

WORD & DEED

VOL. XXI NO. 1



NOVEMBER 2018

A JOURNAL OF SALVATION ARMY
THEOLOGY & MINISTRY

Is This the Time?

**Art and the Army:
An Art Historical Perspective**

**Spreading Salvation Abroad:
Catherine Booth and World Missions**

**The Salvation Army and the Challenge of Higher Education
in the New Millennium**



Salvation Army National Headquarters
Alexandria, VA, USA

Word & Deed Mission Statement:

The purpose of the journal is to encourage and disseminate the thinking of Salvationists and other Christian colleagues on matters broadly related to the theology and ministry of The Salvation Army. The journal provides a means to understand topics central to the mission of The Salvation Army, integrating the Army’s theology and ministry in response to Christ’s command to love God and our neighbor.

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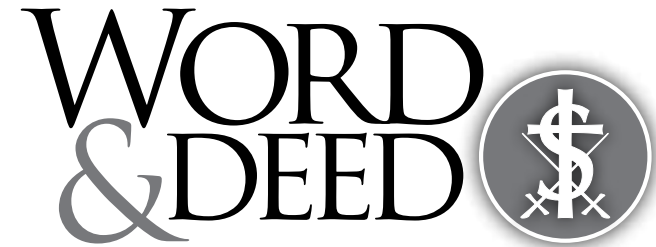
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For Such A Time As This

Jonathan S. Raymond and Roger J. Green

We are pleased to have strong participation by an internationally diverse group of contributors. They derive from Canada, Australia, Britain, and the USA and represent Salvationists and non-Salvationists, officers and soldiers, theologians, historians, and practitioners of ministry and global missions. Glory to God!

In Esther (4:14), Mordecai encouraged Queen Esther to take a personal risk and act at just the right time when the survival of the Jewish population was seriously threatened. He used the phrase, “for such a time as this.” We find the phrase used throughout history ever since. In this issue of *Word & Deed*, a thread of timeliness runs through our four authors’ contributions. In God’s perfect time, he calls us and bids us go on. Here are four variations on his calling.

We lead off with Kay Rader’s sermon, entitled “Is this the time?” She quotes Scottish evangelist/pastor, Graham Scroggie, who said, “All Christians have eternal life but not all enjoy abundant life. The trouble with so many of us is that we are on the right side of Easter and the wrong side of Pentecost; the right side of pardon but the wrong side of power.” Her sermon follows this line of thought based on Acts 1:1-11 and Acts 2:1-4. The message is one worth seriously pondering. There comes a time when full salvation means something more is possible. The author prompts us to appreciate that there is more to being a Christian beyond the right side of Easter and raises the prospect that it is time to discover abundant life on the right side of Pentecost.

Next is the article by Emily Wilce entitled “Art and the Army: An Art Historical Perspective.” Here Wilce focuses on how the plight of women and the

Army's rescue work was historically illustrated in periodicals and papers in the late nineteenth century. She presents examples of print media illustrations accompanying magazine and newspaper articles whereby the Army's messages and branded image grew and matured in its propaganda sophistication. Her writing brings clarity to The Salvation Army's growing insight and awareness of the power of mass-produced art to influence audiences on the plight of women. She takes into account the Army's timely appreciation of Victorian culture and its intention to promote public sensitivities to and support of its social ministry and mission. The Army at the time juxtaposed print media based art and the narratives of mission taking into account Victorian values.

Andrew M. Eason, our third author, addresses a point of suspected revisionist Army history. In his article, "Spreading Salvation Abroad: Catherine Booth and World Mission," he challenges the idea that Catherine Booth's influence and interests in The Salvation Army's mission was narrowly focused, more so than her husband's global passion for the whole world. As such Eason responds to the idea that Catherine was more interested in national, home-front obligations than the Army's missional expansion beyond Britain. Eason makes the case otherwise in documenting Catherine's high profile and emphasizes on Christian missions characteristic of her formative years. In her subsequent writings and public addresses, it was clear that her life's ministry was based on Christ's great commission. Catherine's strong critique of missions in her day made her an aggressive protagonist for a more humble, incarnational approach by the Army to global missions, especially in its work in the global south and east.

Eason underscores Catherine's call for greater sacrifice, self-denial in godly living, simplicity of lifestyle in reaching souls of other nations, and empowerment found in a life of holiness. While Catherine's life was cut short at a relatively younger age than William, her influence and advocacy was notable in the Army's early years of world-wide expansion and global mission. It continues today for such a time as this.

Dean Smith's article, "The Salvation Army and the Challenge of Higher Education in a New Millennium," raises a prophetic voice regarding the Army's ambivalence over general and higher education. While we live in a time with "rapid and unprecedented social and cultural change," Smith makes the case that "the church needs to draw upon its full intellectual capital to tackle the challenge." Given its state of ambivalence, he believes the Army is

presently in an intellectually weakened state and is vulnerable in facing the challenges of our day and of the future.

Smith makes the case that the Army's relevance and effectiveness depends on a radical reorientation, especially in the movement's theology and practice. He explains the Army's ambivalence about general higher education and the church's embrace of a dualistic Christian vision that prevails in the West and in particular in modern Anglo-American evangelicalism. It is a vision and worldview that the Army has embraced as we drifted into with the Western church throughout the twentieth century. He states that the cost to the church, is an underdeveloped stage of faith, a stasis in "synthetic-conventional faith," a kind of theological adolescence, or what might be considered arrested theological development by drift and default.

Smith proposes that a radical intervention and course correction is found in realigning to our Wesleyan heritage. This means "reorienting our theology and practice to a Wesleyan worldview." He boldly states, "We need to rediscover our theological roots and in particular the exultant and optimistic strand within our tradition." Smith's article and bold prophetic voice may be means of grace for such a time as this and such a time yet to come.

Finally, the reader will notice the journal's recently revised editorial policy crafted by the newly constituted editorial board. In addition, we include in this issue a call for papers. Calls for papers will be a continuing feature of the journal inviting scholarly articles, essays, sermons, and book reviews on announced topics.

JSR

RJG

Is This the Time?

Kay F. Rader

O Lord, I seek from you
The power to speak Your mind;
I seek the insights, Lord,
That prayerful people find.
And as I speak, give liberty,
Give wisdom and authority.

Commissioner Harry Read

INTRODUCTION

In Acts 1:3 the Lord Jesus and His disciples to whom He had presented himself multiple times over the forty days following his suffering and death gathered on the Mount of Olives, Jesus giving them last-minute instructions. He said:

“Tarry.” “Stay.” “Do not leave—Jerusalem – but wait for the Father’s promised gift – the baptism of the Holy Spirit.”

Suddenly, Jesus is taken up and hidden by a cloud, leaving the disciples gazing up into the sky, dumbstruck, their feet stuck to the ground, as though paralyzed. The response is not surprising. It was a scary moment for them. When Jesus speaks, He stops us in our tracks. It can be scary. The natural ten-

This sermon was preached on Monday, April 9, 2018 at The Salvation Army College for Officer Training in Suffern, New York by Kay F. Rader, a retired commissioner in The Salvation Army who served in Korea, the United States and at International Headquarters, London, England.

dency is to want to either run or stand as though paralyzed, like a statue. But God in His mercy always has an angel at the ready. As we read the Scriptures we see this happening time after time. An angel or angels show up—just in time.

Just in time on the Mount of Olives. Shaking them out of their stupor, reminding the disciples that this same Jesus would come back just as he had left them a few moments ago. That shook their feet loose. It got them going. The disciples, their feet moving like never before, were suddenly heading toward Jerusalem which was about a day's journey by foot. Jesus said "Go." So, they went. Give them credit. They were willing to be willing. Not so for all Christians.

"All Christians," says the great Scottish evangelist/pastor, Graham Scroggie, "have eternal life but not all enjoy abundant life. There may be life without health. There can be movement without progress. There may be war without victory. We may try and never triumph. And the difference all along between possessing the life and experiencing life, (more abundant life) is simply the fullness of life in Jesus Christ made real by the incoming of His Holy Spirit." He concludes, "The trouble with so many of us is that we are *on the right side of Easter and the wrong side of Pentecost; the right side of Pardon but the wrong side of Power.*"

We have sung ever since childhood, "This one thing I know. This one thing I know. God in great mercy pardoned me. Snapped sin's fetters and set me free. Once I was blind but now I see. This one thing I know!" We know. We remember it well! But when we are on the *wrong side of Pentecost*, we are on the *wrong side of Power*. Then, how are we to face the temptations that inevitably come our way?

This humble handful of apostles gathered around the pre-ascended Jesus here in Acts chapter one does not appear to be fully confident. I imagine they were hovering as closely as possible to Him. They must have been straining to catch every word. They feared what would happen when He left. They felt the need for "something more." As long as they could see Jesus all was well and good. But what of tomorrow? In spite of all they had seen and heard, still they faced fear, insecurity and doubts. To the very last there were questions. Among their questions was one that perhaps some are still asking today: "*Lord, is this the time?*"

Within the lives of these humble believers all huddled together, listening

intently to Jesus on the day of His ascension, pictured for us in the first chapter of Acts, there is something lacking. There is a need for something more. On one occasion as they were having a meal together (Acts 1:4-8), Jesus had told them what they were to do. He said,

Do not leave Jerusalem.

Wait for the promised gift of my Father.

He told them what would happen to them. He said:

- You will be baptized with the Holy Spirit.
- You will receive power *when the Holy Spirit* has come upon you.
- You will be *my* witnesses (1:8). Everywhere—Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria and to the ends of the earth.

But they could not grasp the meaning of His words. They were still on the wrong side of Pentecost. On the wrong side of Power. As author Oswald Chambers says, "We have to get alone with Jesus, get rid of the noisy questions of the head. Then we will understand."

However, whether or not they understood fully, we must give them full credit for what they did next. They obeyed Jesus' words. They did not know what was ahead for them in Jerusalem. But they headed for Jerusalem anyway. Little did they know that what was to come to pass in Jerusalem would change their lives forever.

THE WRONG SIDE OF PENTECOST AND POWER

Think for a moment about this wrong side of Pentecost. On which side would you reckon *yourself* to be? Among the handful of believers gathered around Jesus on the mountain was the Apostle Peter, one well acquainted with the wrong side of Pentecost. Peter's lifestyle was not unlike many Christians—my own for many years and perhaps yours. That is, his Christianity was propelled by aerodynamic principles similar to those followed when operating a glider plane. No motor. Glider pilots must depend heavily on the direction and force of the wind to carry the plane. But wind currents are unpredictable. Flying in imperfect wind currents, one needs a motor to keep go-

ing. Especially when the wind dies down completely. Riding on high spiritual winds the disciple, Peter, declares who Jesus is with an unquestioning, “You are the Messiah, the Son of the living God” (Matthew 16:16). Then only a short time later when the words of Jesus’ suffering and death begin making him feel uncomfortable, he rebukes Jesus, saying “God forbid it, Lord, this must never happen to you” (Matthew 16:22). In his heart and mind he may have been thinking, “Lord this must never happen to *me*.” Knowing Peter well, Jesus answers, “You are setting your mind not on divine things, Peter, but on human things” (Matthew 16:23).

On another occasion as Peter soared on spiritual winds, he asked Jesus with a sincere heart, “Lord, where are you going?” (John 13:36). Knowing Peter, Jesus says, “Where I am going, you cannot follow now, but you will follow later.” Again, when Peter asked, “Why can’t I follow you now? I will lay down my life for you” (John 13:37). Knowing the truth about Peter, Jesus said, “Will you really lay down your life for me? Very truly I tell you, before the rooster crows, you will disown me three times!” (John 13:38).

When the wind dies, gliders cease to soar. When spiritual winds die down, spiritual fervour falters at best, and at worst, begins to die. It is then that we know on which side of Pentecost we are. We know whether the power is there or not. British author/preacher, John Henry Jowett, writes of the three denials. He says,

Peter, the unshakeable rock or a bending reed? But there’s not much granite here! Peter is yet loose and yielding. A servant girl whispers and his timid heart flings a lie to his lips and he denies his Lord.

Peter, the coward, denied the Master, not because he coveted money, but because he feared people. He was not seeking crowns, but escaping frowns. He was not clutching at a garland, but avoiding a sword. It was not avarice, but cowardice which determined his ways. He shrank from crucifixion. He saw a possible cross and with a great lie he passed by on the other side.

One of the characteristics of glider-type spirituality is the tendency to live much too close to the edge of disaster. For example, Peter and the other disciples slept when they should have been praying on the Mount of Olives the night of Jesus’ arrest. Peter came to the garden carrying a sword on his person. The more the tension mounted, the more his temper flared. Without hesitation his sword was out, and he was striking Malchus, the high priest’s slave, cutting off his ear.

Cowardice, the temptation to lie, the temptation to yield to unholy attitudes, the temptation to live too close to the edge of spiritual downfall are all characteristic of life on the wrong side, the powerless side of Pentecost. How can we be sure about where we stand spiritually—the wrong or the right side?

According to Oswald Chambers, author of the classic devotional, *My Utmost for His Highest*, the surest sign that God has done a Pentecostal work of grace in your heart is that you love Jesus Christ best, not weakly and faintly, not intellectually, but passionately, personally and devotedly, your love for Christ overwhelming every other love of your life. Ask yourself, “*Do I love Jesus best?*” Not weakly, not faintly, not intellectually, but passionately, personally and devotedly. Furthermore, ask, “*Does my love for Jesus overwhelm every other love of my life?*” Those on the wrong side of Pentecost are never sure.

During my own wrong side of Pentecost days, I would think of all the times I had sought holiness. In holiness camp meetings with my parents as a young child I went often to the mercy seat seeking holiness. Throughout my teenage years and at Asbury College during revival meetings, I willingly responded to altar calls. Later I told myself that surely, somehow, somewhere I must have been sanctified during one of those trips to the altar. Still, I was unsure. Like those who stood around Jesus as He was leaving them on the Mount of Olives, I asked, “*Lord, is this the time. . .?*”

But I testify to you I now know the day, the place, the hour, the moment that it finally happened. The band of Christians with Jesus “travelled a Sabbath day’s journey to the room upstairs to wait and to pray” (Acts 1:12 TNIV). My journey stretched far beyond a Sabbath day. It was a long journey through fields of spiritual land mines, ending not in the room upstairs, but the front room of our quarters in Seoul, South Korea, which happened to be downstairs. Suddenly there was an explosion of the Holy Spirit in my heart. For the first time I knew. Without a shadow of a doubt I knew. When a person is on trial the

defence lawyer must present evidence beyond any reasonable doubt. God did that for me. He left me with no reasonable doubt. I was set free. Prior to that moment a friend had suggested I apply 220 voltage to my life.

I have been crucified with Christ; and I no longer live, but Christ lives in me. The life I now live in the body I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me (Gal. 2:20 TNIV).

“When God said, ‘Be perfect’” says C. S. Lewis, “he meant it. . . it is the difference between paint, which is merely laid on the surface, and a dye or stain which soaks right through. He meant that we must go in for the full treatment.” Says Lewis, “It is hard; but the sort of compromise we are all hankering after is harder—in fact, it is impossible. . . we are like eggs at present. And you cannot go on indefinitely being just an ordinary, decent egg. We must be hatched or go bad. . . But you must look for holiness.”

