



A Publication of The Salvation Army

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.

Salvation Army Mission Statement:

The Salvation Army, an international movement, is an evangelical part of the universal Christian Church. Its message is based on the Bible. Its ministry is motivated by the love of God. Its mission is to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and to meet human needs in His name without discrimination.

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Editorial Policy:

Contributions related to the mission of the journal will be encouraged, and at times there will be a general call for papers related to specific subjects. The Salvation Army is not responsible for every view which may be expressed in this journal. Manuscripts should be approximately 12-15 pages, including endnotes. Please submit the following: 1) three hard copies of the manuscript with the author's name (with rank and appointment if an officer) on the cover page only. This ensures objectivity during the evaluation process. Only the manuscript without the author's name will be evaluated. The title of the article should appear at the top of the first page of the text and the manuscript should utilize *Word & Deed* endnote guidelines. All Bible references should be from the New International Version. If another version is used throughout the article, please indicate the version in the first textual reference only. If multiple versions are used, please indicate the version each time it changes; 2) a copy on a 3 1/2 inch floppy disk, using Microsoft Word format; 3) a 100-word abstract of the article for use at the discretion of the editor (e.g., on The Salvation Army's web page or in advertisements about the journal). Please note that neither the hard copies nor the disk will be returned to the author and that all manuscripts are subject to editorial review. Once articles have been selected for inclusion, the deadlines for submitting final material for the journal are March 1 for the spring issues and September 1 for the fall issues. A style sheet is available upon request.

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The Past Is Prologue

It has been a pleasure for us to publish some of the papers in the last three issues of this journal from the Army's international theology and ethics conference at the William and Catherine Booth College in Winnipeg, Canada. It is our prayer that all those who subscribe to the journal have enjoyed reading those articles and that those articles have likewise stimulated good critical thinking around the Army world as well as in the broader Christian community. Both the conference and the three issues of *Word & Deed* bear witness to the importance of theological and ethical thinking for the sake of the Army and thereby for the sake of the glorious Kingdom of God.

We have the opportunity in the next two issues of *Word & Deed* to continue the model set forth in Winnipeg. Over the entrance to the United States Archives building in Washington, D.C., are the words carved in stone "The past is prologue to the future." The same may be said for The Salvation Army. This issue in particular will deal with some specific theological and historical ideas that touch upon Army life and thought, while the next issue will identify some important ethical matters pertaining to our common life and thought. Both issues also provide us with a wonderful opportunity to introduce the thinking of Salvationists who have not yet written for *Word & Deed*. Andrew Eason, a Canadian Salvationist, will share some of his research dealing with the relationship of Church and sect, using the Army as a model for his discussion. An examination of our relationship with the broader culture is always a timely and critical subject for the sake of our self-understanding.

Philip Davisson, an American Salvation Army officer serving with his wife in Aurora, Illinois, explores William Booth's vision of history and demonstrates how important the theology of postmillennialism was to Booth and those around him. The early Army's understanding of the Kingdom of God in this way touched upon various matters of doctrine, and also partially explains the rapid growth of the Army. This article is a timely reminder that any theological system has to put forth a view of history. While the Army today no longer embraces a

postmillennial theology, this article causes us to question our present vision of history and what the place of the Army is within that historical context.

Jim Bryden is a major in The Salvation Army, recently appointed as the ecumenical officer for Great Britain. His sermon reminds the reader of some critical ultimate questions, but also serves the purpose of the journal as one that deals with theology and ministry. We think that it is important to incorporate sermons into the journal as a way of underscoring the dual mission of the journal.

Not only the articles, but also one of the book reviews will introduce a new writer to our readers as well as a book that we have found to be invaluable to Salvationists and other interested readers. Gordon Sparks, a major in The Salvation Army presently serving at the Salvation Army's School for Officer Training in Suffern, New York, has written a review of the recently published book *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses: Remaking The Salvation Army in America, 1880-1930*. Those who are interested in American Salvation Army history and development need to read this text, but need to do so critically. The author, Lillian Taiz, challenges certain Army beliefs and practices, and the book should be read with a discerning eye. One of the members of our editorial board, Major Elaine Becker, also provides a timely review of a recent work by Dr. Michael Peterson, professor of philosophy at Asbury College.

We think that this is a strong issue, and one which we pray will stimulate clear thinking among all who read our journal. In conclusion, we would like to alert our readers that *Word & Deed* is now on the Army's international web site, allowing browsers to access lead articles from past issues of the journal, as well as the table of contents for each issue. In this way, *Word & Deed* also can be offered to those who have not yet subscribed to the journal. In the meantime, we appreciate our readers' faithfulness in subscribing to the journal, and we appreciate your continuing efforts to share the journal with your friends.

May this issue of *Word & Deed* stimulate mind and heart for the work of the Kingdom.

RJG
JSR

The Salvation Army in Late-Victorian Britain: The Convergence of Church and Sect

Andrew Mark Eason

Introduction

If one theme dominated the nascent literature of The Salvation Army it was the need for Salvationists to be separate from the world. Early Army publications, from doctrinal and regulatory manuals to books and weekly periodicals, described in detail the various ways in which committed believers were to be set apart from the surrounding society. Not surprisingly, much of this material was written by William and Catherine Booth. The founders' views on this subject did much to define the parameters within which Army members were to interact with the surrounding culture. In concert with other Salvationist writers of the period, the Booths sought to articulate this religious claim as explicitly as possible to the new and not so new members of their religious constituency. Through such instruction Salvationists were informed about the nature of their relationship to the world.

The relationship between a religious group and its wider societal context has received a lot of scholarly attention since the early twentieth century. One of the first individuals to explore this connection was the German theologian and sociologist Ernst Troeltsch. Drawing upon the work of Max Weber, he constructed a church-sect typology to delineate the two principal ways that Christianity organized itself in relation to the world.¹ Troeltsch characterized the church-type

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as a universal or national religious collectivity defined by inclusivity (i.e., membership by birth), ritualism, a less than demanding morality, and a general accommodation to secular society. The sect-type, in contrast, was described by Troeltsch in terms of its relatively small size, lower-class constituency, exclusive membership, perfectionist morality, and separation from the wider socio-cultural world.

Ernst Troeltsch's church-sect typology continues to be influential within academia, but sociologists since the late 1950s have criticized his model for its tendency to produce mixed types. According to this argument, Troeltsch's church-sect paradigm—with its multi-dimensional features—makes it difficult to place a group in one overall category. The result is a group that is both churchly and sectarian. In an effort to make the definitional parameters of this construct more precise, sociologists have paid increasing attention to one key variable—a group's acceptance or rejection of its sociocultural environment. This simplified model, especially as developed by Benton Johnson in the 1960s, defines church and sect in the following manner: "A church is a religious group that accepts the social environment in which it exists [whereas a] sect is a religious group that rejects the environment in which it exists."² While a group's acceptance or rejection of the wider world may be less than complete, Johnson and others believe that this single variable model overcomes the problem of mixed types.

Interestingly enough, this desire to avoid mixed types can be seen in the few sociological studies of The Salvation Army. Bryan Wilson, who delineates a number of sect subtypes based upon the degree to which they reject the surrounding society, sees The Salvation Army as a conversionist sect.³ A group in this subtype is antagonistic towards many cultural values within a society, but remains a part of the world in order to save it. Although Wilson concedes that it can be very hard to be a part of the world without accommodating to it, he does not entertain the possibility that this missionary engagement with society might reflect a church-type orientation. This unwillingness to mix types is also apparent in Roland Robertson's 1967 study of The Salvation Army.⁴ Robertson's research, which spans the 1870s to the 1950s, argues that the movement has evolved into an established sect. Put simply, certain sectarian features have been retained in the organization, such as its conservative doctrine, military structure, and demanding membership rules (e.g., having to abstain from alcohol). Despite

acknowledging that The Salvation Army has not been sectarian in its support of the state and its elite, Robertson still believes that this group deserves to be called a sect. John Hazzard's more recent study of The Salvation Army in America, which explicitly utilizes Benton Johnson's model, sets out to avoid mixed types, as well.⁵ Yet, the substance of Hazzard's argument—that The Salvation Army remains sectarian in theology and doctrine, but is moving toward the churchly pole in its social position on issues like homosexuality and abortion—is in fact more suggestive of a mixed typology.⁶ Altogether, each of these studies has sought to avoid labelling The Salvation Army as a church *and* a sect, even when the evidence has pointed in this direction.

Given their desire to harmonize data under general categories, it is not surprising that sociologists are adverse to mixed typologies. While this stance may enable sociologists to preserve the purity of these categories, it does not pay due attention to the historical facts. This is especially true when one seeks to understand The Salvation Army in late-Victorian Britain. In this article I contend that the early Army is best understood in terms of a mixed type within the church-sect model.⁷ If this religious organization is approached in a careful *historical* fashion, with due attention to the concrete and particular features of its complex nature, the following becomes clear: the movement's pragmatic external objectives—such as missionization and fundraising—reflected a churchly accommodation to the world, while its internal theological objective—isolating and insulating Salvationists from a godless society—was sectarian in nature. The Salvation Army was, in short, both church-like and sect-like. This sense of tension—being both for and against the world—is missed when sociological categories are assumed to be mutually exclusive of each other. As a careful reading of the early Salvation Army reveals, we need to tailor our methodology to the evidence at hand.

The Salvation Army and the World: Sect and Church

To view the early Salvation Army as a mixed type is to recognize that its relationship to the wider society was complex in nature. On the one hand it sought to distance itself from a godless world, while on the other hand it embraced key features of the broader society. According to H. Richard Niebuhr, this type of inconsistency often arises in religious groups that advocate separation

from the world. For as he reminds us, it is very difficult for us to be completely detached from a given culture:

[We] not only speak but think with the aid of the language of culture. Not only has the objective world about [us] been modified by human achievement; but the forms and attitudes of [our] mind[s] which allow [us] to make sense out of the objective world have been given [to us] by culture.⁸

There is no question that the early Salvation Army isolated itself from certain features of late-Victorian society; in a number of respects it represented the sect-type. At the same time, however, it engaged the wider world in other significant ways; in these areas it manifested a church-type orientation. The specific ways in which this organization exhibited both tendencies are outlined below.

Church-Type Accommodation

It is difficult to be set apart from the world while trying to save it. This was especially true for Catherine and William Booth, since evangelistic and revivalistic concerns were of great importance to them. Influenced by the mid-nineteenth century evangelical conviction that Britain's urban masses needed salvation as much as those in "heathen" countries, the Booths were missionaries at heart. Their attention was centered upon the poorest areas of urban England, where, in the words of one historian, it was "doubtful if ten percent attended church."⁹ Salvationists were called to missionize these urban areas, spreading the gospel message among the unchurched working classes.

In the process of carrying out this soul-saving campaign, the Army adapted itself to its surroundings. The movement's strategy here owed much to the thought of the American revivalist Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875), who argued for the employment of innovative measures to draw the interest of the spiritually indifferent.¹⁰ Finney's philosophy of ministry was well-known to the Booths, especially Catherine Booth. Commenting on this subject in 1885, Catherine stated: "Adaptation is the great thing we ought to consider. If one method or agent fails, we should try another. . . . If you would benefit and bless [the unconverted], you must interest them."¹¹ This principle of adaptation led Salvationists to capitalize upon the secular ethos of their age.

