²⁶⁴ William Booth, “Holiness,” in *Boundless Salvation: The Shorter Writings*, ed. Andrew M. Eason and Roger J. Green (New York: Peter Lang, 2014), 73.

²⁶⁵ William Booth, *Purity of Heart*, 31-38.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 34.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Booth's fifth point continues in simple but effective logic. 5) Christ came and lived, suffered, and died, to make his people holy. William claims that "this was the main object of his life and death, and resurrection." He quotes 1 John 3:8, Galatians 1:4, and Ephesians 5:27, asserting with Paul that "Jesus gave himself for his church... that he might sanctify and cleanse us."²⁷⁰ 6) God's love for his children proves it. Booth reminds the reader that God is the epitome of love, and that being the case; he is not willing to see us bound to the curse of sin.²⁷¹ 7) "God has promised you a clean heart, if you will seek." Reverting back to somewhat of an action step, he reminds the readers that holiness is possible if they will commit to the action of seeking it.²⁷² The importance of this point cannot be overlooked as it is a major component of the process of sanctification that we will discuss next. Then finally, according to Booth, we can be sure of the promise of sanctification because, 8) God has done the "work" for so many other believers both past and present. William pulls on the tradition and experience of the Church as proof of God's willingness and desire to sanctify his people. He writes,

You are as welcome to wash away your inward iniquities, in the fountain opened for sin and uncleanness, as any other son or daughter of Adam. Oh, he will be delighted for you to step into the blessed stream at once!²⁷³

We need to take note of the immediate invitation at the end of this quote; it speaks to Booth's view of the process of sanctification. In addition to the call to action in the previous point, we also now see an assurance of immediacy, which we will discover was a contentious issue for some.

There is not a whole lot more that needs to be established here. The Booths' convictions were very much in line with the majority of Wesleyans of their time. What is worth noting here, though, is that the belief that holiness was an obtainable promise to every believer became an integral element of the missiology of the early

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

movement. This in fact provides a clear foundation for my argument that a pragmatic understanding of holiness was the driving force of the early Salvation Army. Holiness was possible for every believer and consequently every believer was expected to earnestly seek the experience. As we will see shortly, when we consider the Booths' beliefs concerning the product of sanctification, they viewed the experience of sanctification as a necessary part of the mission. They reasoned that the blessing was available to everyone and so everyone could be expected, or even counted on, to obtain it, and consequently to live a sacrificial lifestyle for the sake of the movement. This is what they believed accompanied the spiritual experience.²⁷⁴

While William and Catherine's beliefs around the possibility of sanctification reflected the status quo in much of Methodism, their views on the process at times diverged from the establishment. They themselves did not claim the experience of holiness themselves until 1861,²⁷⁵ but the process of sanctification was a constant topic of discussion among William and Catherine. The assurance of the possibility of personal holiness was a key factor in the understanding of the process for both of the Booths; they were convinced of the possibility of a holy life and so grappled with the discrepancy between their belief and practical experience. The following is an excerpt from a letter from Catherine to her parents on February 11, 1861:

My mind has been absorbed in the pursuit of holiness... On Thursday and Friday I was totally absorbed in the subject and laid aside almost everything else and spent the chief part of the day in reading and prayer, and in trying to believe for it. On Thursday afternoon at tea time I was well-nigh discouraged and felt my old besetment, irritability; and the devil told me I should never get it, and so I might as well give up at once.... On Friday I struggled through the day until William joined me in prayer. We had a blessed season and while he was saying 'Lord, we open our hearts to receive Thee,' that word was spoken to my soul: 'Behold I stand at the door and knock. If any man hear My voice, and open unto Me, I will come in and sup with him'.... William said, "Don't you lay all on the altar?" I

²⁷⁴ William wrote, "If you are a holy man or woman you will help forward the war, and spread the glory of Christ's Name far more effectively than you will if you are not fully saved. Holy people are the great need of the world. I am sure they are one of the great wants of the Army." William Booth, *op. cit.*, 36-37.

²⁷⁵ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 128.

said, “I am sure I do.” Then he said, “And isn’t the altar holy?” I replied in the language of the Holy Ghost, “The altar is most holy, and whatsoever toucheth it is holy.” “Then,” said he, “are you not holy?” I replied with my heart full of emotion and faith, “Oh, I think I am.” Immediately the word was given me to confirm my faith, ‘Now are ye clean through the word which I have spoken to you.’ And I took hold I did not feel much rapturous joy, but perfect peace.²⁷⁶

I chose to include this quote at length because it highlights the struggle with sanctification the Booths experienced, and also their thoughts surrounding the process.²⁷⁷

Though the Booths themselves took decades to reach this point, it is interesting that they preached and taught the possibility of a present sanctification that was available to the believer immediately as a result of consecration, sacrifice, and faith.²⁷⁸ It is this belief that we see outlined in Catherine’s testimony quoted earlier. The account is often quoted in support of the idea that William and Catherine were heavily influenced by Phoebe Palmer and her “altar theology” and “shorter way” of sanctification.²⁷⁹ Webb notes that, “Catherine Booth, who was shaped by Phoebe Palmer... would insist on the immediacy of the crisis of holiness, and that it should be claimed by faith as an essential part of the Christian life.... There was... an embrace of altar theology.”²⁸⁰

It is clear that the Booths believed in an attainable experience of holiness; as noted before they clearly preached that the sanctification of the believer was the will of

²⁷⁶ Catherine Booth, “Letter to Her Parents: 11 February 1861,” in *Booth Papers*.

²⁷⁷ There are a number of other excerpts from Catherine’s journals and letters that express her desire for the blessing of holiness and at the same time allude to the inner struggle she was enduring seeking that blessing. John Read, 62-63.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 64.

²⁷⁹ These two concepts are key in Palmer’s understanding of holiness. She preached and taught a “shorter way” to holiness, which promised the possibility of immediate sanctification in stark contrast to the life long journey being taught by the mainstream. This shorter way was made possible through a practice of “altar theology,” which taught that sanctification was achieved when, in obedience to the Holy Spirit, a seeker place themselves figuratively upon the altar of God as a willing sacrifice.

²⁸⁰ Webb, 206.

God for each Christian.²⁸¹ What they taught could perhaps be seen as a modified version of Palmer's "shorter way." For the Booths the process was both simple and profound, calculated in so much as there were definable steps one should take, and available in the immediate if the process was followed.²⁸² Rhemick writes that,

In its formative years, The Salvation Army... believed that God wanted his people pure and holy and that he had promised to make them so if they only believed, asked, and by faith received. In one of the earliest issues of *The Officer*, a kind of "four spiritual laws of sanctification" was discussed. These "laws" were:

1. That we believe in its attainability here and now.
2. Sacrifice being essential that it be real, complete, absolute.
3. The acceptance of the Divine Cleanser and Keeper by the exercise of faith.
4. Resolution to follow Christ and walk in the light of God.²⁸³

Much of William's writing on the attainment of holiness is very process oriented. One of his most famous articles is known as *A Ladder to Holiness*.²⁸⁴ This piece articulates very clearly what William believed to be the process of sanctification. He gives seven steps, with commentary, to obtaining sanctification. They are as follows:

First Step: I am a Child of God
 Second Step: I know, with Sorrow, That Sin Still Exists in My Heart and Life
 Third Step: I Believe that Jesus Christ Can Save Me from All Sin
 Fourth Step: I Now Choose, with All My Heart, to Be Holy
 Fifth Step: I Renounce All Known Sin and All Doubtful Things
 Sixth Step: I Consecrate Myself Fully to the Service of God
 Seventh Step: I Believe That God for Jesus Christ's Sake Cleanses Me Now²⁸⁵

²⁸¹ Catherine Booth, "Addresses on Holiness I", 157.

²⁸² Booth wrote at the end of one of his letters on holiness, "Meanwhile, wait no longer for a full salvation." William Booth, *op. cit.*, 24. Elsewhere he writes, "Away to Jesus, then, and let Him do the work, and do it now." William Booth, *Salvation Soldier*, 91.

²⁸³ "Subject Notes," *The Officer* I, no. 3 (March 1893), 88. Quoted in Rhemick, 87-88.

²⁸⁴ William Booth, *A Ladder to Holiness* (London: SP&S, n.d.). Reprinted in *Boundless Salvation*, 101-105.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 102-105.

In the preface to this work Booth states plainly, “if this course be followed in sincerity, the desired blessing of a clean heart will be attained.”²⁸⁶ The same concepts were laid out by Catherine in one of her sermons on holiness,²⁸⁷ showing that she shared her husband’s convictions or perhaps that he shared hers. What is evident is a shared emphasis on sacrifice and consecration that they encapsulate in their concept of faith.

It could be argued that what the Booths did was to take Palmer’s notion of “naked faith” and expand and deepen it, filling in some of the gaps. John Read, who feels that the influence of Palmer on the Booths, particularly Catherine, is overstated, notes that, ‘Catherine did not teach that “naked faith in the naked word” was sufficient.’²⁸⁸ According to Read, what Catherine did teach was the need of the assurance or experience of the Holy Spirit in the believer’s life to confirm the blessing of full salvation.²⁸⁹ It is this experience of the Spirit that we see heralded in the Booths’ description of consecration and faith. As we will see, the experience of the Spirit will manifest pragmatically in the life and actions of the believer.

From this vantage point it begins to become clear how early Army theology exemplified pragmatic holiness, and the relevance here of a non-linear model of sanctification. Both William and Catherine state the following conditions, faith and consecration, as the main blocks to believers entering into full salvation. Catherine wrote:

People are constantly saying they long for it [holiness], and they wish they could get it. Will you let God do it? Will you put away the depths of unbelief which are at the bottom of all your difficulty? People really do

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 101-102.

²⁸⁷ For the sake of economy I have chosen not to include the text of Catherine’s address, but it is noteworthy as it expresses this notion of process in a very tactile fashion, typical of Catherine’s writing and more so her sermons. For the full text see, Catherine Booth, “Addresses on Holiness II,” in *The Privilege of All Believers*, 160-4.

²⁸⁸ John Read, 76. Section 18.14 of the 1891 doctrine book supports this suspicion of naked faith. It states, “Is it right to tell a man seeking purity that if he believes that the cleansing work is done it is done?” To which the answer given is, “No....” *The Doctrines*, 82.

²⁸⁹ John Read, 76.

not believe that God can do it for them, and that is at the bottom of their difficulties.²⁹⁰

Seemingly in contradiction to Palmer's concept of naked faith, William writes in *Purity of Heart* that sanctification is not by knowledge:

What number of my dear soldiers love to read, and hear, and talk, and sing about holiness! They are never tired of the subject. They know all about it, but stop short of the *faith which alone can bring them into its enjoyment*.²⁹¹

There was a foundational belief that the individual believer was to be an active participant in the process. William wrote:

Now you ask – ‘What must I do to be pure?’ and in reply I say that there is certainly something to be done, and something that you will have to do yourselves... there are two forces or powers that have to unite in the purification of the heart... God and man are partners in the transaction.... [T]here is something to be done on your side, and chief part of that something is the exercise of faith.²⁹²

This exercising of faith is captured in two ideals, the aforementioned consecration and also sacrifice. William wrote in an 1880 edition of the *War Cry*, “There cannot be full salvation without full surrender. God can neither save nor keep what is not given to him.”²⁹³

The early Army, in short, firmly believed that the path to sanctification lay through active surrender, and forsaking this condition or step derailed the process. *The Doctrines of The Salvation Army* asks the question, “What is the great mistake made by many with regard to Consecration?” In answer it states, “They pretend to give God

²⁹⁰ Catherine Booth, “Addresses on Holiness I”, 158.

