LIVING RIGHT WHILE RIGHTING WRONG
A THEOLOGY OF PROTEST SHAPING THE SALVATIONIST RESPONSE TO INJUSTICES AGAINST THE WORLD’S POOR AND MARGINALISED

Swan, Wendy Florence

Awarding institution:
King’s College London

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

END USER LICENCE AGREEMENT

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International licence. https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

You are free to:
• Share: to copy, distribute and transmit the work

Under the following conditions:
• Attribution: You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work).
• Non Commercial: You may not use this work for commercial purposes.
• No Derivative Works - You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

Any of these conditions can be waived if you receive permission from the author. Your fair dealings and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact librarypure@kcl.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.
LIVING RIGHT WHILE RIGHTING WRONG:
A THEOLOGY OF PROTEST SHAPING THE SALVATIONIST RESPONSE
TO INJUSTICES AGAINST THE WORLD’S POOR AND MARGINALISED

A Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
by
Wendy Florence Swan

Department of Theology and Religious Studies
Faculty of Arts and Humanities
King’s College, London
July 2017
ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the theological underpinnings of The Salvation Army’s advocacy on behalf of and with the poor and marginalised of the world and argues that the widespread forms of human suffering require an understanding of Christian salvation that is beyond the narrow focus of the soul. It proposes that the telos of shalom provides a theologically rich framework for the creative development of a first order theology of protest that is original, Christologically grounded, doctrinally sound and normative for the life of discipleship.

Using a Trinitarian construct, the work identifies the sacrificial nature of the protest act as a key practice in the announcement of the Lordship of Christ and the establishment of the Kingdom of God. If the thesis is correct in its appropriation of a theology of protest, the Salvationist community (and by extension the church) is challenged to seize its prophetic responsibility to participate in humanity’s redemption by living right and righting wrong.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page 1
Abstract 2
Table of Contents 3
Acknowledgements 7
Abbreviations, Notes on Style and Use of Scripture 8

**Chapter 1: The Salvation Army and Social Justice** 10

1.1 The Quest for Justice 10
1.2 Why a Social Justice now? 13
   1.2.1 A Necessary Apologetic 14
   1.2.2 Communication of Values 15
   1.2.3 Accountability and Congruency in Practice 16
   1.2.4 The Challenge of Pluralism 18
   1.2.5 Political Questions Requiring Address 19

**Chapter 2: Shalom for the World’s Poorest** 21

2.1 Identifying the Issues 21
2.2 The Why and What of Protest 22
2.3 Justice and Injustice 24
2.4 *Telos of Shalom* 28
2.5 Primacy of Act in The Salvation Army 29
2.6 Locating the Work 33
   First Order Account of Second Order Theology 33
      2.6.1 Constructive Theology – Theological Mapmaking 36
      2.6.2 Transformation Theology 39
2.7 Methodological Issues 40
2.8 Theological Template 41
2.9 Speculative Thinking 47
2.10 Question of Voice 47
2.11 Uniqueness of Contribution 52
2.12 Overview and Outline of Thesis 53

**Chapter 3: An Army Born to Protest** 56

3.1 Practices 57
3.2 An Orienting Concern 60
3.3 Nineteenth Century Attitudes to Poverty 61
3.4 Political Influences 64
3.5 Methodism and American Evangelicalism 65
3.6 Theological Provision – Grace by Every Possible Means 70
3.7 Works of Piety – Grace in the Inner Life 71
3.8 Works of Piety – Grace in Life Together 73
  3.8.1 From a Mission to an Army 74
  3.8.2 Called, Commissioned, Covenanted 77
  3.8.3 Gender Inclusivity 78
  3.8.4 Opposition to Formalism 80
  3.8.5 ‘Sacramental’ Living 82
3.9 Works of Mercy – Grace in Life in the World 84
  3.9.1 Challenge and Counter Challenge 90
  3.9.2 Protest Documents 93
  3.9.3 Labour and Sweating Practices 97
  3.9.4 The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon 100
3.10 Summary 105

Chapter 4: Grounding of Twenty-First Century Practices 107
  4.1 A Fragmented World 107
  4.2 A Fragmented Army? 108
  4.3 From Fragmented to Integrated 111
  4.4 Twenty-first Century Considerations 113
  4.5 Holy Worldliness 119
  4.6 Grounded In Trinitarian Foundation 120
    4.6.1 The Form: Jesus Christ – Embodiment 120
      4.6.1.1 The Salvationist ‘in’ Christ 120
      4.6.1.2 Christ ‘in’ the Salvationist 121
      4.6.1.3 Christ ‘through’ the Salvationist 124
    4.6.2 The Means: The Holy Spirit – Empowerment 124
    4.6.3 The Purpose: Freedom 127
      4.6.3.1 Freedom from Self – Free for Others 127
      4.6.3.2 Being and Becoming 130
  4.7 Sanctified Imagination 131
  4.8 A Radical Alternative 133
  4.9 Summary 134

Chapter 5: Jesus: Disruptive Protestor 136
  5.1 Faith that Protests 136
  5.2 Shalom 139
  5.3 Embodied Word 144
7.6 Cosmic Battleground
7.7 Sacrifice
7.8 Sacramental Sensibilities
7.9 Place
7.10 Shared World

Chapter 8: Living Right While Righting Wrong
8.1 Marching on the Margins
8.2 The Way Forward
   8.2.1 Reception of Work
   8.2.2 Areas of Future Research
8.3 Like a Mighty Army Moves the Church of God

Bibliography

Appendices
1 The Doctrines of The Salvation Army
2 Call to Salvationists – International Spiritual Life Commission
3 Salvation Army Covenants
4 Historic Development of Salvation Army Protest 1858 to1899
5 The Lausanne Covenant ‘Christian Social Responsibility’
6 IPS – The Use of Power
7 IPS – Human Trafficking
8 IPS – The Salvation Army and the State
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project of this magnitude is possible only with the support of one’s faith community and family. I am grateful to God for calling me to serve his world through The Salvation Army and acknowledge its sponsorship of these studies. I particularly thank Dr. Donald Burke and Commissioner William Francis for their support in the commencement of doctoral studies while serving as a full time program director at Booth University College, Canada. The past four years as a leader of the Hong Kong and Macau Command has brought particular challenge in finding adequate time for research and writing. My deep thanks are given to Lieut-Colonel Ian Swan for provision of a flexible work schedule in the final months leading to submission. Conducting research internationally is not without its frustrations. For the painstaking work of locating obscure sources a debt of thanks is owed to research staff at Booth University College (Canada), China Graduate School of Theology (Hong Kong) and The Salvation Army Heritage Centre (London). Gratitude is also due to colleagues of the International Theological Council for discussions regarding Salvationist DNA and social justice with particular appreciation to Major (Dr.) Geoff Webb. Deep thanks to ‘brother’ Major David Botting for generous hospitality on numerous occasions.

The Salvationist belief in prevenient grace affirms the gifting of people into one’s life for specific times and purposes. I count it an immense privilege to have learned from supervisor Oliver Davies. His breadth and depth of scholarship coupled with a passion for theologies that transform the church for the sake of the world are redemptive gifts I have received with deep gratitude.

Finally to my family - Ian, Jason & Brianna - you bring endless joy, grounding and teaching me daily what matters most.

Ephesians 3:20.
ABBREVIATIONS

HOD       The Salvation Army Handbook of Doctrine
IDE       In Darkest England and the Way Out
SASB      The Salvation Army Song Book
TWC       The Salvation Army War Cry

NOTES ON STYLE

The Salvation Army’s foundation Deed Poll and style guides for all its publications stipulates the capitalisation of the initial “T” in its legal name. Within the organisation’s literature, references to the Founder tend to be similarly capitalised. This note acknowledges the idiosyncrasy but the usual conventions will be followed in the text except where quotations from sources require otherwise.

USE OF SCRIPTURE

The Scripture quotations contained herein are from the New Revised Standard Version Bible, copyrighted @1989 by the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. unless otherwise noted.
Silence in the face of evil is itself evil.
God will not hold us guiltless.
Not to speak is to speak.
Not to act is to act.

- Dietrich Bonhoeffer

Come join our Army to battle we go
Jesus will help us to conquer the foe
Fighting for right and opposing the wrong
The Salvation Army is marching along.

William James Pearson
SASB. Song 949
Chapter 1
THE SALVATION ARMY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

1.1 The Quest for Justice

The quest for justice and reconciliation is intrinsically linked to the centre of the theological task. The ancient Greeks discussed justice in philosophical terms. Along with courage, self-control and wisdom, justice constituted the four cardinal virtues that were encompassed in the concept of moral goodness. The Platonic concept of justice involved acceptance of the inequalities that existed among the classes of humanity rather than the right of the oppressed to demand corrective action and the duty of the powerful to grant such action. Such thinking involved a belief in the equality of humanity not present in the classical world but which had its roots in the Hebrew Bible. Where the Greek preoccupation with moderation and balance in human relationships precluded the Greek for asking for social justice in which both the individual and society would be asked to go far beyond the limits of moderation and balance, the Christian Scriptures are revolutionary in their protest against such a hegemonic view and require that certain classes of society give much more to other classes than that to which they are legally ‘entitled’. This understanding of social justice implies moral obligations that transcend class structure and legal inequality of citizens.

Human suffering and social strife are products of civilization that can be traced back to the earliest days of history. While the term ‘social justice’ is of recent origin, it is a concept based on the equality of individuals and requires equal treatment of the lower, poorer classes as a right of those classes and as a duty of the more fortunate, rooted within the experience of Jewish culture and tradition, the forerunner of Christianity and most explicitly demonstrated in the life of Jesus Christ whom Christians identify as Lord of history.1 In addition, the individualistic concern for one’s private well-being with disregard for the well-being of others lies diametrically opposed to the precepts of

---

Judaeo-Christian civilization – ‘bread for myself may be a material matter, bread for my neighbour is a spiritual one.’

From its humble beginnings in 1865 in the east end of London to its global presence in the twenty-first century, Salvationist life is marked by love for God, service among the poor and the invitation to believe and follow Jesus Christ. William Booth changed British society in the nineteenth century with the publication of his Cab Horse Charter and In Darkest England and the Way Out in which he wrote about the ‘submerged tenth’ of the English population, offering graphic descriptions of conditions among the homeless, unemployed, criminals and the children of the lost. William Booth understood the scope of the work of redemption to embrace both soul and body.

I must assert in the most unqualified way that it is primarily and mainly for the sake of saving the soul that I seek the salvation of the body. But what is the use of preaching the Gospel to men whose whole attention is concentrated upon a mad, desperate struggle to keep themselves alive? The first thing to do is to get him at least a footing on firm ground, and to give him room to live. Then you may have a chance.

The authentic biblical radical acknowledges that the salvation of society must include both the salvation of the individual and of society and that one is never accomplished without the other. Nor does this radical turn a blind eye to the ‘obstinate fact of human egoism’, hopeful it will disappear if one does not give it due attention. Sir Norman Angell understood this when he wrote ‘I have always urged that our real enemies are not one another – our common enemies are error, passion, ignorance. The Salvation Army is fighting the real enemy.’ Fuelled by a holiness theology of ‘saving souls, growing saints and serving suffering humanity’, Salvationists serve with and advocate on behalf of the poor and marginalised by partnering with international bodies, networking with

---

3 Salvationist (n), Salvationism (n), ‘the Army’ (n) each referencing The Salvation Army.
4 IDE, p. 45.
5 Coutts, Bread for My Neighbour, pp. 20-21.
6 Ralph Norman Angell, ”No Title,” The Social Gazette 1895-1916, no. Sir Norman Angell Collection, Box 29, Chronological Files (1892).
non-profit groups to oppose oppressive governmental legislation and advocating as individuals within their respective neighbourhoods where they live.7

The research for this thesis was undertaken because it was realised during The Salvation Army’s establishment of the International Social Justice Commission in 2007 that there existed no thoroughgoing articulation and analysis of the theological underpinnings for its social justice practices.8 This thesis therefore fills a long-standing gap in what has been written hitherto about The Salvation Army and its theology and by the same token makes also a new, if specialised contribution to the theology of the Christian church in general. The lack of serious Salvationist theological or ethical consideration regarding social justice is in itself remarkable since the Army is a Christian denomination with an explicitly global hierarchy and organisational network from which it is reasonable to expect extensive, clear articulation and communication of theological principles as well as extensive archives that inform its practices. This same lack and discovery presented challenges for research of primary source materials since it meant that the Salvationist beliefs about and understanding of social justice, if discoverable, would become apparent by looking closely at what the Army and its people actually did, said and wrote and then drawing conclusions about beliefs and policies from the nature of those actions. Lived experience, however, is but a single hermeneutic tool which, if considered in isolation, provides a subjective lens resulting in a skewed perspective. In order to provide accurate and well balanced theological convictions, it is necessary for The Salvation Army to draw from its Wesleyan theological roots and access the means of a distinctive theological method using Scripture as ‘pre-eminent norm’ in conjunction


with an ‘interactive’ appeal to tradition, reason and experience. The appropriation of this framework makes it possible to reconstruct a comprehensive picture of Salvationist theology with respect to social justice.

1.2 Why a Social Justice now?

Acknowledging that The Salvation Army has functioned for such a significant period of its history without a formal articulation of its protesting of injustices, the question must be asked - why then attempt to develop such a document at this juncture in its history? What additional value and understanding can be gained by Salvationists (and by extension the church, the public and those for whom it is claimed they advocate) by articulating its theological underpinnings? It is the nature of human beings to question behaviour and practice. One’s ‘orienting concern’ is made known to us and takes hold through a process of both praxis and theory, of believing and behaving. Which comes first? Where does one encounter the ultimate? Do people live a particular lifestyle because the reasons for doing so make sense or do the reasons for living in a particular manner make sense because of the life that they produce? To speak theologically, does orthodoxy inform orthopraxy or does praxis inform doctrine? Perhaps in actuality, neither comes first. In matters of faith, people come to determine their orienting concern not along a straight line (first this, then that), but rather in a circular relationship (this then that, then this). A symbiotic relationship ensues - right actions are determined by right belief and right belief is reinforced by right actions. Explaining the ‘why’ of behaviour describes the relationship and correlation between a principle or held conviction and the corresponding action. Questioning provides systematic critique and informs subsequent program or action. Stating that social justice is important is easy. A belief is easily parroted. Recognising injustice is relatively easy. It may prove challenging to explain the parameters of injustice but a young child knows when something is unjust, expressing frustration in language all understand ‘it’s not fair’.

---

10 For the concept of orienting concerns, see Randy Maddox, Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 1994).
Identifying underpinnings for a theology of social justice is far more challenging. The complexity is in the relationship between the stated underpinning and realised action. Several domains of inquiry assist in providing clarity for belief and action.\(^\text{12}\) ‘Liberation from the natural’ recognizes the importance of calling into question what is assumed to be taken for granted so that its ‘naturalness’ alone does not provide for its continued existence. Critical reflection acknowledges all activity has a history value associated with it and asks how and why certain activities are valued more than others. The continuance of activities requires examination of practices that sustain communities identifying what is valued, replaceable and requiring adaptation to avoid nostalgia or irrelevancy. An effective course of action in one context may prove irrelevant in another. William Booth engaged in the first and third domain of inquiry, became gripped with the need, compelled by love, and simply did what needed to be done. He did systematise a plan for social service in *In Darkest England the Way Out* but did not develop a theology of social justice for the guidance and illumination of future Salvationists. Perhaps he considered the theological basis for such action self-evident.

1.2.1 *A Necessary Apologetic*

The protesting of injustice is theologically rich in Salvationist history. Rooted in the Wesleyan tradition of the Protestant branch of the universal Christian church, its doctrines arise out of interpretations of Scripture taught and lived out by John Wesley.\(^\text{13}\) William and Catherine Booth understood Wesley’s care for the poor and challenging unjust social structures and systems which caused deprivation as essential to the holy life.\(^\text{14}\) History records how early Salvationists campaigned against social injustice on many fronts.\(^\text{15}\) While pioneer Salvationists protested injustice spontaneously without a formal theological language of ‘justice’, this did not mean they were not practicing justice. Such acts were instinctual even if not stated. The following generation learned


\(^{13}\) Coutts, *Bread for my Neighbour - The Social Influence of William Booth*. See also Karen Shakespeare, "Knowing, Being and Doing: The Spiritual Life Development of Salvation Army Officers" (Professional Doctorate - Practical Theology, Anglia Ruskin, 2011).

\(^{14}\) Wesley’s connection with the poor is well documented. His Sermon # 98 seems to indicate that visiting the sick and poor is a key dimension of discipleship the absence of which endangers one’s salvation. John Wesley, "On Visiting the Sick," in *The Works of John Wesley*, ed. Albert C Outler (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1986). Vol. 3.

this intuitively from their immediate predecessors and in the process absorbed their passion and vision. Succeeding generations again learned from their predecessors but by then the innate drive of the founders was being replaced by the structures or processes of organization and institutionalism and the implied, unspoken message of ‘this is what the Army does’. One hundred and fifty years later it is timely to acknowledge the need to avoid the impatience of an activism which is theologically sterile and provide an apologetic for future participation.

1.2.2. Communication of Values

Effective communication of values is essential for the survival and success of any organisation. Articulation of a clear vision in understandable language mobilises members to align with and participate in new as well as proven initiatives. Conversely, failure to communicate a vision in clearly and understanding language quickly demotivates personnel. Operational in 128 countries and providing services in 175 languages, The Salvation Army’s policies and regulations which govern the organisation’s operations are issued from its international headquarters in London, England.16 Adoption of a quasi-militaristic style of governance is rooted in the militaristic spirit prevalent when William and Catherine Booth founded the organization. For administrative and communication purposes, the organization divides itself geographically into territories, which are then subdivided into divisions.17 The governance system of The Salvation Army underpins this global family whose relationships are characterized by interdependency. While global capacity exists to respond and/or facilitate resources to respond to social issues, it is primarily in the local community context that its members (soldiers) participate and advocate for justice. This Army thinks globally but acts locally. In order for it to be a transformative presence in society, leaders and members must be cognisant and effective practitioners of social justice and understand their role in intercultural contexts both within and beyond individual communities. If Salvationists are able to demonstrate this, not only are they

---

16 A country in which the Army serves is defined in two ways – a) politically under three categories: independent countries, internal independent political entities under the protection of another country in matters of defence and foreign affairs and colonies and other dependent political units ; b) where the General has given approval to the work, ensuring legal identity and a Deed Poll is published to recognise such. The Salvation Army Year Book-2016, p. 27.

17 Ibid.
more likely to develop clearer epistemologies of practice but they are also able to understand better its diversity.

