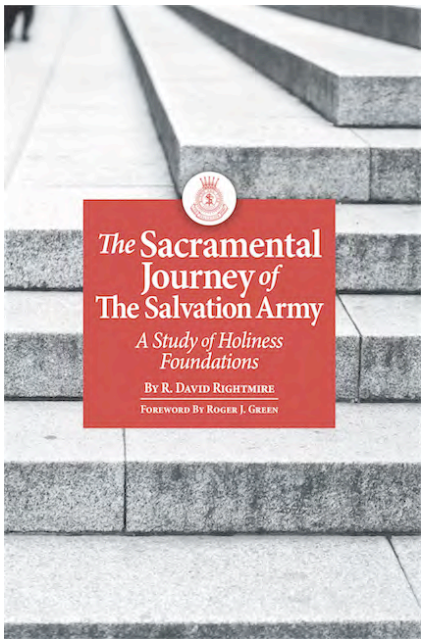
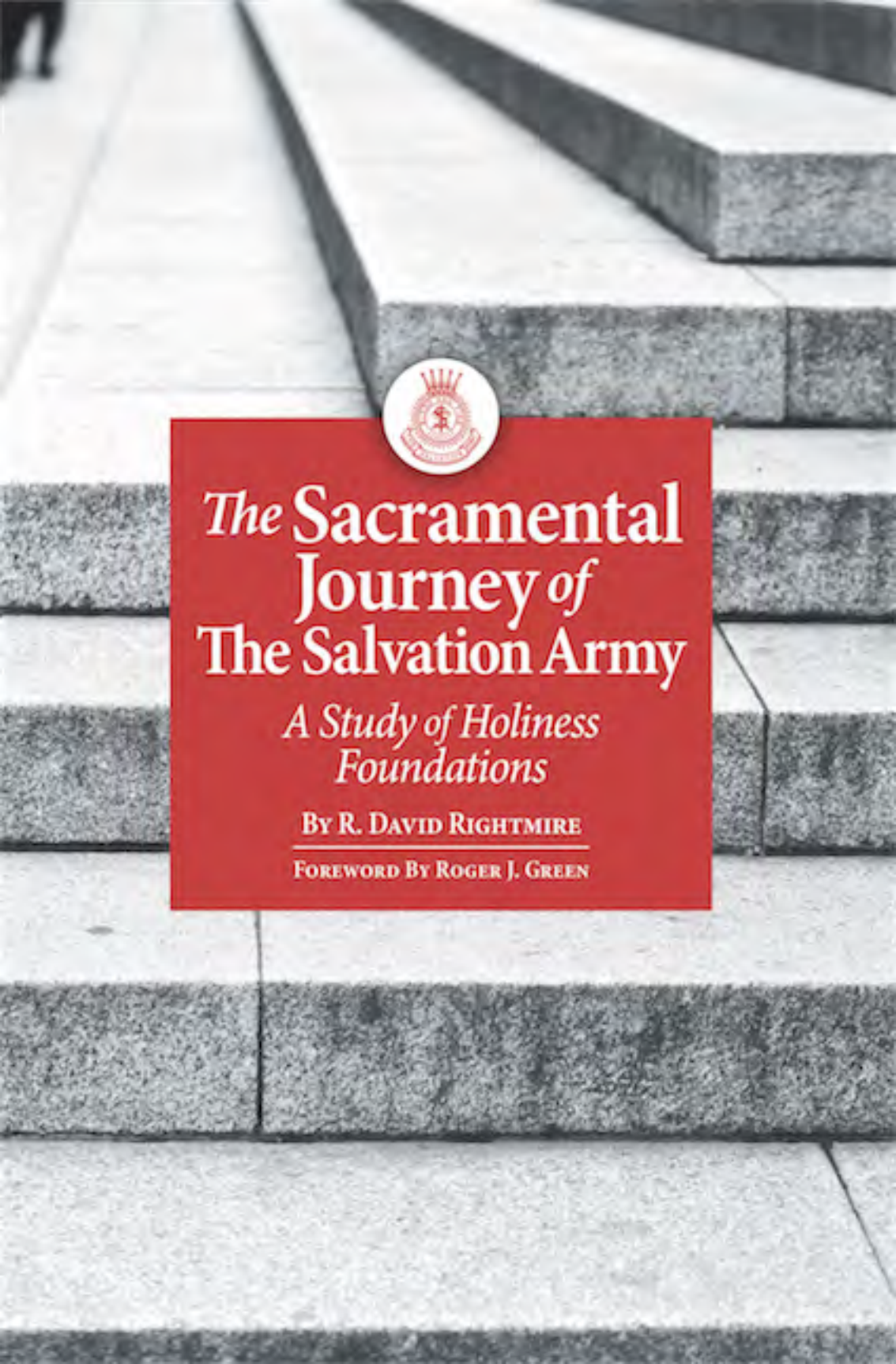


A history of Salvation Army sacramental theology and practice.

The Sacramental Journey of the Salvation Army: A Study of Holiness Foundations

by R. David Rightmire



The Sacramental Journey *of* The Salvation Army

A Study of Holiness Foundations

By R. David Rightmire

Foreword By Roger J. Green

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PREFACE

The Sacramental Journey of The Salvation Army: A Study of Holiness Foundations is an investigation of the relationship between the organization's sacramental understanding and its pneumatological commitments, as traced from the origins of the movement to the present. In order to do these subjects justice, it is necessary to place them in their historical, theological, and cultural contexts. It is the hope of the author that the reader of this book will gain a greater appreciation of the development of Salvation Army theology and practice as well as a better grasp of issues related to doctrinal continuity/discontinuity.

This work is a revision of *Sacraments and The Salvation Army: Pneumatological Foundations* (Scarecrow Press, 1990), which was the published version of my 1987 Ph.D. dissertation for Marquette University. It originally appeared as number ten of the Studies in Evangelicalism series, edited by Don Dayton and Kenneth Rowe.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Patrick Carey of Marquette School of Theology for his insightful comments and careful critique of my original thesis. In my initial research, two helpful contacts within The Salvation Army were John Merritt and John Rhemick. These officers not only provided access to original source material, but also offered theological insight into the movement and its pneumatological self-understanding. Merritt was especially influential in the exploration of affinities between Salvationist belief and spiritualist theology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I am also indebted to Asbury Theological Seminary for access to its Wesleyan-holiness collection and the cooperation of its library staff under the direction of Bill Faupel. The national archives of The Salvation Army (then in New York City) also provided invaluable literary resource material for the first edition of this study.

A special note of thanks is due to Allen Satterlee, Editor-in-Chief for National Publications of The Salvation Army, who offered valuable assistance in facilitating this revision of the original monograph, including securing publication rights from Scarecrow Press. In updating and revising the first edition, the acquisition of some additional research material was graciously

provided by Paul Rader, former international leader of The Salvation Army; Roger Green, Army historian and theologian; Richard Munn, Territorial Secretary for Theology and Christian Ethics, New York; and Robin Rader, Director of the Brengle Library, College for Officer Training, New York.