²⁹¹ William Booth, *Purity of Heart*, 43, emphasis mine.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 40-41.

²⁹³ William Booth, “Purity by Faith,” *War Cry* (May 22, 1880). Quoted in Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 131. Elsewhere William writes, “Before we go to our knees to receive the Baptism of Fire, let me beg of you to see to it that your souls are in harmony with the will and purpose of the Holy Spirit whom you seek. See to it that the channel of communication by which the baptism must be received is open.” William Booth, *Salvation Soldierly*, 148.

all...but it is only in imagination, in sentiment. It is not real.”²⁹⁴ This 1891 doctrine book continues and makes the connection from consecration and surrender to sacrifice, “Then a true Consecration, or Surrender, has in it the nature of a Sacrifice? Decidedly so. It is a real sacrifice. It is the presentation or giving away of all we have to God.”²⁹⁵ This is a banner that Catherine Booth would wave boldly in her writings and addresses.

Catherine saw self-denial and sacrifice going hand in hand. There had to be humility, and she wrote the following in reference to seekers who simply seem not to be able to enter into the blessing, “They will not come down from their pride and high-mightiness. But God will not be revealed to such souls, though they cry and pray themselves to skeletons, and go mourning all their days.”²⁹⁶ And beyond humility there had to be surrender. She thus adds, “They dare not venture their souls on this divine power, because there is back in their consciousness some difficulty, some obstacle, something which is only known to themselves and the Holy Ghost, which prevents them doing this.”²⁹⁷ Her admonitions to sacrifice were strong and clear, full salvation could not be achieved without it.²⁹⁸ In commenting on those who had, in her words, “come right up to the threshold” but not stepped over into sanctification, she challenges, “Never mind if you do die, or something happens to you that never happened to anyone else in the world’s history; God will take care of you.... Oh! This caring for the consequences!”²⁹⁹ She noted elsewhere, “God never gave this gift to any human soul who had not come to the point that he would sell all he had to get it.”³⁰⁰

²⁹⁴ *The Doctrines*, 77-78.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 79.

²⁹⁶ Catherine Booth, *op. cit.*, 162.

²⁹⁷ Catherine Booth, “Hindrances to Holiness,” in *The Privilege of All Believers*, 173.

²⁹⁸ Commenting on this Catherine wrote, “If you want this blessing, put down your quibbles, put your feet on your arguments, march up to the throne and ask for it, and kill, and crucify, and cast from you, the accursed thing which hinders it, and then you shall have it, and the Lord will fill you this morning with His power and glory, and something *will* happen.” *Ibid.*, 172.

²⁹⁹ Catherine Booth, “Addresses on Holiness III,” in *The Privilege of All Believers*, 166.

³⁰⁰ This quote continues, “While there is a spark of insubordination or rebellion or dictation, you will never get it. Only truly submissive and obedient souls enter the Kingdom. Anywhere He tells you to go, anything He tells you to sacrifice or fly from, you will have to do. The Spirit is one of

Read maintains that “acceptance and obedience was the crucial aspect of consecration” for Catherine, and that in her own life holiness was delayed by her unwillingness to consecrate a portion of her own life.³⁰¹ He suggests that her unwillingness to engage in a public speaking ministry in her earlier years was a willful denial of the call of God. He continues that it wasn’t until she accepted this as the will of God for her life and acted on it, that the way was open for her to enter into a holiness experience.³⁰²

This strong call to consecration through acts of tangible faith connects back to a concept intimately associated with Palmer’s altar theology, but having deeper historical roots beyond her in American revivalism. The idea of the altar, or what came to be called the “mercy seat” in the Army tradition, became both figuratively and literally the central location where acts of consecration, and faith were realized. Rightmire writes:

The early Army sought to bring together the cognitive and affective dimensions of religious life in dramatic ways.... Booth employed various symbols and expressions in eliciting spiritual results. The chief symbol of the early Army worship was the ‘mercy seat,’ which served as the psychological, spiritual, and unconscious focus of the worship experience.... Hence the mercy seat was more than a place to make a mere rational decision, but was the place where communion with God was experienced.³⁰³

The idea of the mercy seat as understood here was much more involved than the earlier concept of the “anxious seat” from the revivalist tradition. As late as 2003 the *Orders and Regulations for Officers* stated that, “The mercy seat or penitent form (and where used, the holiness table) is the central place in Salvation Army worship.”³⁰⁴

His choice gifts that He has reserved for His choice servants – those who serve Him with all their hearts.” *They Said It*, 39.

³⁰¹ John Read, 75.

³⁰² *Ibid.*

³⁰³ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 79.

³⁰⁴ Nigel Bovey, *The Mercy Seat Revisited* (London: The Salvation Army, 2011), 86.

Though not fully a required action in the physical sense, for very many in the early days of the Army, coming publicly to the mercy seat became the crowning climax of the process of entering into the experience of full salvation. It was here in both the figurative and literal sense, the act of consecration and faith were carried out, and the offering was laid on the altar to be made holy. In a unique way it was a representation of the understanding of the hybrid experience in the interplay of the spiritual and physical in a believer's life. Here was a representation of consecration becoming tangible action. In many ways it was sacramental. In this thesis by sacramental I do not mean it in the technical sense used by the broader Church, but instead in the sense that, where something is sacramental in nature, it represents by outward manifestation some inward grace. William encapsulates what the early Salvationists believed was involved:

Here is the altar; put all on. All has not gone on yet, and you know it. And here is the secret why both the early and latter rain have been withheld. Now let go, and look out for the deluge.³⁰⁵

3.2.2 The Product – Blood & Fire

The Booths' understanding of the outcome of the sanctification process was key in early Army theology, and in turn, as we saw previously, in its missiology. The outcome was to be as pragmatic and tangible as the process; practical transformation was absolutely necessary. The fruit of sanctification was to be measurable. A believer's life would be marked by loyalty, obedience and trust.³⁰⁶ Catherine herself wrote, “[if a] real, practical transformation... accomplished in us is not possible, then the gospel is useless”; this, she continues, is because the purpose of redemption is for the people of God to be restored “to purity” and maintained in that purity in order to “serve the Living God.”³⁰⁷ Indeed, such action or service was a paramount theme for the Booths.

We will explore this further shortly, but first, some other categories need to be considered. However, what I suggest to be key is that all products of sanctification

³⁰⁵ William Booth, *The Founder Speaks*, 101.

³⁰⁶ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 133.

³⁰⁷ Catherine Booth, *Papers on Godliness*, 166. Quoted by Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 133.

were for the early Salvationists meant to be tangible both internally and externally. As Rightmire notes, “Outward ‘expression’ of inward ‘impression,’ not only served as a witness to others, but also was essential to continued spiritual growth and vitality.”³⁰⁸

3.2.2.1 Sinlessness

In keeping with the Wesleyan tradition, sinlessness was an expected outcome of entering into full salvation. William taught three conditions of humanity in relation to sin; first of all, before conversion, a person is “under sin,” then after conversion the person is “over sin,” then finally after entering into full salvation, a person is “without sin.”³⁰⁹ William’s thoughts on the subject are clear and definite. He writes, “there is not fatal necessity laid on you to sin, either in word, or thought, or deed,”³¹⁰ and, “I am declaring to you who hear these words nothing less than the scriptural doctrine that God can keep you from committing sin.”³¹¹ Catherine was equally direct, “Oh, that people, in their enquiries about this blessing of holiness, would keep this one thing before their minds, that it is being saved from sin – sin in act, in purpose, in thought!”³¹²

For Salvationists sin was defined as “whatsoever thing a man does, or consents to being done, in his thoughts, desires or actions, which he knows to be wrong.”³¹³ The 1891 doctrine book makes matters concerning sin quite clear. “Entire Sanctification supposes complete deliverance. Sin is destroyed out of the soul...”³¹⁴ At the same time, the Booths were also very clear on the fact that they did not believe in or teach the concept of “sinless perfection.”³¹⁵ In describing a pure heart William noted four key points; a pure heart was, 1) not free from temptation; 2) not free of suffering; 3) not

³⁰⁸ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 76.

³⁰⁹ William Booth, *Purity of Heart*, 17.; *The Doctrines*, 62.

³¹⁰ William Booth, *Purity of Heart*, 59.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

³¹² Catherine Booth, “Addresses on Holiness I,” 157.

³¹³ William Booth, *op. cit.*, 32.

³¹⁴ *The Doctrines*, 62.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 62-3.

unable to sin; and 4) not free from the need to seek continual renewal and growth.³¹⁶ In all ways the early Army perspective on sinlessness was very much in line with the Wesleyan understanding of their day,³¹⁷ for that reason a further discussion is not merited here, given the limited scope and argument of this thesis. Instead I will turn my focus to the next product of sanctification, alluded to in Booth's description of a pure heart, a desire and practice of continued growth in grace.

3.2.2.2 Continual Growth

Rightmire reminds that the Booths taught that holiness was maintained by a "state of continued growth."³¹⁸ The implication is that Christian faith cannot be static, but there should be a longing for a deeper experience and a willingness to actively engage in further development.³¹⁹ Sanctification was not seen as a state of arrival but instead a series of new milestones in an ever forward journey. William writes:

To keep a pure heart you must carefully continue the use of such means as God has appointed for your assistance. Purity does not bring you into any state that renders the use of means for its maintenance and increate unnecessary.... You must pray.... You must read and study your Bible.... Watch as well as pray. Be ever on your guard.³²⁰

In the same letter William calls on his readers to continue in a "spirit of submission, obedience, and consecration," the process we described earlier. He calls on them to continue in a "spirit of faith and trust," and then to resist temptation.³²¹ This last exhortation to resist temptation is, I suggest, effectively a command to change the way

³¹⁶ William Booth, *op. cit.*, 9-11.

³¹⁷ Murdock describes the Booths' Wesleyanism as puritan in regards to their home life, but in respect to sin and holiness he notes that it rested at the point where "traditional English Wesleyanism and mid-nineteenth century American revivalism merged." Murdoch, "Wesleyan Influence," 98.

³¹⁸ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 132.

³¹⁹ Catherine noted that this "must be the attitude of every person who has the Spirit of God – that he should hunger and thirst after it, and feel that he shall never be satisfied until he wakes up in the lovely likeness of his Saviour." Catherine Booth, *op. cit.*, 155.

³²⁰ William Booth, *op. cit.*, 66.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 65.

one lives, changing habits and desires. There is no allowance in this perspective on sanctification for anything less than a total holistic engagement in the experience. These concepts lend themselves very well to a non-linear model of sanctification. This model depends upon there being both initial and subsequent acts of both sacrifice and service.

3.2.2.3 Sacrifice

Another practical implication of entering into full salvation was a continued attitude and action of sacrifice. Sacrifice was not only a part of the process but also the product. It could be argued that sacrifice as a product of sanctification, and sacrifice as a part of the process of sanctification are interchangeable, as they serve both to signify and propel holiness in the life of the believer. This is not to downplay the idea of a crisis moment in the process of sanctification, but only to suggest that sacrifice has a part to play in both the realization and resolving of the crisis, as well as in the continual growth in holiness.