1.2.3 Accountability and Congruency in Practice

Clearly articulated values and convictions encourage robust accountability and legitimacy. As the prominence and influence of social action movements increases, so does the scrutiny, questioning and criticism of their role by academics, politicians, the media and especially by those whom they are attempting to influence. A common accusation is that churches and non-governmental organisations are poorly accountable to those whose interests they claim to promote because of their failure to articulate clear values and underpinnings. To whom are they accountable for their advocacy activities and strategies and what are the stated values and underpinnings that inform advocacy? Claims that stated Weltanschauungs are internal and poorly understood by outsiders, nebulous and therefore more difficult to measure specific outcomes and assumptions that their values are already commonly held by others remain inadequate responses. The importance of accountability and transparency is emphasized in Salvation Army governance. As the Army increasingly partners with external agencies, further work is necessary to ensure that these bodies understand its complex processes as well as its understanding of God’s standards of accountability, stewardship and faithfulness.

It is a mistake to presume we are speaking the same language as our partners when we serve suffering humanity. In fact, we rarely share the same telos [...] there is a tendency for secular agencies to use fragments from lost moral traditions, fragments that have become abstracted from a shared notion of what constitutes the good life and human flourishing.

Developing a Salvationist social justice Weltanschauung contributes to its commitment to congruent practices with partners and provides a transparent framework for participation or non-participation in particular social initiatives. Within its ranks, a

---

22 Dean Pallant, "What is The Salvation Army's theology as we serve suffering humanity?" in USA Salvation Army Conference for Social Work and Emergency Disaster Services (Orlando, FL2014).
theology of social justice will contribute to the legitimacy (or subsequent sanction for non-congruence) of prioritisation of resources and personnel in its official activities. It is hoped that this body of work might provide its personnel across the globe with a possible shared set of convictions (and expectations) informing their social justice work. Perhaps most importantly, this thesis forms a body of work which speaks to the moral imperative for the Salvationist – ‘heart to God and hand to man’.

Today’s children do not need a theology to tell them that there is something wrong with a world where one is prevented from acquiring a primary school education simply because of gender. Neither do millions who each year become victims of human trafficking or sweatshop labour require telling that there should be a better world where everyone is given opportunity to reach their fullest potential. One does not need to be religious or Christian to appreciate how oppressed people cope with their reality but if one is, one has wider access into their life world. Why produce a theology of social justice? Theology gives voice regarding people’s convictions regarding God and the world. Christian theology provides specific organising principles for the discussion of God and his relationship to the world. It describes justice and injustice in theological terms and incorporates the central narratives of the Bible and insights of Christian thought and practice into the crises and traumas of life. Theology ‘seeks to direct attention to those things which the church may overlook but which can contribute to its participation in God’s mission in the world.’

Ronald Nash makes clear that there are two sides to Christian social concern: a clear obligation to act on behalf of those in need as well as a need for Christians to be informed about the social and political issues about which they wish to make public statements. In order to effectively address these, there must be a clear articulation of theological convictions as well as careful study of economics and other social sciences. Charged with providing a renewed, modern focus and intentional global co-ordination,

---

the opening of the International Social Justice Commission marked the commitment of The Salvation Army at its highest level to give strong and articulate support to social justice initiatives by Salvationists around the world.26 This thesis is representative of one of these articulate supports.

Why a theology of social justice now? Globalisation and technological advance are rapidly leading to a distinctly different world order. With this new way of connectivity come unprecedented opportunities but also unimagined challenges especially in the realm of social injustices amongst the poor and marginalised. Christian theology provides an interpretation of this time of change and challenges Christians to question whether or not the choices they make lead to the bringing of people into relationship with God and his reign or lead to discord with the divine, whether they lead to the flourishing or polarisation of communities. In a world of competing world-views, the church has the opportunity to articulate its theological convictions regarding justice in the global sphere.27 As part of the universal Christian church, it is timely for The Salvation Army to articulate its theological convictions regarding justice in the world arena. In doing so, it must not speak from the safety of a prevailing powerbase, but prophetically from the margins, its traditional ‘home’.

1.2.4 The Challenge of Pluralism

The need for theological engagement has also been demonstrated by the increasing pluralism in contemporary society. The need for an explicitly Christian foundation for the church’s socio-political engagement with contemporary issues has been addressed by Jürgen Moltmann, Wolfhart Pannenberg and Johannes Metz amongst others. Yet while the church may raise legitimate social concerns, it has not always articulated ‘theological consistency or coherence’.28 Christians struggle with how best to share Christ’s message in situations they consider unjust. No single faith community can effectively address issues alone. Excluding the voices and actions of others results in a
myopic and isolated perspective. While ‘at all times overtly and explicitly Christian’, The Salvation Army engages with people regardless of whether they are Christian, of another faith or no faith. In articulating its own theological underpinnings for protesting against injustice, Salvationists will be better enabled to rediscover and re-interpret what is central to their own identity in partnerships with others.\(^\text{29}\)

**1.2.5 Political Questions Requiring Address**

Finally, there will always be political questions to be addressed within the global community. Most Christians agree it is the responsibility of the church to help the poor and marginalised. But when asked if they think it is *their* responsibility to challenge the political and economic structures that create poverty and injustice, many choose to disengage. The church has often been willing to pick up the casualties of the system, but unwilling to challenge the system itself. Human need will always surpass available resources. When difficult decisions need to be made regarding responses to injustice, they must be made in light of informed theological conviction for ‘the politics of God is often not the same as the politics of the people of God. The real question is not whether religious faith influences a society and its politics, but *how.*’ \(^\text{30}\) Within The Salvation Army very little has been written on social and political ethics, even less with strong biblical and theological foundation. An essay by Shaw Clifton makes reference to The Salvation Army offering a ‘world-formative Christianity’, a Christianity that includes life on every level from the individual to the institutional.\(^\text{31}\) However stirring for Salvationists to read of past performances, it has been acknowledged that some urgent battles are not being fought – unjust legislation, racism, and failure to distribute wealth amongst those who are most in need.\(^\text{32}\) Others raise issues of passivity and compromise, of quiet cooperation or non-opposition to policies for the sake of protecting the work of the Army, even daring to suggest a compromising of the Gospel, albeit ever so

---

\(^{29}\) Shaw Clifton, "Officers," *The Officer* 2008, p. 4.


sincerely, for the sake of ‘the work’. Such vexing issues must be addressed. Salvationists must rediscover what it means to restate and live out the doctrine of holiness in its political dimension and the implications of being a ‘salvation’ army and yet remaining politically ‘neutral’. The concern of this thesis is not whether The Salvation Army should be involved in public life but how it (and by extension the church) might theologically understand such engagement. The construction of a theology of protest against injustice may further strengthen the Salvationist understanding as a vehicle of concrete redemption in society.

Chapter 2

SHALOM FOR THE WORLD’S POOREST

2.1 Identifying the Issues

Christianity can be rightly understood as a faith that protests for it calls its followers to an ‘uncompromising rebellion against what seems the natural course of events’. As this, it distinguishes itself clearly from a religion of resignation to circumstances or acceptance of things as they are. It is not a faith of detachment but rather one of engagement which refuses to resign itself to a world in which there is suffering, pain and poverty. It is a religion which struggles as it prays that God’s will may be done on earth as it is in heaven (Mt 6:20). It has distinctive beliefs, not the least of which is the way God empowers one to exercise freedom under God’s tutelage, to create a social order, that by honouring human dignity, becomes a home for his presence. Such beliefs speak of the-world-as-it-is and the-world-as-it-should-be. The world-as-it-is, is the enemy of God, of the people of God and of those who, while claiming no belief in God, are devoted to creating a just society and act with such courage that at times they have put the institutional church to shame. A significant tension exists between the world-as-it-is and those who are ‘in the world but not of the world’. This is so because the world-as-it-is, is driven by abusive power, consuming greed and relentless violence. The world-as-it-is bolsters (or protects) entrenched systems and institutions, all of which are offensive to God and to those who seek to do what is just. The world-as-it-should-be is in direct contrast to the world-as-it-is. The world-as-it-should-be is rooted in truth, love and community. In the world-as-it-should-be, the voice of conscience is heard and respect and mutuality reign. The world-as-it-should-be experiences God’s shalom engaging the chaos that the world has become.

---

The church of Jesus Christ has a responsibility to point the world-as-it-is to the world-as-it-should-be. Heroes of faith such as Martin Luther King Jr, Oscar Romero and William and Catherine Booth offer clarity of vision and moral force that is desperately needed by the world and are representative of those who are deeply convinced of the injustices of this world and have attempted to fight them in various ways. This battle engagement can be understood as a protesting against the world-as-it-is, in its proclivity to sin and treatment of its most vulnerable citizens.\textsuperscript{3} The theological character of such protest, its relationship to justice and importance of the Christian act located within first order theology form the work of this chapter.

\subsection*{2.2 The Why and What of Christian Protest}

Why do people protest? There are after all many different ways to respond to what displeases one. People may change their contact information, opting for ‘exit rather than voice’.\textsuperscript{4} Some may ignore what disrupts and choose instead to focus on their private lives to the extent that public events are only assessed as they relate to the self. Others choose to respond by making their voice heard through written petitions, the electoral system or financial support to particular causes. However, many feel obliged to move beyond these forms of communication and engage in ‘active protest’ by entering the public sphere and identifying in a public way with the issues at hand. Choosing to protest against injustice entails personal cost and implies deliberation and choice.\textsuperscript{5} People protest to reap benefits of significance and weigh these benefits against a proposed action.\textsuperscript{6} Individuals protest against claims of authoritative norms or practices for two fundamentally different reasons. They may claim that the demands of a particular societal norm be temporarily yielded because of the urgency of a particular

\textsuperscript{3} Such a statement does not infer that all human suffering is the result of sin. The Old Testament story of Job is but one example of protest ‘against the dogma of retributive suffering’. Paul S Fiddes, \textit{The Creative Suffering of God} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). p.25.


\textsuperscript{5} The dynamics of protest in conflict are more complex than simple social stability on the one hand and violent rebellion on the other. James C Scott, \textit{Domination and the Arts of Resistance} (New Haven, CT: University of Yale Press, 1990). pp. 18-19.

\textsuperscript{6} Jacquelin van Stekelenburg, "Promoting or Preventing Social Change:  Instrumentality, Identity, Ideology and Group Based Anger as Motives of Protest Participation" (Doctoral, Free University, 2006). pp. 5-21.
situation. However, acts of protests are also mounted because of a belief that the norm itself is responsible for an identifiable crisis and in order for the crisis to be resolved satisfactorily; the norm must be changed, transformed or restored to its original purpose. Alternatively a present norm may be seen and understood as no longer relevant. In such a situation, protesting against a norm is not understood as a temporary measure but rather as a requirement to remove an obstacle in order to achieve a particular ideal. However labelled, the essential idea is that people determine that something about their world so egregiously violates their moral standards of what is right, just and fair that they must engage in protest to correct it. Perhaps the most potent motivational leverage that Christians enjoy is the alignment of their cause with the ultimacy and sacredness associated with God’s will and the moral structure of the universe-as-it-should-be. People may compromise on wage increases and job security and pragmatically negotiate their best political advantage on a public policy issue but for Christians God’s will is something apart. It is not ‘up for grabs’ or negotiable. What is sacred is sacred. What is absolute is absolute. The man or woman of faith, therefore, exhibits a holy discontent with the world-as-it-is and reflects an uncompromising and tenacious certainty that sustains acts of protest in the face of great adversity as personal human preference and choice are superseded by divine compulsion.

Protest can be defined in a number of ways. It can be understood as an extreme form of dissent. Conversely it can be characterised as an active, public resistance to evil, whether that evil be war, poverty or some other specific injustice. It may break an unjust law or the laws which defend an unjust status quo. It may be practiced individually or corporately. It is to use John Dear’s words ‘the public act of standing up and non-violently protesting some societal evil’. It puts into practice the Christian responsibility to change injustice by speaking the truth about injustice and placing one’s body ‘on the line’ in order to transform the world into a just community. It is a public confrontation

---

7 The religious beliefs and value systems of Buddhism, Taoism and folk religions tend to place greater emphasis on social stability, conformity, tolerance and obedience to established authorities mitigating people’s attitudes towards protests, an exception being Occupy Hong Kong. Unknown, "A Suprising Tie That Binds Hong Kong Protest Leaders: Faith," South China Morning Post, 9 October 2014.
the systems which dominate and oppress human life. It is an action that cooperates with God’s redemptive love at work in human hearts. The focus is not solely on publicly drawing attention to a specific injustice. It is a shared focus of the gospel vision of God’s reconciliation and justice. The focal point is the proclamation of the reign of God.

2.3 Justice and Injustice

The work of this thesis is to propose a theology of protest against injustice. This is done against the background of Salvationist thought and practices extending them in a way that is coherent with the Salvationist movement. Any protesting of injustice must be preceded by a discussion of what justice is and what it is not. Many of the challenges humanity faces involve life issues of the most fundamental sort – issues of survival or justice. But whose justice and what justice? The writings of philosophers and social theories as diverse as Aristotle, Marx, Augustine, Plato and Rawls have shaped efforts to define how people should or ought to live together. Unfortunately, due to humanity’s predilection for self-preservation, the tendency is to overestimate what is ‘just’ for self and underestimate what is ‘just’ for another. While research suggests that justice is a widespread if not universal concern across culture groups, its understanding and practices are informed by cultural factors. For example, a concern for ‘fairness’ defined by an interest for individual rights and entitlement is a particularly western construct. In many Asian languages there is no direct translation for the varying definitions of

---


11 Insofar as the concept of human rights speaks to the protection of all who reside in community, that all should be treated with dignity and respect and be given opportunity to flourish, the church supports ‘human rights’. Office of the General, Human Rights and The Salvation Army (London: Campfield Press, 1968); The Salvation Army International Social Justice Commission, “The Engagement of Human Rights in Ministry and Mission,” (New York2015). See also Linda Hogan, Keeping Faith With Human Rights (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2015). While human rights focuses on the restoration of humanity to a standard that includes all, Christianity is about the restoration of humanity beyond that standard – to become the rightful sons and daughters of God. A constructive engagement with rights language is found in Nicholas Wolterstorff’s Until Justice and Peace Embrace where he combines justice with shalom and balances rights with duties. Various theological schools of interpretation (Jon Sobrino, Stanley Hauerwas), however, confirm that no single approach has all the answers.
justice. Therefore the degree to which justice affects people’s thoughts and actions may not be constant across social, ethnic or cultural boundaries.\textsuperscript{12}

The world’s classical religious traditions are particularly devoted to the business of restraining, resisting and offering comfort in the face of evil and injustice. Of all the forms of culture, they are especially articulate in giving expression to the belief that evil, however prevalent, does not have a lasting hold in the order of things and that the death and voidness it brings to human lives is not the way the world should be. Christianity contributes its own distinctive voice to this world choir singing the song of evil’s demise. Christian faith strives to offer hope and meaning in the face of evil done by and to humanity. The particular claims that Christianity makes about God and creation, the saving work of Jesus Christ and the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit to the church and world are all judgments against evil’s power and about God’s restoration and transformation of creation. Christians affirm that God is just and loving. One experiences true justice in God’s dealings with humanity. At the heart of God’s justice is mercy and love, although it often disturbs humanity’s ideas and behaviour. God’s justice challenges conventional and classical accounts of justice as fairness or giving each one’s due. The labourers in the marketplace complain because they are treated equally; because they are each accepted totally without regard to their work. The elder brother in the parable of the Prodigal Son is angry because his younger brother does not receive what the elder believes he should but is accepted without reserve back into the heart of the family. Christians claim that God’s justice is more than fair, not less. It is a creative rather than a mathematically calculated ‘fairness’. It points to the true nature of justice to which human justice and human fairness are mere approximations at best. There are two sides to Christian justice. First, justice can describe right conduct, ‘living right’. Living justly is the will to live according to the obligations of right relationship in all spheres of life – humanity to the divine, humanity amongst itself and humanity in

relationship to the created order. Second, justice can also describe the right response to wrong conduct, ‘righting wrong’. As a response to wrong, justice is also the will to bring restoration and transformation to the relationships that injustice has injured or broken so that those involved are able to again (or for the first time) live life in its fullness (Jn 10:10). What is crucial to this understanding of justice is that it is not an abstract balance of right and wrong (as in the scales of justice figure) but rather addresses actual wounded persons and relationships. A key difference between biblical justice and classical justice lies in the understanding of what is acceptable as the norm in a community. The Christian Scriptures do not allow the presupposition of conditions in which individuals or groups are denied the ability to fully participate in the life of society. Biblical justice is most concerned with those who are on the fringe of community. It is this kind of justice that is most clearly discerned in the life of Jesus of Nazareth. It is here that one sees ‘the manifestation of the Kingdom of God in human society[...] Its goal is the reconciliation and restoration of right relationships with God, oneself, one’s neighbour and the created order.’

While the traditional work of justice has not ignored injustice, there has been a tendency to reduce it to a breakdown of justice as though injustice was the unexpected abnormality. The reality, however, is that for multitudes of people today it is injustice, not justice which forms the core of their daily existence. The question of justice, therefore, may not be the correct place from which to begin as from ancient times it has been recognised that it is injustice when experienced and acknowledged that sparks a concern for justice. In order to live justly one must take responsibility to be aware of and identify those actions, structures and systems which do not promote justice but in fact are perpetuations of injustice. Confusion arises when people assume that the ‘proper

---

13 All scripture unless otherwise noted is taken from *New Revised Standard Version Bible*, ed. Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches of Christ (San Francisco: HarperOne, 1989).
order’ is more or less the present structure of power and that injustice is simply the absence of justice. In the location of injustice two companions become visible – coercion and deception. Coercion is the compelling or constraining of a person to act against his or her free will, usually with physical force, the threat of force or the threat of another consequence.\(^{16}\) The second component of injustice is deception. Those who perpetrate injustice almost always lack transparency. Those who would struggle against injustice must be prepared to enter a world where people deceive. Equally, those who have been raised with a respect for authority and a Romans 13 deference to structures must accustom themselves to the unsettling reality that those who have power and authority are not only capable of abusing that power but are also capable of going to great lengths to protect it.

Speaking articulately and carefully about evil and injustice is a difficult thing to do. As Elaine Scarry has insightfully observed, there is an extraordinarily small vocabulary when it comes to giving expression to the body’s emotional and physical pain, two of the most basic symptoms of the human encounter with evil.\(^{17}\) Words often fail us when we try to express suffering either directly or as witnesses to evil in the lives of others. The historic lack of a Wesleyan political language coupled with an often confused understanding of the apolitical stance of The Salvation Army has further added to this challenge. While there are deficiencies in the Wesleyan political language to address the participation of believers in the public square, such language is both necessary and possible.\(^{18}\) This thesis is an attempt to enlarge that vocabulary and to name evil in the context of injustice and in direct opposition to God’s intent of *shalom* for humanity and the created world.