For me it was just that. A desperate searching for holiness. As soon as Jesus was taken from them, the tiny band of believers were on their way to Jerusalem—to pray and to wait. They “devoted themselves to prayer” (Acts 1:14). *I waited, I prayed.*

The 220-voltage idea turned out to be costly. There was the high price of crucifixion, death to self, to ambitions, to my own point of view, death to my will. It involved emptying myself of self and that I found to be quite painful. Becoming emptied of all that I held dear. All my selfish ambitions and self-satisfying commitments. The 3 November reading in *My Utmost for His Highest* says of Gal. 2:20: “These words mean the breaking of my independence with my own hand and surrendering to the supremacy of the Lord Jesus.”

We may sing Richard Slater’s lovely prayer: “Holy Spirit, come, O come, let they work in me be done! ALL that hinders shall be thrown aside; Make me fit to be thy dwelling.” But when we make it the earnest prayer of our hearts, ‘tis a painful thing. Colonel Allister Smith used to say, “We are not likely to pay the price of being sanctified if we think we can get through life and into Heaven without it.” And I know what he means. Sanctification comes when we are desperate about being holy.

THE RIGHT SIDE OF PENTECOST AND POWER (Acts 2:1-4)

We have the promise in Acts 1:8: “. . . but you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you. . . and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the ends of the earth.” That promise is followed by fulfilment in Acts 2:1-4: “When the day of Pentecost came, they were all together in one place. Suddenly a sound like the blowing of a violent wind came from heaven and filled the whole house where they were sitting. They saw what seemed to be tongues of fire that separated and came to rest on each of them. All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other languages as the Spirit enabled them.”

Joy Davidman, wife of C. S. Lewis, born a Jew, became an atheist, then a Communist, was converted to Christianity and finally experienced a transaction from Christian to *empowered* Christian. She said in her testimony to the transformation, “He made me aware simultaneously of the blinding presence of God and my own personality, black and smudgy as I had never seen it before. I admitted my own arrogance, my intolerance, my prejudices, my selfishness, my vindictiveness.” She goes on to say, “It was so much the real-est thing that had ever happened to me. All in half a minute—it would have taken years of psychoanalysis.” Author Elisabeth Rooney had been mentored by scholars such as Niebuhr, Tillich and Van Dusen. Yet she says, “I always felt that we were learning about God as if we were learning about algebra. We had brilliant teaching about God, but there was no sense of God as a personal intimate.” She says she told the Lord “I hadn’t really thought of inviting you in. I sort of thought I’d just keep handing you bits and pieces of my life, like feeding a tramp at the back door without letting him in to mess up the kitchen. You know and I know that I need to let you in. *So here goes everything!*”

My prayer was also short and to the point. I prayed, “*Lord, this is it!*” Immediately, I knew *this was the time*. I felt His Presence. More to the point, I felt His Power. I knew that from that moment on, He would fight my battles for me.

Is it presumptuous to claim the power of holiness? To say that you know without a shadow of a doubt? Jesus’ promise to the believers suggests no personal presumption. We see this in Acts 1:8: “*You will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you. You will be my witnesses.*”

This power is not of our own making. “Tell the Lord you are willing to

be willing,” says F. B. Meyer. On the right side of Pentecost, we see things differently. On the right side of Pentecost, the Apostle Peter experienced Holy-Spirit motivated power. As Jowett proclaimed, “Once a maid could make him tremble; now he stands in high places steadfast and unmoveable.”

Perhaps you have been saying you were longing for holiness, saying “Lord, is this the time?” but never having the assurance. Perhaps this is the very hour that you need to pray your own prayer of surrender. “Lord, here goes everything. Lord, this is it!” Have you had life without health? War without victory? Tries but never triumph? Why not fling it all overboard—trust in Him and allow Him to set you right? To take you from the wrong side of Pentecost and Power to the right side.

Let us Pray.

Spirit, now melt and move all of our hearts with love,
Breathe on us from above with old-time power.
Amen!

Art and the Army: An Art Historical Perspective

Emily Wilce

This article considers the portrayal of rescue work in the pages of the periodicals produced by The Salvation Army in the late nineteenth century in Britain. Print was an important medium for the organization and their use of illustration in the magazines and newspapers which they produced are notable for both their quality and sheer volume. This paper argues that, during the 1880s and 1890s, The Salvation Army saw the mass reproduction of illustration as fundamental to their success and their self-promotion. Through the exploration of periodicals such as *The War Cry*, *All the World*, and *The Deliverer*, this article contends that the artists working for The Salvation Army purposefully engaged with themes and tropes which had been popular within the history of Victorian painting, illustration, and literature during the period.¹ Thus, this article will discuss not only what these illustrations portray, and the role which they held in disseminating The Salvation Army’s brand image and messages, but also how their use of the print medium itself engaged with wider trends within the Victorian culture. It is evident that The Salvation Army was acutely aware of the power of art to impress ideas and values upon their audiences, and that they employed illustration to spread important messages about the role of rescue work in late nineteenth-century society. The illustrated publications provide a wealth of art historical material which has remained largely unexplored as to this time and, therefore, the images which they contain are much more than pictures intended to accompany the articles which are printed alongside them, but in fact act as sites of meaning themselves. This

Emily Wilce is an Art History teacher at Uppingham School, a boarding school which was founded in 1584 and is nestled in the English countryside.

article will assess this material from an art-historical perspective, considering the artistic methods, trends, and decisions which were made by The Salvation Army whilst disseminating material which was intended to promote and raise awareness of their philanthropic work.²

Nineteenth-century Britain is often described as being the birthplace of modern journalism, the period having witnessed a rapid increase in the production and circulation of newspapers, reviews, pamphlets, journals and magazines.³ The Salvation Army's publications therefore, were produced at a time when reading audiences were being constantly exposed to printed text, mass produced illustrations, and billboard advertising. The Salvation Army clearly engaged with this cultural trend, investing heavily in the print medium throughout the 1880s and launching a vast number of periodicals in the hope that they could make the public aware of the issues which they were trying to tackle.⁴ *The Deliverer* was largely devoted to the subject of the reclamation of prostitutes and the wider poor, and employed illustration perhaps to the greatest degree out of the charity's publications. Published between 1889 and 1928, its pages contain a plethora of illustrations and stories which depict the plight of poverty-stricken men, women and children, and especially, prostitutes, highlighting The Salvation Army's role in their reclamation.⁵ *The Deliverer* was pitched at a dual audience, catering both those who were in need of The Salvation Army's intervention, and those who had the potential to help. Costing one penny per monthly issue, it was an affordable publication, yet copies of *The Deliverer* were also handed out free of charge by Salvation Army workers to women who they hoped to save from prostitution. The front-page article of the very first issue of *The Deliverer* emphasized this ambitious audience base, stating that *The Deliverer* and the rescue work which it reported was "a work to which the simplest and humblest, the weakest and poorest, as well as the most learned and wealthy ought to devote themselves."⁶

The Salvation Army was by no means the first philanthropic group to employ print for the purposes of promoting their social work. Organizations such as the Society for the Rescue of Young Women and Children (established in 1853) and Urania Cottage (1846-58), a rescue home for the rehabilitation and emigration of fallen women headed by Charles Dickens, were also publicized through these means. Periodicals such as *The Magdalen's Friend and Female Homes' Intelligencer* (1860-4), furthermore, employed the print medium to tell stories of the fate and rescue of the outcast woman, whilst journalistic

publications such as *The Illustrated Police News* and *The Pall Mall Gazette* often broached the relationship between crime, poverty and gender in their articles. William Stead's scandalous series "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" (1885), in which The Salvation Army's involvement has been well documented, is a noteworthy example of the power of the press to challenge and mould public, and political, opinion.⁷ Yet, it was The Salvation Army which was the first amongst these to employ illustration to such an extent that every page of the publications held an image of some description which consistently translated their messages to their readers.

The development of the prostitute, the fallen, and the outcast woman as a visual artistic canon had accelerated during the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s in Victorian Britain. Throughout the mid-century, artists, authors, and illustrators largely promoted formulaic depictions of the fallen woman in contrast to the respectable, identifying the physiognomic and behavioural differences between a woman of "good" character and the "undesirable." Such portrayals were typically informed by phrenological and physiognomic theories which posited that features such as an elongated forehead were indicators of moral degeneracy. Thus, the mythology which surrounded portrayals of the prostitute at this time made the iconographic markers of the prostitute explicit to Victorian viewers.⁸ As Deborah Cherry has noted, "patterns of respectability" became fixed patterns of portrayal.⁹ Yet, as campaigns for social reform and gender equality gathered momentum throughout the period, portrayals of the fallen woman began to shift. Josephine Butler's campaigns to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866, and 1869, aimed to expose the legal injustices which women faced, whilst campaigns such as Stead's "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" helped to shake the presumption that prostitution was a willing choice, the blame of which, he argued, should no longer rest on the shoulders of women alone but should also be placed upon the male consumer. The Salvation Army's portrayals of their rescue work in the 1880s and 1890s, therefore, engaged with a trope which had a firm basis and awareness in public consciousness.

In mid-Victorian ideology, women had been thought to be domesticated creatures, rarely seen to be unaccompanied on the city streets as this, it was thought, could lead to immoral sexual interactions. Although, the realities of working life meant that the lone woman in the public sphere was not unusual — especially by the 1890s.¹⁰ Consequently, this posed a serious problem for

female Salvation Army officers: precisely how was one to distinguish these philanthropic workers from those who they were trying to save, thus ensuring that their moral integrity stayed intact?¹¹ The front cover of the November 1893 edition of *The Deliverer* portrayed the hazardous nature of rescue work where the dangers of city night life were graphically shown (fig. 1). Well-dressed men and women parade on the Piccadilly streets, smoking, drinking, and conversing. Yet, in the top right corner, a woman who is clearly too intoxicated to protect herself is seen being bundled into a waiting carriage by two faceless men: the message is clearly ominous. Whilst the opulent dress of the women in the central portrayal suggests their purpose there, the clothing of The Salvation Army members who are pictured to the left similarly translates their role and intentions to the reader. Donning their bonnets and dressed in simple, dark dresses and



Fig. 1

cloaks, Booth's so called "women warriors" almost appear to be cladding themselves in an armor which will protect them from the dangers pictured in the adjacent portrayal.¹²

What is interesting, however, is that in comparison to earlier trends in artistic portrayals, there is little, facially, to distinguish the women of The Salvation Army from those who they hope to save. Both of their faces are highly stylized, unusually devoid of any sense of age or physical hardship. This suggests that the outcast woman was perhaps not



Fig. 2

so different from the Salvationists: with their help, she may therefore be able to return to a respectable mode of life without carrying with her signifiers of her past transgressions—a key message promoted by The Salvation Army at the time. The possibility of this reversal was further reinforced by an illustration published in *The Deliverer* in 1899 where "The Seven Stages of Women" were displayed in two storyboards (fig. 2). The first series depicts the down-

fall of a woman as she passes from a life of luxury to male companionship and then on to prostitution. This is then followed by poverty and drunkenness before she is found by The Salvation Army. The last stage shows her first steps to salvation as she crosses the threshold of the rescue home where she is welcomed with open arms. "The reply" answered this account with an illustration of the seven stages of recovery, where firstly the woman is offered food and warmth by those who have rescued her. Having asked for forgiveness in the second scene she then undertakes training and exercise before leaving the home for a job in service. The final panel in the series shows the woman, now dressed in The Salvation Army uniform, passing a leaflet to another young girl who is about to embark on this same journey. Through wearing the uniform, the woman has not only become cleansed of all of her former sin, but—as Susan Mumm has argued in relation to penitentiaries—has re-joined society "in a higher spiritual and social class than [she] had been before her fall from virtue." Thus, she has undergone "a radical transformation, socially as well as morally" which is outwardly shown through her change in dress.¹³

The Salvation Army was quite unique in this respect, however, as the irreversibility of female moral transgression had been deeply imbedded in cultural renderings during the century. There was a long established and extremely popular trope in nineteenth-century visual culture, literature, and social thought, which followed that the prostitute's story would end in death: the final punishment for her moral errs in life. As the popular essayist William Rathbone Greg wrote in his 1850 discussion of *Prostitution*: "the career of these women is ... brief ... [and] their downward path a marked and inevitable one [from which they] ... may not pause — may not recover."¹⁴ Moreover, in the field of social investigation, William Sanger similarly championed this perception in his 1858 survey of *The History of Prostitution*, stating that "as cases of reform ... are very rare, the conclusion would be that the career [of the fallen woman] ends in death."¹⁵ The Salvation Army did not completely discard this presumption, but purposefully rested upon it to illustrate why their intervention was necessary, often referencing the most popular suggestion that the fallen, or morally disgraced, woman would commit suicide by drowning.

The first Christmas edition of *The Deliverer* propagated this theme with the portrayal of this very subject, juxtaposing a life of "luxury and laughter" with its inevitable consequences: "death and despair, darkness and dismay" (fig. 3). This popular trope was continually referenced throughout The Salva-

tion Army's illustrated publications, the April 1899 front cover graphically portraying the aftermath of suicide through the colourful depiction of a body washed up on the banks of the Thames. Direct comparisons can be drawn between this illustration and one of the most socially critical paintings of the period, George Frederick Watts' *Found Drowned* (1848-1850).¹⁶ Paralleling Watts' oil, "Easter Realities" depicted the body of a young woman, lying in a sacrificial pose with arms outstretched in a clear



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

reference to Christ's own position on the crucifix (fig. 4).¹⁷ Whilst Watts' woman appears to be intact and unspoilt by the effects of the water, the subject of "Easter Realities" has a cut on her forehead, adding a sense of realism to the scene which Watts purposefully omitted. The blood from the wound drips down into her golden hair as a lily drops its petals onto the ground nearby. An emblem of her lost innocence, the lily reinforces the Army's use of traditional artistic symbolism here, demonstrating their awareness and employment of visual trends and metaphors. The title, "Easter Realities" alludes to Christ's self-sacrifice, having died so that the sins of the fallen would be forgiven. The suicidal act, although criminal at the time in law, was therefore seen as a symbolic move towards redemption in literary and artistic portrayal of the outcast woman. Indeed, the metaphorical cleansing nature of the water was not lost on nineteenth-century audiences. Yet it also perhaps references Booth's view that women such as this were "sacrificed" night after night on the city streets before being cast aside "by the very men who had ruined [them]", as he described in *In Darkest England*.¹⁸

Through his painting, Watts had hoped to expose "the wretched conditions of the poor", provoke social change, and encourage the viewers of his work to reassess their own perceptions towards the outcast woman.¹⁹ The intentional similarity of *The Deliverer* illustration, which was produced fifty years after Watts' painting, therefore acts to strengthen its message, making clear to the reader that even after half a century, change was still needed. The banner

which was carried on the front page of *The Deliverer* from 1893 onwards, further reflected these messages, featuring a tempestuous sea in which lost souls struggle to survive (fig. 5). The water is labelled with "immorality", "drink", "poverty"



Fig. 5

and "despair." It continually crashes against the shore, where members of the Army are waiting to help the struggling souls. A lighthouse stands tall shining the light of "love" on those beneath, guiding them to the path of salvation.

This symbolic use of light was similarly referenced in the October 3, 1883 issue of *The War Cry* — one of the earliest examples of the charity's use of illustration to convey its message without an accompanying article (fig. 6).