These thoughts on sacrifice are quite clear in early Army literature. Rightmire notes the following portion of an address by Catherine in 1881:

The power of The Salvation Army is not in its enthusiasm; neither does it consist in certain views of truth, or in certain feelings about truth. No! No! But it consists in wholehearted, thorough, out-and-out surrender to God; and that, with or without feeling, is the right thing, and that is the secret of The Salvation Army.³²²

William spoke about this on one occasion in terms of “red-hot religion,” which he viewed as absolutely possible and absolutely necessary. He defined red-hot religion as believers made hot with “love for God, for comrades, for perishing souls, for noble work, and every other good thing.”³²³ He continues, “hearts made hot with holy love” will be compelled to “toil and sacrifice... and exercise a self-denying mastery over the heart that experiences it..., the fierce heat of pure love... makes the Salvationist watch and pray,

³²² Catherine Booth, *Papers On Godliness*, 123-24. Quoted by Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 134.

³²³ William Booth, *op. cit.*, 25.

toil and talk and suffer, careless of what it costs him in doing so.”³²⁴ This idea of sacrifice is probably best defined in terms of perfect love, the perfect love that Wesley used to describe sanctification. This is a love that loves God supremely and then in turn loves the world around it.

The Booths and early Salvationists believed that sanctification produced a spirit of sacrifice within the believer. Furthermore, if we hold with how we have seen the Booths viewed the importance of sacrifice in the attainment of sanctification, we can safely assume that any act of sacrifice would be thought to perpetuate the growth of the individual in holiness.

3.2.2.4 Service

As suggested in our first chapter, however, for sacrifice to be tangible and effectual in the spiritual life of the believer requires that it find a pragmatic realization through some form of action. It is very clear that for the Booths this is where the idea of service comes into play. William wrote that “Purifying faith leads the soul to the consecration of all it possesses to the service of the Saviour.”³²⁵ In his mind the sanctified believer would, by nature of that sanctification, come into a deeper realization of the beauty of Jesus and be compelled his or her life in deeper service to Him. He says:

But purifying faith sees Jesus Christ to be altogether lovely, his service to be infinitely desirable, and the privilege of joining with him in the work of saving... so honourable... that the soul controlled by it leaps forward to lay itself at the Master’s feet, willing to be used in any way he thinks best, and so gladly offers a consecration which knows no hesitation.³²⁶

Sacrifice and in turn service were foundational to the holiness experience expressed in everyday life.³²⁷ Rightmire reminds his readers that in the early Salvation

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ William offered this admonition on the subject, “We want people who can go through with things, no matter who, or what, comes in the way, who can literally offer up... life itself; who can

Army, “conversion to Christ entailed a conversion to mission,” so that for the early Salvationist sanctification was to be viewed in “functional terms.”³²⁸ In many ways though, the expression of holiness that was expected went well beyond a simple transformation of daily habits or routine. Bramwell Booth advocated for a “militant holiness,” that was focused on the salvation of the lost.³²⁹ He writes, “The holiness we contend for is a fighting holiness, a suffering holiness, a soul-saving holiness; in short, Jesus Christ’s holiness.” In his opinion any form of holiness that had “not immediately and indissolubly joined with it, the most unselfish and aggressive passion for the instant rescue of sinners,” was sadly but a “mere caricature” of the holiness experience the believer is called into through Christ.³³⁰

In *Purity of Heart* William writes, “when we say a man is pure... we mean... that he not only professes, but practices the things that have to do with his duty to God and man.” He continues, “it means that you not only possess the ability to live the kind of life that he desires, but that you actually do live it.”³³¹ This, and all that we have stated so far concerning the nature of the outcome of sanctification, supports what both William and Catherine viewed as the nature of Christianity and the function of the church. Rightmire captures the sentiment this way, there was an incarnational understanding of holiness issuing in sacramental living. Christianity was not “following Christ to heaven,” but “following Him from heaven into a world of sin by paths of sorrow and suffering.”³³² This was an absolutely foundational concept for the Booths. They saw

put all on the altar and stay to see it burn to ashes, if it comes between them and duty.” *They Said It*, 40-41.

³²⁸ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 149. He notes elsewhere, “grace received through the indwelling Spirit must be lived out in daily life.” *Ibid.*, 143.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 148.

³³⁰ Bramwell Booth, from the preface of Samuel Logan Bringle, *Helps to Holiness* (London: SP&S, 1955), viii. Quoted by Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 148.

³³¹ William Booth, *Purity of Heart*, 2-3.

³³² Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 146.

the indwelling of the Holy Spirit as the seed of the Kingdom of God passed onto the believer to be carried and planted around creation.³³³ According to William, an Army filled with the Holy Spirit would be the perfect vehicle to bring the Gospel of Christ to the world:

The Baptism of the Holy Ghost means power.... the Holy Ghost was to be not only purity and zeal, but the actual propelling force which was to carry with ever-increasing velocity the people of God forward in conquest and victory, until the whole world was subdued to God.”³³⁴

3.2.2.5 The Blood & Fire

The product of sanctification for the early Army is well summed up in the motto that Salvationists have embraced from the very early days, *Blood & Fire*. *The Directory* notes that the motto, which has been included on the flags of The Salvation Army since their inception in 1878, stands for the “two outstanding beliefs of The Army – Salvation through the Blood of Jesus, and the purifying and empowering Fire of the Holy Spirit.”³³⁵ For William and Catherine the “baptism of fire” was essential for “waging spiritual warfare,” and was seen as giving the Salvationist “assurance, cleansing, enthusiasm, and power.”³³⁶ For the Booths spiritual warfare was viewed as a battle for both the soul and the body; when necessary the soul through the means of the body, but never one without the other.³³⁷

In a passage from the *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers* included in Railton’s biography of William, William writes:

³³³ *Ibid.*

³³⁴ William Booth, *Salvation Soldierly*, 144.

³³⁵ *The Directory*, 96.

³³⁶ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 145.

³³⁷ By this I mean that the early Army was concerned with the redemption of the soul and well as the whole person and the society they lived in. Spiritual warfare meant a willingness to sacrifice for the cause and realizing that sometimes the soul could not be touched while the physical body was in discomfort. Sometimes physical needs had to be met before the spirit could receive the gospel message.

The Field Officer must lead his Soldiers on to the full realization of the baptism of the Holy Ghost; he must make them Blood and Fire... Christ's work must be finished... [and] it can only be continued and carried on to completion by His Spirit... without it they are powerless for the War.... The soldiers must be baptized with fire.... and sacrifice will inevitably follow.³³⁸

The product of sanctification was key to the mission represented by the ideals of Blood and Fire. William wrote that purity of heart was “essential” to “peace, power and usefulness,” and to the progress of the Army,³³⁹ while Bramwell remarked that the neglect of holiness teaching would “render the Army’s ministry ineffective.”³⁴⁰ This outlook on the effect of sanctification on believers created a literal army of dedicated soldiers. There is no direct evidence for this in the literature I have surveyed, but the following logic could be applied to the pragmatism of early Army theology. If holiness is possible for every believer, then sacrifice, service, and leadership is possible from every believer. This equates to a realized priesthood of all believers.³⁴¹ The concept of the priesthood of all believers has been a foundational pillar of The Salvation Army historically, particularly as it has traditionally shied away from clericalization, or any distinction concerning the grace of God bestowed upon laity and clergy, or what is in the Army termed as soldiers and officers.³⁴²

3.3 Conclusion

Our case study of the early Salvation Army can be brought to a fitting conclusion by the following quote from Rightmire:

³³⁸ William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers* (London: IHQ, 1885). Quoted by Railton, *General Booth*, 223-24.

³³⁹ William Booth, *Purity of Heart*, 7.

³⁴⁰ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 136.

³⁴¹ Here I am referring to the Protestant understanding of the phrase. The scope of this thesis does not allow for an exploration of this theme. A brief but clear explanation of what this phrase means in the Salvation Army context can be found in; Clifton, 27-30.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 30.

The practical theology of Booth was expressed in living drama.... Its revolutionary means replaced the traditional symbols of the church with new ones, while providing the laity with a mission to accomplish. New forms or modes of expression were sensational, but were tempered by the message... of the gospel.... The measures employed took on a sacramental significance.... The early Army sought to bring together the cognitive and affective dimensions of religious life in dramatic ways.³⁴³

The narrower goal of this brief survey of early Army theology and missiology, however, has been to illustrate that it was a pragmatic understanding of holiness which was the driving force of the early Army. I have moved to show, by exploring its early theology and its application, that the early Army theological hermeneutic both motivated and empowered the early Salvationists in their mission. I hold, and have sought to illustrate, that it was this understanding and application of Wesleyan holiness doctrine that made The Salvation Army such a successful missional movement during the lifetime of its founders, William and Catherine, and that of the members of their inner circle that survived them. As Melvin Dieter observes, for The Salvation Army holiness doctrine became the “dynamic of its evangelism and social movements.”³⁴⁴

We have seen that for the early Army sanctification was a promised gift to the believer in Jesus Christ, a gift that was in many ways an obligation. The Booths taught that full salvation was possible for every believer and that the pursuit of this gift was not optional for one truly transformed by the redemptive work of Jesus Christ. Not only was it possible and expected, but it was absolutely necessary, as sanctification was seen as not the end goal but in many ways the beginning of the spiritual life. The process of sanctification was one of continual growth that was fueled by repentance, consecration, sacrifice and service. The embrace of entire sanctification formed, in the minds of the Booths, a embolden priesthood of believers, an army of Christ, motivated and empowered by sacrifice. For the Booths, sanctification and “the winning of the world

³⁴³ Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 78.

³⁴⁴ Melvin E. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* (Lanham, M.D.: Scarecrow, 1996), 257. Quoted in John Read, 73.

for God” could not be separated.³⁴⁵ Under the banner of *Blood and Fire*, and motivated by millennialist ideals (however unclearly defined), through the early Salvationists, holiness became a living pragmatic expression of the love of God for his creation.

³⁴⁵ Roger J. Green, “A Permanent Mission to the ‘Whosoever’: William Booth’s Theology of Redemption,” in *Saved, Sanctified and Serving*, ed. Denis Metrusterly (Bletchley, UK: Paternoster, 2016), 53.

Chapter 4

4 Towards a Contemporary Application of a Non-Linear Theology of Sanctification

Having sought to establish the idea of a pragmatic application of holiness in the Wesleyan tradition, and having looked to the past to observe pragmatic holiness in action and consider its implications for the early Salvation Army movement, we now turn our attention to the question of present day application, and to our conclusions. I wish to argue that there is something arising from this research that is worth noting as it applies to the role of the Christian Church in today's society. In short, the doctrine and early practice of The Salvation Army has, I believe, something to say to the wider Christian community. The Army bears witness to how a pragmatic understanding of holiness and sanctification should transform the believer's relationship with God and then in turn his/her relationship to the world around them. We will explore this concept in this final chapter as we first consider two possible concrete expressions of pragmatic holiness: covenant living and militant peacemaking.

At the same time, we can add a third consideration. While The Salvation Army has something to say to the wider Church, there is a point arising from our consideration of a nonlinear model of pragmatic holiness which the Church, including The Salvation Army, in the Western context could equally stand to learn. The contemporary world is suffering from an extreme embrace of individualism and socioeconomic inequality, eating away at the foundation of society as a whole. Community in its truest sense should be the Church's answer to this epidemic, but it is failing sorrowfully to promote it on so many fronts. A proper understanding of holiness, I suggest, would by its nature both empower and propel the Church to a better, more restorative response.