Soli Deo Gloria
R. David Rightmire, Ph.D.
Asbury University
2016

FOREWORD

With the second edition of *Sacraments and The Salvation Army: Pneumatological Foundations* (re-titled *The Sacramental Journey of The Salvation Army: A Study of Holiness Foundations*), Dr. David Rightmire has given an invaluable gift to The Salvation Army and to the entire Christian Church. The book's first edition, published in 1990, set forth a comprehensive biblical, theological, and contextual understanding of The Christian Mission and The Salvation Army's relationship with the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. With this revised and expanded edition, Dr. Rightmire has brought this scholarship up to date by adding chapters that incorporate new writings on the Army and the sacraments produced since the book's first edition twenty-six years ago. This new edition also deepens its existing scholarship by including more comprehensive research on discussions of the sacraments that took place between The Salvation Army and the Anglican Church in the early 1880s. Readers familiar with Dr. Rightmire's writings know the many gifts and skills at his disposal, and those close to Dr. Rightmire know him to be a truly committed Salvationist who possesses both a personal passion for Salvation Army history and a vast scholarly knowledge of the same.

This book, however, is not merely a historical narrative. Dr. Rightmire also evaluates the responses of those critical to the decision by The Salvation Army's Founders to abandon the use of the sacraments in public worship. He explores legitimate questions raised about the reasons for dropping the sacraments, the timing of the decision to do so, the biblical and theological validity of the decision, and its ultimate results. The theological reasons for dropping the sacraments are the predominate interest of this author, although he raises the question of whether theological emphases should be in competition with each other or should be seen as part of the whole doctrinal picture.

Dr. Rightmire is above all a seeker of truth. He is not averse to questioning faulty biblical exegesis, incorrect historical interpretation, or even logical inconsistencies evident in some scholarship on this subject. He is able to distinguish respecting the Founders of The Salvation Army from assigning

them infallibility in all of their decisions, as some interpreters of Army history are wont to do. No justice is done to the Founders by trying to make them into something that they were not or in attempting to grant to them abilities that they did not have. They shared our common humanity and as such were subject to making decisions in their own historical contexts for which they believed they had biblical justification. Raising questions about those attempts does not diminish the greatness of the Founders and others who followed them, but recognizes and indeed values the seriousness of their endeavors.

But the questions still remain. What did the Founders think of the sacraments at the time of the founding of The Christian Mission? Why the evolution of their thinking as they moved from The Christian Mission to The Salvation Army? Why the move from talking about the sacraments from both a practical and a missional perspective to a more nuanced theological perspective, especially that of the holiness of the believer?

These are the kinds of questions raised by several authors since the publication of the first edition of this book, making it clear that discussion about the sacraments cannot be silenced. A variety of answers have been given, some substantial and some defensive. Dr. Rightmire does not avoid these matters, but deals with them honestly, carefully, and fully. He is, of course, most interested in clear and compelling arguments. His three chapters in this edition entitled "Salvation Army Sacramental Self-Understanding" are particularly helpful in this regard and are constructed on the firm foundation of the first few chapters of the narrative.

The Salvation Army produces a wealth of literature each year from various parts of the world, but this book is exceptional as a model of careful scholarship that brings biblical and theological sources to bear on the topic of the Army and the sacraments (and does so with an accuracy of interpretation regarding the context in which sacramental decisions were made). With the publication of this text, it is impossible to undertake any serious discussion about the Army and the sacraments without having given serious attention to Dr. Rightmire's scholarship.

But this is not a book only for Salvationist readers. Christians from every tradition will find this discussion enlightening and helpful as they measure the Army's understanding of the sacraments against their own and as they evaluate the legitimacy of the Army's claim to be part of the universal Body of Christ. That is how important this book is.

Theology takes time, and we know from the history of the Church that the formation of theology cannot be rushed and must be done carefully and intentionally. We Protestants know that doctrine is not something static but must be restated in every generation to make sure that such doctrine is biblically sound and contextually connected. Dr. David Rightmire is the model of a theologian who takes time to develop this doctrinal work. And thanks be to God, he has done so not only for the sake of an important doctrinal understanding in The Salvation Army, but also for the glory of God.

Dr. Roger J. Green, OF
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Wenham, Massachusetts

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of The Salvation Army within the context of Victorian England was theologically a part of the pneumatological concerns of the late nineteenth-century holiness revival. It is clear that The Salvation Army developed a non-sacramental practice, but the theological reasons for this development have never been fully explicated. This investigation reveals the close relationship between The Salvation Army's pneumatology and its non-sacramental theology. Thus, the thesis of this work is that The Salvation Army's abandonment of the sacraments is theologically grounded in its pneumatological priority and the practical orientation of its missiology. Subsequent sacramental self-understanding has failed not only to recognize the implicit connections between William Booth's sacramental practice and his holiness theology, but also to recognize the need for a re-evaluation of sacramental theology in the light of certain pneumatological shifts within the Army.

The term "non-sacramental theology" is used throughout this study to refer to The Salvation Army's sacramental position. It is obvious that such a characterization is a misnomer, since the Army does have a sacramental theology that emphasizes a spiritualized interpretation of sacramental reality and practice. Nonetheless, because of the Army's use of this self-chosen designation for its sacramental position throughout most of its history, it has been maintained. In examining Booth's sacramental thought, this work employs the sacramental theology of John Wesley as the operative standard for such discussion. In addition, when using the term "ecclesiology" in Salvation Army theological development, what is meant is not an ontological understanding of the church, but rather, a functional understanding. Thus, when the subordination of ecclesiological and sacramental concerns to a pneumatological priority is referred to, this represents a de-emphasis of the church as the locus of Word and sacrament, and an emphasis on the church as God's Spirit-enabled mission in the world.

Prior to the first edition of this book (*Sacraments and The Salvation Army: Pneumatological Foundations,* 1990), no formal investigations into the role of

pneumatology in Salvation Army non-sacramental theology existed, although there is evidence that the nineteenth-century holiness movement as a whole did subordinate ecclesiology and sacramental theology to pneumatological concerns. From within the Army, some have tried to justify its sacramental position as both a practical and a theological response. However, studies on The Salvation Army scarcely agree regarding the inter-relationship of pneumatology and non-sacramental theology. The non-existence of a Salvation Army systematic theology, apart from its *Handbook of Doctrine*, makes any theological inquiry into the movement's roots dependent on early works, sermons, and correspondence. Thus, the search for the theological foundations and motivations of Salvation Army pneumatology and non-sacramental theology demands a thorough and critical examination of the early writings of both the "authorized" and unauthorized histories and biographies.

This work does not intend to provide a systematic or biblical theology of the sacraments, nor has it a polemical intent. Rather, the historical and theological influences on Booth and his movement are investigated in order to provide a better understanding of the Army's non-sacramental position. This study examines the theology of the early Salvation Army in its historical context of Victorian society, the Wesleyan revival, the nineteenth-century holiness movement, and Spiritualist theology. Thus, it fills a void in the Army's own literature about itself. In dealing with the founding of the Army, the concerns emphasized are those felt to be relevant for the focus of this inquiry. As a result, there is a conscious de-emphasis on the Army's social work—an area that has been over-emphasized in the secondary literature.

Basic to an understanding of the origin and development of The Salvation Army's non-sacramental theology is the study of both the historical and theological roots of this late nineteenth-century phenomenon. The historical/theological forces at work within the Victorian milieu that allowed for this unique expression of sacramental theology are a necessary starting point. The connection between The Salvation Army's theology and that of its Methodist and Spiritualist ancestors provides additional contextual insight. Of chief importance to this study, however, is the relationship between Booth's position on the sacraments and the pneumatological concerns of the late nineteenth-century holiness revival of which The Salvation Army was a part. Ultimately, Booth's holiness theology, through its implicit and explicit influence on his decision to abandon sacramental practice, forms the pneumatological basis of Salvation Army non-sacramental theology.