Fig. 6

The first of the two images presents a well-dressed woman, draped in a fur-lined coat which alludes to her life of pleasure, as she leans against the railings of a bridge, clearly contemplating whether to jump. According to the strapline printed beneath the image, this "poor fallen girl" has "attempted suicide several times" before.²⁰ Rather than plunging off the bridge into the dark water below, however, the second illustration shows the young woman's rescue at the hands of a female Salvation Army officer, who points to the sky, showing the way to deliverance through faith in God. The ominous clouds of the first image are now pierced by sunlight. The Salvation Army worker has clearly brought "spiritual light" with her. A broader analysis of the publications suggest that this symbolic use of light was commonly referenced by the artists of The Salvation Army to symbolise the moral transformation which takes place as a result of the Army's intervention. Therefore, it appears as though they actively employed the characteristics of the engraving medium to accentuate the division between the virtuous woman and the fall-

en; The Salvation Army worker and her client.

“Two sides,” for example, presented the different fates open to women, with one cast out into the cold, alone and shivering in the winter wind, whilst the other is bathed in light, which is reflective of the warmth which society conversely bestows on her (fig. 7).²¹



Fig. 7

The tonal significance of these portrayals may be seen to hark back to Phiz's original illustrations for Charles Dickens' *Bleak House* (1852-53). When first published, these illustrations caused great controversy due to their dark tone. This was because ten of the forty illustrations which Phiz produced for the serialized novel were created by using the dark plate technique—a process which entailed using a machine to etch lines into the plate to create a darker base from which to work. Phiz was criticized for his use of this technique, his illustrations so lacking in clarity that one reader derided the artist, stating that he “need only dip his finger in the inkstand, blacking bottle, or what else may be at hand then dash it anyhow, with true poetic frenzy, on the paper” to now create “Art.”²² Yet, as Michael Steig has argued, Phiz purposefully employed this technique “to convey graphically what [was] for Dickens' novels a new intensity of darkness,” using the atmospheric effect created by the medium to engage with the novel's wider themes of individual powerlessness in the face of social forces. And this is an observation which

clearly tallies with the use of tone in the illustrations of *The Deliverer* and *The War Cry*, where those who have found warmth and assistance with The Salvation Army are freed from this use of dark tone.²³

“On the Wings of an Army Song,” which was published in *The Deliverer* in January 1896, parallels Phiz's “The Morning” which was one of the dark plates which



Fig. 8

caused controversy when *Bleak House* was first published (fig. 8).²⁴ It depicts the body of Lady Dedlock at the gates of the cemetery where the father of her illegitimate child lies buried. Petrified that if her secret child is revealed it will bring shame and scandal to her husband, Lady Dedlock flees and is ultimately

found having died from exposure.²⁵ The Salvation Army's allusions to this scene—the clinging to the cemetery gates, the icy setting, and the once-respectable dress—were purposefully intended to remind the readers of *The Deliverer* of the desperate circumstances in which Lady Dedlock died. Believing to have no place left in society, she effectively committed suicide through her actions. The fact that the woman is still living in “On the Wings of an Army Song” suggests that there is still time to show this woman the compassion and forgiveness which Dickens' character mistakenly thought would never be given to her.

Rather than suggesting a lack of originality, however, this paper argues that these nods to the artistic and literary traditions of the mid-century were partly due to The Salvation Army's need to appeal to a wide and varied audience. By citing the visual conventions employed by artists such as Phiz, whose illustrations were widely known in all sectors of society, and George



Fig. 9



Fig. 10

Frederick Watts, who created socially critical paintings to speak to his viewer's social conscience, The Salvation Army illustrations built upon, but also at times challenged or reinterpreted, the messages which these pre-existing visual markers carried. This is further suggested through an analytical reading of the symbolism of the gas lights which are dotted throughout the night scene of Piccadilly which was published in the May 1890 issue of *The Deliverer* (fig. 9). Gas lamps were a significant component of the Victorian urban landscape, but in art, they were also often used to signify areas of debauchery. As Lynda Nead has explained in *Victorian Babylon*: “in the daylight the lamps stood dark and silent, but ... it was at night, when the gas was lit and the flames were burning, that the street lamps became observers of the dark side of London.”²⁶ The gas lamp arguably acted to facilitate the behaviour which the Army aimed to quell, providing areas where unknown men and women could meet. Yet, throughout the illustrations of

The Deliverer and *All the World*, the street light was not always portrayed in this manner as they regularly demarcated a meeting point for Salvation Army members and the fallen. Both *All the World's* "Aren't Girls Like That Worth Helping?" (April 1886) (fig. 10) and *The Deliverer's* "Oh, I'm in Great Trouble," she sobbed" (fig. 11) present the streetlight in this manner, the pole and the brightness which the lamp exudes being central to both compositions. The light surrounds the women and unites them, creating an area of refuge and safety on the city streets which fallen "sisters" were able to approach without fear or judgment. The street light therefore becomes more than just an emblem of modernity, but symbolizes the hope of redemption and escape which the Army offers. Furthermore, through the alignment of The Salvation Army members with the streetlights, it may be suggested that the gas lamps themselves act to symbolize The Salvation Army's presence on the darkened city streets in these illustrations: just like the gas lamps, the reader was shown that the Army was an ever-present feature of city life which, even if not necessarily noticeable at first, remained able to help those who sought their comfort and protection from the modern abyss, guiding the way to salvation.



Fig. 11

Whilst arguably aiding the readers' ability to interpret the message of these illustrations, this seeming reliance on artistic traditions may also be explained by exploring how The Salvation Army's publications were produced. During the Victorian period, it was common for prominent artists to provide drawings, which were then engraved, for illustrated newspapers. Following this trend, it appears as though The Salvation Army also employed several regular artists to produce illustrations for their periodicals. Whilst many of the images are unsigned, some do carry names which reveal that a number of well-known artists were commissioned by the organization. John Henry Frederick Bacon is perhaps the most prominent of these, having provided illustrations for contemporaneous periodicals such as *The Girl's Own Paper* and *Black and White*, and therefore, The Salvation Army's publications are a valuable resource for art historians as they broaden our understanding of the work of these artists.



Fig. 12a

For this reason, the most intriguing signature amongst those found in the pages of *The Deliverer* are perhaps the overlaid letters "J. W. G.," which appear on some of the illustrations printed between 1890 and 1892 (see fig. 12b for an example). The monogram seems to resemble that of John William Godward, a Royal Academy trained neo-classical artist famed for his portrayals of marbled balconies and tranquil, draped, serene women.²⁷ Godward's *oeuvre* is therefore problematic when assessing the artist's potential involvement with The Salvation Army's rescue work as it is so vastly different to the portrayals of poverty and addiction which he potentially provided (fig. 12a). In comparison to the scenes of desperation and hardship which filled the pages of *The Deliverer*, Godward's oil paintings conversely present "the archetypal perfect world of women, beauty and peace" to counteract what William Booth called the "jungle of pauperism, vice and despair" of modern London.²⁸ It is probable that, as a young artist, Godward worked for The Salvation Army for financial reasons rather than because it allowed him an outlet to explore and develop his own artistic style, just as Bacon had provided illustrations for both religious and non-religious organisations. Nonetheless, this contrast questions the extent to which the artists themselves had a say in the subject and style of the work they produced. Moreover, this employment of academically trained artists must have cost The Salvation Army some expense, which begs the question of why The Salvation Army relied so heavily upon the engraved image, employing artists to create scenes for their pages, rather than using photography at a time when photography was beginning to become more widely used in the illustrated press. Indeed, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that The Salvation Army began to use photography rather than illustration to accompany their articles.²⁹

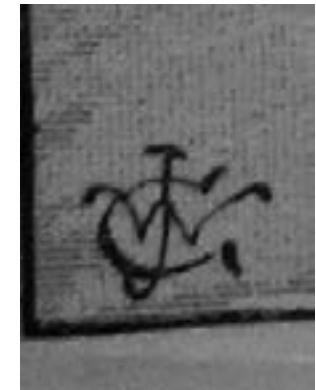


Fig. 12b

The first suggestion might be that illustration preserved the anonymity of the women who were the subjects of any article. As previously mentioned,

the women in these portrayals appear to be quite generic in their appearance—a standard format cartoon of what a late nineteenth-century woman looked like. Yet, there are arguably more artistically fuelled reasons for this choice of medium. Julian Treuherz has posited that during the 1870s graphic illustrations were considered to be “essentially works of art, not of record.” This was because, she maintains—despite their prominent use in the field of journalism—graphic illustrations “were conceived by artists to tell a story or to arouse the feelings and often pity of readers.”³⁰ A consideration of imagery produced to promote philanthropic organisations at the time certainly gives



Fig. 13

this definition of art credence.³¹ For example, Dr Thomas Barnardo, who founded the children's charity Barnardo's in 1867 which provided food, shelter, schooling, domestic training and religious education for homeless and orphaned children across London, was hit by a scandal in 1877 as he had used photography to promote his homes for destitute children. These photographs were intended to show the contrast in the children's appearances before their admission and under his care, much as The Salvation Army did in its own “before and after” images (fig. 13).³² It was revealed, however, that the clothes of the children in Dr Barnardo's campaigns had been deliberately torn to make them look more destitute. This was undoubtedly done to appeal to the sympathies of viewers. Yet, the images were branded as “artistic fictions”, having apparently been “staged” and “arranged,” and were accused of being disingenuous and false. This was despite the fact that many of the harrowing illustrations published in newspapers were commonly “staged” in this way, having been modelled in studios.³³ Whilst Barnardo believed that photography “should be judged by the prevailing standards of truthfulness expected of works of art including social realist paintings and literature”, his critics argued that photographs should be “documents of social reality”.³⁴ Thus, in the late nineteenth century, photography was deemed to be a different beast to graphic illustration. It was seen as a vehicle of truth which honestly reproduced “objective facts” whilst artists were not expected to conform to this same idea of sterile documentation. This perhaps goes some way to explain The Salvation Army's

reliance on printed illustration: the artists of The Salvation Army were able



Fig. 14

to (and therefore in some ways even presumed to) manipulate their representations in order to evoke an emotional response in the public—a propagandistic role which photography could not have afforded them. Supporting this suggestion, an illustration printed in *The War Cry* in 1900 shows the Editor-in-Chief exclaiming to a faceless artist, ““Why don't you put more action into your pictures?”” (fig. 14). This indicates that the artists of The Salvation Army produced illustrations to accompany articles which had already been written and were, therefore, crafted to fit into the wider feel of the publications and not drawn from first-hand observation. This perhaps helps to explain why in the illustrations printed in *The Deliverer*, especially, there appears to be a lack of photographic imagery and a reliance on themes and patterns which had been prevalent in the art of the mid-century, as artists drew upon forms of art which were familiar to both themselves, and their intended audiences.

Print culture was clearly a significant propagandistic tool in The Salvation Army's rescue work and women were fundamental to its success, working in the charity's rescue homes as well as being central to the production and dissemination of its periodicals. The periodicals consequently reveal a great deal, not just about the rescue work which the charity undertook, but how the organization was structured and the Army's manipulation of its public image through print. The illustrations which this article has discussed provide key insights as to who produced the illustrations for the periodicals, the importance which was placed on the dissemination of the print medium, and the role which it was perceived art would play in The Salvation Army's rescue work. *The Deliverer*, *All the World* and *The War Cry* therefore reveal the significance which The Salvation Army placed on print in order to reach both those they aimed to help and readers who could donate to the cause in some way.

Endnotes

- 1 This research was undertaken at the International Heritage Centre in Denmark Hill, London, and thus relates to the archival material which is accessible there.
- 2 I explore this topic further within the wider context of nineteenth-century portrayals of the fallen woman in British visual culture in my PhD thesis: Emily Wilce, "The painter, the press, the philanthropist, and the prostitute: the representation of the fallen woman in British visual culture (1850-1900)," (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2017) <<http://hdl.handle.net/2381/40021>>
- 3 Raymond Williams, "The Press and Popular Culture: an historical perspective," in George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (eds), *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Constable, 1978), pp. 41-50, p. 50.
- 4 *The East London Evangelist*, later renamed the *Salvationist*, was the first publication to be produced by the Army in 1868. This was later followed by other periodicals such as *The Little Soldier*, which ran from 1881 to 1887 and was aimed at children, *The War Cry*, which was established in 1879, and *All the World*, which was produced between 1885 and 1961.
- 5 "Departments of the International Headquarters," *The War Cry*, 1 December 1900, p. 6.
- 6 "The "Deliverer," *The Deliverer*, July 1889, p. 1.
- 7 See Michael Pearson, *The Age of Consent* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972), Alison Plowden, *The Case of Eliza Armstrong: "a child of 13 bought for £5"* (London: BBC, 1974), and Deborah Gorham, "The 'maiden tribute of modern Babylon' re-examined: child prostitution and the idea of childhood in late-Victorian England," *Victorian Studies*, 21, no. 3 (1978), pp. 353-379.
- 8 Lynda Nead, *Myths of sexuality: representations of women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), p. 172.
- 9 Deborah Cherry, *Painting women: Victorian women artists* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 163.
- 10 "The 'Deliverer,'" *The Deliverer*, p. 1.
- 11 "At midnight on Piccadilly," *The Deliverer*, November 1893, p. 66.
- 12 "Daughters of sorrow: who will save them?," *The Deliverer*, February 1897, p. 313.
- 13 Susan Mumm, "'Not worse than other girls': the convent-based rehabilitation of fallen women in Victorian Britain," *Journal of Social History*, 29, no. 3 (1996), pp. 527-546, p. 542.
- 14 Greg, "Prostitution," *Westminster Review*, 53 (25 May 1854), pp. 454-455.
- 15 William W. Sanger, *The History of Prostitution: its extent, causes and effects throughout the world* (New York: The Medical Publishing Co., 1913), p. 347.
- 16 For a reproduction, see Mark Bills, "Found Drowned, c. 1848-50," in Mark Bills and Barbara Bryant (eds), *G. F. Watts Victorian Visionary*, pp. 112-115, p. 114.
- 17 Patricia Matthews, "The Minotaur of London," *Apollo* 123 (May 1986), p. 339; J. Ewing Ritchie, *The Night Side of London* (London: William Tweedie, 1857), p. 6.
- 18 William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (New York and London: Funk and Wagnal, 1890), p. 13.
- 19 *Found Drowned* was not publically exhibited until 1862 when it was included in the Liverpool Academy exhibition. It was next exhibited at the Dudley Gallery in 1875 and St. Jude's in Whitechapel in 1881.
- 20 "The Poor Fallen Girl Led to Jesus," *The War Cry*, October 3rd 1883.
- 21 "Two Sides," *The Deliverer*, December 1890, p. 83.
- 22 *Diogenes*, 36 (3 September 1853), p. 151 as cited in Valerie Lester, *Phiz: The Man Who Drew Dickens* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2006), pp. 152-154.
- 23 Michael Steig, *Dickens and Phiz* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1978), p. 131.
- 24 For a reproduction of *The Morning*, see the image scanned by George P. Landow on the *Victorian Web* <<http://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/phiz/bleakhouse/37.html>>.
- 25 Charles Dickens, *Bleak House*, 1853 (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 869.
- 26 Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: people, streets and images in nineteenth-century London* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 101; J. Ewing Ritchie, *The Night Side of London*, p. 223.
- 27 Vern Grosvenor Swanson, *John William Godward: the Eclipse of Classicism* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1997). The overlaid initials "JWG" can be found on many of the illustrations printed in *The Deliverer* in the late 1880s as well as various authenticated studies produced by Godward which are dated both before and after these contributions for *The Deliverer*. For examples of the use of this monogram in *The Deliverer*, see cat. 3, 7, 53 and 54. Examples of Godward's use of the monogram in his oeuvre are reprinted in Swanson's monograph. See *Reverie (Study)* (c. 1890), p. 179, *The Signal (Study)* (1899), p. 200, *Dreaming (Study)* (1901), p. 204, *The Rendezvous (Study)* (1903), p. 75, *Nerissa (Study)* (1905), p. 82, *The Jewel Box (a)* (1905), p. 215, *Reverie (Study)* (1908), p. 221.
- 28 *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170; William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, p. 85.
- 29 The earliest instance of the use of photography in the portrayal of The Salvation Army's rescue homes in *The Deliverer* dates to the May 1897 when photographs of nine London rescue homes populated the front cover.
- 30 Julian Treuherz, *Hard times: social realism in Victorian art* (London: Lund Humphries and Manchester City Art Galleries, 1987), p. 64.
- 31 Seth Koven, *Slumming: sexual and social politics in Victorian London* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 88-139.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 Luke Fildes' *Houseless and Hungry* is one notable example which had been prominently hung on the walls of the Royal Academy in 1874. Mr. Frank Holl, R. A., *The Athenaeum*, 4 August 1888, p. 168. For a reproduction, see Lionel Lambourne, *Victorian painting* (London: Phaidon Press, 1999), p. 337.
- 34 Seth Koven, *Slumming*, p. 117 and p. 115.