In this last section I will seek to answer the following question: If a pragmatic, action based, nonlinear model of sanctification is a valid category, what would it look like if it was applied to present day Christian life and practice? To address this

question I will explore the three topics mentioned above: 1) covenantal living; 2) militant peacemaking; and 3) the witness of faith community.

4.1 Covenantal Living

From what we observed with our consideration of the early Salvation Army, I want to suggest that the embracing of covenantal living is a possible outcome of a pragmatic understanding and application of Wesleyan holiness doctrine. Covenant was a key concept for Salvationists as they embraced holiness theology.³⁴⁶ Stephen Court writes, “[A] universal embrace of covenant is the one means by which The Salvation Army might both position and posture ourselves and mobilize and deploy in the world.... Our covenant is crucial to the victory.”³⁴⁷ It may be that an embrace of covenantal living in a culture with an individualistic worldview would face challenges, since it would require a practice of self-denial, and the releasing of at least partial control of oneself to another party. That being said, approaching the process of sanctification from a pragmatic perspective entails that we consider the possibility. Gary A. Herion notes that covenant is “arguably the central or core concept of the entire Bible,”³⁴⁸ so it stands to reason that it should have some bearing on the day to day life of a Christian.

We of course see examples of covenantal living throughout the Bible. Israel, the covenanted people of God first come to mind, along with individuals such as Abraham, Jacob, David, John the Baptist, Jesus and his disciples, and the Apostle Paul. All of these groups or people are said in the Bible to have entered into a heightened

³⁴⁶ I have purposely chosen not to raise this topic from a Salvationist perspective until this point in the thesis as it is best considered in the context of outcomes for holiness, opposed to being included in the theological survey. An effort was made to focus on theological topics that related directly to early Army understandings of holiness and sanctification. Though it would make an interesting study in itself to trace the prominence of covenant in Army theology in the development of its holiness theology, it is not evident from the surface level in considering the texts and sources we have reviewed. For that reason it was not something that fit within the scope of this study at that level.

³⁴⁷ William Booth, and Stephen Court, *Articles of War* (Alexandria, VA: Crest Books, 2017), 209.

³⁴⁸ Gary A. Herion, “Covenant,” in *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. David Noel Freedman (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 292.

relationship with God in response to some revelation of God's purpose. Their connection and service to God went beyond the expectations of conventional religiosity. They entered into a commitment that was not motivated by compulsion but instead by a desire to respond to what was revealed. I want to suggest that we can categorize this as *responsive* covenant. The question at the foundation of this responsive paradigm is not "What can I do for God?" but instead "What would God have me do?" There is a subtle but important difference here. There has been a danger along my entire argument of a form of legalism, but the difference between these two questions highlights how the pragmatic model of sanctification does not fall into that trap.

To help illustrate this I want to consider briefly a main dichotomy of opinion concerning the nature of covenant in the Old Testament scriptures and its interpretation in the New Testament. Herion notes that there is a split among some scholars on the nature of covenant (*berit*) in the Old Testament, particularly the Sinai or Mosaic *berit*.³⁴⁹ The idea under debate raises a number of points, such as the historical period of development, or the importance and function of *berit* within Israelite religion. But of interest presently is the two classifications of covenant that exist — whether it should be seen as a mutual agreement between God and the people, or it should be viewed as a moral obligation imposed upon the people by God.³⁵⁰

I suggest we need to view covenant as a *berit*, a form of mutual agreement between two parties, God and humanity. One of the main premises of Reformation Christianity has been that we do not need to work to please God; that salvation is not earned but instead is offered through grace. Covenantal living, and also pragmatic holiness, is not about what an individual can do for God out of obligation or to earn favor. The point is not to prove devotion to God through actions or sacrifices. Instead the concern and focus here is that of mutual give and take because of the holiness of God's character. That is to say that the actions of a believer toward God are a response to who God is as the holy one.

³⁴⁹ Herion, 291.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 289, 291.

There is one point of clarification that is needed here. While I am arguing for covenant as mutual relationship, this is not an argument against the otherness of God or a suggestion of equal partnership between God and man. As Edward Read notes:

A covenant between God and man is never a contract between equals. Rather, it is another instance of amazing grace which saves, grace now reaching down in love to claim a man's allegiance, mighty grace grasping the uplifted hand of faith, feeble as that faith may be. Even when the human response is prompt and utterly loyal, the strength of the covenant is mainly on the divine side.³⁵¹

The main point Read brings to the fore here is that a covenant between God and man is only possible through grace. It is exactly this grace of the Godhead moving toward humanity that makes both covenant and sanctification possible. If we see covenant as an ongoing mutual relationship between God and humanity, and not a one-time binding transaction that forces the lesser party into some kind of servitude of submission, we can see how a nonlinear pragmatic understanding of sanctification is a mirror of the same, and how covenant is the natural outcome of that process.

Just as I have argued that sanctification is a process of new revelation of God's character, leading to deeper consecration and in turn to pragmatic response, which in itself enables a new revelation of God's character leading the believer deeper into sanctification, so is covenantal living when based on mutual relationship. As God is revealed to the believer he or she is moved by love toward God, who in response, by nature being love fully realized, moves further toward the believer by further deeper revelation, and so the mutuality of the covenant is established. What I am suggesting is not a process of pursuing God who seems in some manner to always be just beyond grasping, but instead a process of moving toward God even as He moves toward the

³⁵¹ J. Edward Read, *Keepers of the Covenant* (Whitby, ON: J. Edward Read, 1995), 112.

believer, regularly becoming enveloped and conforming to His character. In these parameters covenantal living and pragmatic holiness cannot exist independently.³⁵²

A pragmatic understanding of sanctification would, I suggest, be consistent with this covenantal living, by developing in the believer a willingness to forgo personal rights in order to enter into a special relationship of devotion, sacrifice, and service to God.³⁵³ The implications for the witness of the Christian church to the world by such a counter-cultural adaptation would be wide-ranging. The limits of this thesis do not allow an extensive exploration of them all but we will explore two of these in the remaining sections of this chapter.

4.2 Militant Peacemaking

An important argument sometimes leveled against excessive consideration of religious ideals such as holiness and sanctification is the question of practicality. One could ask what the value of sanctification and holiness is to our modern society while there is such evidence of injustice and suffering present amongst humanity, people dying in the streets, if you will. Shouldn't questions concerning these issues and concerns receive priority in our minds and resources before considering other less tangible ideals? In considering the value of covenantal living that arises from a proper understanding of pragmatic holiness, however, I am suggesting that the resulting worldview serves to address this argument directly. A pragmatic understanding of sanctification will by nature address practical concerns. In this section I want to explore this further through one key concept.

³⁵² It is helpful to note that covenantal living will be marked by fidelity on the part of the believer. As noted above, this is not a partnership of equals, and fidelity is not necessarily questioned on the part of God (Deuteronomy 7:9). Yet at the same time God chooses to prove His fidelity by responding in covenant, and beyond responding, being the party in the covenant relationship that always takes the initiative. In essence what we are considering is a believer or community of believers that practice listening, or more specifically the Hebrew construct of *shema*, an individual or community who actively listens and responds. Walter Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 332.

³⁵³ Within The Salvation Army covenantal living is formalized in a practice of the movement called "Soldiership." More details about this practice have been included (APPENDIX D).

In his book *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation*, R. Scott Appleby develops the idea of a “militant peacemaker.”³⁵⁴ For Appleby, this is a person who rejects violence but is nevertheless “radical” and willing to “go to extremes,” even to the point of risking their own life in the “pursuit of justice and peace.”³⁵⁵ He sees this as a person who has spiritualized a warrior ethic³⁵⁶ and is motivated by a “sacred rage” against injustice and its causes.³⁵⁷ Such a militant peacemaker, I suggest, would be the natural outcome of the pragmatic understanding of holiness that we have been exploring. As we saw when we explored the early Salvation Army understanding and application of holiness theology, and as we argued in chapter 1, there must be action that accompanies a genuine process of sanctification. If this action is in response to a transformation of the individual believer into congruence with the divine character then it could coherently be said that the resulting action will be one directed toward restoring peace in creation.

John Swinton makes a similar case to Appleby when he discusses going from theodicy, as the abstract discussion of the problem of evil, to actual resistance in response to the problem of evil.³⁵⁸ He talks at length about practices that individuals and, more so the Church communally, need to embrace in order to offer a holy response to evil. He notes that these “practices... enable people, in a limited sense, to mirror the practices of God and to develop ways of living that reflect God’s graceful movement towards creation.”³⁵⁹ In much the same vein, Miroslav Volf notes that,

Christian practices have what we may call an “as-so” structure (or correspondence structure): *as* God has received us in Christ, *so* we too are to receive our fellow human beings. True, the way in which Christ’s life is

³⁵⁴ R. Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 12.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁵⁸ John Swinton, *Raging With Compassion* (Grand Rapids, M.I.: Eerdmans, 2007), 69-89.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 82.

exemplary has to be carefully specified.... But in an appropriately qualified way... we must say “As Christ, so we.”³⁶⁰

In many ways, Volf’s “as-so” paradigm of Christian belief and action epitomizes what we have discussed to this point. A proper understanding and application of holiness and the process of sanctification will manifest itself in action that mirrors the action of God in Christ.³⁶¹

However, if we are to accept that action in the spirit of the actions of Christ is to be an expected outcome of the process, we must in fairness consider what the example of Christ is in regards to what we are calling militant peacemaking. Can Jesus, who was effectively humiliated in an emasculating death through a cursed form of execution, be seen as “militant” in any meaningful sense?³⁶² The answer is yes. As we consider Christ and his teachings we get a picture of a new kind of warrior with new kinds of tactics. Christ can be seen as a nuanced warrior engaged in resistance against an occupying force. The Sermon on the Mount recorded in Matthew 5–7 is effectively a subversive manifesto against the culture of the day, with pointed application to religious as well as political powers. Christ was calling for a new way of living and engaging socially and spiritually, which amounted to a metaphorical act of war against the ideologies prevalent in that day, a revolution. Among other things, to embrace this today might allow us to develop a more meaningful expression of the ancient *Christus victor* model of salvation.

Swinton makes the militant peacemaking actions of Christ quite clear:

³⁶⁰ Miroslav Volf, and Dorothy Bass, *Practicing Theology: Beliefs and Practices* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 254. Quoted in Swinton, 82.

³⁶¹ Conversely it can be argued that the elimination of the “so” portion of the paradigm, must bring into question the extent of the understanding by the individual of the work of Christ. Its elimination, at the least, could be seen as stalling the sanctification of the individual.

³⁶² Phillip Ross Bethancourt use the language of “victorious warrior King of Israel” when he offers as very thorough working of the militancy of Christ in a dissertation. Phillip Ross Bethancourt, “Christ the Warrior King: A Biblical, Historical, and Theological Analysis of the Divine Warrior Theme in Christology” (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2011.) <http://search.proquest.com/docview/914720856?accountid=15115>.

The message of the cross is also important insofar as it locates God firmly within the realm of human suffering.... The solution to the problem of evil that God offers on the cross is not abstract condolence but costly solidarity. God's response to evil is practice, embodied, costly, and painful.... God moves towards creation through radical gestures of redemption.³⁶³

This moving "towards creation" in the manner of Christ, I argue, should be a hallmark of pragmatic holiness. Swinton comments on Christ's teaching in Matthew 5:43-48, where Jesus calls on his disciples to love their enemies.³⁶⁴ He writes, "these words are quite shocking and outrageous. Jesus calls his followers... to become known by their practices of peacemaking."³⁶⁵ Furthermore, if the process of sanctification is marked by self-denial, as I have argued, then there will be a spiritual willingness to sacrifice oneself in the name of peace.