In its first chapter, the revised edition of this study investigates the Victorian milieu of The Salvation Army's early days, setting William Booth's movement and its theology within the social, economic, political, and religious contexts of their time. Chapter two traces the historical development of the Army's non-sacramental position and examines what factors contributed to Booth's abandonment of Wesleyan sacramental practices. The subsequent chapter deals with Salvation Army ecclesiology and sacramental theology as responses to Booth's pragmatic spirit, with particular emphasis on the principle of accommodation at work in the development of the Army's non-sacramental position. Chapter four examines possible theological linkages between sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spiritualist sacramental theology and nineteenth-century non-sacramental traditions. This is necessary in order to examine the possible influence of Quaker theology on the Army's developing sacramental position. The fifth chapter uncovers the pneumatological foundations of William Booth's sacramental theology by observing how the nineteenth-century holiness movement subordinated ecclesiology and sacramental theology to pneumatology.

Chapter six deals with the main thesis of this study, namely, that Booth's decision to discontinue sacramental practice within his movement was greatly influenced by his holiness theology, not just his missiological pragmatism. It is maintained that the institutionalization of holiness doctrine in the Army serves as the immediate context for Booth's emerging sacramental position, revealing the subordination of his sacramental theology to a pneumatological priority. The focus of chapters seven, eight, and nine is the historical development of the Army's sacramental self-understanding from the 1890s to the present. In the thirty years that have passed since doing the research for the first edition of this book, a large number of writings have been published on the sacramental position of The Salvation Army. Three chapters have been devoted to these developments in order to provide a more comprehensive and up-to-date literature review. In the final chapter, the holiness theology of the movement is assessed in relation to its sacramental self-perception in order to raise questions of doctrinal continuity. Thus, given the connection between Booth's decision to abandon sacramental practice and the priority of the experience of entire sanctification, the effects of any shifts in Army pneumatology on its sacramental theology need to be recognized.

This revision of my original investigation into the relation of the Army's holiness commitments and its sacramental self-understanding has allowed

me to revisit the historical and theological issues addressed therein and to benefit from the contributions of a number of scholarly studies in the areas of Salvation Army history and theology that have been published over the last thirty years. As a result, this revision represents a 'new and improved' version of my earlier study and includes not only the use of updated sources, but a greatly expanded bibliography and index. The choice to use footnotes rather than endnotes was intended to aid the reader not only in viewing source citations and cross-references more readily, but also to place in relative proximity further discussion and commentary related to textual material. The bibliography has been divided into three parts: books, articles, and unpublished sources. The revised edition has obviously allowed for the inclusion of many additional resources, although the author does not claim that the bibliography is exhaustive.

Given the fact that the study of Army sacramental self-understanding has developed and grown exponentially in recent decades, the new title (*The Sacramental Journey of The Salvation Army: A Study of Holiness Foundations*) was chosen to more adequately represent the focus and scope of this project. It is my hope that this work will contribute to the ongoing discussion of Salvation Army sacramental theology and its relation to holiness thought not only within the movement, but also within the Body of Christ universal.

CHAPTER 1

The Victorian Milieu and the Rise of The Salvation Army

The emergence of The Salvation Army in the latter half of the nineteenth century must be viewed contextually as a response to social, economic, political and religious forces at work in Victorian England. Thus, it is necessary to establish first a frame of reference concerning the Victorian age before discussing the historical development of William Booth's movement and its non-sacramental theology. Particular attention is given in this chapter to the developing ecclesiological structures and their various sacramental expressions as background to the rise of The Salvation Army.

When Queen Victoria began her reign in 1837, most of England lived in the countryside; when she died in 1901, most of them lived in the cities. England's great social and economic transformation during these years was the direct result of urban industrialization. An industrial and democratic society had replaced an agrarian and feudalistic order by the late nineteenth century. The Victorian period was an age of democracy, industry, science, earnestness, and optimism, but above all, transition. John Stuart Mill in *The Spirit of the Age* (1831) held that never before had humanity thought of their own time as an era of change *from* the past *to* the future, humankind having outgrown old institutions and doctrines without yet acquiring new ones.

Essential to understanding the development of this Victorian mind-set is the continued influence of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment on Victorian thought patterns. As a period of optimism, the Enlightenment communicated a high view of humanity and the worth of the individual. The eighteenth-century Scottish moralist and political economist, Adam Smith, is an example of this emphasis. His conceptions of free competition and open markets were an outgrowth of a view of humanity that asserted human self-interest as the basis for the self-interest of each person and nation. This self-interest was further defined by Jeremy Bentham, an eighteenth-century

philosopher whose utilitarianism emphasized the seeking of happiness and the avoidance of pain. His high regard of human nature, when applied to social and economic spheres, resulted in an economic philosophy that envisioned the free market system as the best means to ensure the common good. Similarly, David Ricardo, in the nineteenth century, believed that a natural economic law governed the free market concept, ensuring harmony of interest and the common good.[1]

These economic and philosophic emphases exalted the individual in a way that would impact Victorian England; when combined with a Newtonian scientific worldview, they would dominate and direct the Industrial Revolution. Sir Isaac Newton's emphasis on natural law as the basis for understanding the universe provided the scientific foundation for Bentham's utilitarianism. He sought to apply Newton's mechanical principles to human nature, allowing it to be reduced to a single principle of action.[2]

As the first and only industrialized nation of its time, England was in a unique position to reap both the benefits and headaches of this radical change in the relationship between the individual and society. The exaltation of the individual, the concepts of a competitive market, and free enterprise helped England open up a new dimension of socio-economic history. The replacement of an agrarian and feudalistic order by an industrial and democratic society, however, was not without its problems.

The Victorian age, although characterized by a spirit of hope and progress, was also marked by a measure of anxiety. Up to 1850, the fear of revolution by the masses filled the established order with dread. The decline of Christianity among the working class and the prospect of moral failure due to the rise of atheism had social implications that further aroused anxiety. The neglect of the new town population by the Church of England, partly offset by Methodism, was influential in creating this "atheistic" milieu.[3] The masses, in turn,

1 Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, Vol. 8: Modern Philosophy, Part 1: British Empiricism and the Idealist Movement in Great Britain (Garden City, N.Y.: Image Books, 1967), 26.

2 Ibid., 38–40

3 Although indifferent to religion, the poor were not "atheists" in the true sense of the word. "You could hardly find an atheist. You found everywhere a vague belief in God and vague aspirations after humanity. They had no sense of sin.... The only things which they cared about were the barest physical needs. It was not a religious apathy but a universal apathy." Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 1:26–768.

were suspicious of the Church's motivations because of the clergy's association with aristocratic principles. The suffering experienced by the working class, moreover, seemed incompatible with the existence of a just and merciful God. In any case, the decline of faith among the masses enhanced the fear of revolution among the established order.

In 1870 Baldwin Brown pointed out in a lecture titled, "The Revolution of the Last Quarter of a Century," that the hallmarks of the Victorian revolution were "the utter overthrow of ancient and venerated authority, the searching and to a large extent destructive criticism of ideas and institutions of which, as on an immovable rock, the order of society was believed to rest; the submission of everything and every method to the free judgment of reason ...."[4] Although such a critical spirit characterized the Victorian era, this was curiously mixed with an attitude of acceptance toward new structures of authority.