One popular expression of secular life that The Salvation Army exploited in its missionary campaign was the Victorian music hall.¹² This urban working-class institution—a hybrid of the theatre and the pub—became a venue for the movement’s evangelistic meetings. As one early promotional pamphlet put it, The Salvation Army operates “[b]y holding meetings in theatres, music halls, saloons, and the other common resorts of those who prefer pleasure to God . . . so securing hearers who would not enter ordinary places of worship.”¹³ One particular feature of the music hall that the Army appropriated was the “free and easy,” an unstructured evening of entertainment centered around audience participation and song. While a Salvationist “free and easy” had spiritual objectives, its emphasis upon lively tunes and audience involvement mimicked the format of its secular counterpart.¹⁴ Respectable classes may have associated the ubiquitous Victorian music hall with ribald songs and drunkenness, but The Salvation Army borrowed its popular form of entertainment and employed it for sacred purposes. Such a strategy was revivalistic to the core, since its rationale was always the goal of attracting the masses to hear the salvation message. The Anglican *Church Times* believed that part of the Army’s appeal lay “in the music-hall style of singing which it employ[ed].”¹⁵ A very similar assessment of the organization’s revival services was provided by the *Saturday Review* in 1883, when it noted: “Nothing could be carried out more precisely on the music-hall plan.”¹⁶ Salvationists would have hardly wanted to disagree, since they were convinced of the need to employ novel measures to attract the spiritually lost.

Secular imitation was apparent as well in The Salvation Army’s methods of advertising. In its efforts to attract the lower working classes—who seldom attended religious services on a regular basis—the Army utilized secular tactics to promote its evangelistic meetings. Rather than copying the staid advertisements of other religious bodies, which seldom drew any attention, its public announcements mirrored those of the surrounding visual and commercial world.¹⁷ The nineteenth century was an increasingly image-centered age, with Victorians being introduced to illustrated newspapers, dramatic spectacles (e.g., exhibitions) and photography. Reflecting this trend, early manuals written by William Booth encouraged Salvationists to use a variety of advertising strategies,

including window posters in shops, handbills, sandwich boards and placards. Such advertisements, with their use of sensational illustration and bold-type, spoke to the increasingly commercialized climate of late-Victorian Britain. Mass marketing was just emerging, and businesses fought with one another to sell their wares to a society full of consumers. The Salvation Army skillfully seized upon this development, and as one early observer was quick to note, its promotional tactics “would do credit to an[y] accomplished advertising agent.”¹⁸

The Salvation Army also took advantage of the growing popularity of militarism within Victorian society.¹⁹ Here it was undoubtedly influenced by Christian ministers like Charles Kingsley (1819–1875), who began to fuse Christian virtues with militant ones as early as the 1850s. Kingsley was quick to associate the gospel message with the culture of war. Writing during the Crimean War (1854–1856), for example, he depicted Christ as the quintessential military leader:

For the Lord Jesus Christ is not only the *Prince of Peace*; he is the *Prince of War* too. He is the Lord of Hosts, the God of armies; and whoever fights in a just war, against tyrants and oppressors, he is fighting on Christ's side, and Christ is fighting on his side; Christ is his Captain and his leader, and he can be in no better service.²⁰

This identification of Christianity with militaristic themes continued unabated during the 1860s and 1870s. The elements identified with military ceremonialism, which had wide appeal among working-class men, were infused with religious meaning. Christian virtues were linked with military terminology (e.g., the notion of the soldier-saint), religious societies spoke of the need for aggression and combativeness against sin, and the hymns of the period used military imagery to describe the spiritual life (e.g., the well-known hymn “Onward Christian Soldiers”).

There can be little doubt that William Booth capitalized on this militant form of Christianity more than any of his contemporaries. The rhetoric of war was apparent early on in his movement. Its language was overtly militant: “We are at war against sin. . . . We are at war for God. Go forward. . . . Show on whose side you are.”²¹ By May 1878 Booth had gone even further, saturating the organization with even more explicit military terminology—identifying preaching stations as corps, evangelists as officers, members as soldiers, and new openings as

invasions.²² The creation of a militaristic chain of command, with William Booth as sole General, helped to extend this model beyond the purely metaphorical. Booth's Army of Salvation was, both structurally and symbolically, reflective of Victorian militarism.

Ultimately, the missionizing strategy of the early Salvation Army was well-suited to the image-centered reality of the working classes.²³ In contrast to the educated elite, who were immersed in a rationalistic world centered around the written word, the impoverished masses were attracted to the emotion and drama that often accompanied the Army's message. The poor could relate more to images than to analytical sermons. As historian G. Kitson Clark points out, The Salvation Army was

perhaps the most significant and notable product of [the Victorian] period, for it used with great success all the elements of applied romanticism—the rhetoric, the melodrama, the music, the evocative ritual and [the] symbolism . . . of war.²⁴

What made the organization successful among the working classes was its ability to speak to their sociocultural environment. Clearly, The Salvation Army accepted significant aspects of its wider world in its efforts to win the masses for Christ. Its missionizing enterprise did not reflect a sectarian renunciation of the world. On the contrary, its strategies in this area represented a churchly accommodation to the surrounding society.

Accommodation was also a theme in The Salvation Army's attitude toward the state. This religious organization did not exhibit a sectarian indifference or hostility toward secular authorities, but rather a church-type acceptance of the status quo. As one early pamphlet stressed, its missionary objectives benefited the state:

[The Salvation Army] teaches obedience to the laws and respect for the authority of the powers that be. Its great business is to make men holy, and wherever it succeeds in this, it succeeds in making good citizens and loyal subjects.²⁵

This conservative ideology also found expression in Catherine Booth's sermons to the well-off residents of London's West End. In her mind, the Army was a Christianizing *and* civilizing force, able to turn the masses into reliable employees and loyal citizens.²⁶ Such a message was hardly one of a group which wished to separate itself from the authorities of this world. Even when the organization

found itself in trouble with the authorities over its right to parade through the streets, it was quick to emphasize that its missionary objectives were beneficial to society.

This support of the status quo enabled The Salvation Army to cultivate good relationships with influential and wealthy people. One journalist, writing about the movement as early as 1883, observed: "General Booth and his followers are not, it should be noted, by any means unpopular [among] the well-to-do and the so-called respectable classes."²⁷ William Booth, in particular, went out of his way to court the rich and famous around the world. During his lifetime he met prime ministers, presidents, kings and queens, philanthropists, and other individuals of importance. These actions revealed an organization in harmony with the ruling elite of Victorian society.

A large part of The Salvation Army's accommodation to the state, and to its powerful citizens, was undoubtedly due to its need for financial support. It must be remembered that William and Catherine Booth's evangelistic vision—winning the masses for Christ—was ambitious in scope. Funding for the movement's spiritual programs was dependent upon the generosity of sympathetic outsiders, since Salvationists themselves were often in no position to contribute significantly to the cause. Commenting on this reality, a Victorian writer noted: "The subscriptions the [Army] receive[s are] not only from the soldiers, who are of course mostly poor people, but from well-wishers in the richer classes."²⁸ Financial considerations necessitated the assistance of those outside the organization.

Appeals for money were even directed toward other religious groups. One early effort to raise money for The Salvation Army's self-denial campaign—a scheme designed to expand operations at home and abroad—even solicited the Roman Catholics for their support. As the movement's weekly periodical, the *War Cry*, proclaimed confidently in late 1895: "Roman Catholics will rally to the help of our self-denial Week because, among other things, The Salvation Army is truly catholic in spirit and practice."²⁹ Such a statement hardly reflected a sectarian indifference or hostility toward other religious groups.³⁰ When finances were at stake The Salvation Army was truly inclusive in spirit.

The need for money became even more pressing as the movement's social welfare programs—stimulated by William Booth's 1890 bestseller *In Darkest England and the Way Out*—grew rapidly around the world. Booth's manifesto,

which called for the establishment of city, farm and overseas colonies to help the destitute, required over one hundred thousand pounds to finance.³¹ Direct appeals to the public for monetary assistance followed in the wake of the "Darkest England" scheme, and donations from the secular and religious world were substantial in nature. By the end of January 1891 the Army had already raised £102,559 for this venture, and more was to follow.³² While William Booth would have liked to raise even more capital, this campaign was quite successful overall. Countless members of Britain's elite, including wealthy patrons and politicians, were attracted to the scheme, and they were featured prominently whenever the Army held meetings to promote its social operations.³³

Whether concerned with spiritual ministries or social welfare, The Salvation Army was very much a part of England's economic world. During the 1880s and 1890s the organization acquired numerous properties for its spiritual and humanitarian work. Describing the various aspects of the movement in 1885, one writer noted: "They annex one building after another; their immovable property amounts to about £150,000."³⁴ Furthermore, William Booth established a "Salvation Army Deposit Bank" in 1890. This facility, renamed "The Reliance Bank" in 1900, was chartered by the government to operate as any other financial institution. By August of 1893 this bank boasted of nearly £400,000 in assets.³⁵ Revenue derived from this institution helped to fund the Army's expansion at home and abroad.

Although economic developments of this nature may have been viewed as means to a spiritual end, they were hardly indicative of sectarian asceticism.³⁶ The ascetic ideal, with its self-denying call for detachment from the economic system of this world (i.e., property, money), did not reflect the corporate life of The Salvation Army. This is not to say, however, that everyone in the movement was comfortable with the organization's financial endeavours. George Scott Railton, one of the Army's most important early leaders, was one such critic. On numerous occasions he voiced his objections to the movement's banking and fund-raising schemes, as well as its courting of the elite.³⁷ Bernard Watson, one of Railton's biographers, tells the story of how Railton, already dismayed by the Army's expanding social endeavours, voiced his concerns in dramatic fashion. Booth had just launched his latest venture—a life insurance program—and for George Scott Railton this was simply more than he could accept. Railton was a

modern-day friar, with little regard for material comforts or worldly schemes. He was, within Troeltsch's model, sectarian to the core. Therefore, at a public gathering led by William Booth in July 1894, Railton appeared on the platform barefooted and in sackcloth. Before anyone could stop him, he began to denounce the Army's life insurance scheme as contrary to the organization's heritage of self-denial and self-sacrifice.³⁸ As far as he was concerned, the Army's growing emphasis upon the material realm was diversionary—directing attention away from the organization's soul-saving mission. Such a bold protest, however, only served to marginalize Railton, and it did not lead to a reassessment of Army priorities.

Judging by its engagement with the wider sociocultural world, The Salvation Army was church-like in a number of respects. Its missionizing strategies were indicative of an organization attuned to Victorian society. The Army's conviction that converts must be *attracted* to the gospel message led it to capitalize upon certain features of the age. Moreover, the organization's respect for law and order, good relations with the elite, and establishment of a chartered bank reflected the perpetual need to fund Army operations. Political and economic accommodation helped the movement expand at home and abroad. Overall, these objectives were pragmatic in nature and aimed largely at those outside the religious body (the unconverted, the elite, and other religious groups).