There are many examples of militant peacemakers that could be offered from the historical record, and it is obviously fair to note that these peacemakers can be found outside of the Christian tradition and indeed faith groups *per se*. However to complete this section, as an example of pragmatic holiness employed, I suggest we look again to The Salvation Army, whose history is littered with many such militant peacemakers.

The Army became peace brokers in the most destitute of locations despite severe opposition from elites and those who profited from such destitution. Mobilized by a pragmatic application of sanctification, social justice became as much of a spiritual issue as did personal sin. Militantly approaching the issues of sin and injustice from a holistic perspective, The Salvation Army has grown to be the largest non-governmental provider of social services in many countries, including Canada. The Salvation Army maintains that it has a prophetic role within the Christian Church to challenge the status quo on how to engage the world in a God glorifying manner, and I hold it up here as an

³⁶³ Swinton, 71.

³⁶⁴ It is of interest that Jesus concludes this admonition with the call to holiness and to *be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect*.

³⁶⁵ Swinton, 131.

example of a pragmatic holiness engaged in the cause of peace making. One of the Army's early leaders gave the following militant peacemaking manifesto in verse,

I see forsaken children, I see the tears that fall
 From women's eyes once merry, now never laugh at all;
 I see the sins and sorrows of those who sit in darkness;
 I see in lands far distant, the hungry and oppressed...

The world for God! The world for God!
 I give my heart! I'll do my part!³⁶⁶

A proper theology of holiness would, I suggest, move the Christian Church into the world to be agents of peace; if combined with self-denial and sacrifice, the action would inevitably be militant in nature. The perception or accusation from some quarters, of extremism or fanaticism would be likely. However, Stanley Hauerwas defends "radicalism" in Christian ethics, and indeed, goes so far as to argue that "Christians in our time cannot avoid being identified as fanatics."³⁶⁷ If one is true to the Christian ethic, one must be fanatical to effect change in the world. He sees Christian witness as tied to the ability to tell a counter-cultural story to the world. Hauerwas writes, "what is crucial are the narrative connections Christian witness makes possible, believing – as we do – that the story of Christ is the end of all stories."³⁶⁸ For Hauerwas these "narrative connections" are of the essence of the church and a central means of pursuing peace. He therefore believes that such nonviolent militantism as I have been advocating is essential to mission. Hauerwas sees such mission as a chronic need in the world. Rather than being something negative or a threat to society, in his opinion, "without such a fanatical people we literally would be without hope."³⁶⁹

³⁶⁶ Evangeline Booth, "The World for God," in *The Song Book of The Salvation Army; with New Testament and Psalms* (London: The General of The Salvation Army, 2015), 317.

³⁶⁷ Stanley Hauerwas, "The Non-Violent Terrorist," in *Sanctify Them in the Truth* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 189.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 203.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

4.3 Community – Faith beyond the Individual

This concept of pragmatic holiness and self-sacrifice in sanctification, one that leads to covenantal living and militant peacemaking, can also have a transforming effect on our concepts of community, particularly in the West. Because of the outward nature of the model of holiness that I am suggesting, such holiness is, to a high degree, communal. This is the case for two reasons: first of all in seeking to be sanctified, which is an attempt to pragmatically reflect the character of God in oneself, one will be moved by love toward others as God is; and secondly, if this process is accompanied and energized by practical actions, then these actions when performed will happen in community. I want to explore these two principles before briefly concluding with a consideration of the witness of community.

Astonishing possibilities are opened up by the idea that sanctification involves practical human conformation to the character of God. The love of God, communicated by the Holy Spirit, can so permeate human life that it is able to bring together varied and different entities in Christ to create something of great beauty. The fellowship of the church, the *communio*, the *koinonia*, empowered by the Holy Spirit, is the Kingdom of God come to earth, and what it produces is this thing of beauty, both alluring and transformative. The Church is “not just a conglomerate of individuals,” or even “the sum of their relationships,” but is something far greater.³⁷⁰ In the economy of salvation, the whole is inevitably more than a sum of parts.³⁷¹ The result of all the theories and principles surrounding the love of God and the fellowship of the saints is a unique thing — a thing of beauty in unity and fellowship.³⁷²

³⁷⁰ Tom Smail, *The Giving Gift* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1994), 189.

³⁷¹ Moltmann, *Spirit of Life*, 226.

³⁷² Augustine speaks of this in *Confessions*. He reminds the reader that there is “more delight in all the elements than in individual pieces if only one had the capacity to perceive all of them.” And he advises that if we could truly conceive the whole we would lose our desire for the individual parts in favor of what is complete. Also, he mentions that there is a beauty perceived out of totality. St. Augustine, *Confessions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), IV.xi.17 and IV.xii.19.

In Christian thought, communion and community are frequently said to mirror the character of God. Theologically speaking, the communion of the Church is in its very essence the presence of God in practice upon the earth. Pragmatic holiness of life is the expression of this presence of God on earth, and so we cannot separate unity from the sanctification of the individual, and in turn of the particular faith community. The French Catholic Yves Congar stresses how the “mystical communion” which the Holy Spirit ushers in among believers needs tangible “concrete” human relationship to bring it to fulfillment.³⁷³ I suggest that this call for pragmatism from Congar stands in direct correlation with the practice of pragmatic sanctification. The communion of the church in holiness allows for the presence of God to be embodied in flesh and blood; in an extension of the baptism of Jesus, which itself was an act of self-giving in solidarity with the sinful,³⁷⁴ the church in the power of the Spirit continues to usher in the Kingdom of the Father.³⁷⁵

John Swinton highlights the importance of relationship at this point, suggesting that, “it is this unique, primal relationship with God who is in and of himself self-relationship and love, that is the definitive way in which we should understand the image of God in human beings.”³⁷⁶ Swinton sees the primary way God chooses to reveal himself as being through relationship and community. He echoes Barth by stating that the “basic form of humanity is cohumanity.”³⁷⁷ This stress on relationship is amplified through identification with Christ in sanctification. Community and fellowship are the “essential nature” of the Spirit, and as 2 Corinthians 13:13 reminds us, the Spirit becomes the fellowship of believers.³⁷⁸ Edward Read notes that it seems that the normal reality is

³⁷³ Yves Congar, “*He is the Lord and Giver of Life,*” in *I Believe in the Holy Spirit, Vol II*, trans. David Smith (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 2013), 21.

³⁷⁴ Oscar Cullmann, *Baptism in the New Testament*, trans. J K S Reid (London: SCM Press, 1951).

³⁷⁵ Smail, 187.

³⁷⁶ Swinton, 205.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 204.

³⁷⁸ Moltmann, *Spirit of Life*, 218.

that the Holy Spirit blesses people when they are in community.³⁷⁹ Referencing Jesus' words, "where two or three gather in my name, there am I with them,"³⁸⁰ Vanier makes the point that community is a sign of the presence of Jesus and in turn a sign of the Church.³⁸¹

It is possible to ground these insights in the Augustinian theory of the Holy Spirit as the mutual love of the Father and Son, which in the economy of salvation becomes the heart of the Church. It is natural, in a way, that the Holy Spirit should thus find manifestation within sanctified believers in lives of unity, obedience, and love, as these reflect the dynamic of the Godhead itself. Where these are lacking, indeed, it is difficult to think that the Holy Spirit is Lord, or that active sanctification is taking place. Here we see the implications of an adherence to Augustine's mutual love theory concerning the Spirit. There would seem to be a fullness of unity, and a dynamic of fellowship that is possible because of the Holy Spirit's work, that is not often realized in the church. Latent in this is a word of judgment and promise. It is a judgment in that if we do not live in the unity afforded by the Spirit, then we are in error. By this I mean if believers do not actively strive for unity and obedience, and if their own spirits are not moved by the Holy Spirit toward that end, then they cannot truly be in fellowship with him. It is also, however, a word of promise, in that God offers to us nothing less than the love and unity that exists within the Godhead, through the person of the Holy Spirit who dwells in their lives.

Following in the Augustinian tradition, Thomas Aquinas argues that love impels love, or that it is the Holy Spirit who impels the "will of the lover towards the object loved."³⁸² At play here is the love of God which acts as impulse while at the same time being impelled towards that which it loves. In theory, by the process of sanctification, human effort toward unity and community is thus perfected, as human

³⁷⁹ Edward Read, *Studies in Sanctification* (Toronto, ON: The Salvation Army, 1982), 82.

³⁸⁰ Matthew 18:20

³⁸¹ Jean Vanier, *Community and Growth* (New York: Paulist Press, 2003), 85.

³⁸² Aquinas, 1A Q36, Art I.

consent is given to the Holy Spirit's leading and Lordship. While individual believers are active in the fellowship, it is no longer simply individuals doing the work, but the Holy Spirit working through them in the personal and mutual love that Aquinas outlines. So we have a model of community and fellowship that is dependent on God instead of humanity. It sees the power of God at work in the lives of believers as the primary source and catalyst of community. The believer is to rely on the God who both is and who longs for unity. Indeed, Badcock notes that the Holy Spirit is such a strong bond, and so desirous of unity in the Church, that a lack of unity grieves or even agonizes the Spirit and results in discomfort and agonies in the church itself.³⁸³

So, we see that the embrace of pragmatic holiness draws us into fellowship, impelling us to move toward God, both God beyond us as well as God within us. The Spirit does not force unity, but instead provides the impetus and power to express in the world the love in the Godhead that is also desired by God within creation. Holiness as the effect of this dynamic reveals God to the world and enables believers to be witnesses of Christ. It is in this sense that the Holy Spirit gives believers genuine authority to speak about Christ. So it would seem that the call to sanctification is a call also to fellowship and communal holiness, which is imperative for the church and essential to mission.

This argument for the renewal of community through holiness is particularly applicable in the consideration of pragmatic holiness because it is based upon self-denial that manifests in action. An understanding of holiness that resides primarily in the realm of theory or even deep personal reflection and discipline cannot have the same effect on the nature of community as that of a holiness that calls for action and practical application. I would hold with Nouwen that "fellowship with Christ is fellowship with our brothers and sisters,"³⁸⁴ so a pragmatic application of holiness cannot have any other

³⁸³ Gary Badcock, *The House Where God Lives* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 2009), 198.

³⁸⁴ Henri J.M. Nouwen, Donald P. McNeill, and Douglas A. Morrison, *Compassion: A Reflection on the Christian Life* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 51.

outcome. However, this model of holiness and sanctification can lead to renewal in community not only because it is based on action but also because the individuals involved are, by nature of the process, oriented toward self-denial.