The rising critical spirit, a legacy of eighteenth-century rationalism (that of Voltaire and Hume), found its logical development in Bentham. His utilitarian philosophy, however, was not as influential as his method of subjecting all authority to the final judgment of reason. The scientific movement took this further with its Baconian attack on the principle of authority and its appeal to experiment and observation. Under this emerging view, one was to rely on one's own judgment. These developments were further stimulated by the breakdown of traditional beliefs and the declining prestige of both the clergy and the aristocracy. Paradoxically, the critical movement also produced a yearning for certainty and an anxious will to believe. As the living spirit of Christianity was on the wane, people clung even more tenaciously to its forms. Though destitute of faith, this age was simultaneously terrified of skepticism. As content of belief disappeared, the "will to believe" grew stronger.

Victorian pragmatism bred distrust for abstract speculation. Empirical thought predominated, disparaging theoretical pursuits in the name of practice. Democracy was a major cause of this anti-intellectualism. By extending the right of private judgment to all men, democratic theories of popular sovereignty exalted common sense judgment at the expense of speculative knowledge. Victorian Puritanism, with its evangelical emphasis, stressed experiential, "vital" Christianity; this was a protest against an intellectual, "dry," and rational Christianity.

4 Baldwin Brown, *First Principles* as quoted in Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), 93.

Paradoxically, such pragmatism was marked by a spirit of dogmatism and infallibility, stressing the attainability of absolute truth and the dogmatic defense of the same. The Victorian mindset was attractive to individuals who put on the mantle of infallibility in their prophetic stances. Dogmatism was inevitable in a context of rigid and narrow interpretations of reality. Dogmatic categorization between true and false, good and bad, etc. led toward sectarianism marked by extreme and unqualified positions.[5] Perhaps a contributor to this rigid sectarianism was the worship of force in the nineteenth century. The Victorians were proud of their country's might, always enjoying a "good fight." Thomas Carlyle expressed this worship of force well: "Man is created to fight; he is perhaps best of all definable as a born soldier; his life 'a battle and a march,' under the right General."[6] This positive regard for warfare, when coupled with a Puritan conscience and earnestness, resulted in a conception of life as a moral battleground, an arduous struggle to master the passions.[7]

Although Victorian England was a religiously self-assured society, Christianity was maintained by the ruling powers as the basis of public morality. The French Revolution strengthened this perspective, as the Church sought to come to grips with the radical changes in nineteenth-century society. The Victorian era has been called an age of hypocrisy. Nominal Christianity hid behind the mask of excessive pietism, conformity and moral pretentiousness served to maintain order amidst tremendous social, economic, and political upheaval.[8] Despite the apparent religiosity, however, forces were at work within the soul of England that indicate the loss of assurance and the growth of doubt.[9]

Church and state relations, too, were a source of growing concern. Since the revolution of 1688, every king and queen had been required to be a member of the Church of England. From 1673, every member of Parliament by law had to assent to the established church. Victorian England was embroiled in the question of whether political equality included religious equality. The development and multiplication of religious sects and established denominations gave further impetus to this matter. With the Emancipation Act of 1829, church and state became recognizable as separate

5 Houghton, 137–51, 161; W. J. Reader, *Life In Victorian England* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1964), 6–7.

6 Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (1843), as quoted in Houghton, 206.

7 Reader, 167–68.

8 Houghton, 394 ff.

9 As evidenced in Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859).

entities. Although the Church of England remained the "official" church, a growing awareness of the non-Christian nature of England allowed for the strengthening and perpetuation of "dissenting" Christian bodies. These groups viewed the nominal Christian environment in Victorian England as fertile soil for evangelistic endeavor. By 1840, the idea of mission was seen not only in terms of the heathen overseas, but in terms of the heathen at home.

Inheriting the evangelical spirit of John Wesley, Victorian England experienced the power of an unadorned gospel preached with great effect to the laboring masses. Religion in the mid-Victorian age was influenced greatly by the evangelical movement. Although the Methodists were the largest group outside the Church of England, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers were also marked by evangelical fervor. The Victorian age was characterized by religious-mindedness, a great multiplication of churches and chapels,[10] and increased attendance. There were large groups of people (particularly the poor), however, who remained untouched by the Church, especially in the larger towns and cities in industrialized England. Apart from the dichotomy between political equality and religious inequality, the major issue for Victorian churches was whether they could adjust to the context of transition, especially as it related to the socio-economic impact of the Industrial Revolution.

Although the middle class of Victorian England went to church or chapel, the city laborers were predominantly unchurched. This phenomenon was chiefly due to the immigration of millions of country folk to the cities. Neither the established church nor the Dissenters were prepared for this onslaught, but this was not unique to the church. Nothing in the cities was equipped to deal with this situation. All the organs of city life were strained beyond their ability to provide safe, healthy, "modern" living conditions.[11]

Workers below the artisan level were considered to be "the poor." Destitution was not their common lot, but fear of destitution through unemployment, illness, accident, or old age gripped them. Housing in slums was all they could

10 "Church" and "chapel" were rival organizations, the former composed of the Church of England and latter of Dissenters (Non-Conformists). "Dissenter" was replaced by "Non-Conformist" during the Victorian era as this group became more and more confident in its status and less defensive in its polemic. "Old Dissent," stemming from the seventeenth century was composed of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers. "New Dissent," stemming from the eighteenth century was composed of varied forms of Methodism.

11 Chadwick, 325–26.

afford, creating conditions that only made their plight worse. A distinction needs to be drawn, however, between the "poor" and the "helplessly poor" of Victorian society. Helpless poverty was the lowest caste in the social hierarchy, a demoralized segment of society described by William Booth in his book *In Darkest England* (1890) as "the submerged tenth." He estimated their number at about three million, or roughly one-tenth of the population of England and Wales. The permanent condition of these masses was believed to be a dangerous breeding ground for disease, crime, and possibly revolution, thus causing concerned Victorians to reform existing poor laws and develop social and religious agencies to meet the needs of the destitute. The inability of these agencies to meet the needs of the poor was more the result of the immensity of the task rather than a lack of concern or involvement.

The Church of England had the distinct advantage of receiving state aid in order to attempt to meet the needs of urban ministry. Politicians felt justified in funding efforts to reach the poor due to the urgency of the situation. Dissenters built chapels and survived on voluntary contributions in the suburbs, but failed to survive as independent communities in the slums. The Church of England opened new churches in the east of London, but could only attract a small minority of the poor. Such failure in urban ministry is only partially due to insufficient effort on the part of the churches. The more significant issue was the attitude of the poor toward organized religion. Anticlericalism reigned supreme among the working class, who felt that they had been excluded and neglected, wanting nothing to do with the established order. Thus, the priests and pastors of the slums realized that the first step toward spiritual and moral improvement of the poor was to improve their physical and social condition.

Lord John Russell organized a religious census alongside the regular census of 1851. Horace Mann was hired to implement this special tabulation of population totals attending churches. Mann concluded that the hostility of the poor or their indifference toward the church stemmed from "the lack of sympathy among Christians for the social burdens of the poor; a suspicion that Christian ministers were secular and selfish; and the fact of poverty itself."[12] Mann argued that the flourishing of urban missions was partly due to their choice of "secular" meeting places with the absence of class distinction. Rather than having philosophical problems with Christianity, the working class objected to the forms it took in the churches. Mann's report

12 K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), 20.

(1854) helped the churches realize the ineffectiveness of their methods and the strength of the opposition to the ministry of the church, thus enabling some to rethink and adapt their measures.