2.4 Telos of Shalom

The consideration of a telos\(^{19}\) of shalom requires a rethinking of the traditional Christian understanding of justice that strictly relies on forensic metaphors to explain God’s relationship to humanity. Shalom involves not only individual persons but structures, both social and political, that influence the lives of people. While the causes of poverty are diverse, living within networks of relationships that do not work toward flourishing has been identified as a key factor to the challenges faced by the poor and disenfranchised.\(^{20}\) Debilitating relationships with others, themselves and any relationship with the God who created them and sustains their life are often distorted by an inadequate knowledge of who God is and the shalom that God desires for humanity. The constant threat of chaos over order is always present and the role of humanity as steward over creation is directly related to the threatening presence of chaos and evil or ‘the culpable disturbance of shalom’.\(^{21}\) In order for shalom to exist for all, chaos and evil must be kept away. While divine providence plays a role in this dynamic, humanity must also participate. As the delegated agents of the Creator, humans are to socially construct shalom by doing God’s will. As justice is pursued toward one another, shalom emerges. Chaos wears many masks, amongst them abuse, poverty and marginalisation with the goal to maim, control and destroy. Its destructive presence in the world is the result of sin and sin at its core, human sin is a ‘vandalism of shalom’ and violation of the human end which is to build shalom and thus glorify and enjoy God forever. The witness of Scripture is that God is at work caring for every part of his creation and directing human history toward its end, the Kingdom of God. The transforming work of the Spirit enables humanity to return to the role of God’s partner in the recovery of shalom for all.\(^{22}\) While a work that will reach its ultimate fulfilment at the consummation of history (Rom 8:20-25), it is also a task achieved in partial and fragmented ways as the people of God strive to be faithful to the mission of God. Such

---

\(^{19}\) Understood as ultimate aim or purpose.


acknowledged challenges must be taken up by an army of love who claim not only to be with the poor but who in many parts of the world claim to be the poor.  

This thesis proposes that the telos of shalom should be foundational to understanding why The Salvation Army protests against injustices particularly against the poor and marginalised of society. It does so by recounting the birthing process of this movement in nineteenth century England and locates its twenty first century practices in Trinitarian foundation. It identifies God’s design for (and protest to the lack thereof) human flourishing in the Christian scriptures with particular attention given to the actions of Jesus of Nazareth and discusses the sacrificial nature of protest as a necessary element in the restoration and transformation of the created order. It concludes with a synthesis of protesting injustice in relation to the reign of God experienced as heaven on earth.

2.5 Primacy of ‘Act’ in The Salvation Army

Theologically the presence of God and morally the presence of humanity affects what can be done about the reality of evil and injustice. Morally sufficient reasons for the permission of evil and suffering may seem convincing in the abstract but the human face of the victim belongs to a different dimension. A commitment to the Christian life issues imperatives which command how, within a framework of responsibility (in the literal sense of being answerable), one is to live and what is to be done about the world in which injustice flourishes. Graham Ward has helpfully characterised the distinctly Christian act as ‘a praxis that participates in a divine poiēsis that has soteriological and eschatological important[...]a technē, a crafting, a production of redemption.’ So it is that the question ‘What are Christians called upon to do?’ must be an inescapable one for Salvationists as they consider their politics of discipleship. One’s theological tradition transmits a certain understanding of what Christians are called upon to do, as well as certain standards for evaluation of actions as ordinary conversation makes evident ‘What do you think you’re doing?’ ‘Why did you say that?’ ‘What possessed

23 Bo Brekke, "We are the Poor," The Officer, April 2001.
25 Examination of the act within a Salvationist context is considered in John Clifton, "Finding Jesus in a Night Shelter: Towards a Contemporary Ontology of the Christ-commissioned Act" (Masters, King's College, London, 2012).
you to do that?’ While experience suggests that the reasons for one’s action towards injustice are at times difficult to articulate or that in some situations there appears no viable action, it would be a mistaken stance to adopt the status of observer. Positive actions are always possible, not least the minimal action of silent protest which remains open to all. Refusal to act reaffirms the existence of injustice as acceptable.

Acts of obedience often precede one’s understanding of the truth behind the acts themselves. Paul Janz claims that it is only in the obedient act of loving others that Christians learn what it means to love God and only in personal identification with the poor and marginalised that one can begin to appreciate what it means to be excluded and without voice.26 Without such activity, it is impossible to identify who my neighbour is or what kind of neighbour I might be (Lk 10:25-37). The importance of this appears not to be lost on Salvationists. This is a global community who claims that ‘act’ is core to the life of Salvationism and who commit to doing before understanding or perhaps more accurately, as Karl Barth has observed, obeys in order to understand.27

The need to understand one’s self within circumstances of action is not limited to this army or to any one particular faith community. All are called by God to participate with him in reconciling the world to himself (2 Cor 5:38), but the question arises – to what is one called? Where is one asked to be? What is one called to do? Are Christians to tolerate injustice while waiting for God’s justice or to await God’s final justice as the fruition of humanity’s struggle against injustice? Did Jesus teach that the just reign of God is to remain unseen until the coming of the New Jerusalem or that his reign had already commenced? If there is a ‘waiting’, perhaps it is as Karen Lebacqz suggests ‘God waits for the shouts of protest. Then God begins to speak again but in a dialogue with us.’28 As will be demonstrated, the earthly life and ministry of Jesus was not instruction to patiently wait for God’s shalom. Rather it was God’s direct intervention

in the addressing of practices incompatible with *shalom*. Salvationists understand themselves called by God to be faithful witnesses to the gospel of God in Jesus Christ.\(^{29}\) Theologically known as *vocation*, this refers to the call to be faithful in the immediate context of one’s life, inclusive of social station (age, gender, marital status, race, ethnic heritage, economic status, abilities), work (homemaker, farmer, teacher, labourer, health worker), geography (Asian, European, African, urban, rural) and one’s participation in the *missio Dei*.\(^{30}\) The *Handbook of Doctrine* for Salvationists speaks of carrying out God’s mission in Christ’s name in various ways through ‘presence in the world (Mt 5:13-16), public proclamation of the gospel (2 Tim 4:1-5), personal evangelism (Acts 8:26-40), pointing to evidence of the Holy Spirit’s power to transform lives (Acts 2:38), identification with and offering compassionate service to the poor and disadvantaged (Mt 25:31-46; Lk 10:25-37) and working with the oppressed for justice and liberty (Lk 4:16:21). All these ministries seek life transformation. When any of them is ignored or neglected the mission of the Church suffers.\(^{31}\) Such a perspective speaks to the importance and place of agency that will be discussed in Chapter Four. Any actions taken in Christ are Christological and ultimately doxological as acts of worship. They are also political acts in that they proclaim ultimate allegiance.\(^{32}\)

The Salvation Army would appear to provide much more than something to which its converts can simply belong. As Salvationist theologian Philip Needham has noted, The Salvation Army at its best should be understood as a redemptive mission -

offering not only personal salvation but also membership in a community of faith and practice...acceptance and affirmation...

identity and belonging...a community with values and a clear sense of direction...group support, discipline and edification.\(^{33}\)

---

\(^{29}\) Call # 8 to Salvationists – The International Spiritual Life Commission. Appendix 3.

\(^{30}\) A number of theological traditions address a theology of vocation, among them Luther and the Reformers, John Wesley, and in recent times, the Roman Catholics including John Paul II’s *Redemptor hominis*.


Such a portrayal speaks of an ‘enthusiastic’ communal way of life expressing faith in action working in full sight of the general public. Salvation Army tradition recounts how one Christmas season its first General, William Booth, desired to send a greeting to his commands throughout the world. Searching for the shortest message that could be sent to convey the essence of the Army’s creed, the chosen communiqué could epitomise the nature of its work - ‘Others’.\(^{34}\) The life of radical identification with Jesus Christ is understood not as a life of introspection and withdrawal but rather of usefulness and in particular sacrificial usefulness to which its publications attest.\(^{35}\) In its emphasis on the lived life of discipleship, its theology cannot help but be considered as prophetic in nature. The use of the term ‘prophetic’ within this thesis is a shift from prophecy-as-prediction to prophecy-as-a-way-of-being-in-the-world. The witness of Scripture is that God’s preferred mode of revelation and communication with the world is through human beings who speak and act for God to other humans and who live the shalom vision for humanity that God intends in spite of opposition.\(^{36}\) God is to be seen and judged by the divine influence in the world as seen in God’s people. What is preached in Salvationist pulpits and written in Salvationist publications is expected to be translated into lived discipleship.\(^{37}\) Such a radical sense of the incarnation of God in the lives of its people which increases the compelling and dramatic nature of its message and expression.\(^{38}\) God not only came to earth in human form, but as a babe born of poor people in a foul manger as first bed. Such a theological perspective makes God real and at hand. This God is presented ‘in the flesh to a storm-torn world, touching and healing the wounds, the bruises and the bleeding sores of humanity.’\(^{39}\) Against such a backdrop,

\(^{34}\) While no actual date can be verified there is documentation to support ‘Others’ as a motto for General Bramwell Booth from 1894 to 1895. It was the title of the Army’s annual report for 1894 to 1895, used for a 3 month Pentecostal campaign in South Australia (May to July 1895) and a poem by F Booth-Tucker, headed ‘Our Self-Denial Motto-Others’ in The War Cry, 28 September, 1895, p.8.


then, it should be unsurprising that the world might assume ‘where there is need, there is The Salvation Army’.\textsuperscript{40} Because the Salvationist claim is that praxis is not an addendum to the Christian life, a sense of urgency exists to articulate its underpinnings for engagement in socio-political issues. Its predilection for action (known as first order theology) in contrast to academic reflection (understood as second order theology) needs examination. In its formative years The Salvation Army’s strength was located in its ability to respond quickly to missionary challenges and ‘doctrinal simplification served to reduce theological considerations to the basic essentials.’\textsuperscript{41} More than one hundred and fifty years later, there is need to develop theological tools in order to be discriminating and responsible in its acts of warfare against injustices which marginalise and isolate millions of the earth’s inhabitants.

Alongside the concern for the ethics of ‘doing’ lies an ethics of ‘being’. As Karen Shakespeare’s doctoral work has made clear, Christian action requires not only that one asks what should be ‘done’ to repair a broken world but also who one is to ‘become’ in the process.\textsuperscript{42} The formation and character of the decision maker is as important as the decision to act and the act itself. When one lives within Christian community values are formed that shape decisions and actions and therefore what one understands as Kingdom values deeply affects participation in ministering to a broken world. Because of this, the issue of identity is addressed in a number of chapters of this thesis in order to answer the question – Who is the Salvationist with respect to shalom and in particular within the act of protest that decries lack of shalom in a broken world?

\textbf{2.6 Locating the Work – First Order Account of Second Order Theology}

The gospel can hardly \textit{be} the gospel if it does not address the ill that besets and the sin from which one seeks to escape those ills. Those ills and sins are, for any community, the sins of its own social world. Thus, in order for the gospel to challenge, judge, heal and transform, it must relate itself not only to the contemporary church. It must relate

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{40} Attributed to Sir Winston Churchill after seeing Salvationists working in East London during the Second World War.
\item \textsuperscript{41} Frederick Coutts, "The Smallest of Knapsacks," \textit{The Officer} 1981. pp. 503-504.
\item \textsuperscript{42} Shakespeare, "Knowing, Being and Doing: The Spiritual Life Development of Salvation Army Officers." 
\end{itemize}
itself also to social, economic, political, and global developments. It is the gospel precisely because it is for persons in community, in their social roles, in the world. As a consequence, any theological thinking of the gospel must be inclusive of the theoretical and practical relationship of the gospel to the world’s life, to its crises and political meanings. Calling for such a partnership reveals the classic tension resident in the Christian heritage: holding together the critical yet creative appropriation of knowledge leading to ‘truth’ (Wissenschaft - research as critical study) while faithfully participating in ‘vital’ piety that leads to love (the paideia of Athenian education). One is a matter of the mind; the other a matter of the heart. This intersection between theological imperatives and the realities of ‘life on the ground’ poses a conundrum of sorts. The challenge to academic theology is to reclaim its practical calling to championing the love and grace of God to shape human personhood (as Augustine hoped it would) without sacrificing academic rigor. Theology is called to demonstrate the truth of the gospel and be in the service of the one that ‘for us and for our salvation[...came down from heaven’.

However a corresponding challenge is evident. If theology is a necessary and integral task of the Christian community what place might it have in the academy? Where theological praxis has been specific and particular, the academy has historically considered such work inadequate where its connection to Christian tradition has been shown to be wanting. There is, therefore, a need to explore the relationship of how speculative thinking relates to the practical service of discipleship and how the practice of faith is rooted in Christian thought and tradition. The eschatological hope of the Christian community (and for the purposes of this thesis – the Salvationist community), is not that God will found the church or even the university but that earth and heaven will be transformed. Second order theology can no more be a merely academic exercise than it can be an ecclesial one. Its formulations, intelligible account, and critical reflection must be directed not only to the church and the academy but to the world. Its aim cannot merely be only to understand the way things are but to the

---

44 David Kelsey, Between Athens and Berlin: The Theological Education Debate (Grand Rapid: Eerdmans, 1993).
46 The Salvation Army has historically focused on this aspect of theological formation, is discovering the importance of paideia (formation) and remains suspicious of Wissenschaft.
transformation wrought by the one who promises ‘Behold, I make all things new’ (Rev 21:5).

In contrast to (and at times perhaps in opposition) practical theology, academic theology has provided conceptual support for the life of faith, addressing the issue of divine revelation by means of the intellect alone rather than taking its orientation from the world.\textsuperscript{47} Where the Christian life is described as fundamentally dedicated to the perpetuation of the Christian story with its sole focus the formation and transformation of the believer, the biblical narrative \textit{must} define the Christian at the point of decision to act or not to act,\textsuperscript{48} but this perspective is problematic for Salvationist theology as it denies personal volition and authentic freedom to act.\textsuperscript{49} Dietrich Bonhoeffer acknowledges the role of freedom in the act arguing that as God freely \textit{chose} to be bound to historical human beings, God is not free \textit{from} humanity but rather free \textit{for} humanity - ‘if Christ is God-being-free-for-humanity, then human beings in Christ can find their true humanity in being free for one another and for their communities’.\textsuperscript{50} Bonhoeffer, however, does not treat acts of freedom within a Trinitarian framework (act in the name of Jesus as the graced work of the Spirit) and his understanding of sanctification is defined only as separation from the unholy. Such a work of grace for him is not only \textit{hidden} but only to be received at the return of Jesus Christ.\textsuperscript{51} This thinking is at odds with the Salvationist understanding of Hebrews 12:14 that the life of holiness can be both received and lived out in the present world.\textsuperscript{52} The doctrine of holiness provides a convictional ground for the ‘excellence of practices’. In the experience of holiness, one is empowered by the Spirit of Christ to experience and perform what Serene Jones terms the ‘reality of grace in our midst’.\textsuperscript{53} And so the

\textsuperscript{49} \textit{HOD}. p.186.
\textsuperscript{52} \textit{HOD}. p.198.
question remains - if practical theology has the interest but not the necessary ‘tools’ and systematic theology has the ‘tools’ but not the interest, what theological resources might assist in developing of a theology of protest, grounded in a holiness dynamic that demonstrates a fusion of systematic and practical theology?

A theological recalibration is required for this work. To be the church as Christ has called and commissioned is to act in particular ways, in his name, empowered by the Spirit. With this acknowledgement comes the necessity of recognising the distinction between first and second order theology. As identified within this thesis, first order theology belongs to the lived life of discipleship, to the act itself. Here is the Christian intelligence or ‘sanctified common sense’ that grounds one’s Christian acts which sits in contrast to second order or academic theology which speaks to what one believes rather than the actual intelligence of acts or what we should ‘do’. Because humanity preferences action over the capacity for theoretical reasoning (although this is important), people are held accountable for what they do and not for what they think. In the development of the Christian act of protesting injustice, what is required is a constructive theology that not only ‘makes space’ for the Christian act itself but also for the self within the act that is ‘becoming’.

2.6.1 Constructive Theology – Theological Mapmaking
Constructive theology addresses social realities. Sitting neither comfortably within practical or systematic theology, it requires the role of a theological midwife, a ‘pro-creative’ term used to describe a model of theology that offers an attentiveness for flourishing growth and is ‘pregnant with possibilities’. It considers questions not yet answered by systematics and not explicitly found in Scripture, tradition, reason and experience. It then systematically explicates its coherence, focusing on what might be termed as Christian reality, reflecting on God, his divine nature and actions in the world. This is done synergistically while studying humanity and their responsibilities but

always in relation to the God who reveals himself. In embracing this speculative stance, however, one must include a stance of resistance for as Jürgen Moltmann rightly observes, delighting in Christ’s resurrection makes Christians protest against any life denying tradition and practice which makes a covenant with death.

The phrase ‘theological geographies’ is an apt metaphor to describe constructive theology. In considering the complex world of deeply held beliefs about God and the world’s inhabitants and then imagining this world of beliefs as a landscape that holds within its borders those beliefs, stories, practices and experiences that make up the sum of ‘what we believe’, the role of a theologian in this process can be described as mapmaker. Using a variety of tools (scripture, history, traditions, creeds and dogmas) the theologian puts them to work in order to draw for the reader a helpful sketch of the ‘lay of the land’ with respect to Christian convictions about God and the world. Like any good mapmaker, this is done in the hope that the drawn map might assist individuals and communities in making informed judgments and subsequent actions about the shape of faithful Christian living. In this regard, mapmaking has both a normative and pragmatic commitment, namely the goal of enabling responsible faith. This task is both constrained and open-ended. On the one hand it is bound by the given contours of the terrain one attempts to draw. Just as a geographer cannot simply conjure up mountains where there are none, theologians mapping the terrain of Christology cannot conjure up any kind of Jesus they wish. There are constraints. Jesus was a first-century Jew whose life, death and resurrection are narrated in the New Testament, a collection of books that Christians hold as the authoritative word about Jesus. On the other hand, as a theological geographer, one can be creative with respect to what one chooses to highlight and how to express it. While geographers cannot ‘make’ a mountain, they can decide to rename it or use different colours to mark it. In a similar manner, while a theologian cannot invent any kind of Jesus they wish, new and different questions can be asked about who he is.