Sect-Type Rejection

On a pragmatic level The Salvation Army was willing to appropriate numerous features of the secular world in its efforts to win the masses and finance its operations, but on an internal theological level it sought to separate its members from a sinful society. Like other sectarian bodies it employed what sociologists refer to as isolating and insulating strategies—mechanisms that allow a group to maintain a certain distance from the world.³⁹ Isolation is largely fostered by a group's renunciation of ungodly relationships, secular recreation, and certain cultural values, whereas the specific features of insulation usually include behavioral rules that govern a group member's contact with the world, group endogamy (marriage only to other sect members), and at times some kind of distinctive dress. In each of these ways The Salvation Army exhibited the classic signs of a sectarian body.

First and foremost, Salvationists were instructed to distance themselves from the prevailing spiritual and moral climate of the world. Addressing this subject in one early manual, William Booth stated: "Every [Army member] should be taught that he must come out from the world, and be separated from it. That is, he must have for ever done with its proud, devilish, and sinful spirit."⁴⁰ For Booth "the world" was a sinful and immoral place, ultimately in rebellion against God. Echoing her husband's sentiments, Catherine argued that conformity to the world was unthinkable for the Christian; to conform to such an environment betrayed one's pridefulness and unbelief.⁴¹ As another Salvationist writer expressed it: "To be right with God we must be wrong with the world."⁴² When viewed in terms of its sin and immorality, the world was no place for the true believer. The Salvation Army was, in the words of one early *War-Cry* correspondent, "a mighty example of the power of a separate religion."⁴³

This understanding of the world had much to do with the organization's roots in evangelicalism. Eighteenth and nineteenth-century evangelicals tended to view the world as a non-Christian environment; it was often depicted as the kingdom and playground of the devil.⁴⁴ Consequently, separation from the world was at the heart of British evangelicalism, even when its adherents sought to transform the secular realm. Being nurtured in the evangelical fold of Methodism, William and Catherine Booth retained these convictions about the wider society. Such beliefs seem to have had little bearing upon the organization's accommodationist strategies, but they were operative where sectarian insulation and isolation were pursued.

Isolation in The Salvation Army was achieved in a variety of ways. On a social level, Salvationists were instructed to have no friendly relations with the ungodly. This sectarian injunction was spelled out quite clearly in William Booth's *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers*: "God's Word commands that ungodly and worldly friendships be avoided. . . . No man or woman can mix on friendly terms with godless, worldly, or evil companions without soon becoming like them."⁴⁵ Associations of this kind represented a slippery slope into sin and impurity. Given her emphasis on purity of heart, Catherine Booth was particularly critical of Christians who refused to break off all ties with "ungodly, worldly, hollow and superficial people."⁴⁶ Consistent with the thinking of Methodism's

founder, John Wesley, who urged Christians to “contract no intimacy with worldly-minded men,”⁴⁷ the movement’s instructional literature urged Salvationists to avoid friendships with non-Christians.

From a sociological perspective, The Salvation Army’s regulation of social relations helped to insulate it from the surrounding society. First of all, William Booth set down certain rules to govern a Salvationist’s contact with the world. If friendship with unbelievers was inappropriate, what kind of association was permissible? Booth exhibited no ambiguity in this area, laying down the parameters of a Salvationist’s engagement with the ungodly. Such contact could be made to evangelize, carry out necessary business, and administer physical aid, but anything beyond this was unacceptable.⁴⁸ Second, The Salvation Army maintained strict rules governing marriage partners.⁴⁹ Salvationists were not allowed to marry anyone outside of the Army. Candidates for full-time work in the movement could even be rejected for dating an outsider. Third, one could only become a member (i.e., a soldier) of this religious organization by signing a detailed covenant. Those who signed this document, aptly called the “Articles of War,” gave witness to their renunciation of worldly associations.⁵⁰ Altogether, each of these measures functioned to preserve the sectarian side of the Army’s identity.

In addition to this social isolation, and the mechanisms used to preserve it, The Salvation Army set itself apart from certain features of its cultural environment. One particular area off limits to Salvationists was secular recreation. According to Catherine Booth, the Bible enjoined Christians to renounce secular entertainment: “The Scriptures prohibit Christians from joining in the amusements of the world; forbidding any *fellowship* with the unfruitful works of darkness, commanding to abstain from the very appearance of evil, and to come out from amongst the ungodly and be separate.”⁵¹ Among other things, she believed that recreational activities represented a waste of time, detracting Christians from the task of convicting people of their sin. Under the influence of such views, Salvationists were expressly forbidden to join athletic clubs or attend sporting matches, theaters, concerts, and parties.⁵²

Such an injunction clearly put Salvationists at odds with the wider society and other religious groups. Late-Victorian England witnessed the emergence of mass entertainment in the form of spectator sports, popular theaters, and seaside resorts.⁵³ For the working classes, organized athletic events such as football were

especially popular. Altogether, recreation became a pervasive feature of the culture, providing the masses with new ways to spend their leisure time. Even religious traditions like Methodism, which had once preached against worldly amusements, began to add recreational activities to their church programs.⁵⁴ In light of these developments The Salvation Army's attitude toward recreation was clearly sectarian.

The same could be said about the movement's solution to this secular threat. William Booth simply expected those who joined the Army to devote all their free time to its various ministries. Addressing this subject in 1882, Booth stated:

The converts are expected to take their place forthwith in every open air meeting and procession, and on or near the platform in every meeting indoors, and to use every possible opportunity of service, in singing, in speaking, prayer, door-keeping, selling of the *War Cry*, visiting—in short, *to become soldiers*.⁵⁵

Considering that in an average week a typical Army corps might hold as many as six to eight meetings, the members of the organization had to demonstrate a high level of commitment.⁵⁶ In clearly sectarian fashion, Salvationists were called upon to sacrifice their full energies to the movement. Obviously, a demanding schedule such as this left little time for leisurely pursuits of any kind.

Recreational habits, such as smoking and drinking, were also frowned upon within The Salvation Army. Anyone who smoked was automatically 'disqualified from holding any office in a local corps.'⁵⁷ Furthermore, alcohol had to be renounced outright by everyone in the organization. Before a person could become a member of the Army, he or she had to make the following public affirmation: "I do here and now declare that I will abstain from the use of all intoxicating liquors."⁵⁸ Given that alcohol was central to working-class lifestyles, and profits from its consumption filled the coffers of local pubs, the Army's calls for abstinence in this area were sometimes met by organized opposition.⁵⁹ In fact, "Skeleton Armies" in the south of England were formed out of working-class and local brewery interests to physically attack Salvationists. In the end, The Salvation Army's strong convictions about recreational activities like drinking set it apart from its surroundings.

A second form of cultural isolation was apparent in The Salvation Army's attitude toward fashion. For Catherine Booth the fashions of the day reflected the values of the godless, selfish majority.⁶⁰ In her mind, worldly apparel was a god

or idol that set beauty over service to God as the ultimate end of life. Not surprisingly, therefore, Salvationists were expected to exhibit modesty and simplicity in dress. One early regulatory guide put it this way: "No Soldiers shall be allowed continuously to take part in any public exercise or to sit regularly on the platform who wear jewelry, flowers, feathers, or other flaunting finery."⁶¹ Mirroring the views of John Wesley, who, a century earlier, commanded Methodists to be "*cheap* as well as plain" in their dress, the Army believed that secular fashions engendered sinful pride.⁶² Even the very young, argued William Booth, should be told "to regard with pity all the pomp, pageantry, and pride of worldly fashion."⁶³ He believed that parents were responsible for teaching their children to dress in ways that bore witness to their renunciation of the world.

One central strategy for combatting worldly fashion among Salvationists lay in the adoption of a military uniform by 1878. Although this style of dress reflected the militarism of the late nineteenth century, it held a much deeper significance for those within the organization. A uniform was not simply a popular means of attracting attention, but a symbol of a Salvationist's separation from the world. The Army uniform, dark in colour and plain in design, was, in the words of William Booth, a "security . . . against the snares and influence of fashion."⁶⁴ Sociologically, it functioned as an insulating mechanism by letting everyone know that the wearer was a Christian. The effectiveness of this strategy should not be underestimated, for Salvationists were encouraged to wear their uniforms, or some other distinctive Army badge, at their places of daily employment.⁶⁵ Altogether, this mode of dress was viewed as a safeguard against the temptations of the world.

The Salvation Army's convictions about literature represented a third form of cultural isolation. The members of this organization were encouraged to limit their reading to material that "assist[ed them] to love God with all [their] heart[s], lead a holy, happy and useful life . . . and save the greatest number of souls."⁶⁶ One forceful exhortation on the subject, addressed specifically to candidates for officership, stated: "*Don't* look at newspapers. *Don't* touch a novel; and in particular, shun the cheap, penny rubbish that parades its tales as 'founded on fact'!"⁶⁷ Worldly periodicals, books, and sentimental stories were to be avoided since they could not be read for spiritual profit. Novels, in particular, were often singled out for condemnation by Army leaders like Catherine Booth. Millions of

Victorians may have been reading religious and secular novels by the late 1870s, but Mrs. Booth believed that these works of fiction “cause[ed] untold harm” for the Christian.⁶⁸ By this stage, most evangelicals would have considered Catherine’s views to be extreme, since Victorian fictional works were often morality tales with religious messages. Even the conservative Religious Tract Society had begun to publish such literature in the 1830s.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, Catherine Booth considered novels to foster a false impression of life and excite the sexual instincts of the young. Moreover, she was troubled by the fact that these largely evangelical convictions were being abandoned by some Christian ministers, who sought to blend “worldly” novelists like Dickens with biblical motifs.⁷⁰ In her mind, this kind of compromise with the world was reprehensible. Others in The Salvation Army agreed, and urged all Christians “to steer quite clear of novel-reading.”⁷¹

Acceptable literature for Salvationists was centered around the Bible and Army publications.⁷² Leaving no room for confusion in this matter, one early directive stated: “Stick to the Bible . . . read and digest your Regulations [and] General and Mrs. Booth’s works.”⁷³ Alongside the latter resources, the organization began to publish numerous periodicals and books at its London publishing and printing house in the early 1880s.⁷⁴ This material, often of a biographical, theological or instructional nature, provided soldiers with an alternative to the literature of the surrounding society. The same principle held true for those who wished to become officers. The movement’s training homes in London, which prepared men and women for full-time ministry, offered little in the way of outside books for its students. As a visitor to one of these schools noted in 1884: “The library was a lofty, fine room, but . . . the whole literature of the place consisted of ‘Minor Festivals of the Church,’ by Neale; Smiles’ ‘Self-Help,’ ‘Life of Wesley,’ and the Army Publications!”⁷⁵ Books of this nature may not have provided those in the Army with sufficient intellectual stimulation, but they did function to insulate them from threatening ideas in the wider society.