The attitude of the working class and the poor was determined more by social issues than theological considerations. Identification of "church" with the classes above them led many to avoid contact with the people and institutions associated with those who held them in their social strata. This end of the social structure, however, did not go unassailed by the forces of militant Christianity. As the century progressed, missions and settlements of every denomination attempted to make Victorian practical piety relevant to the needs of the urban masses. Increasingly it became evident that organized Christianity among the working class needed not only to identify with the plight of the poor, but also to provide means by which the poor could be equipped and organized to deal redemptively with their common problems.[13]

The success and failure of Victorian society in dealing with the tremendous transitions thrust upon its social fabric by the forces of industrialization must be judged contextually and not fall prey to comparisons with the twenty-first century. The ability to survive the complete alteration of the basis of national life from farming to industry and from country to town, was an accomplishment of no little importance.

> There were twice as many people living in England and Wales when Queen Victoria died as there had been fifty years before. If Malthus had been right most of them should have been starving. If Marx had been right they should nearly all have been on the verge of revolution. In fact, many were underfed, many were discontented, but few wished to overthrow Queen and constitution, for as a whole the English people in 1901 were better off than ever before.[14]

Relatively speaking, the church's response to the social impact of industrialization was equally successful. The existing religious structures of Victorian England were ill-prepared to deal with the urban phenomenon of the Industrial Age. The rural basis for most of English institutional church structure made it difficult to adjust to the rising urbanization of the land.

13 Peer help and self-support were keys to the mid-century successes of the Irish Catholic and Primitive Methodist missions. See Reader, 90, 111–12.

14 Reader, 1.

New structures were needed, not only for adequate representation among the working classes, but also for greater relevance to the modern urban environment. All churches, however, understood their duty to the expanding cities with the accompanying problems of poverty, overcrowding, drunkenness, and prostitution. The church was criticized by many as being lethargic and complacent, or as being concerned only with the hereafter. Significantly, much of what was done to relieve the poor was done by religious men and women, many of whom acted in the name of the church.

Society as a whole was changing rapidly, so too did the Victorian church experience radical shifts in the mid-nineteenth century. Urban England continued to demand traditional services (e.g., burial, marriage, and education), which the church could not fulfill for such concentrated populations; at the same time, it threw open the floodgates of competition between religion and irreligion. Competition between churches themselves was probably a greater help than hindrance, since it allowed for specialized ministries designed to different strata of society.[15] Nevertheless, meeting the needs of the modern urban world called for new measures and structures within the church. Ecclesiological self-concepts developed and changed as each denomination attempted to remain relevant and effective in its own Victorian context.

The largest amount of competition was among Free Churchmen, or Dissenters, although these often vied for attention with the Church of England and, to a limited degree, with the Roman Catholic Church. Primary among the Victorian Dissenters were the Methodists.[16] Methodism suffered from an identity crisis inherited from John Wesley, who, while leading his movement towards separation, did not want to separate from the Church of England. From 1795, each Methodist society was permitted to have the Lord's Supper administered by an authorized person and to hold services while the established church held its service. This can be taken as the first official step of denominationalism within the Methodist movement in England.[17]

15 The religious demographics of England in 1910 reveal the degree of this developing competition. While the Church of England comprised 43% of total church attendants, Non-Conformists were a close second, with 38%. Roman Catholics rose to 14%, while missionary groups (including The Salvation Army) numbered 5%. See Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, Vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 232.

16 Although their evangelical stance placed them within the camp of dissent, some Methodists believed their societies would lose their influence if associated with the Dissenters.

17 Even up to the middle of the nineteenth century, however, there were Methodist chapels that held services at times when the Anglican services were not being held,

Methodism had its radical and conservative exponents: conservative Methodists were friends of the established church while radical Methodists feared the shackles of formalism and identified more strongly with the Dissenters' resistance to the established church. In any case, Methodist societies flourished best among the lower middle class and artisans.

The Wesleyan Methodist Connection of the early nineteenth century was governed by a Conference which was comprised of one hundred itinerant preachers chosen to manage the societies and their property. These preachers elected a president annually, and chose district committees to act during the year. Central clerical government over local lay societies was not without problems, as it required the laity to carry the financial burden. Similar to other dissenting chapels, Methodist chapels were unendowed and dependent on voluntary contributions. The Conference sought to direct and control Methodist expansion by strong central government.[18] Throughout the nineteenth century the Conference had a struggle to keep the Methodist Connection unified in the midst of separation and sectarianism.

The Methodist Connection was made up of diverse modes of expression in worship, ranging from a highly liturgical use of the *Book of Common Prayer*, to a revivalistic fervor reminiscent of early Methodism. Although confessing that every preacher ought to be a revivalist, Methodists were often respectfully surprised when encountering revival. The years between the late 1840s and the early 1860s witnessed a schism within the ranks of Wesleyan Methodism that would seriously reduce its strength and effectiveness. The Primitive Methodists were the most important of the various splinter groups of Methodism, growing by 1851 to a third the size of the Wesleyan Methodists.

Within the Methodist "family," Primitive Methodists were least like the Wesleyans. They ministered to a lower social level and were marked by a greater revivalistic zeal than Wesleyan Methodists. Their singing in the streets gained them the name "Ranters" as well as increased persecution. Like the Quakers, Primitive Methodists were certain of their inspiration. They seized on Wesley's doctrine of instantaneous holiness. Although disliked by most Victorians,

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allowing their members the opportunity to worship at the parish church in the morning and the Methodist chapel in the evening.

18 An example of such centralization can be seen in Jabez Bunting. He was elected president of the Conference in 1820, and served three terms (1820–1823) as the manager of the Methodist Connection's ministry, missions, property, trust deeds, theological training, finance, discipline, and polity.

Primitive Methodists gained prestige in their work with the poor. In elevating the moral standards of the lower class, the Primitive Methodists performed an invaluable service to urban England. By 1853, only the Primitive Methodists and Anglicans had effectively won what little confidence and affection the poor had for religious groups in the midst of their suffering and deprivation.

Other dissenting denominations of Victorian England included Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, and Mormons. Presbyterianism took two forms: those who accepted Trinitarian doctrines and those who were more Unitarian in their creed. Older Presbyterian congregations, descendants of the seceders at the restoration of Charles II, had slowly drifted away from the Trinitarian doctrine. By 1830, the majority were of Unitarian persuasion. Although professing a measure of orthodoxy, the Unitarians were an embarrassment to Dissenters, who derided Unitarians attempting to join evangelical Biblicism with rational Deism, two traditions they viewed as fundamentally incompatible. With the influx of Scottish Presbyterians in the north in the 1840s, the minority of Presbyterian congregations, which had survived as Trinitarian bodies, began to grow. These constituted the Presbyterian Church of England.

Congregational dissenters, characterized along with Baptists as "Independents," formed a loose federation between 1830 and 1840. This step toward denominationalism was not accomplished without difficulties, chief among them was organizing a central authority to govern congregations that considered themselves sovereign over their own affairs. One factor in this development was the greater protection that such an association could provide against civil injustice. Taking their lead from the London Missionary Society and the Methodists, Congregationalists began pushing for union. Doctrinal dispute with the Unitarians further aided the progress toward union. Although Congregationalists desired that the union be of all Independent congregations, whether Congregational or Baptist, Baptist churches broke away and formed their own union. Unified in 1831, Congregationalism's bonds were loose. Possessing strong local government, the Congregationalist union was weak in central authority. Thus, when the 1850s ushered in German theology, biblical criticism, and ensuing doubt, the Congregationalists were enabled by their relative freedom of polity to adjust to the theological trends of the day.[19]

Although there were apparent similarities between Baptists and orthodox Congregationalists, the differences are notable. Not only did they differ in

19 Chadwick, 1: 406–407.

views of baptism,[20] but the Baptists were more conservative in their doctrine, more rigid in their Calvinism, more independent in their polity, and less liturgical in their worship. They ministered to a lower class of people than the Congregationalists; their pastors were less educated, and their people more illiterate.