---

and what his message means. In doing so, one highlights different dimensions of the biblical story. In the same way that a geographer’s drawing has the power to influence a hiker’s decision whether to climb a mountain or a community’s decision to construct a highway around it, so too, with theological mapmaking. The manner in which one chooses to colour the lines of a doctrine and shape the language through which it is presented affects people’s decision not only about its truth but the way they choose to live in light of that truth.

Because the Salvationist claim is that they are interested in how the Christian faith might be understood today, the development of a theology of protest must address a faith that is vitally connected to the present-day world and its pressing concerns. To this end, there is extensive description and analysis of early Salvationist practices as this provides both the historic record and theological foundation for Salvationist social reform. While the examples of twenty-first century practices are not as extensive, they illustrate the same commitment to issues of injustice as the historic community.

The field of constructive theology is well documented with scholars who provide creative yet rigorous theological accounts in order to inform practices that are fitting for the time and place in which we now live. Paul Fiddes constructs a series of arguments of the God who suffers and is present in the lives of those who suffer. 59 Written for a post-colonial world yet written in the midst of the struggles of South Africa, David Bosch envisions a world of justice and shalom amidst structures meshed by colonialism. 60 Working within a ‘bio-historical’ interpretation of human life, Gordon Kaufman demonstrates how Christianity as a series of religious symbols figures in the effort of humanity to orient themselves in the world. 61 Applying a post-colonial lens and using OWS (Occupy Wall Street), Kwok Pui Lan and Joerg Rieger construct a ‘theology of the multitude’ unpacking the power of movements including feminist liberation. 62

59 Fiddes, The Creative Suffering of God.
is evidence that the work of a constructive theology has a home within Salvation Army life as a number of publications indicate – theological accountability with regard to governance, a soteriological orientation for health ministry and proposed articulations of social services and social holiness. Therefore, this work makes a further contribution to how The Salvation Army might understand its mission and ministry in the world.

2.6.2 Transformation Theology

For purposes of this thesis, the constructive work of Oliver Davies has particular significance. In his claim that contemporary theology has been deeply shaped by a ‘fundamental loss to incarnational revelation’, he offers the principle of transformation as a distinctive and positive theological hermeneutic to propose modes of present incarnational reality in the lives of disciples of Jesus Christ. In particular he demonstrates that ‘the risen and exalted Christ is the transformational centre of the universe and is transformatively present as agent and not by virtue of substitution (through Spirit and church) in the ‘crowded spaces’ of the power and powerlessness in our world, as well as in the body of Christ, his Church’. In addressing the nature of the relation between divinity and humanity in the unity of the personhood of Christ, he speaks to how we can know and discern this transformational effect in one’s own context, signaling to the world a divine but hidden presence rather than a divine absence. He also suggests that God’s present revelation to humanity is fundamentally about a new way of acting in the word under obedience to the divine command. It is my proposal that Transformation Theology addresses precisely the criteria which drives The Salvation Army - a public witness to the transformative reign of Christ and denunciation of that which destroys what it means to be fully human in relationship to the Creator, criteria which do not necessarily sit easily in contemporary theology which can be profoundly apologetic and pluralistic. Davies’ work affirms the importance of the need

---

for balance between information and action. For these reasons, his work is referenced as it relates to the embodiment and transformative presence of Christ within the Salvationist and the world in acts of protest against injustice against the world’s poor and marginalised.

By locating this thesis within the Transformation Theology construct this work attempts to give a second-order theological description of protesting injustices faced by humanity to what is a first-order encounter with the transformed Christ. In other words, this thesis explores the human self in the dimension of its freedom of accepting and living by the Lordship of Christ and does so in the context of what it means to protest injustice against the marginalised and poorest of society – in the name of Jesus Christ.

2.7 Methodological Issues

While there are a number of ways of doing theology to take account of the experience of the past (texts and traditions) and the experience of the present (context in which Christians of a concrete time and place find themselves), this thesis seeks out a methodology that values human experience as a place where the gospel is grounded, embodied, interpreted and lived out. Scripture and Tradition are regarded not merely as vehicles of revelation but rather models of action that invite Christians to join with God in his salvific activities in human and cosmic history.\(^{67}\) The term ‘experience’ has become a catch phrase in contemporary religious parlance meaning anything from one’s personal relationship with God to an emphasis on a certain form of shared communal experiences. For a Salvation Army, the lived reality of the underprivileged must be taken into account in considering issues related to injustice.\(^{68}\) In a theological sense, the term ‘experience’ should have significance for Salvationists because it includes the act of reflecting upon one’s theological assertions, moving an individual from simply making faith claims to concretely living faith claims. If the Christian Bible (meaning the whole tenor of the scripture) represents truth in a universal sense for Salvationists, then

---

\(^{67}\) The ‘Wesleyan Quadrilateral’ – a phrase coined by Albert Outler when attempting to describe the resources used for Wesleyan theological formation of doctrine (scripture, tradition, reason, experience). Outler, *The Wesleyan Quadrilateral in John Wesley - The Wesleyan Theological Heritage*. p.178.

experience is the particular being informed by the universal.\textsuperscript{69} ‘Universal’ in this instance means the truth of the Bible transcends truth-claims being put forward by any single person’s or community’s experience. In considering concrete issues of injustice, therefore, it is argued that one’s living testimony should be consistent with the whole tenor of the Bible. For example: to engage in human trafficking or oppressive actions against people is inconsistent with loving God with one’s whole heart and one’s neighbour as one’s self (Mt 22:39). The entire tenor of the Bible (love of God and neighbour) must inform one’s experiences not only in terms of how they relate to God but also how they relate to others. Therefore, a human trafficker claiming to be Christian is an inconsistent claim, because their lived experiences are incongruent with the disposition of a child of God shaped by the tenor of the Bible. Thus, experience testifies to the reality of Christian faith claims by allowing humanity to observe in practical ways if Christians are, in fact, acting justly toward God and their neighbour.

2.8 Theological Template

Communities who engage in theological reflection operate with a theological ‘template’ that sorts and organises the data of life in relationship to the Christian message. The easiest way to recognise a community’s theological template is to look for what is emphasised. It is against this template that communities test questions of faith as well as any resultant action of the lived life of discipleship.\textsuperscript{70} For Salvationist communities the essential elements of this template include a stated distinctive sense of mission, an identity as a ‘salvation’ army and holiness people, framed within kingdom and eschatological language.\textsuperscript{71} Their raison d’être is articulated in an international mission statement

\begin{quote}
The Salvation Army, an international movement, is an evangelical part of the universal church. Its message is based on the Bible. Its ministry is motivated\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{69} Universal theologies arise out of specific contexts and in this sense are contextual. Understanding the universal-particular dialectic in this way holds that all theology begins within the contextual before it can move to the universal. Ross Andrew Loveridge, "Moral Geographies of Social Justice and the City: Theologies, Spatialities and Spiritualities in Urban Scotland" (PhD, University of Strathclyde, 2002).

\textsuperscript{70} An orienting concern is not merely one theological concept among many, neither is it an abstract, conceptual practice. It gains its relevance and significance from concrete, visible practices that do not need translation into a neutral language to be understood. William T Cavanaugh, Theopolitical Imagination (London: T& T Clark, 2002).

\textsuperscript{71} Clifton, Who Are These Salvationists? An Analysis for the Twenty First Century.
by love for God. Its mission is to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and meet human needs in his name without discrimination.\textsuperscript{72}

This community commits to \textit{missional theology} in the sense of reflecting on what the church – the Christian and the Christian community – is doing and should do.\textsuperscript{73}

Traditionally in western theology, one’s relationship with the poor has been understood only as a question of ethics, not of theology proper or of epistemology, a position challenged not only from the side of liberation theology and its commitment to the poor but also The Salvation Army. The premise is that when one recognises the radical identification of Jesus with the poor, it becomes impossible to relegate a Christian’s relationship to the poor as a social ethics concern. It becomes a gospel one - ‘bread for myself is a material question: bread for my neighbour is a spiritual question’.\textsuperscript{74}

Salvation Army identity and praxis should be evaluated in light of its stated missional purpose - ‘save souls, grow saints and serve suffering humanity’.\textsuperscript{75} This community orients its thinking about being ‘church’ in regard to God’s activity in the world and might well be in agreement with Karl Barth when he wrote

\begin{quote}
The true church may sometimes engage in tactical withdrawal, but never in strategic. It can never cease wholly or basically from activity in the world. It does not exist intermittently nor does it ever exist only partially as the sent community, but always and in all functions it is either leaping out or on the point of leaping out to those to whom it is sent [...] it is always directed \textit{extra muros} to those who are not, or not yet within, and visibly perhaps never will be.\textsuperscript{76}
\end{quote}

For Salvationists, the Triune God is the primary acting subject rather than the ‘church’.\textsuperscript{77}

In its embrace of the \textit{missio Dei}, it is understood that the Holy Spirit calls, gathers and

\textsuperscript{72} The Salvation Army International Headquarters \url{http://www.salvationarmy.org/ihq} Accessed 1 March, 2017.
\textsuperscript{74} Nicholas Berdyaev as quoted in Coutts, \textit{Bread for my Neighbour - The Social Influence of William Booth}. p. 3.
\textsuperscript{76} Karl Barth, \textit{Church Dogmatics} vol. IV (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1975). p.780.
sends them into the world to participate in God’s mission.\textsuperscript{78} Such participation is a response to the redemption that God accomplished through the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, a redemption announced by Jesus as the Kingdom of God.\textsuperscript{79} In this perspective the world becomes the larger horizon of God’s activity. If one solely focuses on the church, the church tends to become the primary location of God making the church itself responsible to carry out activities in the world on behalf of God. In contrast, by focusing on the Triune God as primary acting subject within the life of a believer for the world, the primary location of God is to be found in the world for which the Son gave his life (Jn 3:16). The purpose of the church can then be understood as a conduit for the actions of a missionary God in the world. Such a missional perspective is inclusive of both God’s ‘yes’ and ‘no’ to the world; ‘yes’ in the sense that God’s love and attention are directed primarily at the world and understanding that mission is participation in God’s existence in the world. God’s ‘yes’ to the world also reveals itself in the church’s engagement in respect to the realities of injustice, oppression, poverty, discrimination and violence. Mission is God’s ‘no’ to the world in that what God has provided for humanity in Jesus Christ and what the church proclaims and embodies is not simply an affirmation of the best people can expect in this world by way of health, liberty, peace and freedom from want. God’s reign is more than human progress on the horizon. In the assertion of God’s ‘yes’ to the world as an expression of solidarity with society’s weakest, one must also then assert God’s ‘no’ as an expression of opposition and engagement with the world.

The movement’s primary theological document, \textit{The Handbook of Doctrine}, states that the doctrine of salvation is central to Salvation Army teaching and practice.\textsuperscript{80} It is not surprising then that identity is grounded in its name ‘The Salvation Army’ and finds its place in what might be termed ‘theologies of salvation’ as distinct from ‘theologies of revelation’.\textsuperscript{81} This is because historically a primary concern of The Salvation Army has been ‘how does the Christ of the Christian faith transform human life and situations?’

\textsuperscript{77} \textit{HOD}. p.198.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid. pp. 85, 198.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid. p.105.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid.p.160.
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid. The literal Chinese translation of ‘The Salvation Army’ is ‘Save the World Army’. 
rather than the clarification of the meaning of life. Fundamental to this thinking is not only the importance of discerning how God is already present and active within a sinful world and how that shapes proclamation of the salvation message but also that humanity is called and commissioned to participate in God’s redemptive and transformative presence in the world. Because God in Christ has, by his grace, intervened decisively in Salvationist personal and social histories, they claim to be compelled to be his visible, redemptive presence in the world, particularly amongst the poor and marginalised. As it is believed that the term ‘restoration’ (returning to a previous condition) does not adequately describe the extent of God’s redemptive work, Salvationists choose instead to use the language of transformation. Transformation is the creation of what has never been; the making of one capable of things previously impossible. (Ephesians 3:20). ‘Saving the world’ therefore must include the addressing of structural and systemic sin because the work of redemption embraces the whole of humanity, soul and body. Ultimately saving the world is a question of bringing it fully under the sovereignty of God. That witness like the message of the prophets long ago, involves direct intervention in the public arena.

The axiomatic doctrine of this movement is holiness by which Salvationists interpret and live out their common life, and is comprised of individuals who choose to be radically identified with the crucified and risen Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus is not only formal object of worship (they are ‘in Christ’) but recognised and acknowledged as present material object. By faith and through the Holy Spirit they individually receive and welcome him in their embodied lives (Christ ‘in them’) as truly alive. Such a


84 *HOD*. p.163.


86 Contrary to form critics, Salvationists do not see the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith separately.
radical identification is not a one of comfort, but rather of usefulness and sacrifice to which a number of authorised Salvation Army publications attest.\(^87\)

Much of the church is content to view charitable acts, social assistance and the confrontation of injustices (and by extension, engagement with the political realm) as adjuncts to holy living.\(^88\) They are understood as things one ‘does’ rather than core aspects of God’s nature and thus any attempt to conform to the divine image. In conventional belief and practice, the main arena consists of God and individuals. Salvationist doctrine rejects this solely vertical relationship as authentic holiness is understood and experienced within a Trinitarian construct.\(^89\) Without engagement in the lives of people and affairs of government that directly affects the lives and destinies of others, holiness becomes a historic curiosity at best and an irrelevant oddity at worst. This mobilisation as a force for action and social change flows out of its theological roots as taught and lived by John Wesley.\(^90\) For Wesley and his spiritual offspring, William and Catherine Booth, social action through the faithful community grounds the Christian life where it needs to be grounded – in the world as well as in the Word.\(^91\) The function of God’s people is always involved in ushering in the reign of God. It is always seeking to establish peace and justice where they do not exist. Such an impulse points to the meaning of the claim that the church is holy. Holiness here has very little to do with asceticism, otherworldliness or superhuman perfection. Rather, holiness refers to the persistent discomfort of its members with the unchallenged existence of oppression and exploitation in the world.

\(^{87}\) HOD. p 181. See also ‘A Call to a Life of Sacrifice and Stewardship’ in Hedgren and Lyle, *Mapping Our Salvationist DNA: Beliefs, Values and Behaviors*. pp. 95-99.

\(^{88}\) Hauerwas provides a trenchant critique of Christian motive and practice in his assessment of the reasons for the growing popularity of social justice among western Christians arguing that the current emphasis ‘springs not so much from an effort to locate the Christian contribution to wider society as it does from Christian’s attempts to find a way to be societal actors without that action being coloured by Christian presuppositions’. Stanley Hauerwas, *After Christendom? How the Church is to Behave if Freedom, Justice and a Christian Nation are Bad Ideas* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1991). p. 58.


The implications of this understanding of holiness are far-reaching. They lead to an involvement in society on many levels: direct involvement with people in their needs, both spiritual and practical; engagement in advocacy for social justice and human rights; awareness of the importance of an ecological balance in our surroundings, a global sharing of resources and a willingness to work towards this end; and responsibility for the weak and poor the vulnerable and the marginalised thus demonstrating a Christian worldview in all of life.\textsuperscript{92}

Any attempt then to construct a Salvationist theology of protest must therefore include the social dimension of holiness and its accompanying sacramental sensibilities.\textsuperscript{93}

Finally, as The Salvation Army finds its historic locus in a specific space and time, it can therefore be located in \textit{historical} (over against metaphysical and/or subjective) categories. Shared practices and traditions common to the global Army are expressed in particular contexts and cultures embraced within the ‘now’ and ‘not yet realised’ eschatological understanding of the Kingdom of God.\textsuperscript{94} The future to which The Salvation Army is committed is a Kingdom inclusive of all nations, races, classes and cultures.\textsuperscript{95} In focusing on the poor and dispossessed, the Army includes those who are usually the first to be excluded. This is why mission based upon the gospel invalidates itself if it does not include them. To consign the poor to a hopeless existence in the present world order to be exchanged for bliss at the end of time is to use eschatology to rationalise the inequities of the social order and to opt for a gnostic understanding of salvation.\textsuperscript{96} In contrast, the Kingdom of God as a missional directive calls Salvation Army personnel to stand and advocate on behalf of those who are voiceless.\textsuperscript{97} They must do so, not motivated by a ‘secular eschatology’ promoting hope and belief in human progress without any requirement for God but rather as a people whose eyes are open to see redemptive possibilities everywhere.

\textsuperscript{92} \textit{HOD}. p.220.
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid. p. 195.
\textsuperscript{94} Ibid. pp 225,230-231, 233, 237.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid. p.226.
\textsuperscript{96} A doctrine of salvation based upon the assumption that spirit is good and matter evil. Gnosticism disparages the place of the material in human existence and a gnostic view of salvation is elitist and therefore incompatible with universal salvation in Christ.
2.9 Speculative Thinking

If as this work proposes, it is sacrifice that undergirds the Salvationist act of protesting injustice, there are a number of questions that this work must consider. Is it conceivable that one might be a Salvationist by conviction and yet not protest against injustice? Or choose to not protest in a sacrificial manner? What theological language might be used to explain what Salvationists believe about the condition of humanity and this world? The claim is that of a ‘salvation’ army. How might their understanding of God’s redemptive grace and action in the world condition a social response to that which excludes and devalues what they understand as being created in the *imago Dei*? Serene Jones writes of ‘grace forming practices’. What (if any) are the common grace transformative practices of this global movement that could influence and ground its protests against unjust acts against the poor? Encountering Christ ‘in the least of these’ speaks of meeting God in people and places that society has abandoned and determined are worthless. To use the language of Hebrews, this occurs ‘outside the camp’. History records indicate Salvationists choose to work among the least and forgotten in society. Is this thesis an attempt to redress what people’s perception of ‘centre’ should be in relation to the gospel? Might this work contribute to a theology from the margins?

Armies by their very nature are visible, occupy space and are commissioned into battle for the expressed purpose of acting in the name of a sovereign to whom they owe allegiance. In the confrontation of powers that initiate, perpetuate or maintain oppressive practices against humanity, what role might an army of God play in protesting such injustices and how might they understand their participation in establishing Kingdom justice?

2.10 Question of Voice

What kind of theologian might best engage with Salvation Army history and practices of protest? In addressing questions and issues that arise out of praxis, research should be done by someone within the area of discipline with its particular epistemological

---

98 *HOD*, p.125.
conditions and demands and as social agent in a particular place within the social formation. I am a Caucasian, female Salvation Army officer who has experienced the privilege of service in ten countries. While this offered access to an extensive range of Salvation Army sources (periodicals, unpublished documents, practices and processes) perhaps inaccessible to an external researcher, particular steps were taken to minimise the risk of bias. Conversations and reflections on research were held with respected Salvation Army social justice practitioners and well as colleagues of the International Theological Council. Teaching undergraduate courses and facilitating workshops provided opportunities to test theory against practice in a broad range of cultural contexts. Presenting academic papers in ecumenical and interfaith forums afforded occasions for discussion and clarification on the Army’s official position on particular aspects of social justice as well as proposals for those areas less developed.