Both Vanier and Swinton make a point of emphasizing the place of self-denial in the establishing of true community. Vanier writes that “vulnerability” is key to community, which he notes was the “fundamental risk taken by Jesus” in establishing community for God and man.³⁸⁵ Swinton speaks of an “epistemology of the broken body of Christ,” meaning that the example of Christ shows that offering hospitality and opening oneself up for community leaves one open to the risk of rejection and hurt.³⁸⁶ Vanier writes that the essence of community rests in the giving of life to others, a communion of sharing both hurts and healing, so that community is a matter of both pains and joy. He notes that “the pains of community are situated between the joy of this communion and friendship with Jesus and the joy of giving life to others.”³⁸⁷ Jesus’ example is a fellowship that extends to faithfulness unto death; “greater love has no one than this: to lay down one’s life for one’s friends.”³⁸⁸ Quoting this same passage, Swinton takes Vanier’s assertion of giving life to others to its full extent. He reminds that giving life often requires the sacrifice of one’s own, and that true fellowship and community is only possible through the acceptance of death.³⁸⁹ Even Bultmann, a very different kind of theologian, wrote that “true human community is... the community in which man finds himself by surrendering himself to the other.”³⁹⁰ The process of sanctification that we have been exploring is consistent with these insights; placing believers in a unique place to embrace vulnerability and self-sacrifice, and in turn to establish true community.

³⁸⁵ Vanier, 7.

³⁸⁶ Swinton, 243.

³⁸⁷ Vanier, 84.

³⁸⁸ John 15:13

³⁸⁹ Swinton, 220.

³⁹⁰ Rudolf Bultmann, “Forms of Human Community,” in *Essays Philosophical and Theological*, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1955), 292. Quoted by Moltmann, *Theology of Hope* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 317.

4.3.1 The witness of the faith community

What is the value of true community? David Clark writes that, “without a strong sense of community human beings will wilt and begin to die... community is the foundation of human society.”³⁹¹ If we accept this, then Moltmann’s observation is a strong commendation to the Church, he writes, “modern society expects religion to be effectual... in the transcendent determination of cohumanity as community.”³⁹² In keeping with this, the philosopher John Macmurray writes that, “our need is to rediscover... what sort of community we ought to be in the world, and to become that kind of community.”³⁹³

This brings us to a consideration of the Church’s witness as exemplified in its practice of community. On the basis of the ideas already surveyed, Swinton calls for the creation of communities that are concerned with the other, communities that “care for the stranger, resist evil, and absorb suffering.”³⁹⁴ This would, among other things, offer to the church a reason for continuing to exist. In much the same vein, Moltmann offers an interesting analogy of the Church in community, for in his mind, “Christian communities can become a kind of Noah’s Ark for men in their social estrangement... islands of genuine community... in the rough sea of circumstances....”³⁹⁵

In the realm of human relations, whether it be international affairs or the family unit, humanity at best has always struggled to live in community.³⁹⁶ Modern individualism is commonly seen as having intensified this perennial difficulty. In contrast, what is being suggested by these various authors is essentially the antithesis of

³⁹¹ David Clark, *Yes to Life* (London: Collins, 1987), 22. Quoted in Vanier, 3.

³⁹² Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*, 316.

Elsewhere Moltmann notes that “*the creation of community is evidently the goal of God’s life-giving Spirit in the world of nature and human beings.*” Moltmann, *Spirit of Life*, 219.

³⁹³ John Macmurray, *Search for Reality in Religion* (London: George Allen Unwin Ltd., 1965), 55.

³⁹⁴ Swinton, 216.

³⁹⁵ Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*, 320.

³⁹⁶ For a brief description of this reality see Vanier, 1-2.

western individualism — the ideal of community as concerned primarily with the other rather than the self.³⁹⁷ To foster this sense is for them a part of the high calling of the Church. Macmurray comments on its corporate responsibility: “The Church... is the community of the disciples of Jesus working, in cooperation with God and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.”³⁹⁸ Moltmann picks up on this when he writes, “wherever community of life comes into being, there is also community with God’s life-giving Spirit.”³⁹⁹ This means that the communion of the Church is not only life for those within it but also the offer of life to those outside it. A full theological understanding of community must therefore have a missiological aspect. The “witness of community,” as one author puts it, is a key element of mission for the church, particularly in the western world where traditional community has suffered such decline in recent decades. The same author suggests that most people come to faith through community, and that belonging is very much connected to believing.⁴⁰⁰ There is an opportunity for the Church, in the tradition of the Israelites, the Old Testament people of God, to create a tangible dwelling place for the presence of God within creation.

My suggestion is that if we were to embrace a pragmatic model of sanctification that finds application through self-denial and action, there would be a resulting renewal of Lordship of the God through the work of the Spirit, lending itself to a move away from individualism toward an embrace of authentic forms of community. If

³⁹⁷ I would like to suggest that you could go so far as to say that what should be considered here is an alternative, palatable, and effective ethical model not built upon the ultimate right of the individual. An embrace of community and pragmatic holiness makes possible an ethical system focused on the right of the other opposed to the right of self, built upon self-sacrifice and the good of the community.

³⁹⁸ Macmurray, 64. He adds elsewhere, “the Church must be a real community on earth which exhibits to the world, in its life and in the relations of its members, the image of the Kingdom of Heaven, and which acts, in relation to the world outside, in the spirit of that Kingdom, by the way of the cross.” 76.

³⁹⁹ Moltmann, *Spirit of Life*, 219.

⁴⁰⁰ Rick Richardson, *Reimagining Evangelism: Inviting Friends on a Spiritual Journey* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 50.

the Lordship of God is acknowledged, there will be by natural progression an interest in unity and community.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰¹ These concepts harken to some of the ideals of *Ubuntu theology*. *Ubuntu* is very old African word and concept that means “humanity to others,” and for a long time was used to reference quality of personhood. It is often associated with the phrase “I am what I am because of who we all are.” Jaco S. Dreyer, “Ubuntu: A Practical Theological Perspective,” *De Gruyter IJPT*, 19(1) (2015): 192.

There is insufficient scope in this thesis for a detailed exploration of Ubuntu theology, but briefly, Ubuntu theology came to prominence from its association with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and Bishop Desmond Tutu. Tutu offers the following commentary on the essence and meaning of Ubuntu: “It speaks to the very essence of being human.... It also means that my humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up, in [others]. We belong in a bundle of life. We say, “a person is a person through other people”.... A person with *Ubuntu* is open and available to others affirming others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good; for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes with knowing that he or she belongs in a great whole.” Desmond Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness* (London: Random House, 1999), 34-5. Quoted in Dreyer, 195.

We see surfacing here references to self-denial through vulnerability. This is where the connection with pragmatic holiness is the clearest. Charles G. Haws states that “Ubuntu enables genuine community because it confesses a universal vulnerability. Since individuals remain incomplete apart from community, they are vulnerably dependent upon other human beings. Both in community and holiness, the willingness to embrace loss, or the possibility thereof, is a key to growth. Tutu in his commentary strikes on the main balancing point; there can and must be a willingness to embrace loss, and to sacrifice and deny oneself, for the glory of God and the betterment of my neighbor, because there is within true community, which mirrors the Godhead, a fullness that can only come from a realization that one is a part of something far greater than oneself.” Ubuntu can be justly asserted to be, as Haws sees things, the “corrective hermeneutic to the individualism of the West.” Charles G. Haws, “Suffering, Hope and Forgiveness” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 62, no.4 (2009): 481-485.

What is evident in Ubuntu is the idea of interconnectedness; in keeping with Paul’s teaching in 1 Corinthians 12, both rejoicing and suffering are communal, and the state of the individual relates to and affects the whole. Tutu states, that, “no real human being... can be absolutely self-sufficient,” and that, “such a person would be subhuman,” Desmond Tutu quoted in Michael Battle, “A Theology of Community,” *Interpretation* 54, no.2 (April 2000): 179.

If we accept this then it must be considered that holiness on an individual level is not possible without holiness on the community or corporate level. This goes strongly against most Western Christian spirituality that emphasizes the private individual experience of faith, and rejects the idea that God would not bless me as an individual because of the actions of another that I cannot control. However, if it is true that the individual is interconnected with the whole then it stands to reason that if the whole is not healthy the individual themselves cannot be completely healthy either.

4.4 Conclusion

In considering a theological and conceptual application of a pragmatic non-linear model of sanctification, we have very briefly explored three main topics, covenantal living, militant peacemaking, and the witness of faith community. Macmurray writes that “religion is concerned in its reality with two things – with action and with community.”⁴⁰² In seeking to establish a present day application of pragmatic holiness we have met both these concerns directly. Pragmatic holiness enables and motivates action through covenantal living and militant peacemaking. It is an asking of “What would God have me do?” and a tangible response of action that militantly seeks to establish God’s peace in creation. As we have just seen, it also orients individual believers toward authentic and even vulnerable community that operates in an outward focus, living compassionately in relation to the needs of creation.

At the end of this project I would like to suggest that the argument and case study presented offers a new outlook on the place and function of holiness, particularly personal holiness, in the present day Church. Considering again the quote from Webster’s book on holiness which began this project, there is a need to understand holiness in order to understand how God is at work in the world through the Church. But to add to this I would further suggest that how we understand that holiness will ultimately affect the manner of work and conduct of God in the world through the Church. This concept of holiness and sanctification does, as mentioned in the discussion around covenant, stands on the fact that God chooses to work in concert with his creation to make his glory known on the earth. With that in mind, how we act and react in the economy of God’s revealed holiness, in some ways set the parameters of God’s action within creation. Considering this, I offer that it is important that the Church have a growing and fresh understanding and application of personal holiness.

As we have touched on already, the extension of this study may require a willingness to forgo comfortable notions of the individuality in spirituality, as well as the

⁴⁰² Macmurray, 59.

big box parameters of the composition and function of the Church and church community. It may be that to build upon what has been presented here, and to continue the pursuit of a living and growing understanding of holiness and sanctification, a series of redefinitions are required.

What could be gained if, in the light of the ideas presented here, we sought to redefine the idea of the individual in western culture? I would suggest that there is room and fodder for an exploration of a new definition of the individual. A definition which starkly departs from the parameters set by neo-liberal ideology, and develops a healthier paradigm that reestablishes the function of community. Secondly, what could be gained if the church⁴⁰³ sought to redefine itself in the light of the active holiness of God in the world and sanctification? It is well that the majority of Christians would understand that the church is not a building but instead a group of believers, but there needs to be further challenging but healthy conversation concerning the function of that group.

Finally, what could be gained if a non-linear model of sanctification was applied to, and possibly redefined, sacramental experience? I suggest we can see that sanctification as has been presented, has at its core a dependence on the outward manifestations of inward spiritual experiences. The place and function of sacramental practice here is self-evident, however, has can be drawn out from a consideration of The Salvation Army, this understanding of sanctification could make way for a less rigid application of this practice. While The Salvation Army adopted an a-sacramental stance and chose not to practice the established sacraments of the majority of the Church, they did over time adopt other practices that served the same function of given outward expressions to inward experiences. They did this however, in response to a varied need and context of ministry. In doing so that made spiritual experience more applicable for many of the people they sought to reach and who in turn also filled their ranks. The model of sanctification presented in this thesis requires, in a broad sense, a sacrament

⁴⁰³ I purposefully use the lower case 'church,' because I feel that the Church in the Biblical sense carries with it an eternal or even divine definition, in being the Body and Bride of Christ. That is a definition that, in my opinion, cannot be modified. What we need to be concerned about is our efforts and understanding of the manifestations of the same that we exist within, in creation.

element. The challenge maybe to redefine what sacramental practice looks like for varied contexts, and the wide range of people that seek to be in relationship with God.