Of particular concern to senior Salvationist leaders—not to mention other evangelicals—was liberal biblical criticism. Higher criticism, which had its immediate roots on the continent of Europe, sought to challenge the reliability and authority of the Bible as well as the divinity of Christ. Numerous books were written on the subject throughout the Victorian period, and the controversy

surrounding this mode of biblical interpretation would help to split the evangelical community in the early twentieth century.⁷⁶ The Salvation Army would remain on the conservative side of this debate, revealing the strength of its sectarian views in biblical and doctrinal matters. On the rare occasions when the subject of higher criticism was raised in the Army's literature, it was viewed with alarm. Alex Nicol, a senior officer, was particularly concerned about how higher criticism could lead young Christians to agonizing doubt. As he noted in 1897: "[Some] have thrown overboard their faith in God and drifted withersoever the Sea of Unbelief carried them."⁷⁷ He went on to add: "We have one [person] . . . in our mind just now who was nearly driven to insanity between the desire to believe in the Divinity of Christ and His Mercy, and the almost impossibility of so believing because of intellectual doubts inculcated by modern Christian criticism."⁷⁸ For Nicol, the only legitimate criticism was that which led a person to a deeper awareness of the truth of the Bible and the Word made flesh. As Bramwell Booth would go on to say in 1905: "The Bible is a book about Jesus Christ or it is nothing."⁷⁹ For Booth and The Salvation Army, the trustworthiness of the Scriptures were confirmed by the revelation of Christ in the believer's heart and life. Books that challenged this conviction were not to be read. When, for example, an officer asked Bramwell whether or not he should look at a book that attempted to reconcile science with religion, Booth advised him not to read it.⁸⁰ The volume in question was *The Ascent of Man*, by Henry Drummond, a scientist and theologian who sought to accommodate theology to evolution. For Booth, in particular, there was no reconciling the two. Scholarship of a liberal thrust was off limits, and Salvationists were to keep away from its pernicious influence.

Concrete isolation of this nature, coupled with a more abstract separation from the moral and spiritual world climate, reveals that The Salvation Army was sectarian in a number of respects. Reflecting a central conviction of British evangelicalism, the Army considered the world to be a sinful place inhabited by individuals in rebellion against God. Given this theological understanding of the world, Salvationists were enjoined to avoid friendships with the ungodly and to distance themselves from the recreation, fashion, and literature of the surrounding society. Certain insulating features of the movement—demanding membership rules and regulations, high levels of commitment to group activities, distinctive dress, and the publication of Army literature—served to maintain these isolationist policies.

Yet, this sectarian orientation represented only one side of The Salvation Army's complex relationship with the wider world. Equally apparent was the organization's church-type engagement with significant elements of its socio-cultural environment. By adopting the "free and easy" format of the Victorian Music Hall, imitating the advertising methods of the age, and capitalizing upon its militaristic atmosphere, The Salvation Army was anything but sectarian. Here, it was eager to embrace its surroundings. Moreover, the movement's support of state authority, engagement with the elite, and establishment of a bank—while all motivated largely by financial demands—revealed an organization at home in its political and economic world. The operative strategy here was not separation from a godless society but accommodation to its values and institutions.

Conclusion

In the end, The Salvation Army's churchly and sectarian responses to the sociocultural environment were indicative of two different sets of objectives: (1) the largely pragmatic external goals of missionization and fund-raising, and (2) the internal theological goal of isolating and insulating Salvationists from a godless world. Pragmatically, the Army was willing to compromise with the world in order to reach the unchurched masses. The lower working classes were more likely to respond to the Christian message if it were cast in language and forms familiar to them. Finney's principle of adaptation, with its injunction to employ new measures in the work of evangelization, provided the pragmatic engine for this accommodationist stance. This same kind of pragmatism also governed the organization's strategies to finance its spiritual and social operations, since Salvationists themselves were often in no position to fund such programs. The organization's explicit support of law and order and its inclusive spirit toward other religious groups were pragmatic attempts to attract outside donors. A radical sectarian message would have alienated potential contributors.

Internally, however, The Salvation Army's theological objective of separation from the world was central. Here, Salvationist instructional literature was directed toward isolating and insulating Army members from a sinful and immoral society. Guided by evangelical convictions about the world, compromise or accommodation was unthinkable within this context. That such a sectarian stance could exist side by side with a more churchly orientation pointed to the tension-ridden strategy of trying to save the world while seeking to be set apart from it.

From a scholarly perspective the claim to be separate from the world is hardly an unambiguous assertion. Such a stance, whether articulated by The Salvation Army or any other religious group, needs to be made intelligible. Methodologies are useful here, since they help to order and make sense of the subject matter. When assessing the extent of a religious group's interaction with the wider world, historical and sociological tools are quite useful. History pays attention to the substance and context of this relationship, whereas sociology provides the general categories within which to situate the data that emerges from such an investigation. Given that the chief measure of a group's sociological categorization hinges upon its acceptance or rejection of the sociocultural environment, the need for close historical analysis is imperative. The concrete concerns of history inform the broadly-based typologies of sociology.

A certain inflexibility arises, however, when sociological theory overshadows the interests of history. This has been true of the few studies on The Salvation Army and its world. Sociological treatments of the movement have been guided more by the assumption that mixed types ought to be avoided than by a close historical examination of all the evidence. This presupposition, while at times only implicit, has ruled out in advance the possibility that the early Salvation Army might have been both sectarian *and* churchly. Such a strategy has been problematic, since it has overlooked disconfirming data. It has led to an oversimplified picture of an extremely complex religious organization. To describe the early Salvation Army as sectarian, even in a qualified sense, is to present only one side of the story. Labels such as "established sect" (Robertson) and "conversionist sect" (Wilson) are profoundly inadequate when attempting to understand this religious body. The tensions and inconsistencies in this organization's attitude toward its late-Victorian world are overlooked when it is approached solely from a sectarian perspective.

For contemporary church-sect theory to be effective, it needs to acknowledge that mixed typologies have their place in research. As this paper illustrates, even the single variable model in use since Benton Johnson—defining a group by examining its relationship to the wider world—can be used to produce mixed types. While this may be surprising to sociologists, who believe that a revised church-sect model overcomes mixed types, it is to be expected when historical concerns work in conjunction with sociological matters. Real life, whether situ-

ated in the past or located in the present, is filled with nuance and ambiguity. Consequently, data rarely fit into only one category. Pure categorization is the product of abstraction. Mixed classification is the product of concrete reality. General categories remain useful vehicles for classifying data and discovering new relationships, but they are not mutually exclusive. A religious group can be both church-type and sect-type in nature.

Notes

1. See Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, Vol. 1, trans. Olive Wyon (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1931), pp. 34, 331–343. It should be noted here that Troeltsch identified a third, less prominent, mode of religious organization—the mystical type—which he put within the province of individual religious experience. See Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, Vol. 2, trans. Olive Wyon (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1931), pp. 743–753.

2. Benton Johnson, “On Church and Sect,” *American Sociological Review* 28, 4 (August 1963): 542. Johnson’s approach has influenced a number of leading sociologists. See, for example, Rodney Stark, “Church and Sect,” in *The Sacred in a Secular Age: Toward Revision in the Scientific Study of Religion*, ed. Phillip E. Hammond (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 139–149; and William Sims Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements* (New York: Routledge, 1997), esp. pp. 42–59.

3. Bryan R. Wilson, “An Analysis of Sect Development,” *American Sociological Review* 24, 1 (February 1959): 5–6. See also Bryan R. Wilson, *Religious Sects: A Sociological Study* (New York: McGraw–Hill, 1970), pp. 60–64.

4. Roland Robertson, “The Salvation Army: The Persistence of Sectarianism,” in *Patterns of Sectarianism*, ed. Bryan R. Wilson (London: Heinemann, 1967), pp. 49–105.

5. John W. Hazzard, “Marching on the Margins: An Analysis of The Salvation Army in the United States,” *Review of Religious Research* 40, 2 (December 1998): 122.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 121–141.

7. I am indebted to Salvationist scholar Bruce Power here, who has argued that The Salvation Army incorporates both the church–type and the sect–type. While Power’s discussion of this issue is largely theoretical—he doesn’t test this thesis against any particular period of Army history—I am intrigued by his proposal. My work here is an attempt to show the viability of this hypothesis. See Bruce Power, “Towards a Sociology of Salvationism,” *Word and Deed* 2, 1 (November 1999): 17–33.

8. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), p. 69.

9. Eric J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain 1783–1870* (London: Longman, 1983), p. 302.

10. Charles Grandison Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (1835; reprint, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press, 1960), esp. pp. 181, 250. While Finney was not the first to adopt novel strategies to reach the unsaved, he did the most to promote this new kind of revivalism among respectable evangelicals. For a helpful analysis of this issue, see Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790–1865* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978), pp. 10–16.

11. Catherine Booth, “Our Commission,” *All the World* 1, 6 (April 1885): 84. See also Catherine Booth, *Aggressive Christianity* (1880; reprint, Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1883), pp. 22–34.

12. For excellent overviews of the Victorian Music Hall, see Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

1998), pp. 80–150; and Penny Summerfield, "Patriotism and Empire: Music-Hall Entertainment, 1870–1914," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp. 17–48.

13. *All About The Salvation Army* (London: S.W. Partridge and Co., 1882), p. 4. See also *All About The Salvation Army* (London: International Headquarters of The Salvation Army, 1888), pp. 4–5.

14. William Booth offered guidelines on how to conduct a "free and easy" in his *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of The Salvation Army* (London: International Headquarters of The Salvation Army, 1886), pp. 239, 309, 322–24. A number of scholars have noted the Army's appropriation of music hall culture. See, for example, Norman H. Murdoch, *Origins of The Salvation Army* (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), pp. 62–64; and Pamela J. Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 187–194.

15. "Modern Nostrums," *Church Times* (November 25, 1881): 808.

16. "The Salvation Army," *Saturday Review* (October 6, 1883): 432. See also "The Rival Armies," *All the Year Round* (July 8, 1882): 487.

17. That The Salvation Army viewed religious ads as ineffective is evident in *All About The Salvation Army* (1882 ed.), p. 12. For some indication of Army advertising methods, see William Booth, *The Doctrines and Discipline of The Salvation Army, Prepared for the Training Homes* (1881; reprint, Toronto: The Salvation Army Headquarters, 1885), pp. 103–105; and William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers*, pp. 280–287. Victorian advertising culture is discussed in detail in Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990). Further indication of the visual nature of the Victorian period can be seen in James Ryan, "Images and Impressions: Printing, Reproduction and Photography," in *The Victorian Vision: Inventing New Britain*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (London: V&A Publications, 2001), pp. 214–239. The Salvation Army's emulation of a commercialized visual culture was perhaps even more pronounced in the United States. See Diane Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of The Salvation Army* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), esp. pp. 1–8, 17, 138.

18. "The Salvation Army and the Church," *The Nation* 35, 894 (August 17, 1882): 127.

19. For more on the association between Christianity and militarism, see Olive Anderson, "The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain," *The English Historical Review* 86, 338 (January 1971): 46–72; John Wolfe, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland, 1843–1945* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 225–232; and Gerald Parsons, "Introduction, Victorian Religion," in Gerald Parsons, ed., *Religion in Victorian Britain*, Vol. 1 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 6.