No single voice in a constructive work can unambiguously hold truth in its entirety. There are always multiple possibilities of expression in the creation of the new. If the unity at Pentecost was expressed in a diversity of voices from differing nations under heaven (Acts 2:5), then the inclusion of multiple voices whether historically respected or devalued cannot be underestimated if the intent is in service to the church and the world. Such inclusion has the potential to provide a dynamic and eschatological unity of thought that otherwise might not exist. Traditionally the Wesleyan tradition has used a quadrilateral to describe the place of Scripture, tradition, reason and experience in its development of theological responses to life questions and these elements are evident within this work. However, in an attempt to ensure inclusivity of the various voices needing to be heard in this work, voices have been identified within the rubric of the ‘four voices of theology’ as articulated in Theological Action Research. In contrast to the ‘action-reflection cycle’ of learning, action, experience, and reflection used within TAR and acknowledging that each are rich sources of theological reflection, I have intentionally chosen to use the four voices to classify source material. Because of the

---

breadth of voices used in this thesis and the importance of identifying the relative authority given to the official teaching of The Salvation Army, works of the Booth family members, and individual Salvationists, clarification and identification of the theological voices is warranted.

As identified within TAR, the normative voice identifies what a community names as its authoritative theology (Scripture, creeds, and official church teaching), informing and/or correcting other voices where tension or incongruency exist. The Salvation Army finds its theological ‘home’ within the Wesleyan tradition which holds Scripture as both the authoritative source and norm for understanding who God is, how God acts in the world and the required alignment of believers for faith and practice. Accepted historic church creeds and official teaching regarding doctrinal matters are to be found in its Handbook of Doctrine, developed in light of the Bible as ‘sourcebook for Christian doctrine’. It should not be surprising therefore that a significant chapter of this thesis is then given to establishing God’s actions towards injustice and subsequent calling of humanity into partnership for the shalom of creation as recorded in the Christian scriptures. In addition to the Handbook, particular attention is given to a distinct normative voice within Salvation Army tradition known as sung theology, originating directly or implicitly from Scripture. The use of song as a significant medium to express and instruct theology of faith communities is well documented.

Official Salvation Army teaching is found in publications either bearing the copyright imprint of The General of The Salvation Army, or those specifically commissioned or approved by a sitting General. While the Handbook of Doctrine and The Salvation

---

102 Ibid., p.54.
104 HOD, p.1.11.
106 Editorial Production Manager, Salvation Army International Headquarters, Correspondence – April 2017.
Army Songbook receive extensive citations, other official theological and missionally sanctioned publications used include The Salvation Army and the Body of Christ, Servants Together, The International Spiritual Life Commission Report, International Positional Statements, The Officer, All the World, The War Cry and Orders and Regulations for Officers and Soldiers. Alongside these sanctioned documents, seminal writings of its early leaders (William and Catherine Booth, Bramwell Booth, Samuel Logan Brengle, George Scott Railton) would also appear to be considered authoritative and influential for Salvationist belief and conduct as evidenced by regular re-publication within the organisation.

The espoused voice gives expression to ‘the reflective and faith awareness of the practitioners themselves’ and is found in such publications as Word and Deed – A Journal of Salvation Army Theology and Ministry which encourages and disseminates the thinking of Salvationists and other Christian colleagues on matters broadly related to the theology and ministry of The Salvation Army. With a specific focus on ‘primitive Salvationist practice’ the Journal of Aggressive Christianity (JAC) provides opportunity for individual Salvationists to express ministry passion and concerns through electronic means. Since 1987, a number of international and regional theology and ethics symposia have been held for emerging and established Salvationist theologians to discuss matters of interest to the global Army.

Since a sensitivity to mission includes a sensitivity to the church’s catholicity, the formal voice representing the theology of theologians and dialogue with other disciplines is evident in contributions from Salvationist and other theologians. Voices of respected Salvationist theologians and practitioners speaking into this thesis include Ian Barr, Bo Brekke, Fred Brown, Bruce Brydges, Donald Burke, Philip Cairns, Graham Calvert, Helen Cameron, Craig Campbell, John Cleary, John Clifton, Shaw Clifton, Bramwell Cook, Frederick Coutts, John Coutts, Jason Davies-Kildea, Andrew Eason, Christine Faragher, Carvosso Gauntlett, Roger Green, John Gowans, Alan Harley, Ray

---

107 Cameron et al., Talking About God in Practice: Theological Action Research and Practical Theology. p.53.
Harris, Steve Hedgren, Harold Hill, Gudrun Lydholm, Lars Lydholm, Bob Lyle, William Metcalf, Philip Needham, Janet Munn, Norman Murdoch, Dean Pallant, Lyell Rader, Kay Rader, Paul Rader, Jonathan Raymond, Edward Read, James Read, John Read, John Rhemick, David Rightmire, Campbell Roberts, Graham Roberts, Barbara Robinson, Geoff Ryan, Karen Shakespeare, Julie Slous, Robert Street, Brenda Stirling, Danielle Strickland, Susie Swift, David Taylor, Bramwell Tillsley, John Waldron, Geoff Webb, Kalie Webb, Jim Weymouth, Clarence Wiseman and Ann Woodall. From the wider Wesleyan theological perspective are the voices of Teresa Berger, Rebecca Chopp, David Cubie, Randy Maddox, Douglas Meeks, Joerg Rieger, Theodore Runyan, Charles Wesley and John Wesley. Of the two-thirds world and liberation theology academics cited, the following were intentionally selected not only for their contextual perspective but because of their roots within the Wesleyan theological framework – Jose Miguez Bonino (Argentina), Musa Dube (Botswana), Mercy Oduyoya (Ghana) and Choan-Seng Song (Taiwan). Feminist theology contributes its voice to the importance of a Christology that dignifies women and an embodied and present salvation in the midst of suffering and oppression. Of those cited the following have Salvationist ties or Wesleyan convictions that inform their research in the area of gender and feminist studies – Musa Dube, Andrew Eason, Caroline Jewkes, Janet Munn, Mercy Oduyoya and Danielle Strickland. Finally, reflections on God and the church would be incomplete without taking into account the way God is understood in other religious traditions although this represents a marginal contribution within the thesis.

Operant theology speaks to the actual practices within a community expressing ‘the contemporary living tradition of the Christian faith’.

One of the challenges in seeking to understand the experiences of those who are oppressed and exploited is that it is hard to report what the poor and marginalised do not, choose not or are unable to articulate. In a desire not to make generalisations (partial or otherwise), a number of narratives have been included. Because Salvationists are ‘doers’ and not hearers only (James 1:22-25), a chapter is given to articulating common practices of the first Salvationists

\[\text{Cameron et al., Talking About God in Practice: Theological Action Research and Practical Theology, p.51.}\]
followed by a contemporary commentary. In addition to the above identification and classification of voices, attempts have been made to acknowledge and analyse apparent tensions between them.

2.11 Uniqueness of Contribution

While it is acknowledged that the concept of protest has played a significant role in sociology, actively studied in philosophy, ethics, education and psychology, it has not been extensively applied in Christian theology and never within Salvation Army theology nor from the perspective of specifically protesting injustice. This thesis is novel in its theological treatment of protest and injustice as much of the literature regarding protest theology offers protest, not against human enemies or oppressors, but as direct accusations against God for his perceived responsibility for people’s suffering and hardship. The thesis also contributes to a dimension of social justice studies that is under-represented in Christian protest literature considering the relative importance it plays in both Wesleyan and Salvation Army thought and praxis. Through an original combination of elements, the missio Dei in which the church is called to participate, the embodiment of the risen Christ within bodies in the world as developed in Theology of Transformation and in response to the sanctifying Spirit of God as urged in the holiness tradition at the foundation of Salvationism, this thesis constructs a convincing theology for underpinning social action and protest in particular. It is believed for a number of reasons explained in depth within this work that it is a non-negotiable of the Kingdom of God for Salvationists (and by extension, Christians) to identify and protest against practices that encourage and/or maintain the marginalisation and suffering of the world’s poorest. Specifically, this thesis therefore also contributes to the discovery of what a Salvation Army ‘theo-political imagination’ might represent and so finds its home within political theology so far as it is concerned with the theological basis for political discourse and participation. As gospel liberty has political implications, this work seeks to clarify how participation in the polity is also drawn into the order of

---


111 Phrase borrowed from Cavanaugh, Theopolitical Imagination. Politics is not something discreet or separable from other aspects of life. Historically it named ‘the whole’ in a way that present usage of the term does not. C C Pecknold, Christianity and Politics (Cascade: Wipf & Stock, 2010). p. 6.
salvation. This work also places Salvation Army theology within the sphere of public theology to the extent that it is a living tradition engaged with its public environment. Such engagement points beyond itself to the final reality that is believed to be disclosed within its actions and speaks to the world-as-it-is through prophetic denunciation or affirmative practices.\footnote{Political and public theology share a focus on the eschatological nature of the Kingdom of God. Sebastian Kim, \textit{Theology in the Public Sphere} (London: SCM Press, 2011). pp. 20-25. Prophetic theology may be defined as not so much of what humanity does with its ultimate concern but rather what humanity does with God’s concern. Abraham Heschel, \textit{The Prophets} (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962).pp.263-264.} In addition, because The Salvation Army has a visible, public presence in the world and its personnel are affected by the world, its engagements with the world must be critiqued in order that the tradition itself might continue to flourish.\footnote{Robert Benne, \textit{The Paradoxical Vision: A Public Theology for the Twenty-First Century} (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995). p. 4.}

2.12 Overview and Outline of Thesis

This thesis proposes that the \textit{telos} of \textit{shalom} and the theological motif of sacrifice undergird a creative development of a theology of protest that is original, Christologically grounded, doctrinally sound and pastorally functional. Protest as a response to injustice is a primordial spiritual force that binds humanity to one another and to the whole of creation. Protesting unjust practices is both a vocation and the basis for redemptive hope. By providing detailed historic and descriptive summary of contemporary Salvation Army practice, this work argues that the widespread and scandalous forms of human suffering require a radical expansion of Christian salvation beyond a narrow focus of the individual soul. Drawing upon relevant theological resources and voices, I identify this orientation in terms of a ‘theology of protest’, begun in the heart of God, yet most clearly evident in the life of Jesus of Nazareth in response to the social and political ills of his time. It challenges Christians to witness to Christ through socio-moral and political concern and action in solidarity with suffering humanity. This theme requires investigation, not only to highlight elements of \textit{missio Dei}, holiness and embodiment but also as indicated in the title of this thesis, as a potential rich source of Salvation Army theology. The work is offered to The Salvation Army developed against the background of Salvationist thought and practice but extended in a manner that is
coherent with the movement. While it is acknowledged that this constructive work is not the only way to articulate the theological underpinnings of its social reform and advocacy work, it is an example of a theology that takes it orientation from the world that God so loves and that Salvationists commit to serving in his name.

The academic work and theological perspective are also meant to serve practical pastoral purposes, namely the theoretical groundwork and specific motivation for Salvationist participation in the political process and economy of the world. Such an approach is consistent with the tradition and reputation of promoting dialogue in theology and social justice as well as with the commitment to the cause of the oppressed and exploited. While in its analysis and application this thesis is specifically targeted to Salvationists, it is not difficult to adapt and apply to situations and places beyond its context.

This research represents an opportunity to propose the Salvationist vocation in a new theological way. Such a proposal requires a strong resonance of historic detail as well as Christological grounding in order that the prophetic identity and praxis of Salvationists might be clearly identified. The first chapter has already discussed the importance of and reasons why The Salvation Army as a faith based organisation might wish to develop theological underpinnings of its social justice and reform work at this juncture in its history. This second chapter has explored The Salvation Army’s theological template of mission, salvation, and holiness framed in kingdom language in relation to issues of injustice. It has located the thesis within first order theology and takes its theological orientation from God’s redemptive activity in the world and speaks to the constructive nature of this work and its relationship to Transformation Theology. Chapter Three outlines the evangelical ethos and economic constructs surrounding a number of social questions in the east end of London which birthed an army of protest against exclusion and marginalisation amongst nineteenth century England’s ‘submerged tenth’. The analysis of practices highlights the Salvationist radical understanding of grace and the radical adoption and adaptation of practices for missional ends. Despite the fragmentations of contemporary society and dichotomous challenges faced within The
Salvation Army, Chapter Four grounds present Salvationist orthodoxy and orthopraxy firmly within a Trinitarian construct. Through a thematic focus on the divine intent of *shalom*, the inclusivity of the marginalised, the purity system and its relation to holiness, *imitatio Dei* and the reign of God present in the world, Chapter Five makes explicit the Christological grounding of protest practices as normative for the life of discipleship. Having established that protesting is a key practice to announcing and declaring the Lordship of Christ and his kingdom to fallen powers, attention is given in Chapter Six to the ways in which the theological motif of sacrifice might underpin the redemptive nature of this act. The selection of Carl Schmitt as interlocutor in Chapter Five and Six is premised on his theory of sovereignty and exception as they relate to the contestation of powers and space-place found within protest act. Because every act signs beyond itself, Chapter Seven places the protesting of injustices within the ultimate purposes of the Kingdom of God and identifies the implications of a shared world where all may flourish. Chapter Eight concludes by identifying ecclesial contribution, and creative possibilities for the life of discipleship in light of the Christ act of protest. If this thesis is correct in its appropriation of a theology of protest, the Salvationist community (and by extension the church) is challenged to seize its prophetic responsibility to participate in humanity’s redemption by living right and righting wrong.

Discovery of the social, economic and political challenges and theological influences of nineteenth century England provide the context for the emergence of an Army born to protest against oppression, offering insight to the historic development of Salvation Army social reform practices and it is to this that the next chapter addresses.
Chapter 3
AN ARMY BORN TO PROTEST

Emerging religious movements are products of their own time and context. Whether ‘culturally accommodating or countercultural’, they are either responses to or reactions against the culture in which they find themselves.\(^1\) Grounded in its evangelical heritage, the birth of The Salvation Army in Victorian England must also be understood within its historic milieu. This chapter outlines the religious ethos and economic and social constructs which were both complex and reflective of tensions and debates surrounding a number of social questions of the day, including poverty and gender. In order to understand how and why The Salvation Army emerged within this context, it is important to identify the dynamics that helped to shape the thinking, behaviour and practices of early Salvationists as well as corresponding responses and opposing forces to their unconventional presence and protesting of injustice. As there is a sparse body of academic literature documenting Salvation Army protest and social reform, included in the articulation of early Salvationist practices will be the broader area of Salvation Army political theology, of which protest and social reform is one expression. Analysis of these protest practices is informed by engagement with a number of historic figures and events who influenced its founders - politically, economically and theologically. While there is no disputing that John Wesley’s theology and practice was most influential and formative to the Booths, his was not the only influence that contributed to a ‘red-hot and righteous’ religion.\(^2\) Because the act of lived discipleship and the particular practices in which one participates are central to the purpose and mission of Salvationists, a discussion of practices and their importance to the Christian life preface the historic specifics of the Army’s origins in the east end of London.\(^3\)

---

### 3.1 Practices

The earliest accounts of Christian communities depict groups of people doing things together in the light of and in response to God. Jesus shared his earthly life with disciples, with whom he healed and taught, ate and sang, and prayed. The Acts of the Apostles and the letters of Paul provide glimpses of people breaking bread together in memory of Jesus, sharing possessions with those in need, singing, healing and testifying together – men and women, slaves and citizens, Jews and Gentiles (Acts 2:42-47). Through the centuries ways of living that share this source and purpose take shape in very different experiences, but in each people seek to live in ways that respond to the mercy and freedom of God as it is made known in Jesus Christ. They do things that other people also do because these are part of being human – caring for the sick, burying the dead, raising children, making decisions, yet are done differently because of their knowledge of God in Christ.

Historically, practices have been interpreted as individualistic and abstract. The individual performing the act is the one engaged in the practice while others are either objects or recipients of the practice. This view of practice, however, lacks the larger social and historic context in which individual actions take place. A single act does not a practice make but a single action may become a practice insofar as it relates to the larger practices of a community when it contributes to something much larger than the specific act itself. One of the clearest formulations of community practice comes from Alasdair MacIntyre who defines it as

> any coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative human activity through which goods internal to that form of activity are realised in the course of trying to achieve those standards of excellence which are appropriate to, and partially definitive of, that form of activity, with the result that human powers to achieve excellence, and human conceptions of the ends and goods involved, are systematically extended.

---

7 MacIntyre, *After Virtue*. p.175.
Practice here is inherently cooperative including people who do not do things to one another so much as they do things with one each other. Though each may engage in separate acts they are not engaged in separate practices. In the entering into a practice, one not only accepts the authority of internal standards and the adequacy (or inadequacy) of one’s own performance when judged by them but also subjects one’s own choices, and preferences to the standards which currently define a given practice. Practices are not Christian simply because they have been used for a long time or because they are shared with others. The theological challenge in any account of practices is to demonstrate that the identity to which these practices contribute is Christian in some meaningful sense. A key is found in MacIntyre’s emphasis of narrative in which he argues that one can only answer the question ‘what can I do?’ if the question ‘of what story or stories do I find myself a part?’ can be answered. In order for practices to be meaningful there must be continuity of narrative because people are essentially story tellers; we live our stories before we ‘tell’ them. Christian practices, therefore, derive their value from their dependence upon and contribution to the world through the foundational Christian narrative. MacIntyre’s discussion of the nature of practice as a key component of the moral life provides ‘moral weight’ to the significance of practice for Christian communities. The exercising of justice, courage and honesty in practice presupposes a tradition which provides the resources within which an individual can pursue their quest for the good. Practices also bear epistemological weight. In participating in certain practices people come to view more than simply the value or good of certain acts. Beyond these, they become aware of certain realities outside of the actual practice - new knowledge or powers of perceptiveness. Within the realm of faith, a new reality may emerge with new forms of practice, each ‘presupposing a transcendent source and power.’