A key part of the argument presented in this thesis is the need for the believer to respond to the work or revelation of God in his or her life in a practical and often corporate manner. So it is a fitting conclusion to this study to suggest individuals consider the application of the ideas presented here for their own spiritual experience; to be intentionally engaged in the active sanctifying work of God in creation. May it stand that through both theory and application, we can see that the Church of God as a whole is called to what in Salvation Army literature has been described as, “something romantically heroic.”⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴ Booth and Court, 211.

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Appendices

Appendix A:
G.S. Railton's Call for Salvation Army Officers

WANTED ALWAYS

TO BECOME

OFFICERS IN THE SALVATION ARMY

MEN AND WOMEN OF GOD,

Anxious to devote their lives to the work of saving souls,

Whose characters will bear any amount of investigation;

Who can talk to a crowd of people out of doors and in, so as to wound sinners' hearts;

Who can lead a band of godly men and women to do anything likely to win souls;

Who are perfectly ready to speak, pray, visit, sit still, travel a hundred miles, or die at any moment;

Who have given up drink, tobacco and finery, for Christ's sake, or are willing to give up anything and everything for Him;

Who are willing to be led and taught, and to be sent home again if they do not succeed.

Who are willing to be evil spoken of, hated and despised, and even to be misrepresented, misunderstood, and undervalued at headquarters.

THE FOLLOWING NEED NOT APPLY:

Persons who, "being out of employment, desire to give themselves entirely," etc., etc.;

Who "do not think they can be expected" to exhaust all their strength in labouring day and night to save souls;

Who, "if engaged, will endeavour to give satisfaction to their employers";

Who will take any notice of the fact that their "friends object" to their going or living anywhere or doing anything they are asked to do;

Who desire "light employment," "find work begin to tell on them," etc., etc.;

Who would like to know "particulars as to salary, hours, home, etc., before engaging";

Who “are sometimes troubled with doubts” about the inspiration of the Bible, the divinity of Christ, the Atonement, election, the possibility of falling from grace, eternal damnation, or the personality of the devil.

Who “having had considerable experience” in our kind of work, think they know how to do it.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁵ Railton, *Heathen England*, 188.

Appendix B:

Hymnology

It has often been said that what a people sing becomes the DNA of their theology, or perhaps more accurately, the DNA of one's theology is revealed in what a faith community sings. I hold that it truly is a two-way street of sorts, but no matter what angle you approach it from, the theology of the people is embodied in the songs of the people. This can clearly be applied to the early Salvation Army. In short, we can assume when exploring the hymns of the early Salvation Army that they sang what they believed and they believed it because they sang it. Indeed, in the introduction of the 1930 edition of *The Salvation Army Song Book*, General Edward Higgins included the words of William Booth that implored the worshipper to "take in the meaning of every song." He continues, "here is a great treasury of truth... be determined that by God's grace you will never sing what you do not really mean and that you will be fit to sing all you find here."⁴⁰⁶

Booth was not alone in this assertion. In recent history, Resch, in the introduction to his article, *Hymnody as Teacher of the Faith*, writes that, "Hymns are teachers.... The teaching influence of hymnody is important because ... both young and old learn about matters such as theology through the texts which they sing."⁴⁰⁷ For the poor masses of Victorian England, hymns, which in the Army's case were set to familiar secular tunes, would have been key tools for the transmission and learning of theological concepts. Anthony Baker offers support for this idea. Baker explores the connection between poetry and theology, and while agreeing with C.S. Lewis that theology is not poetry, and actually belongs in an entirely different category, he lays out an argument that

⁴⁰⁶ *The Salvation Army Song Book* (Toronto, ON: The Salvation Army, 1930), iv.

⁴⁰⁷ Richard C. Resch, "Hymnody as Teacher of the Faith," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (July 1993): 161.

poetry can be theology or at least serve as a gateway for the human soul into theological understanding.⁴⁰⁸

With this in mind, what is very telling is that the early Army song book,⁴⁰⁹ and sung worship, was full of themes concerning the fire, the Presence of God, or the Holy Spirit, which served the role of empowering, transforming, and setting apart His people for service, mission, and sacrifice. In the same song book introduction already referenced, Booth writes, “let us persevere in our singing of the simple old truths ... that God has already blessed so widely to the Salvation of souls and the making and training of red-hot Soldiers.”⁴¹⁰ As noted in the body of this thesis, Salvation Army theology and mission was very pragmatic and utilitarian. What was not necessary, and seen as key to moving the mission forward, was eventually jettisoned from the movement. The sacraments are a case in point.⁴¹¹ As the early years of the movement progressed much of traditional ecclesiastical practice was abandoned, if even adopted to begin with, while other more useful ideas and practices became solidified into its outlook.

Theologically, it is striking in this light how far the idea of the holiness and the fire of God, leading into power and sanctification, was kept and celebrated, testifying to its central importance to early Salvationists. The hymnology of the early Army accordingly reflects the pragmatic and utilitarian nature of theological thought within the movement. The majority of songs could be grouped into three themes, salvation, consecration, and, what would become a hallmark⁴¹² of Army sung worship,

⁴⁰⁸ Anthony D. Baker, "Our grass-stained wings: an essay on poetry and theology." *Anglican Theological Review* 94, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 516.

⁴⁰⁹ Booth and his early comrades preferred to use the term songs oppose to hymns, as the latter lent itself too readily to the established church of their day which so many of their converts were disillusioned with, and disenfranchised from. Cf. Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army; Vol. 2*, 107; and Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 61.

⁴¹⁰ *The Salvation Army Song Book (1930)*, iii.

⁴¹¹ The Sacraments were phased out very early in The Salvation Army's development. Rightmire notes that “anything that impeded the conquest of the world for God was expendable.” Rightmire, *op. cit.*, 75.

⁴¹² Sandall notes the following quote by a non-Salvationist commenting on the hymns of the early Salvation Army. “Hymns under all circumstances have been spiritual meat and drink to me, but

warfare. Sandall notes that in an early hymn book, of the then Christian Mission, there were twenty-five entries of ‘the type of “Soldiers of Christ, arise!”’⁴¹³ In another work he adds that in his opinion The Salvation Army owed as much of its “astonishing success” to its hymns as it did to its disciplines.⁴¹⁴

It is unnecessary for us in this context to delve completely into early Army hymnology, which, for instance, would have to consider the inclusion of many hymns by Charles Wesley, so for our purposes we can focus primarily on the works of just two writers, William Booth himself, and Commissioner John Lawley. Booth has not been remembered in history as a song writer, and indeed there are only two songs penned by him in the present edition of the *Song Book*. However, the two songs that he is remembered for are profound, and one in particular reveals his understanding of the role of sanctification in mission. In 1894 William Booth wrote the following song, entitled “Send the Fire”:

Thou Christ of burning, cleansing flame,
Send the fire, send the fire, send the fire!
Thy blood bought gift today we claim,
Send the fire, send the fire, send the fire!
Look down and see this waiting host,
Give us the promised Holy Ghost;
We want another Pentecost,
Send the fire, send the fire, send the fire!

God of Elijah, hear our cry:
Send the fire, send the fire, send the fire!
To make us fit to live or die,
Send the fire, send the fire, send the fire!

the Salvation Army songs have tapped a new mine. I have felt like an old war horse hearing the trumpet sound at mass meetings. My whole being has been stirred by the power and intensity of these wonderful compositions.” Sandall, *op. cit.*, 108.

⁴¹³ Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army; Vol. 1*, 227.

⁴¹⁴ Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army; Vol. 2*, 108.

To burn up every trace of sin,
 To bring the light and glory in,
 The revolution now begin,
 Send the fire, send the fire, send the fire!

'Tis fire we want, for fire we plead,
 Send the fire, send the fire, send the fire!
 The fire will meet our every need,
 Send the fire, send the fire, send the fire!
 For strength to ever do the right,
 For grace to conquer in the fight,
 For power to walk the world in white,
 Send the fire, send the fire, send the fire!

To make our weak hearts strong and brave,
 Send the fire, send the fire, send the fire!
 To live a dying world to save,
 Send the fire, send the fire, send the fire!
 O see us on Thy altar lay
 Our lives, our all, this very day;
 To crown the offering now we pray,
 Send the fire, send the fire, send the fire!⁴¹⁵

The sung theology is very clear here. In verse one the *fire*, which represents the presence and work of the Holy Spirit, is invited to come, by the merit of Christ's redemptive work, and fill the *waiting host*. The second verse is an accounting of the work of sanctification in the believer, the removal of sin and the indwelling of God's

⁴¹⁵ *The Song Book of The Salvation Army*, song #203 (Verona, NJ: The Salvation Army, 1987). I have chosen for this section to reference all songs, unless otherwise noted, from the 1987 edition of *The Song Book of The Salvation Army*. I have done this for ease of reference for anyone wishing to see them in print or to reference the entire song where only portions have been quoted. While all the songs cited in the coming paragraphs were originally published in the earliest Song Books of The Salvation Army, finding reference copies, digital or otherwise, for review would be a very great challenge for most people wanting to explore them further. All the songs quoted, besides two, appear in the 1899 version of The Salvation Army Song Book, which was the first edition of the Song Book that was released in its 5th edition in 2015. The two songs that do not appear in the 1899 edition are *We the People of Thy Host* which was included in the 1930 edition, but was written prior to 1903. The second is *The World for God!*, which was a part of the 1953 edition, though was first published in 1937. It was written in 1934 however it is important to note that both of these songs were written by daughters of William Booth. *Salvation Army Songs* (London: The Salvation Army, 1899).; *Salvation Army Songs* (London: SP&S, 1930).; *The Song Book of The Salvation Army* (London: SP&S, 1953).

glory is directly correlated with the action of living and dying. We also see two precursors to the themes of the remaining verses, first of all, the singers are asking to be made fit, and I would suggest willing, to both and live and die for Christ, establishing the theme of sacrifice. Then secondly, revolution is requested; the revolution that is taking place spiritually is also being asked for in the world, bringing forward the theme of action. The third verse is a poignant prayer, *For strength to ever do the right, For grace to conquer in the fight, For power to walk the world in white....* The theme of action is brought into full view here, so that there is no mistaking what Booth is implying here, which is that the work of the Holy Spirit, the fire, translates into action. Then in the fourth verse the worshipper pledges sacrifice, *O see us on Thy altar lay, our lives, our all this very day....* In this concluding verse Booth makes clear the connection between sacrifice and what he sees to be our purpose, *to live a dying world to save*. It takes very little effort to see outlined in this song the process and cycle of pragmatic holiness that has been highlighted in this thesis. We have in it the realization of the character of God, followed by sanctification and consecration, and then a response of action and sacrifice.

The next songs I want to consider were penned by a much more prolific song writer. The contributions of Commissioner John Lawley have been found in every edition of *The Salvation Army Song Book* since very early days. John Lawley joined Booth's movement when it was still called the Christian Mission. He was a dynamic preacher, but is remembered mainly as an accomplished song writer and private secretary to William Booth. This is worth noting as the theology that comes out in Lawley's songs would have had full opportunity to be influenced by William Booth because of the direct and close relationship between the two men for over 20 years.

In reviewing the works of Lawley, it is striking that his songs center upon one of two themes, either the invitation to salvation, or the ideals of sanctification and consecration. For obvious reasons, it is only possible here to focus on those songs that deal with sanctification and consecration. Our focus will be on one song in particular, "Near the Cross Assembled Master," the words are as follows:

Near thy cross assembled, Master,
 At thy feet we fall,
 Seeking power to send us faster,
 Hear, Lord, while we call.
 Soul and body consecrating,
 Leaving every sin,
 Longing for a full salvation,
 Victory we would win.