20. Cited in John Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 232.
21. Cited in A[lex] M. Nicol, *General Booth and The Salvation Army* (London: Herbert and Daniel, 1910), p. 80.
22. Robert Sandall, *The History of The Salvation Army*, Vol. 1 (1947; reprint, London: Nelson, 1966), pp. 226–230.
23. The Salvation Army's appeal to an image culture is explored by John R. Rhemick, "The Theology of a Movement: The Salvation Army in its Formative Years," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 22 (Spring 1987): 79–87. See also his book *A New People of God: A Study in Salvationism* (Des Plaines, Illinois: The Salvation Army, 1993).
24. G. Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England* (New York: Atheneum, 1967), p. 189.
25. *All About The Salvation Army* (1882 ed.), pp. 26–27. See also *All About The Salvation Army* (1888 ed.), p. 31.
26. Catherine Booth, *The Salvation Army in Relation to the Church and State, and Other Addresses* (London: S.W. Partridge and Co., 1883), pp. 2–6, 16–20. That The Salvation Army was successful in Christianizing and civilizing the masses is apparent in Francis Peek, "The Salvationists," *The Contemporary Review* 49 (January 1886): 61–62.
27. A. V. Dicey, "The 'Salvation Army' as an Index of English Opinion," *The Nation* 36, 917 (January 25, 1883): 78. William Booth's popularity among the elite is evident as well in Harold Begbie, *The Life of General William Booth: The Founder of The Salvation Army*, Vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1920), pp. 254–261; and Arch R. Wiggins, *The History of The Salvation Army*, Vol. 4 (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964), pp. 311–339.
28. "The Religious Condition of England—The Salvation Army," *The Nation* 35, 900 (September 28, 1882): 259. See also Leopold Katscher, "Some Aspects of The Salvation Army," *National Review* 5 (1885): 76. The Salvation Army's promotional literature often included an appeal for donations. See, for example, *All About The Salvation Army* (1882 ed.), p. 28; and *All About The Salvation Army* (1888 ed.), pp. 32–33.
29. "Roman Catholics will Rally to the Help of our Self-Denial Week," [British] *War Cry* (September 28, 1895): 3.
30. See Bryan R. Wilson, *The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism: Sects and New Religious Movements in Contemporary Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 47. See also Wilson, "An Analysis of Sect Development," p. 6.
31. Wiggins, *The History of The Salvation Army*, Vol. 4, pp. 221–223. For a good overview of William Booth's "Darkest England" scheme see Robert Sandall, *The History of The Salvation Army*, Vol. 3 (1955; reprint, London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, n.d.), pp. 101–153.
32. See "The Week: Chronicle and Notes. General Booth's First Step," *The British Weekly: A Journal of Social and Christian Progress* (February 5, 1891): 239; and "The Darkest England Scheme," *The British Weekly* (June 14, 1894): 115.
33. See, for example, R. G. E., "A Letter from London," *The British Weekly* (June 15, 1893): 115; "News of the Churches," *The British Weekly* (June 22, 1893): 139; and the ad for a "Darkest England Scheme" public meeting in *The British Weekly* (June 7, 1894): 109.

34. Katscher, "Some Aspects of The Salvation Army," p. 76. See also Wiggins, *The History of The Salvation Army*, Vol. 4, pp. 232-235.

35. Wiggins, *The History of The Salvation Army*, Vol. 4, pp. 220-221.

36. For more on sectarian asceticism see Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, Vol. 1, pp. 332-333, 336.

37. See Bernard Watson, *Soldier-Saint: George Scott Railton* (1970; reprint, New York: The Salvation Army, 1977), pp. 121-122. See also pp. 80-81.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-133.

39. See Wilson, *The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism*, pp. 10-11; as well as his earlier article "An Analysis of Sect Development," pp. 10-12.

40. William Booth, *Rules and Regulations for Field Officers* (London: The Salvation Army, n.d.), p. 190. See also William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers of The Salvation Army* (1890; reprint, London: International Headquarters of The Salvation Army, 1927), p. 29; and William Booth, "Worldliness," *Officer* (December 1898): 356.

41. Catherine Booth, "Addresses on Holiness," in *The Privilege of All Believers*, ed. John D. Waldron (Atlanta: The Salvation Army, 1987), pp. 162-168.

42. D. Davies, "Wrong with the World," [British] *War Cry* (September 27, 1887): 5.

43. A. L. P., "With God and the Bible," [British] *War Cry* (January 18, 1896): 7. See also John Pickstock, "Separation from the World [Part 1]," [British] *War Cry* (August 29, 1885): 2, and "Separation from the World [Part 2]," [British] *War Cry* (September 2, 1885): 2.

44. See Doreen M. Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 53-63.

45. William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers*, pp. 25-26.

46. Catherine Booth, "Addresses on Holiness," p. 162.

47. John Wesley, "On Friendship with the World," in *The Works of John Wesley*, Vol. 3, ed. Albert C. Outler (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1986), p. 139.

48. William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers*, pp. 26-27.

49. William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers*, pp. 52-57.

50. William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers*, p. 118.

51. Catherine Booth, "Recreation and Religion," *The Christian Mission Magazine* (February 1871): 18. Catherine Booth also addresses the subject of worldly amusements in her book *Papers on Practical Religion* (1879; reprint, London: International Headquarters of The Salvation Army, 1891), pp. 53-63.

52. See William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers*, p. 27; William Booth, "Worldliness," p. 357; Tom Robertson, "Twelve Reasons Why Children Should Be Sent to The Salvation Army," *Officer* (March 1894): 79; and Katscher, "Some Aspects of The Salvation Army," p. 87.

53. Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), pp. 2-4; Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914* (London: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 196-201; and Walter L. Arnstein, *Britain Yesterday and Today: 1830 to the Present*, seventh ed. (Toronto: D.C. Heath and Co., 1996), pp. 193-194.

54: Henry D. Rack, "Wesleyanism and 'the World' in the later Nineteenth Century," *Proceedings of The Wesley Historical Society* 42 (1979): 48; Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, p. 70.

55. William Booth, "The Salvation Army," *The Contemporary Review* 42 (August 1882): 177.

56. For some indication of the numerous meetings that Salvationists attended, see William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers*, pp. 293–354. As Bryan Wilson notes, a sectarian body demands a total commitment from its adherents. See Wilson, *The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism*, pp. 1–2.

57. William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers*, p. 58.

58. This declaration is found in section ten of The Salvation Army's "Articles of War." See William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers*, p. 118.

59. See Victor Bailey, "Salvation Army Riots, The 'Skeleton Army' and Legal Authority in the Provincial Town," in *Social Control in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. A. P. Donajrodzki (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), pp. 231–253.

60. Catherine Booth, *Popular Christianity* (1887; reprint, London: The Salvation Army Book Department, n.d.), pp. 162–167.

61. William Booth, *Rules and Regulations for Field Officers*, p. 191.

62. John Wesley, "On Dress," in *The Works of John Wesley*, Vol. 3, p. 260. See also William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers*, p. 144. The argument that fancy dress was indicative of sinful pride was commonly employed by evangelicals. See Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture*, p. 86.

63. William Booth, *The Training of Children; Or, How to Make the Children into Saints and Soldiers of Jesus Christ* (1884; reprint, London: Salvationist Publishing and Supplies, 1927), p. 189.

64. William Booth, "Worldliness," *Officer* (January 1899): 13. See also William Booth, *The Doctrines and Discipline of The Salvation Army*, p. 110; [William Booth], "On the Wearing of Uniform," *Field Officer-Supplement* (October 1900): xxxviii–xl; and "Wearing the Uniform," *Officer* (September 1897): 270–271.

65. William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers*, p. 97; William Booth, *Rules and Regulations for Field Officers*, pp. 200–201.

66. William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers*, p. 60.

67. "Opening of The Jubilee Candidates' Campaign," *[British] War Cry* (May 26, 1894): 2.

68. See Frederick Booth-Tucker, *The Life of Catherine Booth: The Mother of The Salvation Army*, Vol. 1 (London: The Salvation Army, 1892), pp. 89–90. For some indication of the popularity of the Victorian novel, see Anthony Trollope, "Novel-Reading," *The Nineteenth Century* 23, 1 (January 1879): 24–43; and David Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland: From the Glorious Revolution to the Decline of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 131–133.

69. See Herbert Schlossberg, *The Silent Revolution and the Making of Victorian England* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2000), pp. 213–218.

70. Catherine Booth, "Recreation and Religion," *The Christian Mission Magazine* (March 1871): 33.
71. A. S. W., "Novel Reading," [British] *War Cry* (March 8, 1890): 4. See also Booth, *The Training of Children*, 201–203; and "Light on Questions that Perplex Some People," *All the World* (September 1896): 417.
72. See William Booth, *The Doctrines and Discipline of The Salvation Army*, p. 112; William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers*, pp. 60–63; and Katscher, "Some Aspects of The Salvation Army," pp. 87–88.
73. "Opening of The Jubilee Candidates' Campaign," p. 2.
74. Satellite facilities were to spring up in key Army centers around the world as well.
75. Mrs. Charles Garnett, "A Visit to the Training Home of The Salvation Army," *Sunday Magazine* (1884): 643.
76. See David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (1989; reprint, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1992), pp. 181–228. For more on biblical criticism in the Victorian Age, see Gerald Parsons, "Biblical Criticism in Victorian Britain: From Controversy to Acceptance?" in *Religion in Victorian Britain*, ed. Gerald Parsons, Vol. 2 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 238–257.
77. A[lex] M. Nicol, "Higher Criticism," *All the World* (August 1897): 339.
78. *Ibid.*
79. Bramwell Booth, "The Higher Criticism," [British] *War Cry* (May 6, 1905): 8. See also Bramwell Booth, "The Salvation Army and the Higher Criticism," *Field Officer* (June 1905): 212–214, which was simply a reprint of Booth's *War Cry* article.
80. "The Ascent of Man," *Officer* (August 1894): 236–237.

Sweeping Through the Land

Postmillennialism and the Early Salvation Army

Philip W. Davisson

Introduction

Postmillennial theology interprets Scripture by seeing the ongoing activity of the risen and victorious Christ leading from heaven his earthly troops in order to extend his kingdom reign. Following an extended period of time during which the gospel holds sway over the earth, Christ's Second Advent will coincide with the resurrection of all people and the final judgment. This paper presents postmillennial theology as not only the majority position among Protestant Christianity in the mid-nineteenth century, but also that of the nascent Salvation Army. As clear evidence of this thesis, examples of the early Army's singing and preaching are presented as capturing the primary thematic elements of nineteenth century, postmillennial theology.

Setting the Stage

It is almost received wisdom in evangelical circles today to state that the return of Christ will *precede* an expected millennial period of kingdom reign. But before the turn of the last century, just the opposite was true: the position of most Christians was a belief that pictured Christ returning *after* an extended period of Christian ascendancy and influence in the world.¹

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But the primary difference between today's premillennial dominant belief system and the postmillennial convictions of the mid-nineteenth century is more significant than a "before or after" discussion, and really lies at the heart of how the "millennial" period is interpreted, and what the role of the Christian and the Church is in relation to this period of time.² Such is the nature of the discussion in this paper of that area of theology we call eschatology.³

Another area of theological reflection comes in the recognition that for many years the greater part of doctrinal "education" of nonscholars in the laity came through careful construction of hymns for the church worship, as well as songs written for more evangelical purposes.⁴

In the intersection of these two spheres of religious history lies my own history with these subjects, having grown up with many rousing camp meeting songs, and finding faith first firmly within the boundaries of premillennial preaching. I think my own experience is common among Protestant evangelicals.⁵

Within my adopted denomination of The Salvation Army, I have made additional observations while singing "battle songs," notably that many of these songs might well reveal the postmillennial underpinnings of then-current theology, using words, phrases or slogans, or making allusions to the biblical images, that reinforce the songwriter's eschatological beliefs.

Of particular interest, then, in this paper is the mid-nineteenth century birth of The Salvation Army, and its heavy reliance upon such songs for the propagation of the gospel.⁶ Coming together during this period of postmillennia's fervent evangelization,⁷ the early Army's leaders used and wrote songs that captured the spirit of the age.