Except for the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, almost all Methodists were Arminian and almost all Congregationalists were moderate Calvinists. Baptists were divided into three groups: General Baptists (Arminian), Particular Baptists (moderate Calvinists), and Strict Baptists (strict Calvinists). Between 1830 and 1860 the issue of open communion divided the Particular Baptists. Was the Lord's Supper only to be administered to the baptized (those baptized as adults)? Particular Baptists moved in the direction of open communion with their evangelical counterparts in other denominations. This was accompanied by a steady decline of Calvinism within their ranks. Those who favored closed communion joined the Strict Baptists, moving towards a more rigid Calvinism.

Charles Haddon Spurgeon, a Baptist preacher and evangelist, is noteworthy at this point. Although Baptists were not comfortable with his style, Spurgeon has been credited as the man who "tamed the revivalist mission into a chapel and congregation."[21] His rapidly expanding ministry bridged the gap between middle and lower classes, regularly drawing crowds in excess of ten thousand. Spurgeon's preaching skill, flamboyant style, and evangelical zeal caught the attention of the nation, as he espoused dissent in Calvinist garb from his Metropolitan Tabernacle.[22]

The Society of Friends (Quakers) was yet another dissenting voice in nineteenth-century England. They remained a people apart due to their rejection of war, oaths, paid ministers, and all fixed ceremonies (contending that the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper were not instituted by Christ). The immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit was the authoritative center of Quaker polity; their worship was silent waiting upon God until a member be moved to speak. Those recognized as having a "ministry of the word" were not ordained but merely "acknowledged," being paid for travelling expenses only.

20 Baptists were independent congregations which condemned infant baptism, practicing believer's baptism.

21 Chadwick, 1: 418.

22 Built in 1861, the Metropolitan Tabernacle evidences a shift from Gothic to Grecian architecture.

At least half of the meetings gathered without a minister. Quakers accepted the public ministry of women and advocated equal education for the sexes.[23]

Victorian England was curious about eccentric religious groups. The Quakers attracted the sympathy of many, including such writers as Carlyle, Coleridge, and Lamb; but were repudiated as a sect by the Church for their non-observance of the sacraments. Not made up of the laboring poor, Friends nonetheless were known for their social service. Although noted for their work in prison reform, abolitionism, famine relief, etc., the Quakers were unable to minister to the spiritual needs of the poor because their ministry lacked dramatic flair. The Quaker movement declined in numbers during the Victorian era partly due to the defection of those who desired to get involved in urban evangelism and work with the poor.[24]

The Latter-Day Saints, founded by the prophet Joseph Smith, provided the final form of dissent in Victorian England. The early 1840s gave rise to increased interest in this new religious sect from America.[25] Arriving in 1837, the Mormons made quick converts among the poor by preaching a gospel of apocalyptic millennialism, which promised great spiritual and physical rewards. The Book of Mormon was held to have equal authority with the Bible and pointed to the imminent appearance of Christ at Zion, that is, at Nauvoo, Illinois.

Outlandish as Mormon claims appeared to many, scores of English lower class converted to this chiliastic sect. These converts "fled to Zion" (emigrated to America) in order to fulfill the ordained number of chosen people and to usher in the kingdom of Christ. Between 1848 and 1854, Mormon agents helped nearly eleven thousand converts across the ocean. By the mid-1850s, Mormonism had declined in England from seventeen thousand (1851) to two thousand. Internal schism and unfulfilled promises were influential factors in this declension, but even more telling was the reaction to the doctrine of polygamy promulgated by Brigham Young in 1852.[26]

The evangelical revival was not only a phenomenon among orthodox Dissent. The Church of England in the mid-nineteenth century witnessed a

23 Although a minority in the sixteenth century, female ministers multiplied to such a degree within Quakerdom that by 1835 there were twice as many female ministers as male. See Chadwick, 1: 422–23.

24 Ibid., 424, 430, 435.

25 English dissent was a fertile field for American frontier religion in the nineteenth century, as is evidenced in the influence of Charles Finney and James Caughey.

26 Chadwick, 1: 436–39.

growing evangelical movement within its ranks. The Anglican evangelicals were broad-based in their principles, but united in preaching the cross of Christ, the depravity of man, and justification by grace through faith alone. They consisted of both Calvinists and non-Calvinists, and embraced the dissenters as brothers. They feared Roman influence within the Church of England and viewed Rome as the antichrist.

Evangelicals within Anglicanism in the 1850s and 1860s were aware of the tremendous gap between cathedral and slum. In order to bridge this gap between the church and the unchurched, they believed it was necessary to adopt new strategies of evangelism. Until 1855, it was illegal for more than twenty persons to assemble outside churches for the purpose of religious worship. In that year, Shaftesbury passed a bill through Parliament abolishing the proviso of twenty persons, thus hoping to legalize worship in the open air or in public halls, and so to enable pastors to imitate Charles Spurgeon. This was the beginning of the Church of England's evangelical mission to the cities.

Parallel to this evangelical revival within Anglicanism was an increased interest in eucharistic presence among the Tractarians.[27] The 1830s had witnessed infrequent eucharistic worship, a communicant receiving the sacrament once a year at most. By the 1850s, Anglican worship involved weekly communion and weekday services. This increase was due in part to a renewed emphasis on the doctrine of real presence, but it is also indicative of the power of drama and symbol in awakening the affective dimensions of spiritual worship. The renewed liturgical interest within the Church of England was not without obstacles; disputes raged during the 1850s concerning Anglican ornament and ritual.

Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Wesleyan Methodist clergy became increasingly priestly during the late nineteenth century, while the Congregationalist and Baptist ministers became more like laymen, reacting against priestliness and professionalism. The latter group had less of an understanding of the ministry as set apart. In any case, the needs of the expanding churches could not be met by ordained clergy alone, but required the help of laity (especially within the non-conformist traditions). The Church of England set up a "lay helpers" association in London in 1865, acting as missioners in urban settings. Most of the laymen were put to work in the Sunday Schools.[28]

27 E.g., Pusey's *The Real Presence*; Keble's *On Eucharistical Adoration* (1857); and Robert Wilberforce's *Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist* (1853).

28 By the late nineteenth century, Sunday Schools were important instruments of

The 1850s also gave rise to a debate between conservatives and liberals concerning the inspiration of scripture. A new word, "neology," was coined to describe the lax doctrines of German inspirational theory. The neologists sought to restate the truth of Christianity in the light of a new relationship between science and religion.[29] Although many blamed the natural sciences for the growing doubt among educated Englishmen in the late nineteenth century, such influence was indirect and limited. From 1860 onwards there was a marked increase in intellectual doubt pervading the church. This was not caused by the publishing of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859), but by biblical criticism, particularly the views of F. C. Bauer and the Tbingen School.[30]

Amidst the rise of competition between churches, evangelical revivalism, increased sacerdotalism, and the threat of biblical criticism to Christian faith, the Victorian church sought to keep up with the demands of a rapidly expanding, industrial society. During the forty-years between 1861 and 1901, the population of England became increasingly more urban. With population growth there was a corresponding rise in church attendance. During the last two decades of the century, however, there was actually a drop in church attendance in London, due to the decreasing interest of the workingman in religious affairs. Most of those who attended church were not from the poor, the exceptions being Irish Roman Catholics, some Primitive Methodists, and members of The Salvation Army.[31]

In the cities, new churches began springing up, moving from the most informal settings, to temporary church buildings, to permanent ones. Victorian England was characterized by a multiplication of places of worship. Traditionally, the Church of England required their clergy to be men of learning and culture. Few Anglicans desired to minister to the lower classes of society. During the late nineteenth century, however, the Church of England increased its efforts to provide for the poor. Roman Catholics, under the influence of Henry E. Manning in the 1850s and 1860s, encouraged the use

religious influence in England. In 1818 only 4% of the population attended Sunday School. By 1888, 20% of the population attended, with an even greater percentage of children (75%).