Spreading Salvation Abroad: Catherine Booth and World Missions

Andrew M. Eason

Several days after the passing of Catherine Booth, *The Daily News* urged Christians of various stripes to “unite in a tribute of respect to the memory of one who did so much to spread abroad on the earth the Christianity of Christ.”¹ From the vantage point of this London newspaper, Catherine deserved to be remembered for her contributions to world missions, for the part she had played in the expansion of the church across the globe. At first glance, it might be tempting to dismiss this assertion as eulogistic excess, because Mrs. Booth never served as a missionary in a foreign land and only once travelled beyond the shores of the British Isles.² Compared to her husband, who journeyed to every inhabited continent on Salvation Army business, Catherine’s evangelistic interests seemed national rather than transnational. One fairly recent biographer of the Booths has certainly suggested as much, arguing that “Catherine was, throughout her life, openly skeptical about diverting energies from domestic obligations and towards overseas missions.”³ As this article seeks to demonstrate, there is little substance to this claim. While the demands of the home front naturally occupied a significant portion of Catherine’s time, her overall understanding of and commitment to missions encompassed the entire world.⁴

A careful reading of Catherine Booth’s past reveals that she had been schooled in Christian missions from childhood, thanks to the global thrust of Britain’s Protestant denominations. Even though support for the missionary

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movement ebbed and flowed in the nineteenth century, the period as a whole witnessed unparalleled Christian extension in the Americas, Africa, Asia and Oceania. Among those responsible for this development were Wesleyan Methodists, who possessed a theology of redemption well suited to world evangelization.⁵ Believing Christ had died for all people, they came to see the entire globe as their parish. The inclusiveness of God's love and grace motivated them to establish a church that was universal in scope. Leading the charge in this direction was the Welshman Thomas Coke, who became the chief promoter of Methodist foreign missions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Due in large measure to the pioneering work of Coke and like-minded individuals, the denomination gradually gained a foothold in various so-called missionary lands, from the islands of the Caribbean and the South Pacific to the continents of Africa and Asia. Aiding these new departures were district auxiliaries in Leeds and other English centers, which eventually came together to form one national body, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, in 1818.⁶

During Catherine's formative years in Boston, Lincolnshire—the late 1830s to the mid-1840s—the missionary movement surged in popularity as more and more Victorian Christians learned of the work being done overseas. Almost every person, young and old, was exposed to Protestant activities in exotic regions of the globe, since missionary themes regularly found their way into Sunday school lessons, religious services, books and periodicals.⁷ Even in a place like Boston, which boasted fewer than 15,000 residents, Christian missions enjoyed a high profile. The success of the cause locally owed something to Catherine's own Wesleyan Methodist Chapel on Red Lion Street, which sponsored district meetings of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. On a yearly basis, the members of the chapel heard from active and retired missionaries, who relayed stories of their exploits in the West Indies, southern Africa and other far-off lands.⁸ It is worth noting that Catherine spent “[s]ome of her happiest hours” in these annual gatherings, as the subject of foreign missions “deeply engaged her interest and attention.”⁹ Such meetings not only motivated her to read about missionaries but to raise money for their work overseas. Young women, incidentally, were often involved in the latter activity, because feminine compassion and benevolence were seen to be effective assets in the world of Victorian fundraising.¹⁰ Together with her self-denying female peers throughout England, Catherine contributed, at an early age, to

the global expansion of the church.

While the subject of foreign missions continued to interest Catherine in early adulthood,¹¹ it is fair to say that her attention turned increasingly to revivalist work in Britain after marrying William Booth. Itinerant evangelism was the first love of her husband, who was less than pleased when his denomination—the Methodist New Connexion—decided to place him in a settled pastorate in 1857. After repeated requests to resume itinerancy were turned down, William and Catherine severed all ties with the New Connexion in 1861.¹² Convinced that more should be done to reach the unchurched masses, they became freelance revivalists. Although their extended evangelistic campaigns across England and Wales met with great success, Catherine continued to resent her former denomination. Particularly annoying to her was its apparent failure to support home missions. As she told her parents in early 1863:

I have no patience to read a lot of twaddle about New Connexion missions to China and Australia. . . . Is that Christianity which pays missionaries, fits out ships, and prints Bibles at immense expense to convert ignorant, idolatrous Chinamen, and turns its back on a work [here in Britain]? Where is the consistency in spending hundreds of pounds to convert half a dozen Chinamen and leaving thousands of our own populations destitute of any means adapted to reach them?¹³

The complaint that foreign missions were a drain on domestic resources may have appeared justified in certain circles during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,¹⁴ but Catherine's abrasive tone was unwarranted. Since the New Connexion's mission to China was barely three years old in 1863, one would have expected the costs to be high and the conversions to be few. Moreover, just a dozen years later, the very same venture could boast several churches and 276 baptized members.¹⁵

Lingering animosity towards the Methodist New Connexion had momentarily colored Catherine Booth's assessment of missionary priorities, but her remarks hardly amounted to a wholesale repudiation of the foreign missionary movement. This much is obvious from the evangelical organization that she and her husband went on to establish in East London in the mid-1860s. As

The Salvation Army moved beyond its initial base of operations—becoming national in the 1870s and then truly international in the 1880s—Mrs. Booth proved to be extremely supportive. One could even say that she played a critical role in this outward development. Always driven by a profound sense of mission, her writings and addresses helped to supply the biblical and theological rationale for extension as the Army began to grow rapidly at home and abroad.

Knowing and revering the scriptures from an early age, Catherine justified Salvationist expansion on the basis of the Great Commission. The charge that Christ gave his disciples—to go into the entire world and preach the gospel to every human being—was central to her theology of missions. This New Testament directive was not intended for the first-century church alone but for each and every generation of Christians. Leaving no room for confusion, Catherine wrote: “To the ends of the earth and to the end of time this commission comes down to every one of the Lord’s own [people].”¹⁶ Given the continuing relevance of the Great Commission, Catherine viewed it as a call to action. It was a mandate to take the gospel to the masses, not a decree to wait passively for unsaved souls to enter through the doors of churches and chapels.¹⁷ It was a command to carry the Good News to every tribe and nation, for as Catherine reminded her fellow Salvationists on the eve of the Army’s global expansion: “If you honestly study the New Testament you will be startled at the awful extent to which God makes us our brothers’ keepers, and holds us responsible for their salvation.”¹⁸ The Great Commission was not an antiquated notion that could be conveniently ignored or dismissed by the Victorian church—it was a biblical injunction to be obeyed in the present.¹⁹

The seriousness of this evangelistic task arose in part from Catherine Booth’s belief that hell awaited those who did not know Christ. Here, not surprisingly, she differed from Liberal Protestant Victorians, who sought to alter or discredit this doctrine—especially the idea of eternal punishment for the non-Christian—because it seemed incompatible with their image of a loving God.²⁰ Neither tactic was acceptable to Catherine, who never strayed from her theologically conservative roots. As she told a packed audience in Exeter’s Victoria Hall in 1882, she and her fellow Salvationists “held no modified views of man’s future. . . . They believed in an awful and an eternal hell, where the wicked would be sent with the devil and his angels.”²¹ The substance of this traditional teaching had already appeared on the front page of her own

newspaper, *The War Cry*, which starkly reminded readers: “Of course there is a hell—a lake that burns with fire and brimstone, whose worm dies not, and where the fire is not quenched, an outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth, and where the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever.”²² Unwilling or unable to question the ethical implications of this eschatological belief, Mrs. Booth remained convinced that damnation was the inevitable result for anyone who failed to respond favorably to the gospel message. Consequently, there was a sense of urgency attached to her evangelistic vision; if those alienated from God were to be rescued from the “road to hell,” then there was little time to waste.²³ Even if Catherine did not expound the doctrine at length, she considered hell to be a powerful motivation for missionary endeavors.²⁴

Awareness of the horrible fate awaiting the spiritually lost necessitated a forceful response from Christians. It called for assertive evangelism. Few believed this more strongly than Mrs. Booth: “Christianity is necessarily aggressive. . . . The true light cannot be hid; it cannot shine for itself; it must go out and out and out to the end—it must go on, to the ends of the world.”²⁵ As her organization evolved into an army of salvation, this combative tone only intensified. Claiming divine inspiration and biblical support for the Salvation Army’s militant language and methodology, she boldly informed critics: “We intend to go on marching until every nation under heaven shakes under the tramp of our feet, and every sinner’s heart quakes when he hears we are coming.”²⁶ While such imagery expressed the depth of Catherine’s commitment to world evangelism, it also owed something to the militancy of her own day and age. Zealous Protestants, especially those within the Anglican Church, had already composed hymns replete with militaristic language, and the wider society as a whole grew more and more attuned to the exploits of the army and the navy as they fought against foreign enemies and conquered new territory for the British Empire.²⁷ Given her abhorrence of physical warfare, Catherine’s appropriation of aggressive expressions and measures reflected, to some degree, the hold that militarism had on mid- to late-Victorian culture.²⁸

Whatever their origin, military metaphors proved useful in Salvationist circles, not least because they conveyed the enormity of the work to be accomplished. Winning the world for Christ required massive mobilization, not unlike the deployments of troops seen in secular militaries. Although missionary societies were growing in both recruits and resources in the closing

decades of the nineteenth century, Catherine Booth regarded their collective efforts a failure. Delivering this indictment at London's City Temple in 1888, she bemoaned the paltry results of missionary labors overseas, suggesting that the "great majority" of the world's inhabitants "still [lay] in the arms of the wicked one."²⁹ This may have been a harsh assessment, but Mrs. Booth was not alone in criticizing the slow rate of conversion in the global south and east. Other Victorian commentators were just as quick to pounce, asking why the expected harvest of souls had not materialized.³⁰ Put on the defensive, missionary strategists were prone to reply that "[t]he spread of spiritual influences is not to be reckoned by arithmetical progression."³¹ There was certainly truth in this response, because the impact of the gospel was hard to quantify, at least in the short term. If one took the longer view, argued the well-known Presbyterian missionary James Johnston, there was "on the part of all engaged in Mission work an assured confidence of the ultimate triumph in the great conflict waged with the powers of darkness."³² Despite such reassurances, the number of converts in the field seemed unsatisfactory for impatient Christians like Catherine, who felt that the time had come to rethink the way missionary work was carried out in foreign countries.

Several things needed to change, critics contended, if the foreign missionary movement ever hoped to achieve meaningful success. First and foremost, Christians at home and abroad had to exhibit much greater self-sacrifice. Seeking to foster this biblical principle among Christians was a key objective of Catherine Booth's preaching and teaching. As she stated in one afternoon address at London's Exeter Hall in 1883: "[I]f you make the propagation of His Kingdom the master passion of your life you will offer for it blood and body, and children and money, and everything else you have in the world. How far will you go?"³³ Entreaties of this kind were not uncommon among late-Victorian commentators on missions, who believed that the allurements of worldly status and material prosperity had sapped the spiritual energy of the church.³⁴ This was even seen to be a problem within Methodism, where the "occasional calls for self-sacrifice [were] rhetorical throwbacks of another age rather than appeals to a powerful existing spirituality."³⁵ In order for missions to enjoy significant progress overseas, it was vital that believers nurture the self-denying values of apostolic times. Following the path of Jesus was sure to be costly, but self-sacrifice would serve as a powerful demonstration of Christian love to the unsaved peoples of the world.

Nowhere, perhaps, was this witness needed more than in India, where Protestant missionaries had been laboring since the early eighteenth century. From the perspective of concerned Christians, the comfortable lifestyles enjoyed by many missionaries in this vast mission field were partly to blame for the disappointing advance of the gospel. Among those laying this charge was George Bowen, an American Methodist missionary, who had served for decades in Bombay.³⁶ Outlining his views in a short work entitled *In What Style Shall We Live? A Letter Addressed to His Missionary Brethren*, Bowen argued that the financial compensation of typical missionaries in late-Victorian India placed them on a social and economic level well above that of the Indian masses. As he pointed out, a missionary salary of £100 to £200 per year might be a moderate wage in western countries, but it was a "princely" sum in the subcontinent. Lamenting this state of affairs, Bowen suggested that the lack of self-denial among his peers not only led Indians to "look upon [the missionary] as one above them in the worldly scale," but also left them "ignorant of the true principles of the Gospel." Speaking frankly to his fellow missionaries, he implored them to embrace a servant lifestyle consistent with apostolic simplicity.³⁷

Unfortunately, this earnest plea was generally rejected by the older missionary societies, which continued to be guided by the conventional wisdom that "[t]he European is, and must remain, in tropical India, a costly exotic."³⁸ However, some newer organizations had already adopted the apostolic approach urged by Bowen and others. The Salvation Army was one notable example. Because its evangelists (officers) in India were expected to depend on Christ for their support, the average missionary salary in Army circles amounted to £5 per year.³⁹ Such a modest stipend was in keeping with the Army's evangelistic strategy, which entailed the abandonment of European lifestyles. "If," argued Catherine Booth, "the Hindoos cannot be saved without our walking bare foot and living in mud huts, we will do it."⁴⁰ The prudence of this decision may have been questioned by some, especially when western officers became sick in the Indian field, but others clearly admired their self-denying labors.⁴¹ Working somewhat along the lines of those attached to James Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission,⁴² early Salvationist missionaries in India and other foreign lands were expected to embody a lifestyle of apostolic simplicity. It may be true that this directive was pursued at great personal cost, but strength for the task was said to be supplied by the Army's notion of

holiness, which required the laying of one's entire life "on the altar—body, soul [and] goods."⁴³ While Salvationist self-denial was condemned by some as reckless and extreme, Catherine Booth deemed it essential to godly living and missionary success.

In addition to more profound expressions of self-denial, the foreign missionary movement was said to require greater investments in direct evangelism. Such a conviction lay at the heart of Catherine Booth's thinking on missions. No fan of the conventional civilizing mission—which introduced "heathen" races to western lifestyles, values and institutions—she advocated the preaching of the gospel alone. The substance of her position was conveyed to officers heading for foreign lands in 1884: "[God] does not want people to go and *educate*, or *civilise*, or *proselytise* the heathen. . . . He wants people to go and save them, by turning them away from their iniquities to Himself, the living God."⁴⁴ Similar sentiments were echoed roughly four years later in Catherine's missionary address at the City Temple. While not denying that civilization came in the wake of Christianity, she emphasized that "Christ did not come to civilise the world, but to save it and bring it back to God."⁴⁵ The central task of the missionary was not to westernize the peoples of remote lands but to communicate the transcultural message that salvation came through Jesus Christ alone.