On the way to a sharper picture of this slice of history, we will frame the theological parameters of postmillennialism, drawing upon the scriptural texts and interpretations that give it shape, with an eye toward the state of postmillennial belief during the mid-nineteenth century. We will then come to identify certain phrases and images that capture the essence of the practical implications of postmillennial theology, noting especially those that held sway for evangelists of this period. Using these words as signposts, we will then review the "battle songs" of the day with a special look at early Salvation Army songs and song writers.

Together, these steps will lead us to the conclusion that The Salvation Army's early missional impulses were fed and led by postmillennial doctrinal

convictions, as expressed by what the Army leaders used and wrote to exhort its adherents on to evangelistic practice and to persuade those they wished to convert that Christ's kingdom was "sweeping through the land."

Postmillennialism and Theology

Underlying all things millennial (whether *post-*, *pre-*, *a-*, or *non-*)⁸ are several significant areas of theology. A key element in many religious expressions throughout time and across the cultural spectrum has been a belief "that there will be a time when evil will be destroyed by the powers of good followed by a long period of peace," a rough description of the millennium.⁹

Within the biblical record, we see the development of two differing kingdom concepts: one, a Messianic kingdom "called into being by the appearance of a Messianic King," and the other "that will come through the appearance and interposition of God Himself." Both are concepts that Jesus "had to contend with": Would He be restoring the physical kingdom of Israel, or would He be establishing a spiritual kingdom?¹⁰

So millennialism is concerned with the kingdom of God. One key theme of postmillennialism is that "the kingdom of God is primarily a present reality . . . here in earthly fashion. [But] the kingdom is not a realm, a domain over which the Lord reigns . . . [rather it is] the rule of Christ in the hearts of men."¹¹

Additionally, postmillennialism is at its heart a matter of Christology,¹² as "Jesus' teaching regarding the kingdom of God was regarded as basic and central to His entire outlook and message."¹³ Who Jesus is, now, is likewise a key for postmillennial thought: Christ is King, present and powerful, whose power is available now for those at work in his kingdom.¹⁴

Millennialism is a kingdom concept, a kingdom of Christ the King, and so two additional theological concerns are in play—the life of the Church in the fulfillment of its mission, and especially the role of the Holy Spirit in this activity. "The Church exists primarily for the sake of its mission in the world . . . [a] purpose [that] is carried out . . . by proclaiming and demonstrating the life of the kingdom that has come in Jesus and by calling the world to this radically new order . . . God's hopeful future."¹⁵ The Church, as a "redemptive fellowship . . . created by the Holy Spirit,"¹⁶ is thus engaged in God's activity. And so we may also properly speak of ecclesiology as a millennial subject.

Gospel Songs and Theology

While the use of many types of music in worship has a long history, in the spiritual awakening in North America and Great Britain in the nineteenth century, “it was [the] gospel song that had the ability to reach large numbers powerfully and effectively with a simple message” of the gospel itself.¹⁷ Gospel songs were different from hymns of praise that were “sung in worship with stateliness and dignity . . . [intended as] a military song, [the gospel song] was forged quickly in the heat of battle for the souls of men, and designed to produce an immediate evangelistic decision.”¹⁸

The revival meetings of the mid-1800s were campaigns of prayer and of preaching noted for its biblical content and character.¹⁹ Music was an integral part of these meetings, both in halls and in the open air.²⁰ These songs, used for instruction and persuasion, were often filled with the language and imagery of the Bible or evoked a biblical concept with its lyric.²¹ Before turning to the music of postmillennialism, we will look at some of the images drawn from the biblical sources, primarily those texts integral in shaping postmillennialism interpretations as well as those providing motivations for action.

Postmillennialist Descriptors

Scriptural Referents

Postmillennialists, preaching the Bible, believed their eschatology to be a faithful reflection of the teaching of the Bible, especially the millennial understandings that are drawn from an interpretation of Revelation 19–20.²² Here is the thousand-year reign of Christ that is in question.²³ As opposed to other millennial viewpoints, postmillennialists look at the key figure of the description of a horse and rider (Revelation 19.11–21), not as Christ of the Second Coming, but “of the Lord victorious over his enemies through the preaching within the church age.”²⁴ The rider (called Faithful and True) upon this white horse in 19.11 is the risen Christ, leading a spiritual war *now* from heaven whose troops are the Church wielding the sword that comes out of the mouth of the rider, the “word of God . . . sharper than any double-edge sword.”²⁵

According to postmillennialists, therefore, the triumph of the rider on the white horse refers to the advancing victory of the Son of God over the world accomplished by the proclamation of the gospel throughout the Church age,

which in turn inaugurates the thousand-year era of Revelation 20. Despite their vain attempts, neither the beast nor the kings of the earth are able to thwart the reign of Christ that comes about through the victory of the gospel.²⁶

This is the reign of the King now, whose kingdom is here.²⁷ This picture of chapter nineteen is describing something different than the picture of the middle of chapter twenty, which is the return and judgment. By numerical order, the victorious reign of Christ precedes the Second Coming and final consummation of time.²⁸ Prior to the final physical resurrection there is described here a spiritual resurrection, and in between is this millennial period of Revelation 20.1–10. An early articulation of this interpretation was the work of A. A. Strong:

We may therefore best interpret Rev. 20.4–10 as teaching in highly figurative language . . . a period in the latter days of the church militant when, under special influence of the Holy Ghost, the spirit of the martyrs shall appear again, true religion be greatly quickened and revived, and the members of Christ's churches become so conscious of their strength in Christ that they shall, to an extent unknown before, triumph over the powers of evil both within and without.²⁹

The progress of the gospel is pictured throughout the New Testament. Three brief examples will be enough to illustrate this point. It is perhaps best seen in the parables of the kingdom, typified by Matthew 13, where the parables point us to the conclusion that the kingdom will grow in ways both inevitable and unexpected.³⁰ Acts 2 tells us that kingdom growth is fueled by the gift of the Spirit. Another powerful citation is the Great Commission of Matthew 28, where the risen Christ is giving the Church the mandate to spread the gospel since now “all authority in heaven and on earth has been given” to the Son. Postmillennialists further believe “that the church possesses all the resources necessary” to fulfill this mission mandate.³¹

Tenets

What conclusions can we draw then, regarding postmillennial theology connected to these texts? The main tenets of nineteenth-century postmillennialism, as presented by John Jefferson Davis, focus on this picture of the victorious King: 1) “Through the preaching of the gospel and dramatic outpouring of the Holy Spirit” the evangelical and missional work of the Church will be remarkably successful, and the Church “will enjoy an unprecedented period of numerical

expansion and spiritual vitality.”³² 2) This period of “spiritual prosperity, the millennium, understood as a long period of time,” is marked by “conditions of increasing peace and economic well-being in the world as a result of the growing influence of Christian truth.”³³ 3) Further, this millennium period of evangelical success will be “characterized by the conversion of large numbers of ethnic Jews to the Christian faith (Revelation 11.25–26).” 4) Following this millennial period, near the end, “there will be a brief period of apostasy and sharp conflict between Christian and evil forces (Revelation 20.7–10).” 5) “Finally and simultaneously there will occur the visible return of Christ, the resurrection of the righteous and the wicked,” the last and final judgment, followed by the “revelation of the new heaven and the new earth.”³⁴

Davis is careful to not only describe nineteenth-century postmillennialism, but also to distinguish this ideology from similar current (and later) thought. Postmillennial belief is “not to be confused with nineteenth-century ‘evolutionary optimism’ or some secular notion of progress . . . any amelioration of social evils is not the result” of the work of institutional forces like schools, the government, the press or even the churches, “nor primarily of merely human effort, but essentially the result of the super-natural influence of the ascended Christ through his Word and Spirit,” at work in and through the Church.³⁵

Postmillennialism of this period was also the product of orthodox or conservative Christian theologians and preachers,³⁶ and should not “be identified with liberalism or ‘social gospel’” advocates that shared some of this vision for “social transformation” and which would later “erode” the influence of postmillennialism.³⁷ Neither is post-millennialism to be “confused with universalism, the doctrine that all will ultimately be saved,”³⁸ though there is a “strong emphasis . . . on the universality of Christ’s work of redemption, and hope is held out for the salvation of an incredibly large number of the race of mankind . . . [because] the world . . . [is] the object of Christ’s redemption.”³⁹

Finally, postmillennialism should “not be identified with some version of ‘manifest destiny,’” which sees God’s favor on any one church or nation as the “key to God’s plan for enlarging his kingdom” in this world. This is a global concern, not about “the local, short-term prospects of denominations or churches in the nation” but the overall progression that will end in victory, though there may be “setbacks and temporary defeats on various fronts on the way.”⁴⁰

Symbolic Language

We now briefly consider symbolic language in order to capsule the themes and tenets of postmillennialism of this period that others drew upon in sermon and song. Phrases and images can allude to scriptural teaching, thus serving as symbols in language that recall the larger message in a brief though intense way.

Here we can note these postmillennial concepts that have had particular impact in the period: 1) The risen and ascended Christ is even now leading a spiritual battle from heaven, and through the infilling power of the Holy Spirit the Word of God is made known to the world by the Church. 2) There is no power that can prevent the inevitable progress of this victorious Word, so that through time all the world will come to an effectual knowledge⁴¹ of God's salvation through Christ. 3) In fulfilling this Great Commission mandate, 'the faithful action of the Church will transform individual lives, and thus social structures.'⁴²

Salvationist Intersections

Following a summary view of nineteenth-century Christianity (and especially the picture of postmillennialism in England), we will see how the early Salvation Army's preachments captured these themes.

Nineteenth-Century Christianity

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the exploits of Sir Henry Stanley were chronicled in "Darkest Africa." That same year, William Booth described another "lost continent," that of "Darkest England."⁴³ Here is the picture of London he gives:

Often and often, when I have seen the young and the poor and the helpless go down before my eyes into the morass, trampled underfoot by beasts of prey in human shape that haunt these regions, it seemed as if God were no longer in His world, but that in His stead reigned a fiend, merciless as Hell, ruthless as the grave. . . . The stony streets of London, if they could but speak, would tell of tragedies as awful, of ruin as complete, of ravishments as horrible, as if we were in Central Africa; only the ghastly devastation is covered, corpse-like, with the artificialities and hypocrisies of modern civilization.⁴⁴

Booth then sharpens his criticism:

What a satire it is upon our Christianity and our civilization, that the existence of these colonies of heathens and savages in the heart of our capital should attract so little attention! It is no better than a ghastly mockery—theologians might use a stronger word—to call by the name of One who came to seek and to save that which was lost those churches which in the midst of lost multitudes either sleep in apathy or display a fitful interest in a [priestly garment]. Why all this apparatus of temples and meeting-houses to save men from perdition in a world which is to come, while never a helping hand is stretched out to save them from the inferno of their present life? Is it not time that . . . they should concentrate all their energies on a united effort to break this terrible perpetuity of perdition, and to rescue some at least of those for whom they profess to believe their Founder came to die?⁴⁵

The Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century had been widespread in both its reach in Great Britain and North America and its impact upon social and political life.⁴⁶ Yet by the end of that century, the great renewal had “run its course,” and before the second wave of revivals in the nineteenth century were to begin, “there was a desperate death of spiritual life in the areas so recently blessed in revival.”⁴⁷

Part of this may be seen by the middle of the century when “Protestants were questioning their faith in light of the new findings in science and biblical scholarship”⁴⁸ and the consequent positions that led to the state of affairs decried by Booth.⁴⁹ All of this occurred while the decade of the 1860s saw “evangelical campaigns . . . held throughout the metropolis . . . too numerous to be chronicled,” (including the work of the Booths);⁵⁰ yet those in his conference disapproved of his revivalism, and he went his own way.⁵¹

Battle Soundings

The impulse for William Booth to “do something,” eventually leading to his schemes of *In Darkest England*, was certainly fueled by his dire picture of the state of affairs in organized religion in England (and especially a frustration of his role in revival meetings); yet it can be more significantly explained by the theology that framed his mission,⁵² a postmillennial theology that we can see in the writings of the early Army.