---

9 MacIntyre, After Virtue. p. 190.
10 Ibid. Kaufmann claims MacIntyre omits the active role that agents play in making sense of their stories and practices because he misses the distinction between narrative in fiction and narrative in real life. It is this activity as opposed to passivity that is significant in a person’s capacity to make meaning of their actions. Sebastian Kaufmann, "The Attestation of the Self as a Bridge Between Hermeneutics and Ontology in the Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur " (Marquette University, 2010). p. 57.
Each practice has a history. Entering into a practice is to identify not only with contemporary practitioners but also with those who have preceded them in a practice and particularly those whose achievements have extended the reach of the practice to its present point in time.\textsuperscript{13} Practices are also oriented toward the future. Just as faith communities in the past and present have appropriated and altered practices for their own contexts, future communities will devise and improvise in ways not yet imagined. Yet, paradoxically, practices have no real history. They may be repeated (one may do the same kind of thing in sufficiently similar situations), yet each practice is also essentially a singular event, beginning and ending with its intervention into each situation.\textsuperscript{14}

Beliefs may provide a ‘normative vision’ for practices, but this role is secondary as ‘the Christian way of life, with all its practices, is supported and shaped by something outside that way of life – by what God has done, is doing, and will do’.\textsuperscript{15} Practices, however, shape beliefs. Normatively, people come to believe either because they find themselves already engaged in Christian practices (e.g. growing up in a Christian home) or because they become attracted to them. In many cases, beliefs are already embodied in practices so that the act of espousing beliefs becomes a matter of bringing to memory what is already implicit in the engagement of practices themselves.\textsuperscript{16} A second way practices are crucial for beliefs is in their understanding of beliefs. Many of the commands of Jesus link revelation with obedience (Jn 8:31,51; 15:10). While there were times when Jesus invites people to ‘believe this’, more often he commands ‘do this and you will live’. This is apparent where Jesus teaches obedient

\textsuperscript{13} MacIntyre, \textit{After Virtue}. p. 193.


\textsuperscript{16} Ibid. p. 256. Clifton argues people have a capacity to make sense of their story through testimony which recalls memory to present, holds one accountable for their actions and informs acceptable practices. Clifton, “Finding Jesus in a Night Shelter: Towards a Contemporary Ontology of the Christ-commissioned Act.” p. 7.
action is the organ of further revelation (Lk 16:31). Right practices well practiced then may provide the means to open people’s insights into beliefs which otherwise might be closed. Conversely, wrong practices may produce an adverse effect on how beliefs are to be understood. The way people perceive situations then determines how they will behave in relation to them and the type of priorities and action they might adopt. One of the challenges in making practice a theological starting place and end is that practice by its very nature resists any exhaustive account of itself. Engagement in practice then, provides for seeing how core beliefs are to be understood and perhaps even reformulated in ever changing contexts. This will become evident as early Salvation Army practices are examined.

3.2 An Orienting Concern

There is a sense in which each community of Christians engages, implicitly or explicitly in asking whether the forms their practices take are faithful to God’s purposes. The effort to offer a theological description of life abundant (Jn 10:10), is made complex by ‘the problem of the too big and the too small’. The problem of the ‘too big’ is that reflection at this level can be too grand to be of much direct use pragmatically. The problem of ‘too small’ reveals the opposite for in the actual work of living as Christians one may lose the significance of particular practices and their relationship to doctrines and beliefs. What gives consistency (if there is any) to a particular theological tradition is not unchanging doctrinal summaries but rather an orienting perspective or metaphor (for example Luther’s theologia crucis) that guides various practices. Given Christianity’s salvific emphasis, it is reasonable to conclude that Christian orienting concerns will characteristically focus on how God interacts with humanity and resultant

---

20 Cameron, Talking About God in Practice. p. 23.
human responses. Furthermore, given that this thesis focuses on The Salvation Army, it is equally reasonable to expect that its practices are redemptive in nature and scope.

This thesis resists turning only to exemplary testimonies regarding practices for those who embody Jesus’ demanding teachings are acutely aware of their limits and struggles.

In their imperfections, they draw our gaze toward the gracious God who works in and through them. Any excellence in their lives is less a matter of precision or moral mastery than a readiness to repent and keen awareness of their dependence on God. They point us towards[...] a theology of grace in understanding practices.  

Christian practices must also include both a profound knowledge of humankind including its capacity to sin, as well as a profound knowledge of God’s shalom purpose for creation, for they share in the mysterious dynamic of fall and redemption, sin and grace. By this I mean that practices have to do with the ways in which God’s grace takes actual shape among people – how grace is embodied and mediated. Christian (and specifically Salvationist practices) are to be understood as ‘actions done together (communal) over time (historic) to address human needs in response to and light of God’s active presence for the life of the world (intentional)’ enabling them to participate in God’s redemptive mission for the world.

3.3 Nineteenth Century Attitudes to Poverty

Levels of poverty and associated visibility exhibit influence on attitudes towards the poor. Theories regarding the causes of poverty in turn affect policy and actions and so impact back on the real level of poverty suffered. A number of influential thinkers and actors participated in creating the environment in which William Booth grew up in Victorian England. Because of industrialisation, and furthered by the unrest of the some of the labouring population, including the Chartist movement, poverty and its social repercussions began to have a higher claim on people’s attention towards the middle of

---

the nineteenth century. Bentham’s utilitarian ideas as well as Newtonian science from the late eighteenth century still affected events and attitudes when an adult William Booth reached London in 1849. Viewing Victorian England in light of the Industrial Revolution it is not hard to understand why it embraced so fervently these concepts which exalted man, encouraged an open and freely competitive market and applauded free enterprise among individuals and between nations. With these concepts of mechanization, however, came a new dynamic between man and society. Unlike eighteenth century society which was vertically ordered with everyone having and knowing their ‘place’ with respect to responsibilities and obligations, industrialized society consisted of classes connected horizontally, each competing with the others for prominence, power and wealth. Profit in production was the ultimate badge of success and England was astonishingly successful both as a nation and in the wealth of many of her citizens. However a price was to be exacted for such progress. Since the chief concern was profit, lowest production costs and highest possible sale prices were demanded. The human fodder that powered this economic industrial machine was the common labourer, the men and women of the working class who worked the hardest and longest for the least gain, providing cheap labour for production. Entire families laboured long hours in the factories, many enduring such poverty that they could not support their children, selling them into apprenticeship or servitude. It is not that the Industrial Revolution brought poverty to England. There had always been poverty. But it was one thing to be poor while living on the land and quite another to be poor in the city. It was one thing to be poor while most others were poor and poverty was accepted as a ‘station in life’. It was quite another to be poor among wealthy people where success was expected to come to the hard working and enterprising regardless of one’s original station in life. This was true for the Stockingers of Nottingham as they progressively lost their livelihood in competition with industrial capitalism. The would-be founder of The Salvation Army would know first-hand such poverty as a

27The eighteenth century social and economic philosophy elevated the individual and Jeremy Bentham’s thinking gave man a prominence which would have significant meaning in nineteenth century England. Isaac Newton’s work on cause and effect moved by natural law provided the scientific foundation for nineteenth century England.


pawnbroker’s apprentice in that same city. Indirectly, William Booth was influenced by the part that poverty played in the growth and strength of Chartism. The first indication of any direct political influence on Booth came as a youth hearing Chartist orator Feargus O’Connor speak in Nottingham. W.T. Stead who would later play a key role in the Army’s protest of young girls being prostituted, described William as a ‘Physical Force Chartist of course, being a boy and therefore uncompromising’. The rights that all Chartists agitated for were contained in six points of the People’s Charter - universal suffrage, equal electoral districts, and abolition of property qualifications and understood as a fight for social justice in order to regain ancient rights that had been denied the working class. William Booth therefore had a background in which he saw the poor protesting and claiming their political rights positively and not simply as recipients of middle class charity. Despite the fact that he may not have maintained a commitment to such a political agenda in his adult years, threads can be drawn from that early experience which were woven into his later life. O’Connor, with his oratory, was almost certainly the first person to suggest to William Booth in a convincing way, that something could be done to redress the situation of acute poverty and the lack of rights that accompanied it. The adult Booth lost his belief in physical force as a solution and would give his lasting approval to schemes of cooperation as an effective way forward in readjusting the social and economic relations between classes. William never became directly involved in pressing for parliamentary and electoral reform and later writings demonstrate that he no longer considered such things a priority. It would be the element of social justice in the demands of Chartism that remained with him. He abhorred the suffering caused by poverty and injustice and would lead future Salvationists to fight against it sometimes seeking to help individuals and later, seeking to challenge the systems involved.

3.4 Political Influences

One century earlier, England had birthed one of its most radical protestors, Thomas Paine, who would be greatly influenced by his own father’s Quaker principles and retain much of those values in both temperament and ideas. His implicit assumptions were egalitarian. All humanity was created equal since they were all equally the children of God. Man had no need for a priest to mediate between himself and the Almighty. Human conscience and reason, both God-given, were all that were needed as guide to right conduct and the pursuit of truth. His early religious opinions evidenced a deep devotion to what he regarded as the essence of Christianity: benevolence towards all.

Paine would be deeply involved with political struggles in America and France and his support of the French Revolution in his seminal work, *Rights of Man*, caused alarm in England. As its title implies and readers soon acknowledged, much of the appeal of this publication lay in its focus upon rights. Such rights language pervaded eighteenth century politics and insisted upon the rights of all to life, liberty, the protection of property, participation in government, and the right to resist arbitrary authority. Much of the attractiveness of the *Rights of Man* was doubtless Paine’s invocation of the rights of all rather than only narrowly British liberties. By de-emphasising historically based rights or liberties, Paine turned away from the imitation of the Anglo-Saxon constitution and instead his contestation of the ancient emphasised a deeply Christian, especially Quaker and cosmopolitan view of what was due to everyone. Humanity should be understood as belonging to one universal community where all possessed equality and duties which upheld the fundamental dignity (a word of immense importance to Paine) of each. The ways and means of enacting such rights included the abolition of poor rates (taxation on houses and windows), provision for poor families, education for children, old age pensions and employment for the poor.

---

33 In response to the Bishop of Lindaff, Paine said ‘It is wrong to say that God made ‘rich’ and ‘poor’; he made only ‘male’ and ‘female’ and he gave them the earth for their inheritance. Instead of preaching to encourage one part of mankind in insolence, it would be better that priests employed their time to render the general condition of man less miserable than it is.’ Mark Philip, ed. *Thomas Paine - Rights of Man, Common Sense and Other Political Writings*, The World's Classics (London: Oxford University Press, 1995). pp. 414-415.


"Rights of Man" and "Agrarian Justice" were published toward the end of the eighteenth century, their influence was felt well into the nineteenth century and was particularly crucial in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, which in its turn, affected the level and manner of poverty that people suffered. Paine’s work was also used in the on-going argument about whether the poor were victims or responsible for their own plight. He provided ‘working class radicalism with its vocabulary, its standard of right and wrong, its interpretation of the past and its hope for the future’.

Virtually every working class radical in nineteenth century England was strongly influenced by Paine and this became evident within the Methodist Church context out of which William and Catherine Booth would emerge.

3.5 Methodism and American Evangelicalism
Revival measures and perfectionist aspirations flourished between 1835 and 1865 in all major Christian denominations, particularly in the cities, drawing together ideas and practices which since have been a means of divergence within the church: lay leadership, the drive toward interdenominational fellowship and the primacy of ethics over dogma. Drunkenness, immorality and disease among the masses were epidemic in proportions and separation from the Church was a conscious, intentional position held by the vast portions of the poorer classes. While churches were the most involved group reaching out to the impoverished masses of nineteenth century England, they were not necessarily the most effective working among the poor. They understood their task not to merely preach the gospel, but to reorganise human society in accordance with the law of God. Contrary to the view that the holiness movement of the time represented a flight from temporal realities, many church leaders held optimistic views of a temporal

---

37 Unhappy with the Calvinist emphasis of doctrine and practice in the Congregationalist church that ran counter to Arminian sensibilities of both William and Catherine, William turned to another Methodist denomination, the New Connexion, founded by Alexander Kilham in 1797. Kilham had been greatly influenced by Thomas Paine’s pamphlet "The Rights of Man." New Connexion members in Huddersfield were known as the ‘Tom Painers’, so great was their concern for the rights and welfare of ordinary people. Edward Palmer Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Pelican, 1968). p. 49.  
millennium and of the necessity of social action to achieve it. They testified against ‘the vice of trade, the vices of the professions and the vices of politics’ thus helping prepare the way both in theory and practice for what later would become known as the social gospel.\textsuperscript{40} The Church of England understood it had a peculiar charge over the souls of the poor and the evangelical revival that came from within the established church was such that in the end and against John Wesley’s wishes, resulted in a distinct Methodist church. Methodism was profoundly marked by its origin – the poor man’s dissent of John Bunyan, Dan Taylor and later the Primitive Methodists (a religion of the poor); orthodox Wesleyanism remained as it had commenced (a religion for the poor).\textsuperscript{41} Many Protestants were post-millenialists which meant they had been taught to dream that theologically their efforts for the Kingdom of Heaven would bring in the thousand years of the golden age foretold in Isaiah 2 and 14, Jeremiah 23 and Revelation 20.\textsuperscript{42} Charles Finney gave leadership to this dream, boldly declaring that ‘if the church will do all her duty the millennium may come in this country in three years’.\textsuperscript{43} Whilst his postmillennialism and its accompanying reformist activity in the realm of alcoholism and the abolition of slavery predated the development of his views on perfection, they dovetailed naturally into this new vision ‘the great business of the church is to reform the world – to put away every kind of sin’.\textsuperscript{44} The chief challenge to the church was that it was governed, as was society, by middle-class values. It was concerned about the heathenism of the masses, but like its secular counterparts, stood above the poor, reaching down to the ‘have-nots’ to share wisdom and counsel. Its respectability and seriousness were considered to be cold and lifeless by the needy. Therefore, the great social problem of Victorian England, disfranchisement of the poor, was also the great spiritual problem of the Victorian Church. It would be in the midst of such challenges

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid. p. 255.
that a Christian mission would be birthed in protest out of the conviction of a Methodist couple, William and Catherine Booth, that churches were failing to bring the gospel of God’s love in Christ to the masses – the poor and working classes – and that new departures were called for in order to carry out the Great Commission (Mt 28:19).

Nothing but embodied, incarnate goodness could touch the mass of moral Putrefaction in the world. Orthodox views and correct systems of theology and grand ideas and eloquent preaching, etc. were utterly useless, compared with the influence of one holy life. Let men see religion embodied and they must be won!45

After repeated attempts to be appointed permanently by the Methodist New Connexion to evangelistic work with the masses, the Booths saw no other alternative outside a courageous embarkment on their own under God’s leading. Where God led them was to the slums of the East End of London. This was the place, more than any other in that city, of human suffering, exploitation and immorality. This was London’s embarrassment, where the Church was surprisingly scarce, given its prominence otherwise in Victorian society, as if it had something on its hands which it did not quite know how to handle. If one of the signs the Kingdom had come in Jesus Christ was that the poor had the gospel preached to them (Mt 11:5), the Victorian church had forgotten. An army born to protest would remind them.

By its own declaration ‘The Salvation Army is an evangelical part of the universal church with its own distinctive governance and practice (italics mine).’46 Such a statement indicates that, in addition to commonly held and accepted practices of the universal church, there were distinctives readily attributable to this movement; expressions of the Christian faith, unique in nature and practice. What were these formative and embodied practices that identified one as a Salvationist and why did they often take the form of protest? In what theological values were such practices and protests grounded? How did the established church and surrounding society respond to Salvationist’s presence? And equally important – how did those whom Salvationists committed themselves to respond?

---

William and Catherine were evangelicals who clearly stood within the Wesleyan holiness tradition. Among the direct influences upon their evangelical work was Charles Finney and his innovation of permitting women to pray in public meetings and the development of the ‘anxious seat’, the forerunner of the Army’s mercy seat. James Caughey, an Irish-born emigrant to the United States, whose effective use of a public altar call and emphasis on a second work of grace was instrumental in William’s conversion. Catherine would be deeply influenced by Phoebe Palmer, an American Wesleyan holiness preacher and when a pamphlet attacking women preachers and Phoebe Palmer in particular was published, Catherine would write her historic rebuttal, *Female Ministry or Women’s Right to Preach*. Holiness revivalism, the combination of American revivalism and Wesleyan perfection carried to Britain by amongst others, Caughey, Finney and Palmer, then, had a decisive impact on the theology and practice of William and Catherine Booth. More specifically their aggressive form of Christianity would have consequences for emergent convictions and practices. The Booths would found a radical evangelistic Christian mission which would not only unmistakably recall the Victorian church to the priority of mission but would by their own lives demonstrate a visible sacrificial engagement in social reform and welfare to a larger faith community that could appear indifferent and even absent to the marginalised. But beyond these events and figures was John Wesley who would prove the most powerful theological influence on William in particular. ‘I worshipped everything that bore the name of Methodist. To me there was one God, and John Wesley was his prophet[…]and all that was wanted[…]for the salvation of the world was the faithful carrying into practice of the letter and the spirit of his instructions.’ For William, there was no question – he understood his inheritance from John Wesley to be both theological (especially in his understanding of the doctrine of sanctification by grace) and organisational.

47 Shakespeare, “Knowing, Being and Doing”. pp. 24-30.
49 Catherine Booth, "Female Ministry or Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel," (London: Morgan and Chase, 1859).
51 Green, *War on Two Fronts*. p. 10.
The two general concepts of greatest importance for John Wesley were his ideas of God and of humanity. From God’s role as Sovereign came all God’s grace, including the whole of creation, both physical and social. Power and authority in such human institutions as church and state were grants made by God as his corporate representatives on earth. In his concept of God’s role as Governor, Wesley sought an answer to the problem of freedom. In order for God’s revelation in Jesus to make sense, human beings needed to be free, for without freedom they simply were not responsible. Human responsibility arose out of human freedom and conscience, which were functions of what Wesley termed *prevenient grace.* Grace was granted by God to humans, enabling them to differentiate between good and evil. If one could in reality distinguish between good and evil, this ability made sense only if one could choose, or fail to choose God. Thus, for Wesley (and later William and Catherine Booth), grace was resistible. Moreover, people could choose to accept God’s love and as a result of God’s love, humans were able to love both God and their fellow human beings. The other major theological problem concerned human nature. Wesley’s perspective was premised upon the Christian doctrine of original sin, which claimed that human nature was corrupted as a result of Adam’s Fall. The revelation of God gave to all the possibility of salvation, though humanity was always capable of knowingly contravening the will of God. Sin, therefore, had a two-fold character: conceived in terms of the very depravity of human nature which originated in Adam and the actual transgression of divine law. The impulse to break God’s law, however, came partly as a result of the on-going influence of original sin. It was as a result of sin in both senses that the problem of evil arose and both Wesley and the Booths would find ample evidence of the reality of evil in class exploitation and other social problems. Because of human sinfulness, government had the rather explicit ethical responsibility to preserve order. Wesley’s ethical assumptions rested upon the twin foundations of ‘human responsibility and the creativity of divine and human love’. Grounded in these was the understanding of righteousness and an ethic that was inevitably both personal and social.