Critical to this evangelistic strategy was flexibility, because there was no set way of delivering Christian truth to the unsaved. As Catherine Booth explained in 1880: "While the Gospel message is laid down with unerring exactness, we are left at perfect freedom to adapt our measures and modes of bringing it to bear upon men to the circumstances, times, and conditions in which we live—free as air."⁴⁶ On a concrete level this meant that the Salvationist missionary was called upon to embrace aspects of African, Asian and indigenous cultures: language, food, dress and living arrangements. Although many mission societies viewed these measures as controversial, they were inspired by the example of the Apostle Paul, who became all things to all people to save some (1 Corinthians 9:22).⁴⁷ To a lesser degree these tactics also reflected the thinking of the American revivalist Charles Grandison Finney, who urged nineteenth-century Christians to be resourceful and innovative. Contending that there were no prescribed means for reaching the spiritually lost, Finney encouraged experimentation and adaptation. Only creative practices, tailored to the needs of different audiences, would capture the attention of the un-

saved and "bring them to listen to the truth."⁴⁸ This methodological flexibility, working in tandem with scriptural principles, had a profound impact on Mrs. Booth's understanding of missionary adaptation at home and abroad.⁴⁹

Accommodation to other cultures may have been a progressive policy by nineteenth-century standards, but Catherine Booth still held a number of conventional attitudes towards the non-Christian world. She not only accepted the customary division of the globe into Christian and "heathen" nations but also depicted the inhabitants of the latter places in less than flattering terms.⁵⁰ Like most Victorian supporters of the missionary movement, Mrs. Booth was guilty at times of exaggerating the spiritual depravity of those residing in southern and eastern lands.⁵¹ The possibility that the religions of African and Asian peoples might possess some measure of truth never gained any traction in her evangelical mind. Furthermore, the language that Catherine used to describe the missionary task overseas sometimes came across as condescending. A patronizing tone was evident, for instance, in the instructions she gave to one group of departing missionary officers, who were told "to be willing to stoop low enough to pour out [divine power] to the poor natives of India or wherever the Lord may send you."⁵² By advising officers to "stoop" or bend down in order to reach the "poor natives" of South Asia, Catherine demonstrated that even adaptive approaches to missions could be tainted by European arrogance and western notions of societal advancement.

Even though Catherine Booth's theology of missions betrayed western prejudices and assumptions, she was not above criticizing her own country. This was evident, for example, whenever Salvationists were attacked in the streets by irate members of the working class. As Catherine stated on one occasion: "I should be ashamed that heathen nations should know what conduct some of our female Captains meet with at the hands of Englishmen."⁵³ Violence against women evangelists was hardly becoming of a Christian land, which was supposed to be a spiritual and moral beacon to the "heathen" world. Because of England's failure to be a good witness, Mrs. Booth was not drawn to excessive patriotism. Especially revealing were the comments she made in 1887, not long after the celebrations associated with Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee:

There is no end of trumpeting as to England's *greatness*, England's *influence*, and England's *power*. I recognise this,

and to some extent the awful responsibility which it brings upon us as a people! I admit that England is able to do at this moment more than any of the mighty nations of antiquity ever accomplished, or ever could have accomplished, and I believe that if she were to put her foot down on the great principles of which she professes to be the guardian, and take a firm stand amid the cabinets of the world, her influence would ultimately bring to an end the savage, cruel, and demonical practice of war, and bring about a settlement of national differences by the arbitration of reason, benevolence and righteousness.... If the day should ever come when England does this, and I hear of it in heaven, I shall then see some adequate cause for a jubilee and some signs of real advancement, but alas, she seems a long way off at present.⁵⁴

While taking some pride in what had been achieved by her own country, Catherine was quick to scold it for promoting war and materialism over peace and spiritual values. Her remarks may not have amounted to a denial of Britain's place in the world, but they suggested, in good evangelical fashion, that imperial power be used responsibly—for the sake of justice and righteousness.⁵⁵ Given that the attainment of this noble goal appeared “a long way off,” there may be some credence to the suggestion that Mrs. Booth held a “gloomy” outlook as to the future of the British Empire.⁵⁶

Such pessimism, however, was tempered by the optimism of Catherine's eschatology. In concert with a number of other Victorians, she subscribed to the postmillennialist belief that “the conversion of the world would usher in a golden age of peace and plenty, after which Christ [would] return to deliver his judgement.”⁵⁷ Drawing attention to the sin and degradation of her own day and age, Mrs. Booth fully recognized that the millennium had yet to appear, but from her perspective it was not as far off as some might think. As she argued rather confidently: “God could save the world in a few years if all His people were faithful.”⁵⁸ The Christian's duty was simply to “[p]lod on patiently, [to] work and struggle” with the assurance that godlessness would only triumph for a season.⁵⁹ Steadfast efforts to share the gospel were bound to hasten the arrival of Christ's Kingdom—the promised thousand year reign

of universal righteousness, peace and joy. Convinced that this victory of light over darkness would bring about an end to social problems, suffering and warfare, Catherine urged her fellow Salvationists to commit all their time and energy to the evangelization of the globe.⁶⁰

When the span of Catherine Booth's life is examined closely, it becomes clear that she was an avid supporter of world missions. Indeed, some of her very last words to Salvationists were on this subject. Speaking to a delegation of missionary officers assembled in her sick-chamber in late January 1890, Mrs. Booth was eager to underscore the extent of her allegiance to foreign missions: “From my very childhood, I have felt a peculiar interest in the spread of the gospel abroad. . . . I always looked upon the work of Jesus Christ as being world-wide.”⁶¹ Having been nurtured in a missionary-minded denomination and schooled in the claims of the New Testament, she was well aware of the Christian obligation to bring the good news to every inhabited part of the earth. Although the demands of home missions absorbed much of her time, she still proved to be a leading champion of expansion overseas, especially when The Salvation Army moved into the global south and east in the 1880s. In addition to supplying the motives for missionary work, she furnished biblical and theological reasons for the adaptive methods used in the field. It gave her great pleasure to know that God had used her to cultivate a missionary spirit in Army members, who were willing to go to “the very darkest corners of the earth” in order to bring salvation to the lost.⁶² Such language may have depicted the unsaved peoples of distant lands in less than flattering terms, but it surely demonstrated the scope of Catherine's evangelistic vision.

Endnotes

- 1 “The Mother of the Salvation Army,” *The Daily News*, October 8, 1890, 4.
- 2 Catherine’s only trip beyond Britain took place in November 1882, when she visited the Salvation Army’s fledgling work in France. See “Mrs. Booth in Paris,” *The War Cry*, November 16, 1882, 4; and “News from Paris,” *The Daily News*, November 16, 1882, 5.
- 3 Roy Hattersley, *Blood and Fire: William and Catherine Booth and Their Salvation Army* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), p. 62.
- 4 While no serious student of Catherine Booth would deny the truth of this assertion, the subject of world missions has often been overlooked or under-examined in works on her life and thought. See, for example, John Read, *Catherine Booth: Laying the Theological Foundations of a Radical Movement* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013); Roger J. Green, *Catherine Booth: A Biography of the Cofounder of The Salvation Army* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1996); and *Catherine Booth: Her Continuing Relevance*, ed. Clifford W. Kew (London: The Salvation Army International Headquarters, 1990). One recent exception is *Settled Views: The Shorter Writings of Catherine Booth*, ed. Andrew M. Eason and Roger J. Green (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017). The commentary and primary sources found in the final chapter of this scholarly anthology display the depth of Catherine’s thinking on the evangelization of the entire globe. See *Settled Views*, pp. 209-251.
- 5 G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, vol. 1 (London: The Epworth Press, 1921), pp. 30-31.
- 6 For recent histories of Wesleyan Missions, see John Pritchard, *Methodists and their Missionary Societies 1760-1900* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2013); and Norman E. Thomas, “Methodist Missions/Missiology,” in *T&T Clark Companion to Methodism*, ed. Charles Yrigoyen Jr. (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 112-132.
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- 8 See “Wesleyan Missions,” *The Lincoln, Rutland, and Stamford Mercury*, May 22, 1840, 3; as well as the following advertisements for missionary meetings from the same newspaper: June 3, 1836 (p. 3), June 29, 1838 (p. 3), and June 28, 1839 (p. 3).
- 9 Frederick De L. Booth-Tucker, *The Life of Catherine Booth: The Mother of The Salvation Army*, vol. 1 (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1892), p. 31.
- 10 F. K. Prochaska, “Little Vessels: Children in the Nineteenth-Century English Missionary Movement,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 6, 2 (1978): 107-108.
- 11 See, for example, the letter from Catherine Mumford to William Booth, dated February 28, 1853, in *The Letters of William and Catherine Booth*, ed. David Malcolm Bennett (Brisbane: Camp Hill Publications, 2003), p. 75.
- 12 Green, *Catherine Booth*, pp. 69-116, 137-145.
- 13 Letter from Catherine Booth to her parents, dated February 12, 1863. Booth Papers, Add MS 64806, British Library, London. See also Booth-Tucker, *The Life of Catherine Booth*, vol. 1, p. 506.
- 14 Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700*, pp. 93-102.
- 15 John Innocent, “Brief Sketch of the History of the Methodist New Connexion Mission to China,” *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 8, 6 (November-December 1877): 460-461.
- 16 Catherine Booth, *Papers on Aggressive Christianity* (1880; repr., Atlanta: The Salvation Army, 1986), p. 121.
- 17 See Catherine’s remarks in “Mrs. Booth’s Visit to Derby,” *The Derby Mercury*, December 24, 1884, 2.
- 18 Catherine Booth, “Son, Go Work To-day,” *The War Cry*, June 19, 1880, 1.
- 19 Catherine Booth, *Papers on Practical Religion* (1878; repr., London: International Headquarters of The Salvation Army, 1891), pp. 193-194; Catherine Booth, “A Letter to the Army,” *The War Cry*, October 6, 1888, 9.
- 20 For more on Victorian understandings of hell, see Michael Wheeler, *Heaven, Hell, and the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 178-179, 187-196; and Geoffrey Rowell, *Hell and the Victorians: A Study of the Nineteenth-Century Theological Controversies concerning Eternal Punishment and the Future Life* (1974; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 190-192.
- 21 Cited in “Mrs. Booth, the Salvationist, at the Victoria Hall,” *The Western Times*, February 17, 1882, 6.
- 22 “Hell,” *The War Cry*, October 2, 1880, 1.
- 23 Catherine Booth, “Spreading Salvation,” *All the World* (July 1888): 217. See also Catherine Booth, “Our Responsibility for Letting the World Know about Salvation,” *The War Cry*, December 7, 1882, 2.
- 24 Rescuing humanity from hell was a major objective within the early Salvation Army as a whole. See Philip William Garnham, “The Salvation Army and the Doctrine of Hell: A Theological Critique of the Endless Punishment of the Wicked” (Doctor of Ministry and Theology Thesis, King’s College London, 2017), pp. 13-22.
- 25 Catherine Booth cited in “The Annual Meeting,” *The Christian Mission Magazine* (July 1875): 184.
- 26 Catherine Booth, *Mrs. Booth on Recent Criticisms of the Salvation Army* (London: The Salvation Army, 1882), p. 7. See also Catherine Booth, “Our Flag,” *The War Cry*, December 17, 1884, 1-2.
- 27 The impact of militarism on Victorian society is addressed in Olive Anderson, “The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain,” *The English Historical Review* 86 (1971): 46-72; John Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland, 1843-1945* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 213-236; and Edward M. Spiers, “War,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, ed. Francis O’Gorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 80-100.
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- 30 See, for example, Isaac Taylor, “The Great Missionary Failure,” *The Fortnightly Review* 44 (October 1888): 488-500; “Are Missions and Missionaries a Failure? Another Attack by Mr. Caine, M.P.,” *The Pall Mall Gazette*, February 14, 1889, 6; and Henry Sutton, “The Press and Christian Missions,” *The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record* (September 1889): 539-542.
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- 33 Catherine Booth cited in “Afternoon Meeting,” *The War Cry*, April 25, 1883, 2. See also Catherine Booth, “Will You Obey?” *The War Cry*, November 26, 1887, 9; Catherine Booth, “How to Consecrate,” *The War Cry*, December 17, 1887, 9-10; and Catherine Booth, “Have You Been a Self-Denier?” *The War Cry*, October 4, 1890, 1.
- 34 “The Question of the Hour—Foreign Missions,” *The Christian*, December 21, 1888, 19; “The Denial of Self,” *The Christian*, October 5, 1888, 3; Robert Needham Cust, *Notes on Missionary Subjects* (London: Elliot Stock, 1889), p. 114.
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- 37 George Bowen, *In What Style Shall We Live? A Letter Addressed to His Missionary Brethren* (London: Dyer Brothers, 1888), pp. 12-13, 14, 22-24. Similar observations can be found in J. G. Shome, “Fakirism as a Mode of Evangelistic Work,” *The Indian Evangelical Review* (January 1885): 278-280; “Correspondence,” *The Bombay Guardian*, August 11, 1888, 502; “The ‘Hindu’ Newspaper, Its London Correspondent, and Indian Mission Reform,” *The Methodist Recorder*, June 27, 1889, 433; and Samuel Sathianadhan, *Missionary Work in India: From a Native Christian Point of View* (Madras: Methodist Episcopal Mission Press, 1889).
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- 39 “At the Headquarters of The Salvation Army,” *The Dundee Courier and Argus*, June 22, 1888, 6.
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- 46 Booth, *Papers on Aggressive Christianity*, pp. 51-52.
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- 49 Finney’s overall influence on Catherine Booth and the Salvation Army is discussed in Norman H. Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), pp. 12-16; and alluded to in Catherine Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth: The Story of Her Loves* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970), pp. 28, 102; and Green, *Catherine Booth*, pp. 300-301.
- 50 See, for instance, “Mrs. Booth’s Last Public Address [Part 1],” pp. 1-2; Booth, *Popular Christianity*, p. 127; Booth-Tucker, *The Life of Catherine Booth*, vol. 1, p. 506, vol. 2, p. 590; and Catherine Booth, “Success of Officers Abroad,” *The War Cry*, January 21, 1885, 1.
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- 52 Booth, “What is Your Purpose?” p. 1.
- 53 Catherine Booth, “Some Objections to the Salvation Army Answered,” *The War Cry*, December 23, 1880, 2. See also Catherine Booth, “How Far Ought We to Go?” *The War Cry*, September 26, 1883, 1.
- 54 Catherine Booth, “Reflections on the Jubilee Year,” *All the World* (December 1887): 374. Emphasis in the original.
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- 56 W. T. Stead, *Mrs. Booth of The Salvation Army* (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1900), p. 203.