Fire that changes earthly craving
 Into pure desire,
 Fire destroying fear and doubting,
 Fills and saves us higher;
 Fire that takes its stand for Jesus,
 Seeks and saves the lost;
 Fire that follows where he pleases,
 Fearless of the cost.

Fire that turns men into heroes,
 Makes of weakness, might;
 Fire that makes us more than conquerors,
 Strengthens us to fight.
 Crosses bearing, dangers daring,
 By the fire set free,
 In my Master's suffering sharing,
 Send this fire on me.⁴¹⁶

We have in this song, as with Booth's, the recurring focus on the fire. Again, we see a longing and invitation, or seeking, in the first verse, he writes, *Near thy cross assembled, Master, At thy feet we fall, Seeking power to send us faster, Hear, Lord, while we call*. This is followed by the theme of consecration, with *soul and body consecrating, leaving every sin, longing for a full salvation*. The focus on consecration continues into the second verse with his naming of the *fire* as the energy that transforms *earthy craving* and destroys *fear and doubting*. Then for the remainder of the second verse and into the third he launches fully into the ideals of sacrifice and action, with the words, *fire that turns men into heroes, makes of weakness, might; fire the makes us more than conquerors, strengthens us to fight*.

⁴¹⁶ *The Song Book of The Salvation Army*, song #197.

These themes are continued in various degrees in Lawley's other contributions to the *Song Book*. A portion of his song "Wanted, Hearts Baptized with Fire" states:

Wanted, hearts baptized with fire,
 Hearts completely cleansed from sin;
 Hearts that will go to the mire,
 Hearts that dare do aught for Him;
 Hearts that will be firmer, braver,
 Hearts like heroes gone before;
 Hearts enjoying God's full favor,
 Hearts to love Him more and more.

Hearts to hoist the colors bravely,
 Hearts to share the hardest fight;
 Hearts that know their duty clearly,
 Hearts to dare and do the right.⁴¹⁷

Elsewhere he writes:

To the uttermost he saves,
 To the uttermost he saves;
 Dare you now believe
 And his love receive?
 To the uttermost he saves.⁴¹⁸

At first it appears that this is a song of invitation to salvation but it is not. Dating back to at least the 1930 version of the *Song Book*, it is included in the section on holiness under the sub section of the call to holiness. Lawley is referencing the idea of full salvation, and is challenging, daring, the believer to step into this realized consecration. Then, finally for our purposes, he issues a call for a manifestation of God's power among Salvationists, select lines of his song "Give Us a Day of Wonders," go as follows:

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, song #704.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, song #413.

Give us a day of wonders,
 Jehovah, bare thine arm...
 We offer thee this temple,
 With power, Lord, enter in...
 Give courage for the battle,
 Give strength thy foes to slay...
 Give faith to fight with patience
 Till fighting days are o'er.⁴¹⁹

These songs by Booth and Lawley are typical and representative of the sentiment of other early Army song writers. There is a preoccupation with the fire of the Holy Spirit leading to sanctification, and in turn leading to acts of service and sacrifice on behalf of those lost in sin. The many warfare songs such as Robert Johnson's "Storm the Forts of Darkness,"⁴²⁰ and "Marching On the Light of God"⁴²¹ that features the line *marching on through the hosts of sin... victory's mine while I've Christ within*, can be clearly understood as an extension of the theology laid in the songs we have already considered.

It is interesting to note that the songs that mention "fire" that transforms, or "blood and fire," all come from writers who were intimately connected with Booth or who were with him in the early days of the movement. The chorus of a song written by George S. Railton declares, "Salvation Army, Army of God, onward to conquer the world with fire and blood."⁴²² Evangeline Booth, daughter of William and fourth General of The Salvation Army, penned these words,

The world for God! The world for God!
 For this, dear Lord, give to my soul consuming fire.
 Give fire that makes men heroes, turns weakness into might,
 The fire that gives courage to suffer for the fight,
 The fire that changes fearing to Pentecostal daring,
 The fire that makes me willing for Christ to live or die;

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, song #575.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, song #696.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, song #811.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, song #802.

For behold! On a hill, Calvary! Calvary!⁴²³

Reading these words, one cannot help but see the similarities to both Booth's and Lawley's songs and wonder how much of an influence these were upon her own theology.

There are two other songs worth noting; though they do not directly mention 'fire' they carry the same message as Booth and Lawley through just slightly different language. They are noteworthy not only because of the theological cues, but also because they are each written by one of Booth's children. Emma Booth-Tucker wrote,

We the people of thy host,
 Standing here before thee,
 For thy power, O Holy Ghost,
 We, as one, implore thee!

Send the power, send the power,
 Sent it, we implore thee.
 Fill us with the Holy Ghost,
 As we bow before thee

Thine for time, and thine for aye,
 Battling, conquering for thee,
 Till, when ended life's short day,
 We in Heaven adore thee.⁴²⁴

Her brother Herbert Booth penned dozens of songs, many of which are still in wide circulation within The Salvation Army today. The following is an excerpt from one of those songs that originates from the early days of the movement.

I bring to thee my heart to fill;
 I feel how weak I am but still
 To thee for help I call.
 In joy or grief, to live or die,

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, song #830.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, song #643.

For earth or Heaven, this is my cry,
Be thou my all in all.

No tempest can my courage shake,
My love from thee no pain can take,
No fear my heart appall;
And where I cannot see I'll trust,
For then I know thou surely must
Be still my all in all.⁴²⁵

It is interesting how the songs early Salvationists sang were able to capture both their hope and their method in a succinct fashion. The following quote from Booth creates a summarizing link between their mission and worship, “so wake up all the powers of your being... and consecrate every awakened power to the great end of saving them [the unconverted]. Be a Salvationist. Rescue the perishing... Be self-sacrificing.”⁴²⁶ We can conclude simply with Booth’s own words:

Let us look at it. What is this work we have in hand? To subdue a rebellious world to God. And what is the question to which many anxiously ask an answer? How is it most likely to be accomplished? Now, there are some things on which we may reckon all to be agreed:

1. That if ever the world, or any part of it is subdued, it will be by the instrumentality of men.
2. By holy men, saved, spiritual, divine men.
3. By men using substantially the same means as were used by the first Apostles, that is, preaching, praying, believing, etc.
4. That all that is effected will be by the co-operation and power of the Holy Ghost, given through and because of the atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, song #489.

⁴²⁶ Begbie, 409.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 411.

Appendix C

The Doctrines of The Salvation Army

1. We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by inspiration of God, and that they only constitute the Divine rule of Christian faith and practice.
2. We believe that there is only one God, who is infinitely perfect, the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of all things, and who is the only proper object of religious worship.
3. We believe that there are three persons in the Godhead – the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, undivided in essence and co-equal in power and glory.
4. We believe that in the person of Jesus Christ the Divine and human natures are united, so that He is truly and properly God and truly and properly man.
5. We believe that our first parents were created in a state of innocence, but by their disobedience they lost their purity and happiness, and that in consequence of their fall all men have become sinners, totally depraved, and as such are justly exposed to the wrath of God.
6. We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ has by His suffering and death made an atonement for the whole world so that whosoever will may be saved.
7. We believe that repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit, are necessary to salvation.
8. We believe that we are justified by grace through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and that he that believeth hath the witness in himself.
9. We believe that continuance in a state of salvation depends upon continued obedient faith in Christ.

10. We believe that it is the privilege of all believers to be wholly sanctified, and that their whole spirit and soul and body may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.
11. We believe in the immortality of the soul; in the resurrection of the body; in the general judgment at the end of the world; in the eternal happiness of the righteous; and in the endless punishment of the wicked.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁸ Sandall, *History of The Salvation Army*, Vol 1, 288-9.

Appendix D:

Salvation Army Soldiership

Soldiership is a practice where a Salvationist chooses to enter into a special covenantal relationship with God that commits to a high standard of Christian life and practice marked by sacrifice and service. This relationship is entered into in the light of who God is and what He has done, and is both private and public in nature. The participant makes a public declaration of his or her intent before a congregation of people and signs a document called a “Soldier’s Covenant” as a public sign of the personal commitment he or she has made to God. The following is the text of the covenant signed by every Salvation Army soldier around the world:

The Salvation Army’s Soldier Covenant

HAVING accepted Jesus Christ as my Saviour and Lord, and desiring to fulfil my membership of His Church on earth as a soldier of The Salvation Army, I now by God’s grace enter into a sacred covenant.

I believe and will live by the truths of the word of God expressed in The Salvation Army’s eleven articles of faith:

We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by inspiration of God: and that they only constitute the Divine rule of Christian faith and practice.

We believe that there is only one God, who is infinitely perfect, the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of all things, and who is the only proper object of religious worship.

We believe that there are three persons in the Godhead—the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost—undivided in essence and coequal in power and glory.

We believe that in the person of Jesus Christ the Divine and human natures are united, so that He is truly and properly God and truly and properly man.

We believe that our first parents were created in a state of innocence. But by their disobedience they lost their purity and happiness; and that in consequence of their fall all men have become sinners, totally depraved. And as such are justly exposed to the wrath of God.

We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ has, by His suffering and death, made an atonement for the whole world so that whosoever will may be saved.

We believe that repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and regeneration by the Holy Spirit are necessary to salvation.

We believe that we are justified by grace, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; and that he that believeth hath the witness in himself.

We believe that continuance in a state of salvation depends upon continued obedient faith in Christ.

We believe that it is the privilege of all believers to be wholly sanctified, and that their whole spirit and soul and body may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

We believe in the immortality of the soul; in the resurrection of the body; in the general judgment at the end of the world; in the eternal happiness of the righteous; and in the endless punishment of the wicked.

THEREFORE

I will be responsive to the Holy Spirit's work and obedient to His leading in my life, growing in grace through worship, prayer, service and the reading of the Bible.

I will make the values of the Kingdom of God and not the values of the world the standard for my life.

I will uphold Christian integrity in every area of my life, allowing nothing in thought, word or deed that is unworthy, unclean, untrue, profane, dishonest or immoral.

I will maintain Christian ideals in all my relationships with others: my family and neighbours, my colleagues and fellow Salvationists, those to whom and for whom I am responsible, and the wider community.

I will uphold the sanctity of marriage and of family life.

I will be a faithful steward of my time and gifts, my money and possessions, my body, my mind and my spirit, knowing that I am accountable to God.

I will abstain from alcoholic drink, tobacco, the non-medical use of addictive drugs, gambling, pornography, the occult, and all else that could enslave the body or spirit.

I will be faithful to the purposes for which God raised up The Salvation Army, sharing the good news of Jesus Christ, endeavouring to win others to Him, and in His name caring for the needy and the disadvantaged.

I will be actively involved, as I am able, in the life, work, worship and witness of the corps, giving as large a proportion of my income as possible to support its ministries and the worldwide work of the Army.

I will be true to the principles and practices of The Salvation Army, loyal to its leaders, and I will show the spirit of Salvationism whether in times of popularity or persecution.

I now call upon all present to witness that I enter into this covenant and sign these articles of war of my own free will, convinced that the love of Christ, who died and now lives to save me, requires from me this devotion of my life to His service for the salvation of the whole world; and therefore do here declare my full determination, by God's help, to be a true soldier of The Salvation Army.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁹ Booth and Court, 213-215.

Curriculum Vitae

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