---

52 Maddox, *Responsible Grace.* p. 83.
53 Ibid.
Related to his love concept were his ideas of social justice and Christian perfection. The process through which perfection was realised was sanctification or holiness. Sanctification made righteousness possible – not good and gracious acts in and of themselves, but the operation of God in people producing these acts. The goal of sanctification was perfection in this life – the perfect possession of the perfect motive – love of God and love of others (Mk 12:30,31). Inward holiness was connected with one’s disposition toward God and outward holiness specified one’s disposition towards others. Wesley held that believers could love God and others through the empowerment of his Spirit and the grace extended to and through them. As a corrective to the Reformation tendency to separate grace and works into an unhelpful dichotomy, Wesley identified a synergy between grace and works. God invited humans into partnership in the divine mission. This was the expression of essential humanity rather than merely the forensic declaration of God’s election of an individual. True religion was not simply a matter of outward deeds, but was foundationally about the disposition of the heart.  

Neither was the work of God in his people a passive receptivity. Rather it called for a response to God’s work and a partnering with God in that work. The process of sanctification motivated those being sanctified to respond to God’s grace, not only by abstaining from evil, but by choosing to serve others. As a result, Wesley called people ‘to work out their salvation...by every possible means’.

3.6 Theological Provision - Grace - By Every Possible Means

As practising Methodists, William and Catherine Booth held to Wesley’s teaching of the Christian practices as ‘means of grace’, understood as outward signs, words, or actions as the means whereby God works in humanity God’s prevenient, justifying or

---


57 While not commonly used in Salvationist vocabulary, this Methodist phrase summarises the elements that facilitate spiritual growth in the life of early Salvationists.
sanctifying grace – practices which they believed were conducive to the development of inward and outward holiness.\(^{58}\) Wesley’s 1765 sermon ‘The Scripture Way of Salvation’ outlined works of piety along with works of mercy that directly intervened in the bodies and souls of people. Works of piety included prayer, scripture, the Lord’s Supper, fasting and the gathering together of believers while works of mercy comprised of contextual acts of holy living, and attitudes toward daily living - watching, denying self and exercising the presence of God. It was believed that transformed lives resulted from these practices and provided additional testaments to the power of God, therefore becoming means of grace for others. Like John Wesley, William and Catherine Booth understood the doctrine of holiness to be an essential experience for all who claimed to be followers of Christ, however, their theology of redemption would later expand to include the people of God known as The Salvation Army, and be inextricably bound to an enlarged vision – to win the world for Christ. But such a vision could only ever be realised if there were distinctive practices that both formed and informed Salvationists individually and corporately as a graced people. Without these they could not personally experience the saving and keeping power of grace, nor declare in word and deed to the world its transformative power both in temporal and eternal matters. The outworking of the grace-filled life was the demonstration of grace-filled practices. These would be evidenced in the Salvationists’ inner life, their life together and in their visible embodied life in the world.

### 3.7 Works of Piety – Grace in the Inner Life

The development of the spiritual lives of Salvationists was of paramount importance to the Army’s early leaders. It was believed that people would not grow old in holiness unless they were watched over, taught and led.\(^ {59}\) From its earliest days and perhaps despite its activism, prayer was a priority for all who called themselves Salvationists. Concerned that personal prayer could become a casualty in too busy lives, the first issue of *The Officer* magazine reinforced the importance of this means of grace ‘Do not forget the inestimable importance and privilege of prayer. All mighty warriors in the Church


\(^{59}\) Bramwell Booth, "Comments on Things Small and Great," *The Field Officer* 1903. Vol II, # 3, p. 82.
of God since the foundation of the world, who have shaken Hell to any extent, have been men and women of prayer." Early editions of *The Salvation Army Songbook* placed prayer within the ‘Means of Grace’ section: ‘In the secret of Thy presence where the pure in heart may dwell; Are the springs of sacred service and a power that none can tell’. The revelation of God through Scripture was authoritative and was the first article of faith for all who became Salvationists. Each was called to be ‘a living, walking, fighting Bible which can be seen, and read and felt by every soul around him.’ Practices of fasting, self-denial and suffering for the Gospel were embraced by Salvationists in solidarity with those of lesser means as a means of raising funds for the ‘salvation war’. This denial of self for the sake of others was explicitly understood as part of the true fast required by God in Isaiah 58. Just as there was no Christianity without Christ, so it was equally true for William Booth that there was no Christ without Christianity. The most natural way of identification of the believer with Christ was identification with him in his suffering, a theme common in correspondence and speaking. William Booth described such practices as ‘the fight’, emphasizing anything done on behalf of Christ’s kingdom was worthy of earthly sacrifice. Such identification served at least four functions in William’s theology. It gave legitimacy to the strenuous work to which he called his followers. It provided a witness to the world that the believer sided with the atoning Christ and not the evil one. It was ultimately the means of redemption of the world understood to be the primary focus of the church. Finally suffering was understood to be a necessary means of perfecting the person if the

---

60 William Booth, "No Title," *The Officer*, February 1893, p. 42.
62 Appendix 1 – Article of War (or Soldier’s Covenant).
above three functions were to be realised. As a consequence of submission to the Lordship of Christ, Salvationist testimony spoke of the fullness of his presence through the Holy Spirit and freedom for continued obedience to the tasks they understood were theirs as expressed in sung testimony - ‘the more I surrender to Jesus my Lord, the more of his fullness I know; the more that I give him, the more he gives me, his grace and his peace he bestows.’ Such an understanding of sacrificial surrender was grounded firmly rooted in the Army’s Wesleyan roots. Practices of prayer, the authority of Scripture and the embracing of self-denial then were established early in the life of the Army. Thoroughly Wesleyan in nature, these works of piety were paramount for the development of holiness in the salvation soldier. But such practices were not to be restricted to individual experience; they were fully integrated within the Salvationist’s life together.

3.8 Works of Piety – Grace in the Life Together

The practice of ‘growing saints’ was a unique missional practice within the Army with its focused training in holiness. As with John Wesley one century earlier, the intention was that the converted masses would return to churches for membership. Evangelistic campaigns amongst the working poor were highly successful and conversions numerous. However a number of problems surfaced. Converts refused to return when sent but sadly for those who did return, local congregations were not always prepared to accept the converted derelicts and reformed prostitutes into membership. It was perhaps therefore inevitable that converts returned to those through whose ministry they had come to new birth in Christ. Thus William and Catherine Booth found themselves with Christians without a fellowship and at a crossroad – either to continue working with existing congregations to find a way for converts of humble origin to be accepted or to embark on yet another significant departure by allowing that this new evangelistic movement would also be the permanent spiritual home of converts who felt led to make it such and who themselves wanted to become involved in the mission. Based on

68 Green, War on Two Fronts. p. 50.
69 Salvationist prayer chorus, author and date unknown. This concept of self-giving finds its way in Call # 8 in Appendix 2.
experience, the first option seemed unpromising. The choice then made was to grow the saints.\textsuperscript{71} Opposition to the decision came from several directions including the public, churches and some of the original missioners. A number returned to home churches as originally intended, others expressed discomfort with Catherine Booth’s increasing emphasis on holiness teaching.\textsuperscript{72} Objections arose regarding the unorthodox methods – open air meetings, street processions, and a ‘penitent form’ for use by converts making public decisions to become Christians. Despite these concerns, many chose to stay and made the fledgling Christian mission ‘home’. During this time William Booth’s primary interest was the souls of individuals and their spiritual condition. He was committed to the proclamation of the gospel for man’s eternity and had yet to develop a theological platform from which he would protest the alleviation of social ills as part of a redemptive theology.

3.8.1 From a Mission to an Army

True Christianity, for William Booth was ‘the living literal imitation of the actual Christ’.\textsuperscript{73} Holiness thus meant the believer’s participation in the work of Christ. John Wesley had conceived of such participation in strongly individualistic terms and while his ethic had been socially directed, the work of Christ had always been an individual endeavour. While well-grounded in the Wesleyan ethic, he made a distinct departure and conceived of the believer’s participation in Christ’s work as participation in a great co-operative endeavour. The basis would remain voluntaristic, but the work itself would demand a surrender of the individual will to the exigencies of the common struggle against evil. Thus, whereas holiness for both John Wesley and William Booth aimed at benevolence or perfect love, Wesley understood this love actualised through individual efforts while Booth saw it being actualised through unified effort. William Booth’s great reality was the salvation war. While he shared Catherine’s concern for the practical results of the Christian life, his greater interest was victory in the larger struggle against the principalities and powers and would mould the movement for front-line participation in that struggle. While the military images of the early Salvation Army emerged as a

\textsuperscript{73} Booth, \textit{The General's Letters}, 1885.p. 13.
methodology targeting a particular cultural group, William believed it embodied the essentials of the Army’s message so that in effect it became a model for Salvation Army theology.\textsuperscript{74}

The concept of the Christian belonging to an Army that is at war with evil can be seen to be justified by a distinctive understanding of the Kingdom of God which, having begun in the early mission of Jesus, continues in, but is not equal to, the church on earth. Accordingly, the church has a mission as the ‘army’ of the Kingdom. This Kingdom will be opposed by surrounding forces, even though it is essentially a kingdom of peace and reconciliation […] effected by the crucifixion and resurrection.\textsuperscript{75}

William Booth once said that the only reason for which The Salvation Army existed was war; war for the deliverance of an enslaved and condemned race.\textsuperscript{76} It was not enough to proclaim deliverance through Christ; deliverance had to be fought for, man must be rescued. What was needed to carry out this redemptive mission was ‘an organization with the salvation of the world as its supreme ambition and object’.\textsuperscript{77} In doing so, William Booth sought to amend what he understood as a weakness of the revivalism of his day – lack of permanent effort. He did so by creating an organised movement in which conversion also entailed subsequent participation in the on-going redemptive mission. The Salvation Army was to be a missionary endeavour whose functional goal was the salvation of the world and therefore by the very nature of its task could not be democratically structured. Previously thwarted by the democratic workings of the Methodist New Connexion, William Booth refused to bow to majority opinion. There is little doubt he would have ever realised his own goals had he not created his own authority. The original aim was to transplant the methods of the administrative machinery of Methodism to the Christian Mission. However, this form of governance was considered cumbersome and the decision was taken to abolish Conference Rule, placing William Booth in sole command.\textsuperscript{78} As the Christian Mission expanded, immediate decisions were frequently required and Booth's best leaders were engaged in work far from the headquarters in London and could not attend frequent conferences.

\textsuperscript{74} Karen Shakespeare, "Christian Leadership and The Salvation Army" (Anglia Polytechnic University, 1999). Unpublished.
\textsuperscript{76} William Booth, The Doctrines and Disciplines of The Salvation Army (London: International Headquarters, 1881).
\textsuperscript{77} Booth-Tucker, The Life of Catherine Booth, p. 74.
Thus, by 1878, when the mission adopted the name ‘The Salvation Army’, a quasi-military structure evolved as the most effective form of governance. The success of the movement had already come to depend largely upon a strong central government, decisive policies and uniform methods. Booth considered the authoritarian structure of his movement to have much in common with that order of human life which God sought to establish among his people. Therefore the change of name from ‘The Christian Mission’ to ‘The Salvation Army’ was understood as a logical outcome of an aggressive revivalism in London, the heart of the British Empire. There were many influences upon the development of this aggressive Army but four are of particular note as David Taylor’s research suggests. First, because both William and Catherine Booth held to the reality of a personal devil who had recruited an opposing army in the fight for humanity’s body and soul, they joined contemporary evangelicals in maintaining vivid descriptions of hell as a place of captivity and endless punishment, encouraging soldiers to ‘give yourself body and soul, time and strength to the great task of saving people from going there by any means.’ William had experienced first-hand the influence of Charles Finney’s influence in James Caughey’s ministry and decided that the urgency of war on the devil and his practices justified an aggressive and militant human force. The metaphor quickly came to dominate and brought into existence new symbols — uniform, flag, use of military language, each waging war on the devil himself. William’s drive for creating order was formulated in what was termed a ‘doctrine of combination’ which correlated with his doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Since the Spirit was that manifestation of divine power which bound humanity together into the family of God’s people, so the doctrine of combination meant that humanity’s endeavours should be so combined as to manifest a corresponding unity of purpose and direction. Just as the Spirit worked in

79 John Wesley, through his use of class meetings, unwittingly laid the foundation for Booth’s army. Where Booth would be accused of establishing a new papacy due to his strict authoritarian approach and discipline, he was emulating Wesley and his class systems.
80 David W Taylor, Like a Mighty Army? The Salvation Army, the Church and the Churches (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014). pp. 57-58.
82 Converts were enrolled as soldiers under the Army flag, whose pattern and colors are Trinitarian and symbolic of the redeeming blood of Christ, the refining and empowering fire of the Holy Spirit and the purity and holiness of God and of those who single-mindedly serve Him.
countless ways for the same end, so people’s methods could vary, but only in a way that produced
the restoration of man to God. To accomplish this a force is required[…] bound with the closest earthly and strongest heavenly bonds; one doctrine, one spirit, one government, one and all prostrated in obedience to the divine Head – the God and Father of us all. This means submission. This means obedience.  

William Booth believed that his military governance was consistent with true Christian liberty ‘because all men of sense and experience cheerfully consent to that abridgement of liberty which is necessary to secure the greater good of themselves and those about them.’ Such a freedom always operated within a limiting sphere and there was no freedom apart from an ordered sphere of life. He was, of course, criticised for his autocracy, censured for his egoistic independence from Church and Sacrament and his presumptuous claims. Captious as were T.H. Huxley’s criticisms, they were perceptive enough to see a basic intention of Booth’s movement – the establishment of a veritable Kingdom of God on earth. William Booth, however, dreamt of a theocracy in which men who had been without hope in this life were given a totally new sphere of life where the hope of the gospel became the basis for a new benevolent order.

3.8.2 Called, Commissioned, Covenanted
The twinning of the divine imperative to sanctification and service to the underprivileged was perhaps another distinctive practice of The Salvation Army in Victorian England. Salvationists were a people who understood they were ‘saved to serve’. Theirs was a personal calling from a life of sin and its eternal consequences but they had been saved for God’s redeeming purposes – to protest the proclivity of sin and by doing so, transform the world. For those who questioned such a call of grace, Salvationists replied ‘except I am moved with compassion, how dwelleth thy Spirit in me? In word and in deed, burning love is my need, I know I can find this in Thee.’ This concept of calling pervaded many Salvation Army documents, including the officer

85 Booth, The Doctrines and Disciplines of The Salvation Army. p. 92.
87 The distinctive ‘S’ on both lapels of western style uniforms represents ‘saved to serve’. While other letters or characters are used in different countries, the translated meaning is similar.
88 SASB. Song 626.
covenant with its opening statement ‘Called by God to proclaim the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as an officer in The Salvation Army’. In contrast to much of the Victorian church, William Booth’s forces included both clergy and laity. The act of ‘commissioning’ was used for officers and soldiers implying formal assignment to ministry. As Jesus had commissioned his followers to go into all the world, so, too, Salvationists believed it was the commissioning Christ who tasked them with evangelism and service. For soldiers, this was to particular tasks within local communities. For officers, it required changes in commission as the salvation war required, even when these would not necessarily reflect personal choice. Such facilitated a mobile and adaptable leadership which served the needs of the missionary calling rather than the maintenance of the system. If such flexibility required a sacrificial lifestyle, it was accepted as part of the commission, any other loyalty viewed as secondary. Underlying calling and commissioning was the understanding of a covenant relationship between God and disciple. Drawn from all levels of society Army soldiers signed their names to a document known as the *Articles of War* or *Soldier Covenant*. Each Salvationist willingly bound themselves to God by at least one of four different covenants: the *Junior Soldier Promise*, the *Soldier’s Covenant*, the *Articles of Marriage*, and the *Officer Covenant*. The terms, declarations and promises committed to in these covenants defined how they related to God and others and described what people could expect of them by way of their values and actions.

### 3.8.3 Gender Inclusivity

From its beginning The Salvation Army accepted the validity and egalitarianism of female ministry largely shaped by Catherine Booth’s firm conviction that female ministry was theologically defensible and that women should be free to preach the gospel. Methodist women provided Catherine with examples of female preachers and public ministry. Notably Mary Bousanquet Fletcher, and Sarah Crosby preached to female and mixed audiences with great effect during the latter decades of the eighteenth century.

---

89 Appendix 3.  
90 While the origin is nowhere stated, its roots are clearly in the Wesleyan tradition, bearing a striking similarity in words and content to the Methodist New Connection doctrines, traceable to 1838. The doctrines explore and define the Salvationist’s understanding of God, humanity and the developing relationship of the Christian life.  
91 Appendix 3.
century and the early part of the nineteenth century. Because Methodist women enjoyed an unusual degree of spiritual authority within both domestic and public realms, Catherine, known as the ‘Army mother’, had an important foundation for her own work. Churchmen had long claimed that women’s ‘weaker nature’ had rendered them especially susceptible to sexual indulgence when in the grip of religious hysteria and therefore it is hardly surprising that clergymen accused The Salvation Army of fostering sexual immorality. Salvationist women received little notice from the press or critics during the first fifteen years of the Army’s work but by the 1880s the work was larger and more prominent. Equally important, however, a wider movement of women were opening professions for women, broadening women’s educational opportunities and demanding a voice in local and national politics becoming increasingly visible. Emboldened by a freedom in leadership and ministry, women in Booth’s army risked personal safety and reputation to proclaim the gospel in word and deed, drawing attention to the human trafficking of young women and the abhorrent working conditions of women and children in the production of matchmaking. Thus, the ‘Hallelujah Lassies’ as they became known, were associated with both an old threat of female sexual and religious excesses and a contemporary and growing movement of women activists. It is important to note that while the phrase, Booth’s ‘best men are women’ has been used to describe the role of women in the Army, the scholarly neglect of William Booth’s understanding of gender has given rise to uncritical conclusions about what he accomplished for the women of the early Army. It has been assumed that he constructed a liberating environment for all female officers and promoted egalitarian partnership in the home and public sphere. However in reality, his views and influence on gender and equality were more complex as Pamela Walker, Diane Winston and Andrew Eason have demonstrated.