- 57 Norman Etherington, "Introduction," in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 16. See also Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, pp. 74-78.
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- 59 Catherine Booth, "The Kingdom of Christ [Part 1]," *All the World* (August 1885): 183.
- 60 *Ibid.*, pp. 183-184.
- 61 Cited in "Mrs. Booth's Latest Address," *All the World* (March 1890): 120. See also "About Mrs. Booth: Representatives of Many Nations Assemble by the River," *The War Cry*, February 15, 1890, 9.
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The Salvation Army and the Challenge of Higher Education in a New Millennium

Dean Smith

Introduction

At a time of rapid and unprecedented social and cultural change, the Church needs to draw upon her full intellectual capital to tackle the significant challenges facing her. In negotiating the new millennium The Salvation Army faces considerable headwinds due to the fact that not only does the movement face the challenges of our time, but it also faces the even greater challenge of addressing its own ambivalence to the life of the mind in general and higher education in particular.¹ I say an even greater challenge here because without addressing the problem of ambivalence the movement cannot hope to adequately address the challenges facing it. The problem is pressing given that our ambivalence has left us significantly weakened intellectually and vulnerable to redundant thinking—doing today's job with yesterday's tools, with yesterday's concepts.²

In order for The Salvation Army to achieve its full potential in the twenty-first century, there is an urgent need to understand and overcome this ambivalence and to fully embrace a culture of higher learning.³ The implications of such a shift in attitude and focus would then lead to a shift in practice.⁴ The movement would finally follow through on William Booth's dream of

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a University of humanity with the establishment and further development of institutions of higher learning with capacity not only in teaching but also in higher research.⁵

What I will be arguing in this paper is that nothing less than a radical reorientation in the movement's theology and practice will bring us to a point where we will finally overcome our ambivalence and be in a position to use all the intellectual and theological resources at our disposal in addressing the challenges of our day. Our relevance and effectiveness depends on it. Here the emphasis on the importance of theology to the vitality of the movement cannot be overstated.

My case for a theological reorientation leading to a shift in outlook and practice, as the appropriate response to the problem of ambivalence, will be set out in the following steps. I will begin by highlighting the importance of intellectual engagement by the Church and emphasizing the dangers attending any failure to draw upon her full intellectual capital to tackle the significant challenges facing her. I will then test my claim of ambivalence with specific reference to The Salvation Army by considering the conclusions coming out of the most recent writing of leaders and academics on the topic of higher education. I will then offer what I believe to be the best explanation for The Salvation Army's ambivalence to the life of the mind and higher education by addressing the problem at the conceptual level—by considering the big ideas that continue to shape The Salvation Army's corporate mindset. Next, I will outline some of the costs to our movement of our ambivalence. I will then go on to offer a response to the problem being addressed that is nothing less than a call for reorientation to our Wesleyan theological heritage. Finally, I will offer some practical suggestions that follow from my analysis and critique.

The Importance of Intellectual Engagement

Throughout her history, the Church has proved more than capable of addressing the challenges of the day by drawing upon her intellectual capital. When the gospel needed to be proclaimed beyond the bounds of Judaism, it was a philosophically astute Paul who was able to help with the transplanting of the gospel into Greek soil. When Gnosticism and persecution proved serious threats to the early Church, theologians like Irenaeus and Justin Martyr found the best form of defense in intellectual attack. These early apologists

met these challenges head on and used all the learning at their disposal to both understand and address the threats being posed. During the 16th century the reformers Martin Luther and John Calvin addressed the Church's parlous moral and educational state with all the intellectual tools at their disposal.

However, along with these more positive examples, in more recent times there have been some more sobering results. The failure to seriously engage the challenges of Modernity has left the Church weakened as it has struggled to respond to a secular age.⁶ And this is especially true of the Anglo-American Evangelical traditions. With the 20th Century ushering in a period of cultural and social change like no other, Anglo-American Evangelicals were in the position of having little influence upon social, political and cultural life except over a very narrow and shallow field of thinking.⁷ During this time, Evangelicals spent a great deal of time and energy fighting internal battles over questions to do with biblical authority and Salvationists engaged in often unhelpful debates over the doctrine of sanctification. All the while we were becoming increasingly disengaged from the pressing issues of the time. In light of these examples, both positive and negative, it is difficult to imagine how an attitude of ambivalence towards the life of the mind and to higher education could do anything other than severely limit The Salvation Army's ability to adequately address the challenges facing it and achieve its missional objectives. It is to this question of ambivalence that I now turn.

The Salvation Army and the Problem of Ambivalence

In reflecting on the significance of the new Millennium for The Salvation Army, Roger Green in the May 1999 edition of *Word & Deed* outlines a way forward for a Salvationist Theology. In that article, he begins by making a positive statement in relation to the movement's theological moment in history. To back up his claim, he identifies six signs that provide a way of facing our history and orienting The Salvation Army's theological development into the future.⁸ He rejects the notion that our founders had little interest in theology maintaining that, "both William and Catherine Booth were people of profound theological insights and convictions."⁹ However, he does acknowledge that in more recent times we have been negligent in our educational endeavours at local, national and international levels. Then in a guest editorial to the May 2005 edition of *Word & Deed*, devoted in part to a discussion on

The Salvation Army and higher education, the then General John Larsson opens the discussion by challenging the theory/practice binary. He makes the claim that “it is high time to discard forever the false presupposition that has dogged us as an Army that higher education and action are opposites.”¹⁰ He then goes on to highlight the founder’s vision for a University of Humanity to back up his claim.

Donald Burke then challenges these largely positive sentiments about the Army’s theological trajectory in the May 2005 edition of *Word & Deed* where he highlights The Salvation Army’s ambivalence to the life of the mind by reappropriating Mark Noll’s famous line declaring that, “[t]he scandal of the Salvationist mind is that there is not much of a Salvationist mind.”¹¹ In that same edition Jonathan Raymond acknowledges that although The Salvation Army is active in providing primary, secondary and special or technical education globally, in respect of higher education, “The Salvation Army occupies a very humble place at the table of higher education.” He also acknowledges that “to say “Salvation Army higher education” may sound to some like an oxymoron.”¹²

Now while on the face of it these views seem contradictory, perhaps both are, to some degree at least, historically true. Green’s claim that the Booths’ positive attitude to matters theological seems relatively uncontroversial in light of the fact that the Wesley’s desire to unite knowledge and vital piety formed the backdrop against which the Booths engaged in their mission. However, it also seems to be the case that somewhere along the line The Salvation Army diverted from this intentional approach to unite knowledge and vital piety and instead gave way to other overriding influences that would set the movement on a course that would disjoin the pair, and our movement would throughout much of the 20th Century embody a stance of ambivalence towards the life of the mind and higher education in particular.

An Attempt at the Best Explanation for our Ambivalence

What I will do now is set out what I believe to be the best explanation for our ambivalence to the life of the mind and to higher education in particular. My approach is to tackle the problem of ambivalence at the conceptual level, the level of big ideas, both theological and philosophical, that continue to shape The Salvation Army’s theological mindset. These, according to E.F.

Schumacher,¹³ are the ideas with which we think, “they are the very instruments through which we look at, interpret and experience the world.”¹⁴ They are the beliefs beyond testing and assumptions that ground a paradigm or worldview and shape particular habits of mind.¹⁵ And it is at this level that we need to go to uncover the reasons for our ambivalence. Without understanding and critiquing these big ideas, these assumptions, all we end up doing is attempting to solve the problems we have created with the same theologizing and church practices that have created them in the first place.¹⁶

In setting out my explanation I will draw on the work of Richard Tarnas as outlined in his book *The Passion of the Western Mind* where he explores the development of ideas in the West. In this historical narrative, Tarnas clearly acknowledges the significant influence that Christian ideas have had on the Western mindset. What is relevant to my argument relates to his claim that there were from the beginning, contraries, two significant aspects or outlooks within the Christian vision or worldview. One outlook was “rapturously optimistic and all-embracing” and “its complement was sternly judgmental, restrictive and prone to a dualistic pessimism.”¹⁷ He readily acknowledges that at first impression such is the difference in outlook that one might be tempted to conclude that these are in fact two entirely distinct world views coexisting and overlapping within Christianity.¹⁸ According to Tarnas however, “the two outlooks were inextricably united, two sides of the same coin, light and shadow.”¹⁹ And we can see throughout Western Christian history that there have been significant attempts by theologians, with varying degrees of success, at holding together the exultant and dualistic outlooks. These theologians include Augustine, Aquinas and what is significant for our own tradition, John Wesley.

If, as Tarnas argues, the two contraries within Christianity are in fact united, two sides of the same coin, light and shadow, then any disjoining of the pair can only result in an incomplete, one-sided view that is either exultant and optimistic or dualistic and pessimistic. Here is, I believe, the key to understanding The Salvation Army’s ambivalence to the life of the mind and to higher education. During the 20th century The Salvation Army would be influenced by a theological and cultural movement that would occasion the disjoining the two outlooks and fundamentally overturn the Wesleyan synthesis. The Salvation Army would embody the dualistic and pessimistic outlook in relation to the world and humanity and by implication, the life of the mind

and higher education.

However, before exploring the influences upon, and implications of, The Salvation Army mindset during the 20th Century, I need to describe more fully the two outlooks or aspects referred to by Tarnas. The contraries as already indicated are exultant Christianity and dualistic Christianity. The exultant Christian vision is that which is most clearly discerned in the Christian contemplative and mystical tradition. According to Tarnas,

The dominant insight expressed in this understanding was that in Christ the divine had entered the world, and that the redemption of humanity and nature was now already dawning... The peculiar sense of cosmic joy and immense thanksgiving expressed in early Christianity seemed to derive from the belief that God, in a gratuitous overflow of love for his creation, had miraculously broken through the imprisonment of this world and poured forth his redeeming power into humanity. The divine essence had fully re-entered into materiality and history, initiating their radical transformation.

He then draws attention to the other outlook within the Christian vision,

The other side of the Christian vision focused more emphatically on the present alienation of man and the world from God. It therefore stressed the futility and otherworldliness of redemption, the ontological finality of God's "otherness," the need for strict inhibition of worldly activities, a doctrinal orthodoxy defined by the institutional Church and a salvation narrowly limited to the small portion of mankind constituting the Church faithful. Underlying and consequent to these tenets was a pervasive negative judgement regarding the present status of the human soul and the created world, especially relative to the omnipotence and transcendent perfection of God.

It is this later dualistic outlook of the Christian vision that has prevailed in the West and in modern Anglo-American Evangelicalism in particular and has been a topic addressed quite comprehensively in recent times. In a paper published in 1990, Grace Jantzen argues that Western theological discourse has for the most part been stuck supporting a destructive binary logic that sets God over against the world, the sacred over the secular, the soul over against the body and the spiritual over against the material.²⁰ To emphasise the ubiquity of this dualistic way of thinking M. James Sawyer, in his book *A World Split Apart*, argues that "we in the twenty-first century are so immersed in [this] dualistic thinking that we do not even recognise its pervasive influence; it is 'just the way things are.'"²¹

But how did this dualistic tendency come about? In *The Passion of the Western Mind*, Tarnas comprehensively traces this outlook within Western Christianity. However, for my purposes a brief summary will suffice.

When Christianity moved away from its Hebraic roots and into the Greco-Roman world, the holistic exultant vision was largely lost and a dualistic metaphysic and cosmology became the norm. In respect of the human person the dualism can be discerned in the distinction between what belongs to the material world and what belongs to the world of spirit or the divine realm. In the West, dualism reasserted itself in a dominant interpretation of the work of Augustine.²² "In his wake Western Christianity became one-sidedly oriented towards the spiritual, while the material order was viewed as temporary and secondary at best, if not outright evil."²³ This dualism, according to Sawyer, had severe consequences for both theology and piety. "It denied the importance of the created world and placed Christian hope in a spiritual heaven after death rather than a bodily resurrection."²⁴ In the high middle ages Thomas Aquinas developed a synthesis between Aristotelian philosophy and the revealed truths of Christianity and while his synthesis partially rescued the tradition from Augustinian otherworldliness, his own view was characterised by another dualism—that between natural and supernatural knowledge.²⁵

In looking to Augustine, the Reformers would reinforce the ontologically dualistic Judaeo-Christian view.²⁶ In restoring a predominantly biblical theology against the Scholastic theology that was rejected by the reformers, the modern mind was purged of any exultant notion of nature being permeated with divine rationality.²⁷ The distinction between nature and grace, nature and the supernatural, matter and spirit, God and the world, would be drawn

more starkly than ever. The exultant view which acknowledged the ubiquity of Godly wisdom²⁸ and grace would now become the minority view within Protestantism. This world was characterised not so much as the creation of a good God, as having fallen under the domination of Satan. Even the soul was contaminated to the point that it was not free to share in the divine life. There was now an unbridgeable gulf between the divine life and the created and human life that was now completely devoid of grace, goodness and wisdom. It would only be by supernatural means that God and creation could be reconciled. For a significant number there would be no grace, no light to be had, because they were not included in the company of the redeemed. For those who belonged to the company of the redeemed the possibility of a spiritual life came only because the spirit of God deigned to breathe new life into a dead soul. For the reformers it was by faith and not by reason or any other faculty that a person could be saved. And the source of that saving faith was the Holy Scripture and the Spirit of God. It would be the words of Paul in 1 Corinthians 1:25 and 3:19 and not the words of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes that would inform the pessimistic and dualistic Protestant Evangelical worldview.

In the post-Reformation period the cosmological dualism of Newton and the epistemological dualism of Descartes and Kant would uphold the distinctions between God and the world and spirit and matter. In the case of modern science, reality would be reduced to the material side of the binary, while Anglo-American Evangelical Christianity, for the most part, reduced reality to the spiritual side of the binary. The end result would be a secular age and a disenchanting universe.²⁹

Here in summary is a historical sketch of the dominance of the dualistic perspective in Western Christendom. But what about the specifics related to our own Salvation Army tradition? What influences have led to the disruption of the Wesleyan synthesis, to the disjoining of two outlooks in the 20th Century and the embodiment of the dualistic and pessimistic outlook? Further, how have these influences, how has this disruption to the Wesleyan synthesis, reinforced the attitude of ambivalence to the life of the mind and higher education?

Before proceeding further, however, I need to explain what I mean by the Wesleyan synthesis. We have considered the contraries within Christianity, the exultant and optimistic outlook and the dualistic and pessimistic outlook. But how exactly does Wesley's approach differ from that taken by many in the

Western Christian tradition who have embodied the dualistic and pessimistic outlook? What we see in the thought of John Wesley is an attempt to unite the contraries in a synthesis. This synthesis attempts to bridge the gulf between grace and nature, spirit and matter. The Reformers' emphasis on the doctrine of total depravity is moderated in Wesley by way of the doctrine of prevenient grace. While Wesley accepts the doctrine of total depravity it remains for him and Wesleyans generally a hypothetical condition. Because of the universality of prevenient grace there is nobody who can be described as dead in their trespasses and sins. From the very beginning of life prevenient grace is active in restoring our spiritual faculties to the point where we can experience the lure of God. This "theological realism" both upholds the effects of sin and the universality of grace. And yet this outlook is most definitely slanted towards an optimistic view of the human person and the created order.

The conceptual worlds of spirit and matter are also bridged by upholding both the work of the Spirit and the sacramental implications of the Incarnation in the life of holiness. Now there have always been tendencies within Western Christianity to value more highly the spiritual over the material. Both Gnostic and Docetic tendencies have a long history within Christianity. But Wesley understood only too well that with the doctrine of the Incarnation as central to the Christian faith, material reality can be the means of grace. The importance he gave to the practice of the sacraments only confirms his desire to hold together the contraries within Christianity.