The parallel in Mark 16.15 to the Great Commission in Matthew 28 seems to have been a particularly powerful motivator for the Booths: "Go into all the world and preach the good news to all creation." Writing on this verse in November 1884 for the Salvationist paper *All the World*, William Booth asked, "Why should not Jesus Christ have 'all the world'? Has any one got any sufficient reason? Do any of our readers know of any?" He then went on to note that there was no reason to be found in Hell, nor in Heaven, or even in the "mind of God why His salvation should not cover the earth as completely and as plentifully as the rolling ocean covers the mighty deep."⁵³ He continued: "That there is no object in the heart of Jesus Christ to all the world coming in with a rush—coming in now, coming in forever—this command sufficiently proves."⁵⁴

In a sermon on the same verse in Mark, Catherine Booth said:

We Christians profess to possess in the Gospel of Christ a mighty lever, which, rightly and universally applied, would lift the entire burden of sin and misery from the shoulders, that is, from the souls, of our fellow-men—a panacea, we believe it to be, for all the moral and spiritual woes of humanity, and in curing their spiritual plagues we should go far to cure their physical plagues also. We all profess to believe this. Christians have professed to believe this for generations gone by, ever since the time of which we have been reading [i.e., the New Testament era], and yet, look at the world, look at so-called Christian England and America, in this end of the nineteenth century!"⁵⁵

The power of the Gospel (the Word) in Christ is for all the world. That this redemptive Word is to be a physical and a spiritual salvation is a truth taught as well by the words of her husband. William Booth saw "folly" in any scheme that did not seek something other than a "change effected in the whole man as well as in his surroundings," though he recognized that he may not succeed: "I shall at least benefit the bodies, if not the souls, of men; and if I do not save the fathers, I shall make a better chance for the children."⁵⁶

Make no mistake, however, that the aim of these preachers were for the souls of men: "My only hope for the permanent deliverance of mankind from misery, either of this world or the next, is the regeneration or remaking of the individual by the power of the Holy Ghost through Jesus Christ."⁵⁷

Later Booth would repeat how the regeneration of social conditions was to be seen relative to this spiritual war.

Now the real object for which The Salvation Army exists is known to us all. It is to save men. Not merely to civilize them. That will follow. Salvation is the shortest and surest cut to civilization. Not to educate them. That will follow also. . . . Not to feed them. . . . That is good, very good so far as it goes. The object is to save men from sin and Hell. To bring them to God. To bring God to them. To build up the kingdom of Heaven upon the earth. The end of The Salvation Army Officers is to convert men, to change their hearts and lives, and make them good Saints and Soldiers of Jesus Christ.⁵⁸

Another early Army writer carried the vision of a transforming work of the salvation message. Samuel Logan Brengle, noted in many circles for his holiness writings, was commenting on the beatitude "blessed are the peacemakers . . ." when he reflected that the prophets saw a time when God would "judge among many people and rebuild strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks . . ." and then asked whether there would be a fulfillment of these prophecies—whether indeed we would see a time when there would be no more war. "Some time these prophecies are to be fulfilled. Is now the time? . . . Can we not by prayer and hearty cooperation aid in the debunking of war phobias, the suspicions, the war-thinking of the nations?"⁵⁹

A hopeful looking to the future was also part of the early Salvation Army theology. Taking the opportunity of the New Year's observances to write to his readers in the generally distributed *War Cry* in 1885, William Booth spoke of changes and new experiences, especially those seen around them in the rapid progress of society, admitting that these changes have "charmed us in this life so there can be little doubt that it will continue to do so through the rolling ages of the glorious future. . . . Oh, what a charming, what a glorious place will the *New Jerusalem* be!" Ever the one to keep the motivation strong, he continued: "My comrades, we must be ready for the New Heavens and the New Earth—new, indeed, to you and me because therein will dwell righteousness."⁶⁰

We have, then, in the sermons and written preachments of the founders of The Salvation Army, an expression of that part of their theology that we can line up against those tenets and themes of postmillennialism of the nineteenth century. First, we note that there is the unassailable power of God in Christ whose Holy Spirit is filling and empowering the lives of believers. Then, we see an expression of belief that God intends for this salvation to be for the whole world.

Finally, there are expressions that this redemption is begun in individuals and then works outward to transform society.

Battle Songs

Many songs of the nineteenth century reflect the spirit of the age, including several that have clear postmillennial underpinnings, such as “Onward, Christian Soldiers” with its imagery of Christ leading his forces into battle. “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” captured the postmillennial hopes of Americans looking at “the current events [they believed] were hastening the coming of the kingdom of God on earth.”⁶¹

Our examination here of early Salvationist connections with postmillennialism will concentrate on songs demonstrably employed by the early leaders (noting that many songs by non-Salvationists were also included in the song collections printed by the Army). Each of these songs (most of which cannot be positively identified with an author) formed part of the “Battle Cries” section of the 1880 *Salvation Soldier's Song Book*. The introduction and the songs of this section express the conviction that Christ is leading the battle from Heaven, and they include the repeated image of the banner:⁶² *of God's glory, of God's victory:*

*We feel that heaven is now begun;
It issues from the sparkling throne,
From Jesus' throne on high.*

Jesus, still lead on, till the victory's won.

*When we all lay down the banner,
When our warfare here shall cease,
Hosts of rescued souls shall join us
In the conqueror's song of peace.*

*Fight on, ye valiant soldier,
The battle we shall win.
For the Saviour is our Captain,
And we shall conquer sin.*

*The Army's on the march to bring the world to God,
And all the world is wondering
At our watchword “Fire and Blood,”*

*Bring the gospel trumpet now and sound the jubilee,⁶³
 Jehovah triumphs over sin and sets the captive free,
 And Satan trembles when he hears the shouts of victory,
 While we are marching to glory.*

We see, in symbolic language used in these songs, elements of the theology pronounced. We hear in fervent phrasing the whole of biblical preaching and imagery repeated and reconstituted in ways that deliver home the message of the mission. From Heaven, the victorious King Jesus is leading us even now in a battle against spiritual foes which cannot stand—and we will win because God has already won. We will continue in this battle regardless of opposition or hardship because we already hear the sounding trumpet announcing final victory. We are waving the banner of God's glory claiming this world for His holy purposes.

The View Back

A Coherent Picture

We have framed a picture of postmillennial theology that interprets Scripture by seeing “the ongoing activity of the victorious, resurrected Christ, now exalted to a place of universal authority at the right hand of the Father, extending his kingdom through his Word and Spirit.”⁶⁴ Adherents to this worldview interpret Scripture, especially the seminal passages in Revelation 19–20, as describing a millennial period⁶⁵ where Christ “is not physically present on earth” but is “the active agent and primary cause of the church’s victorious advance and expansion, sending forth the Spirit to bless in a dramatic way the proclamation of the Word of God.” Following this extended period of time, postmillennialists believe that Christ will come in his Second Advent to complete the plan of God—an act that will simultaneously include the resurrection of all people and the final judgment with its consequent rewards or punishments.

Not only was postmillennial theology the received position among Protestant Christianity, but the missional activity of evangelists was heightened by the belief that God would be working to accomplish his means through the Church.⁶⁶ The Salvation Army, brought to life during this mid-nineteenth century period of revivalism and postmillennial fervor, reflected this worldview. Much of the primary thematic elements of postmillennial theology of the nineteenth century were captured by both the preaching and the singing of the early Army.

Then and Now

In conclusion, we note that through history there have been a number of changes in the influence of the varying millennial views, each with its evangelical adherents.⁶⁷ The present period is a time of low ebb for postmillennial expression, but there are signs of renewal in certain quarters.⁶⁸ More significantly, we may well ask about the state of current Christian action regardless of millennial viewpoint. In 1918, a writer also asked if “millennial expectations [are] capable of functioning in the modern world with its new problems and its new knowledge.”⁶⁹ That was during a period of great turmoil, followed by continued conflict and depression in the world, which some think dashed the last light of post-millennial optimism.

But what is our role as God’s people today? A strong voice in more modern postmillennialism, Loraine Boettner, has said that “instead of discussions of social, economic, and political problems, book reviews and entertaining platitudes from the pulpit, the need [in our churches today] is for sermons with real gospel content, designed to change lives and to save souls.”⁷⁰ The sentiment of Catherine Booth, in assessing her own age, matches Boettner’s: Booth asks us to imagine ourselves as observers of the world, not knowing the course of history from the Apostolic period to her own day, then to further imagine—based on the picture of the power of God’s Holy Spirit exhibited in the people in the New Testament—what a grand place the redeemed world surely must be by now, hundreds of years later. “Yet look at the world, look at [our] so-called Christian” world. Just look around, and see if the Church has been at work or not.⁷¹

A final verse from a song in the 1880 *Salvation Soldier’s Song Book*, a verse taken from a song written by another early Army leader, George Scott Railton, is at once a looking forward to the day of the Lord’s consummation of time, and a call to battle until then. It is a postmillennialist’s anthem:

*Burst are all our prisons bars,
 And we’ll shine in heaven like stars;
 For we’ll conquer ‘neath our blessed Lord’s command!
 See salvation’s morning breaks,
 And our country now awakes,
 The Salvation Army’s sweeping through the land!*

Appendix

Song selections from *The Salvation Soldier's Song Book*, compiled and edited by William Booth (New York: Salvationist Publishing & Supplies, 1880):

#248 [no author]

*We mean the world for God,
We cannot be denied,
For He has bought it by His blood,
For this our Saviour died.
We mean to spread His grace
Where so much sin abounds,
Through every clime, in every place,
Salvation songs to sound.*

*Jesus, the Lord of Hosts,
Shall lead the Army on,
For God, the Holy Ghost,
With Him hath made us one.
Wielding the Spirit's Sword,
Which pierces hearts of steel,
With mighty power will speak' the word,
And make the rebels kneel.*

*This world shall be set free,
This is our rallying cry,
From land to land, from sea to sea
Our colors we will fly.
Advance, advance,
The bugle sounds advance.*

*We mean to win this world,
For Christ, our glorious King,
Back to his dungeon Satan hurl,
And heaven on earth we'll bring.
This shall be brought about,
The world be born again,
And with bounding heart we'll shout
Jehovah now doth reign.*

*Oh for more soldiers bold,
Who for our God will fight
Like those dear men who fought of old,
And served with such delight,
Oh for more men of power,
Who naught on earth can scare,
Who always in the darkest hour
For God will do and dare.*

#255 [no author]

*We are in the Army, fighting for the king,
And we know our sins are all forgiven,
With our happy comrades we can shout and sing
We are on the royal road to Heaven.*

*Sing Soldiers, sing and let the people hear!
Shout Soldiers, shout, and never, never fear!
If we keep believing we are bound to win;
"Blood and Fire" is sure to conquer sin.*

*In the name of Jesus, onward we will go,
And of free Salvation we will sing;
Clad in Gospel armor we will face the foe,
And the world to Jesus' feet we'll bring.*

*Though our foes be mighty and the fight severe,
Trusting in the king, we'll march along,
Jesus is our leader, we will never fear,
He can make the weakest Soldier strong.*

*Blow the Gospel trumpet, wield the two-edge sword!
Tell the world that Jesus died to save;
Forward in the conflict, trusting in the Lord;
He will make His Soldiers bold and brave.*

*Courage, then, my comrades, Jesus is our friend;
He will lead and guide us in the fight;
He will keep us faithful to our journey's end,
If we keep the Gospel armor bright.*

Notes

1. This is a widely-cited observation; see, for example, Lonnie Kent York's "History of Millennialism," *New Testament Church*, available at <http://www.newtestamentchurch.org/york/libraryfiles/HISMILL.html>, internet, accessed 30 May 2000.