29 Taking their cue from Strauss' *Life of Jesus* (1835), three English theologians (Frederick Maurice, Baden Powell, and Benjamin Jowett) provided options to view Christianity as an ethical parable of spiritual philosophy.

30 Chadwick, 2: 3, 112.

31 Ibid., 227, 235.

of the Bible by laymen and stressed ecumenism. A more missionary spirit was adopted toward England, as Roman Catholics moved in the direction of open-air preaching and instruction outside the churches.

Methodists had a tradition of open-air and revival missions. The Primitive Methodists employed this method in reaching the working-man of the city. In the first half of the century, the Primitives succeeded, as no other denomination had, in ministering to the poor. In the second half of the century they continued some of this work, but as their working men prospered and became more middle class, the Primitive chapel began to resemble Wesleyan Methodism. Where the Primitives left off, other movements of Wesleyan origin took over. The 1859 revival in northern Ireland gave impetus to the methods of old time revival. The renewed interest in outdoor evangelism coincided with the realization that the burgeoning working-class population in cities was not being reached by the conventional ministries of the Church.

In the east of London, numerous street missions sprung up to meet this need. Backed by philanthropists, these missions sought to preach the gospel to those within their listening audiences. A group called the East London Special Services Committee was formed to coordinate the efforts of these independent evangelists. Initially these missions sought to supplement and not compete with the existing churches, and, according to their own records, progress was real and substantial.[32] The existing structures of the Victorian Church, however, were ill-prepared to deal with the urban phenomenon of the Industrial Age. New structures were needed, not only for adequate representation among the working class, but also for greater relevance to the modern urban environment.

William Booth (1829-1912), leaving the ministry within the Methodist New Connection in 1862, sought to implement revivalistic measures that would meet the challenges of his day. At the request of a group of east London missioners, consisting of a loosely federated band of individuals from the

32 The relative success of these urban ministries is not uncontested. Charles Booth, a late nineteenth-century social scientist, concluded that missions did more harm than good in the east end of London. By attempting to attract the poor to the services by the offer of charitable aid and the use of emotional language, these missionary groups were being dishonest and manipulative. Accordingly, except for the efforts of a few individuals, the missions lowered religion to the level of superstition and experienced little real gain. *Religious Influences*, Vol. 7 in *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 17 vols. (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1902), 428–29; cf. Thomas S. Simey, *Charles Booth: Social Scientist* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 224–33.

Christian Community,[33] the East London Special Services Committee, and other denominations, Booth began preaching at their Tent Mission located on a unused burial ground owned by the Quakers. The July 13, 1865 issue of the *Revival* is the first public record of Booth's involvement in the Tent Mission. His letter to the *Revival* (August 17, 1865) gives a personal account of his tent meeting ministry: "We have no very definite plans. We shall be guided by the Holy Spirit. At present we desire to be able to hold consecutive services for the purpose of bringing souls to Christ in different localities of the East of London every night all the year round."[34] To carry out this purpose, Booth formed the Christian Revival Association in 1865.[35] He sought to disciple new converts predominantly by directing them to the nurture of churches of similar theological emphases.

It became apparent from the start, however, that follow-up was near impossible for the new convert unless there be an organized religious society for the poor. The people to whom Booth ministered not only would experience difficulty in finding a church home, but also had an aversion to anything that smacked of ecclesial tradition. Booth's organizational abilities soon surfaced as his movement expanded. By 1868 he controlled thirteen preaching stations and started publishing the *East London Evangelist*.[36] In 1870 Booth formulated a constitution, along Methodistic lines, with a Conference as the supreme authority. It differed from the constitutions of Methodism in that its office of General Superintendent was for life, only to be rescinded by a unanimous decision of the Conference. In addition, it held women to be equals with men

33 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) deprived French Huguenots of protection, causing them to flee to England. Energetic and practical, these immigrants formed *La Communaute*. This organization was revived by John Wesley and reorganized under Methodist patronage. Taking sides with the Reformers in 1849, all of its ministers were expelled from the Methodist Church. The Community became an effective independent mission.

34 Quoted in Robert Sandall, *The History of The Salvation Army*, 3 vols. (London: T. Nelson, 1947–55), 1: 42.

35 1865 marks the earliest stage of the movement which would later emerge as The Salvation Army. Booth's early missionary work was referred to by various names: Christian Revival Association, East London Christian Revival Society, East London Christian Revival Union, and East London Christian Mission. The last designation appeared in print in 1867, and became the popular name associated with Booth's early ministry.

36 This monthly periodical, edited by Booth, sought to encourage new converts in the way of Christ, stressed the importance of personal holiness, and reported on the work of the Mission. The *East London Evangelist* became the *Christian Mission Magazine* in 1870.

not only in work but also in government, and demanded all office-holders to abstain totally from alcohol. The constitution was accompanied by a creedal statement that included a pledge of faithfulness to the work of evangelization.

The attempt to develop a form of self-government was not without problems. The ineffectiveness of the Conference to implement the goals of the Mission soon became apparent because of the varied background and opinions of its members. Committee discussion threatened decisive and effective leadership. As Bramwell Booth and George Scott Railton (the "young lieutenants" of William Booth) reacted to the ineptitude of the Conference, there developed a conception of the organization as a force fighting a war against Satan, necessitating the command of an individual who could expedite decision-making and exercise powerful leadership.

In 1875 Booth registered the Christian Mission by deed in chancery, establishing articles of faith as terms under which the property was held. These articles of faith were evangelical in content, article ten (on the doctrine of entire sanctification) being the only one not held by all evangelicals. The authority of the Conference was diminished by this deed-poll. The annual Conference's decisions could be overruled by Booth, and as general superintendent, he was given the power to appoint his own successor. Constitutional reform did not end in 1875, but continued in 1878 with a new deed, giving Booth control over all property and funds. Approval of the deed by the Conference was unanimous. The only plausible explanation for this support of radical change lies in the fact that the Mission realized the need for leadership that could respond quickly to the rapid expansion of the movement.[37]

One of Booth's evangelists, Elijah Cadman, was very influential in helping the Christian Mission adopt military terminology. A former Primitive Methodist preacher, Cadman constantly used military metaphors when referring to the Mission. Railton's *Heathen England* (1877), referred to the Christian Mission as a "volunteer army of converted working people." In the Mission report of 1878 the movement was officially designated as a "Volunteer Army." But, by the summer of 1878, Booth had grown uncomfortable with the term "volunteer," substituting the word "salvation" for it. "No, we are not volunteers" he said, "for we feel we *must* do what we do, and are always on duty." The September issue of the *Christian Mission Magazine* (1878) carried the first published reference to the new name: "The Christian Mission has met in

37 Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2: 290.