I need to return now to considering the influences that have led to the disruption of the Wesleyan synthesis within The Salvation Army and how these have set us on the path of ambivalence to the life of the mind and higher education. My approach here is to consider our own history as part of a broader movement. Indeed, our own history cannot be understood apart from that of modern Evangelicalism. But given the highly contested nature of the term "evangelical" careful attention needs to be given to the history and changing meaning of the concept.

In his book *The Remaking of Evangelical Theology*, Gary Dorrien identifies 3 Evangelical paradigms in Evangelical history.³⁰ The first derives from the confessional and dissenting movements of the sixteenth century. This is what Weber calls "classical" evangelicalism. The second paradigm, pietistic evangelicalism, derives from the eighteenth century German and English Pietistic movements and in the United States Revivalism and the Great Awak-

ening. The third paradigm, fundamentalist evangelicalism, derives from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. What is of interest here is that while The Salvation Army originally embodied the second paradigm—pietistic and revivalist evangelicalism—in the early 20th century The Salvation Army along with many other Evangelical groups such as the Free Methodist Church, the Church of the Nazarene and the Wesleyan Church would become aligned with the third paradigm as a result of being drawn into the modernist-fundamentalist controversy.³¹

It is in fact the influences of pietism, revivalism and fundamentalism that characterize the type of evangelicalism that has shaped The Salvation Army in the 20th Century and that has led to our present hiatus in respect to the life of the mind and higher education. Clearly the pietistic influences cannot, by themselves, account for The Salvation Army's attitude of ambivalence. After all, John Wesley was thoroughly committed to learning and the revivalist preacher Jonathan Edwards is recognised as being a significant American philosopher. However there were within pietism and revivalism the dualistic tendencies that when brought together with fundamentalist influences in the early 20th century made for a perfect storm in relation to attitudes toward the life of the mind and higher education. It is to the influence of fundamentalism in the 20th Century that I will now turn.

According to Mark Noll, the three broad theological emphases that provided energy to the fundamentalist movement during the 20th century were Holiness (or “higher life” or “Keswick”) spirituality, Pentecostalism, and premillennial dispensationalism.³² Now while Noll acknowledges that these movements were never entirely aligned, “together these movements shared a stress on the dangers of the world, the comforts of separated piety, the centrality of evangelism, and an expectation of the end.”³³ What is not in doubt, and what is particularly relevant to my case, is that, according to Noll, “the fundamentalist era remains critical for evangelical thinking, since it so thoroughly established habits of mind for looking (or not looking) at the world.”³⁴

But how did the influence of fundamentalism contribute to the disjoining of the two outlooks within Christianity and ultimately to the reinforcement of the attitude of ambivalence to the life of the mind and higher education? One answer to this question is to point out the general pessimism of the dualistic strand within the Christian outlook and Anglo-American Evangelicalism³⁵ in particular. While the optimistic and exultant strand focuses on the goodness of

creation, the universality of grace and the already begun transformation of the cosmos, the pessimistic strand emphasizes the fall and the ultimate difference between nature and grace, the world of light and the world of darkness, the world of spirit and the world of matter, Godly wisdom and the wisdom of this world.

This pessimistic dualism gives little credence to the human capacity for the intellectual penetration of the world's meaning or ability of the material world to mediate truth. Instead the “spiritual” among us must rely totally on supernatural and unmediated means to knowledge, namely Word and Spirit. According to David Gushee,

if evangelicals are best identified as essentially a massively successful rebranding effort of old-school fundamentalism, the starting point from which the modern evangelical community emerged was obscurantist and provincial, routinely anti-intellectual, antiscience and antimodern.³⁶

The Cost of our Ambivalence

One of the significant costs of our ambivalence has been our inability to engage meaningfully with the broader culture. We have neither had the inclination or the tools to do so. In a paper that I delivered at the Nazarene Theological College in Brisbane entitled *Revisiting Christ and Culture*, I identified the Christ against culture position as the one that Evangelicals have tended to hold throughout the 20th Century, and the one most familiar to me as a young person growing up in The Salvation Army in the 70's. Now there are dangers in making normative claims based on one's experience, and I recognize that my risk is heightened by the fact that I write from my very specific Australian context for an international audience. However, I believe there is sufficient evidence that many Salvationists growing up in the Western world during this time period would relate to my experience.

The best way to sum up my experience looking back is that I lived in a cultural bubble. I had the sense that I lived in two worlds and that one of those worlds was in some significant respects not real. I picked up early that as Christians we were in a battle for our souls, that the world was not our

home, and that the role of the Church was to win back the world for Jesus in readiness for our leaving this world for our real home in heaven. I remember clearly singing the chorus of a song with the words—O I'm climbing up the golden stairs to glory....

At the time that I was growing up I didn't have anything like the perspective that an adult develops over time, but now as I look back I can see that significant historical events were shaping the 20th century and our country along with other Western nations. The Vietnam War impacted our country, we had entered an atomic age, a cultural revolution was well under way with rock and roll music defiantly seeking to usher in a new world. Traditional sexual mores were being challenged, gender equality was being raised as an issue, and the environmental movement was becoming politically active. And yet what is my memory of these monumental changes? At the time I had no sense of the significance of these cultural movements and the significance of the cultural shift that was taking place. I cannot remember a sermon grappling with the ethics of war or the implications of the Cultural Revolution with counter-cultural children challenging the traditional materialistic values of their parents. Any reference to the young protestors of the time, "hippies as they came to known," was normally derogatory.

What I do remember are the many sermons that focused on the life of the soul. Getting saved, keeping saved and getting others saved was the focus. This evangelical call to be saved was often done within a warm and pastoral setting with people genuinely wanting the best for us. On the other hand, I also remember attending a youth group event and watching the film "The Late Great Planet Earth" which I can only think was designed to literally scare the hell out of us as we considered our eternal destiny. I remember that there was a lot of talk about living the Holy life and that if I really wanted it I could know the experience of entire sanctification. To my teenage mind such an experience would ultimately bring a peace to the war that was going on within me. A war that I now realize had as much to do with the physical and psychological changes happening in a developing teenager's body as with the state of my soul. I attended youth camps and experienced many "mountain top experiences" only to come screaming down to earth on the first or second day back of school. I also remember moving forward many times as I sought the blessing of a clean heart, again only to be disappointed soon after. The emphasis was on keeping ourselves pure and undefiled from the sin and cor-

ruption of the world.

My experience was of course not unique but it is illustrative of a general tendency within some strands of Evangelicalism. In his biography, the Australian writer Tim Winton, interestingly born in the same year as myself, expresses many of the same sentiments as he reflects on his own years of growing up in the 70's even though he was brought up in the Baptist Church and on the opposite side of the continent. He makes this telling comment about his Church's inability to meet the intellectual challenges of the day.

Our pietist theology sprang from a simpler, more static world. Our thinking was cautious and faithful but hopelessly flatfooted. Confronted with the upheavals of the time it was quickly exposed as insufficient.³⁷

Another significant cost to The Salvation Army is related to the important matter of maturity in the faith. If we take Fowler's stages of faith as a theoretical framework for understanding faith development, I would hesitantly suggest that our movement is in danger of being stuck in theological adolescence. According to Fowler, as we grow in our faith we pass through various stages of development. One of the crucial stages happens when we move from stage 3 (Synthetic-Conventional faith) to stage 4 (Individuative-Reflective faith). And so it is to Fowler's own description of these stages and the events that precipitate them that I now turn.

Stage 3 typically has its rise and ascendancy in adolescence, but for many adults it becomes a permanent place of equilibrium.³⁸

During this stage youths develop attachments to beliefs, values, and elements of personal style that link them in conforming relations with the most significant others among their peers, family and other adults. Identity, beliefs and values are strongly felt, even when they contain contradictory elements. However, they tend to be espoused in tacit rather than explicit formulations. At this stage, one's ideology or worldview is lived and asserted; it is not yet a matter of critical and reflective articulation.³⁹

Stage 4 most appropriately takes form in young adulthood but for a significant group it emerges only in the mid-thirties or forties.⁴⁰ According to Fowler,

for this stage to emerge, two important movements must occur, together or in sequence. First, the previous stage's tacit system of beliefs, values and commitments must be critically examined. Evocative symbols and stories by which lives have been oriented will now be critically weighed and interpreted. Second, the self, previously constituted and sustained by its roles and relationships, must struggle with the question of identity and worth apart from its previously defining connections. This means that persons must take into themselves much of the authority they previously invested in others for determining and sanctioning their goals and values.⁴¹

To summarize, in the transition from stage 3 to stage 4, individuals begin to look with critical awareness at their system of beliefs and values tacitly held. They begin to separate themselves out from the group that has up to this time provided a sense of identity and belonging. This is often a time of alienation and disembodiment. If the conditions are not optimal, a person's faith development can be arrested.

Now there is no reason to suppose that the same conditions leading to arrested development in an individual might not also apply to a corporate entity. The key to understanding the important transition from stage 3 to stage 4 is the role of critically examining one's beliefs during a time of dis-embedding in the context of a safe environment with appropriate mentors. I am not sure that critical examination of one's beliefs has ever been a normal expectation for Salvationists. One observer suggests, "that in the evangelical church we have a reaping-centred Christianity but we don't know what to do with people as they mature in their Christian faith."⁴²

Fowler's view of faith development certainly clashes with the traditional view of progress with holiness traditions like our own. Implicit in our movement's view of progress is the idea that once a person is sanctified, further growth and development should be in an ever upward and unbroken trajec-

tory. Any major disruption to one's faith development of the sort identified by Fowler has more often than not been interpreted as backsliding within our movement.

In Fowler's scheme the sometimes-monumental disruption to faith development that occurs between stage 3 and 4 is to be interpreted in a positive light rather than a negative one. The disruption that occurs is a sign of ongoing faith development and not dissolution of faith. What has often been read as backsliding is actually a person beginning to take responsibility for his or her own faith journey. It is sobering to consider how many faith seekers have left our ranks because of our failure to adequately engage with them as they have entered the critical stage of their faith journey. We have neither had the intellectual tools or the inclination to do so.

A Wesleyan Response

So far in this paper I have sought to make the connection between The Salvation Army's ambivalence towards the life of the mind in general and higher education in particular, and the failure of the Western Church in general to hold together the contraries within the Christian worldview. The resultant dualistic and pessimistic outlook has emphasized the ontological difference between God and the world, the divine over the human in Christ, revelation over reason, the sacred over the secular, the city of God over the city of man, and (unmediated) grace over (fallen) nature. The failure to uphold the contraries and balance this dualistic way of thinking with an exultant and optimistic emphasis has led Evangelicals generally and Salvationists in particular to emphasise revelation at the expense of reason, and with a deep ambivalence towards material and bodied life has taught a more direct, and simple way to God—the word and work of God given through the power of the Spirit directly to our spirit with little intellectual effort required. In fact we are encouraged to "let go and let God."⁴³

What I believe is crucial to our movement overcoming its ambivalence to the life of the mind and to higher education is a radical theological reorientation to the Wesleyan worldview. The movement's dualistic and pessimistic focus has for too long now kept us from the resources that would heal the destructive dualisms that have dogged our theology, our cosmology and our anthropology and by implication, our praxis. Balancing the contraries and

giving due emphasis to an exultant, optimistic, grace-enabled approach to life is much more possible in a Wesleyan framework and offers resources for overcoming our ambivalence to the life of the mind and in turn for us to more ably engage meaningfully and missionally with the challenges of a new Millennium.

In this final section I will single out two important Wesleyan foci that have the potential to correct and transform our worldview and to heal our divided conceptual reality. These are the doctrines of Incarnation and the Human Person. I have found it particularly helpful to view these through the correcting prism of the Eastern Christian framework, a move not foreign to Wesley himself.⁴⁴

First let me say something about the Eastern approach to Anthropology—an approach that Wesley sought to integrate into his own theological understanding. The Eastern Church both in its exegesis and theology makes a distinction between the image and likeness of God as indicated in the Genesis account of the creation of humans. The West has tended not to make such a distinction. Eastern theologians acknowledge that the primary effect of sin was sickness and death entering the created order and impacting our likeness to God. What remains in spite of sin is the image of God in humans.

The doctrine of total depravity that is so much a part of our Western theological understanding is something rejected by the East. Nature is not something that can be depraved and the image of God in the human person can never be lost. Now as we have seen Wesley in his doctrine of prevenient grace sought to bridge the two traditions. While there is an acknowledgement of the damaging effects of sin there is also the recognition that God's prevenient grace becomes active in our lives from the very beginning so that at a very basic level the effects of sin are overcome and from that point frees our will so that we are no longer dead in our sins and cut off from God. By the grace of God our spiritual faculties are sufficiently restored so that we are able to respond to the gentle lure, or wooing of God throughout our lives. The implications of this along with an emphasis on a deep view of the Incarnation are significant for any understanding of the role of reason and higher education.

The Eastern view of the Incarnation is also significant for a more holistic view of human life in general and the life of the mind in particular. Western Evangelical Christianity has tended to focus on the death and resurrection of Christ in its soteriology. The Eastern Church on the other hand has always

maintained that the entire Christ-event is itself salvific. That is, the Incarnation is itself redemptive. And this is not only true for humans but for the entire creation. Paul reflects this more cosmic understanding of the Incarnation. Romans 8:28 says, "We know that the whole creation has been groaning as in the pains of childbirth right up to the present time. Not only so, but we ourselves, who have the firstfruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait eagerly for our adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies." This same narrative of cosmic redemption brought to effect by the Incarnation follows on from the deep view of the creation where the Logos not only brings everything into being but also holds all things together. Colossians 1:15-16 says, "The Son is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn over all creation. For in Him all things were created, things in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or rulers or authorities. All things were created through Him and for Him." This cosmic redemption that is even now under way includes all created reality, including our intellect.

Within a Wesleyan framework then, we can see that we are not incapable of reason but rather we participate in the reason, the Logos of God. Our embodied reason itself becomes a means of grace and rather than leading us astray can, with appropriate discernment, be trusted to inform a coherent and trustworthy view of things. Indeed, it is important that we give attention to the faculty of reason to meet the challenges of our time. This reason is not sectarian and limited to a particular privileged perspective but rather is embodied by all created reality bearing the image of God. Indeed, we would do well to attend to Proverbs 1:20 and 21, "Wisdom cries out in the street, in the squares she raises her voice. At the busiest corner she cries out, at the entrance of the city gates she speaks."⁴⁵

Some Practical Suggestions That Follow from My Analysis

In this final section I will offer some practical suggestions that follow from my above analysis. Firstly, given my claim that The Salvation Army's ambivalence to the life of the mind and higher education can be traced to the disruption of the Wesleyan synthesis and the failure to keep in balance the contraries within Christianity, it would seem reasonable to suggest that as a movement, we need a radical and constructive reorientation in our theology and practice to the Wesleyan worldview. We need to rediscover our theological roots and

in particular the exultant and optimistic strand within our tradition. Dare I suggest that we need to develop a reoriented catechism that sets out clearly the Wesleyan distinctives for an international audience?

In terms of our theology this will mean a rebalancing of our approach to holiness to include a more profoundly Christological focus. I see this rebalancing as a both/and approach rather than an either/or one. We have an excellent study by David Rightmire on the pneumatological foundations of our holiness tradition⁴⁶ and this has been a valuable contribution to our theological self-understanding. What is needed now is an accompanying study on the Christological/Incarnational foundations of our holiness tradition.⁴⁷ I have every reason to believe that this rebalancing would have particular implications for the way we view the life of the mind and higher education.