2. Loraine Boettner, *The Millennium* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1958), p. 19.

3. Stanely Grenz, et al., in the *Pocket Dictionary of Theological Terms*, note that "millennium" and "millennialism" are words arising from the Latin for "1,000" in a reference from Revelation 20: more on this later; "eschatology" is from the Greek word for "last" in reference to the "ultimate climax or end of history." "Eschatology . . . seeks to understand the ultimate direction or purpose of history as it moves toward the future."

4. David P. Appleby, *History of Church Music* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1965), p. 137, records the words of John Wesley in the preface to the 1780 *Methodist Hymnal*, where Wesley observes that this then-new songbook was "large enough to contain all the important truths of our most holy religion . . . in what other publication of this time have you so full and distinct an account of Scriptural Christianity?" Ellen Jane Lorenz, *Glory Hallelujah! The Story of the Campmeeting Spiritual* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1978), pp. 75-76, has noted the use of these songs for doctrinal purposes, and especially for sustaining millennial fervor; though concerning Salvation Army songbooks, she writes that while the Army both wrote new songs and appropriate material from others, they, "like the Shakers . . . did not adopt many of the ones used by the campmeeting crowd."

5. See, for example, the personal introduction to the subject of millennial studies in Stanley Grenz, *The Millennial Maze: Sorting Out Evangelical Options* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992), p. 9.

6. Again, a widely-noted observation; for a recent exposition, see Diane Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of The Salvation Army* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 2, 12-23.

7. J. Edwin Orr, *The Light of the Nations: Evangelical Renewal and Advance in the Nineteenth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1965), p. 169, has noted: "the most significant and the most fascinating home [i.e., British] development of the 1858-59 Awakening was the birth of The Salvation Army."

8. This paper is not fashioned to be a complete comparison of differing millennial views: see good treatments of this in, for example, Grenz, *The Millennial Maze*, or Robert G. Clouse, *The Meaning of the Millennium: Four Views* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1977). Nor is this paper intended to take an apologetic position favoring post-millennialism, though comparative comments and the heavy focus on this view may tend in that direction.

9. York, "History of Millennialism," notes that the specific attachment of a thousand years to this period of universal peace "had its origin with the religion of Zoroastrianism" prior to the Babylonian captivity, and the Old Testament Apocryphal books are likewise

"filled with speculations of a time of universal peace, which would be ruled by the people of God." She notes, as well, that there are others who would "not agree that the entire scope of Judaism[s] eschatology should rest upon the roots of paganism."

10. Ibid.

11. Millard J. Erickson, *Contemporary Options in Eschatology: A Study of the Millennium* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1977), p. 55.

12. John Jefferson Davis, *Christ's Victorious Kingdom: Postmillennialism Reconsidered* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1986), p. 10, notes that the eschatology question is "fundamentally a matter not of calendar but of Christology."

13. Erickson, *Contemporary Options*, p. 19.

14. Ibid., p. 64; by contrast, Erickson, (a pre-millennialist) writes that "pre-millennialists assert that Christ the King is absent and will do great things when He returns."

15. Phil Needham, *Community in Mission: A Salvationist Ecclesiology* (Atlanta: Salvation Army Supplies, 1987), p. 52.

16. Ibid., p. 91.

17. Andrew Wilson-Dickson, *The Story of Christian Music* (Oxford: Lion Publishing, 1992), p. 138.

18. Appleby, *History of Christian Music*, p. 145.

19. Orr, *The Light of the Nations*, pp. 150-52; on page 11, regarding biblical preaching, he writes: "When a Bishop of London warned his diocese against the 'new gospel' being preached by Whitefield, the latter sadly replied that he admitted that his message sounded like a new gospel by many hearers, but that it was actually the old gospel of salvation by grace."

20. Jesse Page, *General Booth: The Man and His Work* (London: S.W. Partridge and Co., 1901), pp. 99-100, records Booth's oft-printed notes in the introduction of Army songbooks: "Surely no man has ever been called upon to make, or direct the making of, so many song-books as I have!" as well as his admonition regarding the nature of the songs he wanted sung at Army meetings: "Let us persevere in our singing of the simple old truths in the simple old hearty way that God has already blessed so widely to the salvation of souls and the making and training of red-hot soldiers." Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous*, p. 18, noting the unusual methods, including attention-getting music, that were used by early Army evangelists, writes of one leader who could see "no reason why the devil's children should have the monopoly of dancing and singing on the way to hell, while we who are on the way to heaven are expected to be silent and still."

21. S. T. Kimbrough, Jr., and Oliver A. Beckerlegge, editors, *The Unpublished Poetry of Charles Wesley Volume II: Hymns and Poems on Holy Scripture* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1990), p. 7. We note here additionally (as with Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous*, p. 20) the Wesleyan heritage of the Booths and other revivalists of their Methodist group.

22. Grenz, *The Millennial Maze*, p. 72.

23. We cannot here go into the full history of interpretation, only to note that many point to St. Augustine's interpretations as "anticipat[ing] the thousand years as occurring prior to the Second Coming of Christ," though Augustine suggested that this millennium had begun already in the New Testament era (see Grenz, *The Millennial Maze*, p. 68). Others will note that postmillennial interpretations were being expressed in the 1500s, a century before Daniel Whitby's long-credited article of 1703 which was in any case an early and significant explication of postmillennial theology (along with the work of Jonathan Edwards) that would not come to full flower until the nineteenth century. See differing opinions on these antecedents in James West Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth-Century New England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), pp. 141ff; and the review of Kenneth Gentry's *He Shall Have Dominion: A Postmillennial Eshcatology* found in Grover Gunn, "Postmillennialism Today," from *Contra Mundum* 9 (Fall 1993), available at http://www.visi.com/~contra_ml/cm/reviews/cm09_rev_postmillennialism.html on the internet, accessed 30 May 2000. For another picture of postmillennial histories, see a leading exponent, in Davis, *Christ's Victorious Kingdom*.

24. Grenz, *The Millennial Maze*, pp. 72–73.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 73; Scripture quotation is Hebrews 4.12, used to interpret Revelation 19.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Several writers have noted that the language of the Lord's Prayer, establishing a kingdom rule "on earth as it is in heaven," has a postmillennial flavor.

28. Grenz, *The Millennial Maze*, p. 73. On the return and judgment, see Matthew 25.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 74. Regarding resurrection, Davis, *Christ's Victorious Kingdom*, p. 20, cites the work of William Warfield in showing how 1 Corinthians 15.20–28 "depicts the risen Christ engaged in a victorious campaign of warfare against all spiritual opposition, a campaign in which only death itself—'the last enemy'—remains to be defeated at the second advent and general resurrection, understood as coterminous events."

30. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 75–76.

32. Davis, *Christ's Victorious Kingdom*, pp. 10–11.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 11. Modern apologists for postmillennialism are careful to remark that "these blessings are brought about not by the return of Christ, but by the work of the Holy Spirit," and to emphasize that postmillennialists "believe that the kingdom is brought in by God, not man." See also Ralph Smith, "The Covenantal Kingdom" on the *Covenant Worldview Institute Page*, available from <http://www.berith.com/English/ESCH0011.html> on the internet, accessed 30 May 2000.

34. Davis, *Christ's Victorious Kingdom*, p. 11.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 12. Davis cites, regarding these institutional influences (what he calls "immanent forces at work within history"), the work of Timothy L. Smith, "Righteousness and Hope: Christian Holiness and the Millennial Vision in America, 1800–1900," *American Quarterly* 31 (1979): p. 21.

36. Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought*, pp. 262, 269, notes the reason why, though it "would be natural to expect that theological liberals would [have been] lead[ing] the way toward the new postmillennial position," that this was not so: "by the beginning of the nineteenth century, most theological liberals had set the prophecies [of millennial concerns] firmly on the periphery of their theology."

37. Davis, *Christ's Victorious Kingdom*, pp. 12–13. Davis writes that social transformation was a significant element: "The postmillennial vision of the spreading kingdom of Christ not only energized the great nineteenth-century efforts in home and foreign missions, but also from 1815 onward motivated social reforms in the areas of peace, temperance, public education, the abolition of slavery, and concern for the poor. . . . There was a widespread conviction during this period that the advancing kingdom of Christ required not only personal regeneration but also efforts to redeem and transform unrighteous social structures."

38. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

39. Boettner, *The Millennium*, p. 22, who continues his thought: "This does not mean that every individual will be saved, but that [human beings] as a race will be saved. . . . the salvation that He had in view cannot be limited to a little select group or a favored few." Boettner cites also in support of the belief that God intended the salvation of the whole world various Psalms (2.8, 22.27, 47.2–8, 72.7–19, 86.9, 97.5, 110.1), Numbers 14.21, Zechariah 9.10, Isaiah 40.5, 49.6, Acts 2.16ff, 13.47, and many others.

40. Davis, *Christ's Victorious Kingdom*, pp. 14–15. But see the record found in Sibley Towner, "Rapture, Red Heifer, and Other Millennial Misfortune," *Theology Today* 56 (Oct. 1999): p. 383, where seventeenth-century postmillennial dynamism fueled the political drives of the English Revolution of 1649, as well as those of later American Manifest Destiny proponents.

41. That is, effecting change (i.e., salvation), as opposed to an ineffectual presentation of the gospel.

42. Boettner, *The Millennium*, pp. 38ff, especially is keen on demonstrating that through faithful action, "the world is getting better." His concluding remarks on page 53, which includes economic prosperity, reach farther than some (especially in the period under study) would allow: "Thus Postmillennialism holds that Christianity is to become the controlling and transforming influence not only in the moral and spiritual life of some individuals, but also in the entire social, economic and cultural life of the nations. There is no reason why this change should not take place over the entire earth, with pagan religions and false philosophies giving place to the true, and the earth being restored in considerable measure to that high purpose of righteousness and holiness for which it was created."

43. William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London: SP&S, 1890; reprint edition, Atlanta: Salvation Army Supplies, 1984).

44. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

46. Orr, *The Light of the Nations*, pp. 9–11, who quotes John Wesley's survey of