Congress to make war.... It has organized a salvation army to carry the blood of Christ and the fire of the Holy Ghost into every corner of the world."[38]

As of 1878, when the "Salvation Army" appeared on a sign at the August "War Congress," the movement began to function as an army.[39] The military drama included an authoritarian chain of command, brass bands to "blow down the opposition," a flag to rally around, and uniforms. "Officers" were young men and women of lower middle class backgrounds who manned the preaching stations ().[40] The "Salvation Army" was officially endorsed in the first issue of the *War Cry*, on December 27, 1879.[41] Use of the military metaphor, however, was common among late nineteenth-century Christianity, and not the sole property of these London revivalists.[42] Not all the tactics of spiritual warfare attempted were conventional. Rather, missioners gloried in their eccentric and novel practices. Bramwell Booth reflected during later years that: "We in the Army have learned to thank God for eccentricity and extravagance, and to consecrate them to His service.... Freedom of attack has brought ... within our reach the very people we want most."[43]

William Booth accepted the Conference's decision in the new deed of 1878 as a vote of confidence. The implied military form of government, as

38 See Sandall, 1: 230. The Mission, at this stage, consisted of fifty stations and eighty-five evangelists, and was contained to England.

39 In addressing the 1878 "war congress," Booth spoke of his theological heritage and his need to "unlearn" what he had embraced within Methodism in order to adapt the mission of The Salvation Army to the popular culture of Victorian Britain. "Methodism became part of my very blood. I have had much to unlearn, and it is very difficult to unlearn being a Methodist." William Booth, "The Past of the War," Christian Mission Magazine (August 1878): 237; quoted in David W. Taylor, *Like a Mighty Army?: The Salvation Army, the Church, and the Churches* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014), 62.

40 Very few converted drunks became officers. Most of the early officers were members of other churches, seeking an evangelistic ministry to the poor.

41 Within twelve months, circulation of this periodical was 110,000 without the aid of advertising revenue. The *War Cry*, as the official gazette of The Salvation Army, contained articles on the progress of the movement, and specific doctrinal teaching, as well as personal testimonies. Serving as a means of instruction and information, it provided Booth with a means to defend his unorthodox methods.

42 E.g., "Stand Up, Stand Up For Jesus," was written for the American revival in Philadelphia during 1858; "Fight the Good Fight," by the Anglican, J. S. B. Monsell in 1863; and "Onward Christian Soldiers," by the Anglican curate Sabine Baring-Gould in 1864.

43 Quoted in Sandall, Vol 1, 204.

a divine calling, aided him in consolidating authority, while providing the vehicle to advance the salvation war. The consolidation of power and authority under a form of military dictatorship caused some to defect from Booth's movement.[44] For the most part, however, the establishment of the movement as an army, under the autocracy of an individual of Booth's organizational skill and vision, served to enhance and institutionalize the Mission's goals and objectives. Participation in salvation warfare of worldwide dimension, attracted and inspired those within the movement. David Taylor aptly summarizes the ecclesiological effects of the Mission becoming an 'Army':

> To the Booths' non-denominational, laity focused, female ministry affirming, 'higher life' raising, postmillennial Christian mission, engaged in social action—all ecclesial characteristics influenced by holiness revivalism—was added the very specific denominational identity of an Army, with autocratic governance, hierarchy, Officer leaders, the regulated and disciplined life of the Soldier, and in 1882 [*sic*], the abandonment of sacramental rituals and forms that were an integral part of the ecclesiology of virtually all churches and denominations.[45]

Utilitarian and pragmatic, William Booth reduced the conservative Methodist theologies of his heritage to the bare essentials, as represented in his first handbook of catechetical instruction, *The Doctrines and Discipline of The Salvation Army* (1881). The criteria for doctrinal inclusion were practicality and usefulness. Thus, Booth reduced the twenty-five Articles of the American Methodist societies (which themselves were a reduction of the Thirty-Nine

44 The legal incorporation of The Salvation Army's government and doctrines by deed poll guaranteed that such would persist into the future. "Its doctrines must continue in this life and after his death to be those of which he had approved. God, for the Salvationists, had to be made in the General's image." St. John Greer Ervine, *God's Soldier: General William Booth*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1935), 1: 434. Other reasons for defection included the doctrine and experience of holiness and the issue of women in the ministry. Nearly half of the officers on the field in 1878 were women. These "Hallelujah lasses" were first employed because of the urgent need for leaders in a rapidly expanding movement. Sandall, 2: 12; See George Scott Railton, *Heathen England*, Third edition (London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 1879), 116–25

45 Taylor, 55. Although here Taylor cites 1882 as the date for the abandonment of sacramental practice (cf. 77), Booth first announced his decision to his officers on January 2, 1883.

Articles of the Church of England) to eleven doctrines. These eleven articles of faith sum up the beliefs of The Salvation Army, and have remained unchanged since 1878, when they were incorporated in the Foundation Deed by William Booth. The Christian Mission of 1870 had ten of these eleven articles, the present-day ninth article being added in 1876. Thus, the name change did not precipitate any significant doctrinal shift.[46]

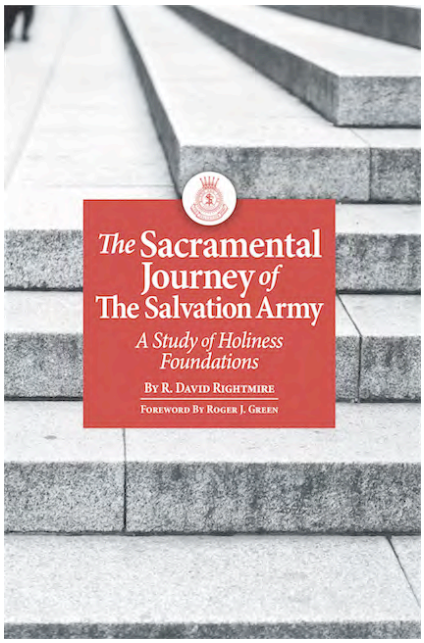
These eleven articles of faith affirm: 1) the inspiration of scripture as the sole authority for Christian faith and practice; 2) monotheism; 3) Nicene Trinitarianism; 4) Chalcedonian Christology; 5) original sin, total depravity, and universal judgment; 6) universal atonement; 7) trinitarian soteriology (i.e., repentance toward God, faith in Jesus Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit are necessary for salvation); 8) justification *sola gratia*/*sola fide*, resulting in assurance (the witness of the Holy Spirit to our spirit); 9) conditional perseverance ("backsliding" possible, resulting in a loss of salvation); 10) entire sanctification (possible in this life—instantaneously, by faith); and 11) the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and the general judgment (either to eternal happiness or punishment).[47]

Wesleyan in theological persuasion, the Army's successful development in Victorian England can be credited not only to its Methodist heritage but to its attempts to meet the cultural and social needs of the poor. The movement's doctrines of salvation and sanctification, when clothed in the dramatic and sensational garb of militaristic worldwide conquest and spiritual warfare, impressed the gospel on the impoverished masses by means of vivid imagery. The Army's theological expression met a very real emotive need among the poor, hitherto unreached by Victorian Christianity.[48]

46 Cf. Sandall, 1: Appendices F and R, 262–64, 287–91.

47 Ibid., 288–89.

48 John Rosario Rhemick, "The Theology of a Movement: The Salvation Army In Its Formative Years" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1984), 1.



A history of Salvation Army sacramental theology and practice.

The Sacramental Journey of the Salvation Army: A Study of Holiness Foundations

by R. David Rightmire