Finally, we will know that our theology and practice are in alignment and the problem of ambivalence to the life of the mind and to higher education is being seriously addressed when we see Secretaries for Education on our most senior Army boards, when more of our Colleges of Higher Education are engaged in original higher research as well as teaching. And we will know that the problem of ambivalence is being overcome when more officers, soldiers and friends of The Salvation Army find a place to pursue their calling to be teachers and researchers in Army institutions of higher learning to the glory of God. Dare we imagine the day when William Booth's idea of a university of Humanity will be finally realized.

Conclusion

What can we conclude then about The Salvation Army and the challenge of higher education for a new millennium? We have seen that our ambivalence to theological higher education is an attitude that continues to plague our movement and is fundamentally a problem at the most basic theological and philosophical level. Our failure to uphold the Wesleyan synthesis has seen our movement, in concert with others, disjoin the contraries within Christianity, the result being the embodying of the dualistic and pessimistic outlook that gives little credence to human potential for achieving real knowledge of God and the world outside that received by way of special revelation. The unhelpful dualisms that have plagued Western Christianity have uniquely impacted Salvationists, and the emphasising of pneumatology over Incarnation,

revelation over reason, has led us to devalue the life of the mind and limited our ability to engage meaningfully and missionally with the broader culture.

Realignment with The Salvation Army's Wesleyan heritage offers a way to heal the destructive dualisms informing our worldview and our ambivalence to the life of the mind and higher education. After all, Wesleyans do not live in a world divided between light and darkness, the sacred and secular, spiritual and material. Just as we can never accept the idea that anyone is cut off from God because God's prevenient grace is universally active and effective, neither can we be ambivalent about the life of the mind and higher education in particular. If it is not just our souls being redeemed but our entire lived reality including our bodies, our minds and indeed the entire rational cosmos, then we better have a good reason for rejecting that which God calls good.

Endnotes

- 1 With the development and funding of research universities and other independent institutions and centers on a growth trajectory around the world, it is not difficult to make a case for the importance of research and higher learning to governments around the world. Yet the number of such institutions across The Salvation Army world is no more than one or two at best.
- 2 A phrase used by Marshall McLuhan in his book *The Medium is the Message*.
- 3 My argument is focused on higher education broadly understood. However, theological higher education must take some precedence given that it our theological “big ideas” that give shape to our values, our way of seeing the world. It is these values that should then frame all of our intellectual and higher education endeavors.
- 4 This is more of a reorientation than a shift given the movement’s Wesleyan heritage.
- 5 The Salvation Army is poorly placed in the area of higher research.
- 6 For a comprehensive account on the history of the secularization of Western cultural and social orders see Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press, 2007.
- 7 Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company), 4-5.
- 8 The six signs are: 1. The Publication of *Salvation Story*. 2. The Publication of *Word & Deed*. 3. The establishment of the International Spiritual Life Commission. 4. The Publication of the *Officer Magazine*. 5. The establishment of Booth University College. 6. The burgeoning work of Army and non-army scholars over recent times.
- 9 Roger J. Green, “Facing History: Our Way Ahead For a Salvationist Theology,” *Word & Deed* Vol. 1, No. 2, (1999) pp. 23-39.
- 10 John Larsson, “Wanted: Informed Men and Women of Action,” *Word & Deed*, Vol. 7, No. 2, (2005) p. 5.
- 11 Donald E. Burke, “The Scandal of the Salvationist Mind,” *Word & Deed*, Vol. 7, No. 2, (2005) p. 41.
- 12 Jonathan S. Raymond, “The Salvation Army and Higher Education: The 2004 Andrew S. Miller Lecture,” *Word & Deed*, Vol. 7, No. 2, (2005) p. 11.
- 13 E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful* (London: Vintage Books, 2011), pp. 63-64.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Worldview here, like the term paradigm, refers to a conceptual scheme or framework, an overarching set of beliefs that orient a particular culture. Mindsets or Habits of mind on the other hand, are subsets of an overarching worldview or paradigm.
- 16 C.S. Calian *The Ideal Seminary: Pursuing Excellence in Theological Education* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), Frontispiece.
- 17 Richard Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1991), p. 120
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Grace Jantzen, *Healing our Brokenness: the Spirit and Creation*, *Ecumenical Review*, Vol. 42 (1990), pp. 131-141.
- 21 M. James Sawyer, *A World Split Apart: Dualism in Western Culture and Theology*,

- (Leandro, California: Sacred Saga Press, 2014), Kindle Edition, Loc 52.
- 22 I acknowledge that there is some contention about whether Augustine was to blame for this or those who followed in the tradition.
- 23 M. James Sawyer, Loc, 238.
- 24 Ibid., Loc 252
- 25 Ibid., Loc, 301.
- 26 Richard Tarnas, p. 238.
- 27 Ibid., 241.
- 28 See Proverbs 8:1-2
- 29 Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press, 2007)
- 30 Gary Dorrien, *The Remaking of Evangelical Theology* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998) p. 2
- 31 Ibid, 164.
- 32 Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, p. 115.
- 33 Ibid., p. 120.
- 34 Ibid., p. 122.
- 35 Psalm 139: 13.
- 36 David P. Gushee, *Following Jesus Out of American Evangelicalism* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2017), p. 119.
- 37 Tim Winton, *The Boy Behind the Curtain* (Australia: Penguin Random House, 2016), p. 111.
- 38 James W. Fowler, *Stages of Faith* (New York: HarperOne, 1981), 172.
- 39 James W. Fowler, *Faithful Change: The Personal and Public Challenges of Postmodern Life* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), 61.
- 40 James W. Fowler, *Stages of Faith*, 182.
- 41 James W. Fowler, *Faithful Change*, 62.
- 42 Alan Jamieson, *A Churchless Faith: Faith Journeys Beyond the Churches* (New Zealand: Philip Garside Publishing, 2002), p.103.
- 43 Interestingly, Martin Lloyd-Jones offers a critique of the Holiness movement’s intellectual failures. Consider the following quote taken from H. Murray, *D. Martyn Lloyd-Jones: The Fight of Faith, 1939-1981* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1990). “You asked me to *diagnose* the reasons for the present weakness and I am doing it. ...If you teach that sanctification consists of ‘letting go’ and letting the Holy Spirit *do all the work*, then don’t blame me if you have no scholars!”
- 44 See Randy L. Maddox, *Responsible Grace* (Nashville, Tennessee: Kingswood Books, 1994).
- 45 Proverbs 1:20-21. NRSV.
- 46 R. David Rightmire, *The Sacramental Journey of The Salvation Army: A Study of Holiness Foundations* (Alexandria, VA: Crest Books, 2016).
- 47 See Dean Smith, “The Sacramental Life: Toward an Integrated Christian Vision.” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 50:2 (Fall 2015): 189.

Book Review

Glen O'Brien

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Saved to Save and Saved to Serve
Perspectives on Salvation Army History

by Harold Hill / Foreword by John Larsson

Published by Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2017

Available from wipfandstock.com

US \$39.20 (paperback and e-book)

Also available from Amazon

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Salvation Army history, like all denominational history, can sometimes be biased and overly romanticized, especially when written by an insider. This is certainly not the case here. Harold Hill has written a valuable and scholarly history that hits the right balance between objective analysis of evidence and the reflections of a critical yet appreciative insider. One of the great strengths of the book is its global perspective. Incidents drawn from Australian and New Zealand settings fill out the story so that the reader is not given only northern hemisphere perspectives. Historians, even religious historians, are not always attuned to the theological complexities of their subject matter, but Harold Hill has a sure grasp of the theology that has undergirded Salvationist activism.

After a solid overview of Salvation Army history beginning in Victorian Britain, the author draws upon his earlier work on Salvation Army leadership to explore such questions as whether the Army should be seen as a sect

or a church, whether its officers should be seen as “clergy,” and whether its commitment to ordain/commission women as officers means that it has no problem with gender equality. (On this last point there is the recognition that further progress needs to be made.) In each of these explorations easy answers are avoided and the complexity of the discussion is given due consideration.

Three solid chapters on Salvationist theology cover its formal doctrinal statements, its theological diversity and its worship practice. Soon after becoming an employee of The Salvation Army in 2009, I discovered somewhat to my surprise how diverse Salvationists were. I had expected a broadly evangelical church with a slightly Wesleyan flavor. While I found plenty of that, I also encountered a much wider range of perspectives from the very conservative to the very progressive—charismatic Salvationists, social gospel Salvationists, catholic Salvationists, even reformed Salvationists—all wearing the same uniform and gathering under the same flag. The sixth chapter on “Diversity” explains this in terms of a pragmatic commitment to a commonly held core mission of “getting people saved and sanctified, with as little impediment to those ends as possible.”

There are two sound chapters on the Army’s social work and the book concludes with a global snapshot of the movement which takes into account its initial connection to British imperialism, the gradual indigenization of leadership, and its ecumenical commitments.

This is a very fine history that arises out of a lifetime of careful thinking about The Salvation Army. It exhibits the skills of a careful historian and an insightful theologian. It will serve as an excellent textbook, but will also appeal to the general reader wanting an up-to-date and authoritative source on global Salvation Army history. I recommend it wholeheartedly.

This review was previously published in *Others* (Australia).

Book Notes

Roger J. Green

Occasionally someone comes to the attention of Christians around the world and helps them formulate their understanding of the Bible, their theology, or their views of the relationship of Christianity and the world. Such a person is N. T. Wright, the British Anglican who is known for both his biblical teaching and preaching. Those of you who have read N. T. Wright know that he has a remarkable knowledge of the Scriptures, the biblical languages, texts outside of the canonical Scriptures, Intertestamental and New Testament life of the Jewish people, and the shaping of Christianity. Such understanding is developed in the context of his expertise of the Greco/Roman world that provided the cultural background for the coming of the Christ and the formation of early Christianity.

As people discuss N. T. Wright with me they often comment on their appreciation for him (especially if they have heard him preach or teach), but can be overwhelmed by his writings, particularly if they begin by trying to work through his three-volume *Christian Origins and the Question of God*, those three volumes alone numbering 2,093 pages. Therefore, in answer to “Where should I begin?”, I have decided to give my personal reflection on that question. I realize that others would perhaps encourage reading N. T. Wright in another direction, but this is a road that I believe will lead the reader into a knowledge of his writings without being overwhelmed.

I am suggesting four of N. T. Wright’s books to begin the journey. I would begin with *Simply Christian: Why Christianity Makes Sense* (New York, NY: HarperOne, 2006). This book accomplishes what *Mere Christianity* by C. S. Lewis did a few generations ago. What is this thing called Christianity and why has it been so compelling to billions of people for two thousand years?

As is mentioned in the publisher's summary of the book, "Wright makes the case for Christian faith from the ground up, assuming that the reader has no knowledge of (and perhaps even some aversion to) religion in general and Christianity in particular." This is a very readable text, and can be of great assistance to any pastor or teacher desiring to help people understand what Christianity is all about.

With this groundwork I would then move on to *The Challenge of Jesus: Rediscovering Who Jesus Was and Is* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 1999). Here N. T. Wright reminds us of the historical context of the life, ministry and resurrection of Jesus. That context has often been overlooked or forgotten by laity and scholars alike, thereby compromising the great Christian messages that "the Word became flesh" (John 1:14), and that Jesus announced that "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel" (Mark 1:15). Only as we understand the context in which these life-changing events took place can we know what they mean for us today with all the challenges of the twenty-first century. Again, this text is readable, bearing witness to what attracts me to the writings of N. T. Wright. He can write for scholars, but he can also write for the laity of the Church, making difficult historical and theological concepts comprehensible.

From there I suggest reading *After You Believe: Why Christian Character Matters* (New York, NY: HarperOne, 2010). Here is a timely book about the formation of Christian character, and why the biblical injunctions about who we are as the people of God are important. The author gets right to the point with the title of the first chapter, "What am I Here For?" He then spells out the biblical basis for the formation of human character, a topic that all followers of Jesus know is important. However, equally critical to my own personal life is the life of the people of God. The author reminds his readers that "the early Christians were becoming the agents of God's sovereign rule through their work in announcing Jesus as Lord. As they did this, and as the power of the gospel transformed people's hearts and lives, they saw communities spring up that gave allegiance to Jesus and celebrated his lordship" (p. 227). This is a book that helps us understand the formation of the individual Christian within the context of the Body of Christ.

The fourth book that I would suggest is N. T. Wright's *Surprised by Hope: Rethinking Heaven, the Resurrection, and the Mission of the Church* (New York, NY: HarperOne, 2008). Certainly every Christian wonders about the

future, about life after death, and how his or her vision of heaven aligns with the biblical vision of a new heaven and a new earth. The author challenges some commonly held concepts of heaven and the resurrection, but his challenges come from his clear and careful biblical exposition. All who claim to take the Bible as authoritative need to read *Surprised by Hope* with an open mind and heart, dealing with the questions raised in the book and, if necessary, letting go of some ideas about the future that may prove to be false. This book demands the attention of a Church wishing to be responsible for the hope that lies within us, which encompasses a grand vision of the resurrection, the kingdom of God and the promised new heaven and new earth.

And so, dear readers, there you have it. As mentioned, this is only my own personal suggestion for how to begin the journey with N. T. Wright. However, I pray that these suggestions will be helpful to all who want to know more about the Christian faith and what is asked of us as the people of God. I will, in future issues of this journal, suggest other readings of N. T. Wright that build on themes mentioned in these four texts.



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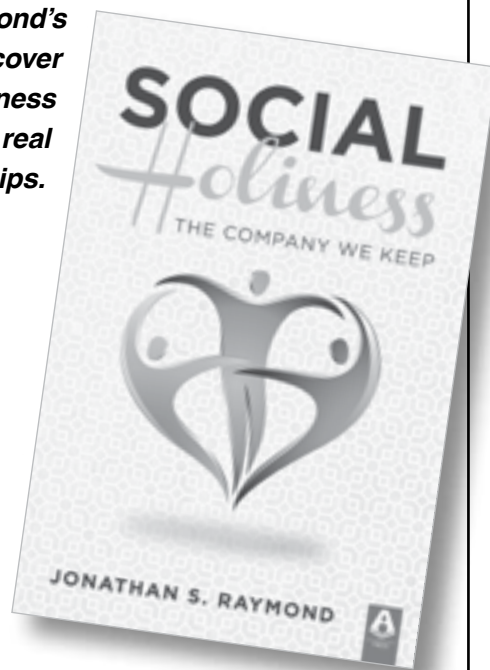
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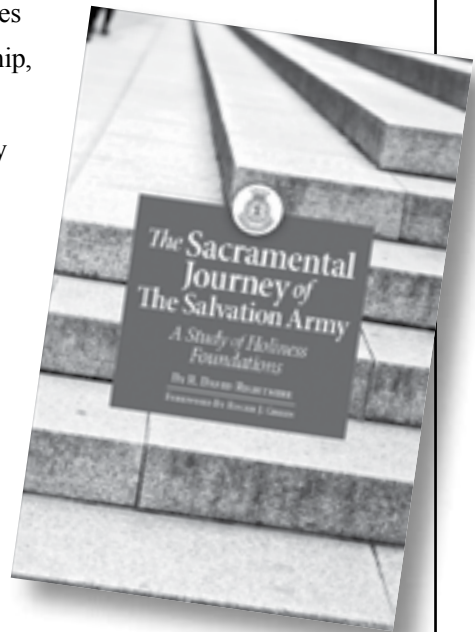
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