---

3.8.4 Opposition to Formalism

Salvation Army gatherings were characterised by a certain level of informality in contrast to the established and Orthodox churches. Meetings were held in tents, theatres, and dance halls which not only were the only venues available but also avoided the cultural obstacle which church buildings presented to the masses. Celebration and spontaneity in witness were hallmarks of these public meetings in contrast to the profoundly solemn spirit of the traditional evangelical piety. Yet, not all who witnessed them were supportive, many considering such an approach to the divine as irreverent.

The apparent familiarity, the free and easiness, with which these men address the Deity, appears [...] to result from their extraordinarily vivid realization of His continued presence. Salvationists never enter his presence because they never leave it [...] the Salvationist addresses God as if he was a man at his elbow.94

Two distinctive services were known as ‘salvation’ and ‘holiness’ meetings; salvation meetings directly evangelical, looking to win new converts for Christ and holiness meetings focusing on discipleship.95 Preaching focused on the eternal nature of the salvation Christ brought but was also instructive in reminding Salvationists that Jesus cared deeply about the temporal needs of people and that much of his ministry was occupied with healing the sick, feeding the hungry, reconciling the alienated and speaking truth to power. Such meetings refuelled the Salvationist passion for restoring justice to a needy world.96 Drawn from its Wesleyan roots, small cell groups were at the heart of Salvation Army corps (church) life. ‘War on the floor’ (prayer meetings), Bible study and accountability groups (brigades) disciplined the body, soul and spirit of its soldiery. Not a practice for its own sake, music was understood as a means towards the end – a tool to draw the unchurched to Christ as well as to lead one to the experience of holiness. Those being reached with the gospel had little if any literacy skills, many having never experienced formal schooling. The ‘free and easy’ style of worship, the intentional use of popular tunes already familiar to those attending by virtue of the fact

95 The language of ‘meetings’ was intentional for Salvationists. The primary intent was not a formal liturgical service but rather a gathering of Salvationists who intend to ‘hear’, ‘touch’, and ‘see’ the divine in their midst – fully expecting to ‘meet’ God. While meeting ‘leads’ were prepared, the prayer was that the Spirit would ‘lead’ the meeting.
96 SASB. Song 1003.
that they were sung in streets and pubs, coupled with the introduction of new words, (based on or directly from Scripture) expressing challenge or testimony of life in Christ, were risks early Salvationist musicians took in order that the gospel might reach the masses in their own context and language. Taking hold of ‘sung theology’, this practice encouraged people to sing the Story (Col 3:16) both within and beyond Army meetings. Next to their Bibles, the Army’s songbook (in contrast to the ‘hymnal’ of the time) was for many their most treasured possession for it laid bare its soteriological intentionality. Many of the songs imported and adopted from early Wesleyan hymnals took as their theme the personal experience of salvation affirming no one was beyond redemption regardless of societal status; the call to and experience of Christian perfection or holiness and a ‘call to war’ section conveying the purpose of the Army in its opposition to evil forces. Christian perfection for Salvationists was not about human struggle for holiness, rather it was God-centred, focusing on God’s action of sanctifying grace within believers with the Holy Spirit understood as agent for the new creation, restoration of the *imago Dei* and union with God. Petitions for the indwelling of God in the believer were frequently accompanied by pneumatological elements that transformed petitions into an epiclesis. As with their Methodist predecessors, these were not simply songs that addressed or reflected the experience of salvation and Christian holiness. They were the message itself, protesting the proclivity of humanity to sin and proclaiming God’s salvific acts to transform humanity into change agents for the divine purpose of reconciliation and justice. Using the principle of harnessing pop culture to meet people ‘where they were’, the development of a songbook allowed Salvationists to capture a fresh approach to worshipping God, for as Booth is often

---

97 The popularity of spiritual warfare was evident in many of the Christian songs published in the nineteenth century, amongst them ‘Onward Christian Soldiers’ (1865), ‘Hold the Fort’ (1875) and ‘Our War Song’ (to the tune of ‘Men of Harlech’). p.81. The harnessing of music and lyrics attains a certain coordination and unity for protest purposes as demonstrated in the twentieth century American Civil Rights movement with such songs as ‘Onward Christian Soldiers’, ‘There’s a Great Day Coming’ and ‘We Shall Overcome’. For a study of evangelical hymnody using such images see Robin A Leaver, "Singing the Lord's Song in a Strange Land: Hymnody in the History of North American Protestantism," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 74, no. 1 (2006). pp. 262-266.


reported to have responded to his detractors – ‘why should the devil have all the good music?’\textsuperscript{100}

3.8.5 ‘Sacramental’ Living

In its first years, Salvationists participated in the Lord’s Supper as a natural expression of its Methodist roots. However, Catherine Booth and George Scott Railton especially regarded formalism as potentially dangerous lest any who had known the converting power of the Christian gospel should come to rely on any ritual however time honoured for their spiritual well-being rather than solely upon the grace of God received by faith. While not denying the sacraments as a means of grace, Catherine grounded her protest in denying that they were anything more than signs and particularly the belief that sacraments might be indispensable to salvation. She further did not believe that this practice was definitive of belonging to the Body of Christ. Taking such a stance, she was clearly in opposition with Luther, Calvin, the Church of England and given her Methodist background, John Wesley as Salvationist John Read’s doctoral work makes explicit.\textsuperscript{101} The practical mind of William Booth was troubled not only by the divisiveness of sacramental practice but the conflict between the ‘separate priesthood’ required by sacramentalists and the ‘priesthood of all believers’ to which the Army was committed. Within the Army egalitarian leadership was a reality, but the idea of a woman administering the sacraments was unthinkable in Victorian England churches. Unprepared to surrender the principle of the perfect equality of men and women in every activity of the kingdom of Christ, it was suggested that Salvationists take communion in the established church. Unfortunately only those previously confirmed in the church were accepted and the barring of brothers and sisters from the table was taken as an affront to the evangelical faith. To Booths the practice had become a barrier to inclusive fellowship and therefore a contradiction of Jesus’ clear teaching on the kingdom’s openness to persons of all conditions and social classes. Many converts were alcoholics and would have been tempted by the wine in common use by churches and so in a pragmatic protest to find a ‘larger table’ where all were welcomed, William found it in the everyday life of the common man, concluding that ‘if the Incarnation unleashed

\textsuperscript{100} Office of the General, “Christmas Message”, \textit{TWC}. 1880.
\textsuperscript{101} Read, \textit{Catherine Booth: Laying the Theological Foundations of a Radical Movement}. p. 190.
God’s presence into the whole of human life[...] then there is no place where the table of his fellowship cannot be spread or a table where any disciple is denied.’\textsuperscript{102} It would appear that the alternative to the sacraments for William and Catherine Booth was not an alternative set of symbols and traditions but rather freedom. Just as Martin Luther had regarded his theology of the sacraments as a ‘liberation from the Babylonian captivity of the church’, so the Booths claimed the same freedom.\textsuperscript{103} Alongside the Quaker community, Salvationists understood the holy life as sacrament, sanctification was God’s work of grace by which all of life became sacred and therefore every moment held potential sacrament. If God in Christ was at the centre of every situation, if the Christian life was a pilgrimage of discovery and response to his gracious presence in the crowded spaces of life, then means of grace could be seen in a very different light, not as prescribed occasions with particular material means, but expanded in celebrations of a far greater grace – the grace which is given in the whole of life and which consequently makes living a continuing sacrament.\textsuperscript{104} The decisive test of belonging to Christ they believed was a faith which demonstrated itself active in love.\textsuperscript{105} In their protest against exclusivity of access to the Lord’s Table, Salvationists did not disregard this cherished means of grace of the established church but rather transported the means from the sanctuary to the streets.

In summary, works of piety did not in the main vary significantly from accepted practices of Christians and especially those of the Wesleyan tradition in the nineteenth century. However, as this faith community developed into a corporate body with its militant terminology, exceptions became evident including the protesting of the exclusivity of the Lord’s Table, the need for inclusivity of gender participation in ministry and the move to a militant motif as an expression of an aggressive Christianity. In each of these departures, the Salvationist protested the acceptable practices of the day and dared to imagine a future that could be lived in the present, inclusive of those who

\textsuperscript{102} Needham, \textit{Community in Mission}. p. 25.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{105} Emil Brunner as quoted in Frederick Coutts, \textit{No Discharge in This War} (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1975). p. 77.
had previously been marginalized from the community of faith. It would be the
demonstration of the Salvationist’s works of mercy, however, that would draw the ire
and attention of the public in unprecedented ways. The public sphere more than
anywhere else would be the battleground where Salvationists would visibly ‘storm the
forts of darkness’.

3.9 Works of Mercy – Grace in Life in the World
As previously indicated, William and Catherine Booth were clear as to which part of the
population they were principally sent. These were the urban impoverished – the ‘Les
Miserables’ of the time. The Booths felt called to the excluded and would name them
‘the submerged tenth’ Poverty was the agent of their exclusion, the source of much of
their misery and the nourishment of a great deal of their godlessness. Ill fed, uneducated,
unhealthy, and unwelcome in the church, William Booth would note that even the cab
horse that plodded London’s streets had three things – a shelter for the night, food for its
stomach and work given to it by which it could earn its keep. Known as the ‘Cab Horse
Charter’, it was the measure by which William Booth advocated for the impoverished.
This ‘charter’ would be to enact Isaiah’s call to ‘loose the chains of injustice, share food
with the hungry, provide shelter to the poor wanderer and clothing for the naked’.

Similar to Wesley and the monastics, early Army leaders appealed to apostolic
Christianity as the model by which Christians should publicly embody their faith but
Catherine Booth’s reading of the book of Acts produced a different response than the
monastics. Voluntary poverty, separation from the world and commitment were
important but true Christian expression she posited was evidenced by passionate,
aggressive evangelisation and a life of holiness lived in the world, visible to all and

106 War song, lyrics by Robert Johnson and sung to the tune of ‘Here’s to Good Old Whiskey’, in ‘The
107 IDE, pp. 17-23. Whilst not ignoring the justice questions of the rural poor, The Salvation Army was
and remains inherently cognizant of justice issues specifically related to urbanisation.
109 Coutts, Bread for My Neighbour, p. 20. The Isaiah 58:6-12 text is referenced in the introduction to
IDE, perhaps Booth’s most public and comprehensive declaration against the war on social evil and
subsequent ‘plan of action’ for its deliverance.
110 Catherine Booth, Popular Christianity, 1986 ed., vol. IV, The Writings of Catherine Booth (Atlanta:
Salvation Army Supplies, 1887). p. 93.
available to all. Where the established Church’s expression of Christianity was seen as weak in Victorian England, Salvationists sought to live a vigorous and public faith.\textsuperscript{111}

Lest it be mistakenly assumed that William and Catherine Booth unthinkingly imported John Wesley’s theological thought into their works of mercy, it is important to note that while there were a number of areas of theological synergy, there were also marked differences. In the first instance, both agreed that how the poor were understood was first and foremost a Christological issue. The poor could no more be turned into an abstraction than Christ could be turned into an abstraction. Followers of Jesus Christ were witnesses to the one who was at the same time, one of the poor, one who cared for the poor and one who protested the injustices against the poor. They also shared a similar understanding of holiness and its implications for discipleship in terms of social welfare. Any social engagement, therefore, was understood as a natural outcome of a life that was committed to Christ.\textsuperscript{112} Both expressed fear that charitable acts in and of themselves might add to further moral degradation.\textsuperscript{113} Both understood the role of the state government to be a permanent agency for morality and justice.\textsuperscript{114} However, John Wesley’s efforts had primarily focused on revival within the Anglican Church with no intention to extend the great salvation plan beyond this sphere – his work was within the redeemed community. His foundational belief in Providence prevented him from establishing new spheres and orders.\textsuperscript{115} William Booth, on the other hand, had no such reservations. Choosing to specifically shape the new army with its aggressive Christianity to extend God’s plan of salvation to all humanity, the clear mandate was to claim for God what had been claimed for the devil. The battle ground for this conflict


\textsuperscript{113} Historians agree that the social conditions experienced by both the Wesleys and Booths were equally appalling. J Wesley Bready, \textit{England: Before and After Wesley} (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1938).


between the newly established army of God and those of Satan would be fought in the public arena - *in* the world. It was the Booths’ view of the Atonement which provided the impetus for such an advance as it meant not only satisfaction for sins but also the inception of Christ’s on-going battle against the forces of sin. In one sense Christ had already achieved victory over the devil but in another that victory had to be extended by his followers. It was as preparation for this battle that holiness was urged upon the soldier as the battle for humanity’s souls and bodies could only be fought by those motivated with perfect love. 116 Such an ‘ever forward’ understanding of redemption was at the very heart of what was to be The Salvation Army’s protesting of injustice and subsequent social reform. In fact, any social endeavour was understood to be ‘one of the departments of the kingdom of Jesus Christ […] originating in the very heart of God himself.’ 117 William Booth identified the role of his Army as redemptive, protesting the proclivity to personal sin but also protesting systemic systems which proffered minimal or non-existent assistance to the poorest of the poor to rise above their present reality in order to respond to the good news of the gospel. Because of this belief that humanity was a partner in the Great Redemptive Plan, William Booth propounded social reform which by its very nature was in contradistinction to the individual Wesleyan social ethic. William’s social ethic would be directly related to his universal eschatology for he knew that how one views God’s kingdom and its presence in society affects how one is active in the world. In what is considered his most explicit eschatological writing, *The Millennium*, William Booth illustrated his understanding of how one’s personal eschatology rested within the universal.

The most effective methods of advancing the happiness of mankind and bringing in the millennial reign, must be the rule of God in the hearts and lives of men and the spread of the principles of righteousness and love. 118

Such an ethic recognised that the mission of the Kingdom was a mission for God’s people in the present. His article *Salvation for Both Worlds* elaborated on the

---

incarnational quality of this ethic ‘Christ is the deliverer for time as truly as for eternity[...]he is the messiah who brings glad tidings! He is come to open the prison doors. He is come to set men free from their bonds. He is indeed the Saviour of the world!’ The article is illuminating for a number of reasons. First, William wrote out of a growing awareness of the miseries of people to whom he was preaching. For the first two decades after the establishment of the Christian mission in 1865, he had prioritised the soul over the body but had since come to realise the importance of improving people’s present physical condition in order that they might be open to their spiritual reality. In addition, William was now aware of both the physical and institutional dimensions of evil, discovering that the miseries from which he had sought to save humanity in the next world were substantially the same as those from which he had found suffering in this world. Instead of a conceptual hell as a place of endless punishment and alienation from God in the next life, his writings were now descriptive of a literal hell of poverty, crime and other forms of misery in this life. Due to the extreme poverty that was reality for those living in the east end of London, it is not surprising, then, that the eschatologically-focused salvation movement would respond to the ever increasing social problems around them. Any work done in the name of Christ had to be done in light of the final eschaton, the desired end of salvation for all and the immanence of Christ’s millennial reign. It proved impossible to work in the midst of a people who struggled with social oppression and poverty with a singular focus on souls without recognising that both social and physical problems needed solving. Therefore this theological orientation originated from a functional, pragmatic platform located ‘in the world, in the present’ rather than a theoretical basis oriented only to the future. Any works of mercy, understood as contextual acts of holy living and attitudes towards daily life were understood as exercising the presence of God to both soul and body. The protesting of social evils could also be understood and seen as an outworking of the experience of holiness. It, too, was a work of mercy, a contextual act of holy living, a compassionate and aggressive attitude towards the daily living of the masses who had no advocate and were condemned to a life of poverty and exclusion. In light of these

---

120 Green, War on Two Fronts. pp. 89-90.
revelations, William Booth declared ‘it is now time to proclaim a temporal salvation as full, free and universal with no other limitations than the whosoever will of the gospel’.  

In the addressing of social ills, a tension was maintained between changing the inward person and visible outward deeds. The motivation for opposing social injustice had to be consistent with the pattern of practices Christians were called to mirror toward others. The fundamental belief that all individuals (regardless of race, creed or gender) are created in the image of God required Salvationists to mirror God’s love, justice and mercy toward humanity. Similarly they sought to transform the condition of those impoverished by having an impact on their current situation. Therefore, it can be contended that in any given point in space and time where the notion of individual and social praxis ‘connects’, transformation took place. William Booth’s Army’s protest of poverty and gender exclusivity was understood to be grounded in God’s justice and that all people had certain natural rights since all were created in God’s image. If one understands this motive in terms of seeking real change or impacting the conditions of poverty in a profound manner, then it is consistent with William Booth’s actions pertaining to practices in general as a means of embodying true transformation. He believed the practice of works of mercy should transform a bad or unjust situation into something new and holy; holy in the sense that it reflected God’s intent for creation in this world and not simply human initiative. It is important, however, to note that works of mercy were more than just correct actions or orthopraxis. They were not a ‘one-way street’ leading from the well-meaning Salvationist to the other in need. Something returned, transforming the doer of mercy as well. In these practices a real encounter with God took place that could not be separated from the encounter with the other. They, too, became recipients of grace transformed by the one in whose name they acted. Liberated from self-centeredness and open to the transforming power of God’s grace in their own lives these doers of mercy realised what many of the oppressed and marginalised have known – the liberation of the oppressed and the transformation of those who volunteer to help are inextricably connected. When works of mercy are recognised as means of

121 IDE. p. 36.
grace, they can be seen for what they are - channels of grace not only to the recipients of mercy but also to the acting self. Early Salvationists experienced first-hand that those who practice works of mercy are themselves transformed in their encounters. ‘Channels only blessed Master but with all Thy wondrous power; flowing through me, Thou canst use me every day and every hour.’

Beginning with several extensive experiments followed by a comprehensive scheme, William Booth began a systematic and organised warfare against injustice. Salvationists became living protests – against personal sin (which alienated the soul from its maker), against those who had through commission and omission, failed to take the gospel to the masses, and against the social evils (the agents of exclusion, the source of much of humanity’s misery). If there were times when one needed to accept loss, then there were also times when the practice of hope meant a refusal to accept things as they were. It was such a holy discontent that prompted William Booth to tell his son, Bramwell to ‘do something!’ after observing hundreds of men huddled against the parapets on the bridges over the river Thames. During the following twenty years war was waged against Britain’s social depravity as every need that was sought to be alleviated opened up a new front. History records food kitchens for the hungry, slum officers living among the deprived, housing for the homeless, vocational training for the unemployed, labour bureaus, homes for orphaned children, eventide homes for the elderly, maternity units for unmarried mothers (‘Grace’ Havens), services for the deaf and blind, tracing of missing relatives, free legal advice, and facilitation of thousands to migrate and settle in new countries. As the Army expanded beyond its British shores, many programs were replicated but unique initiatives were also undertaken to meet contextual need. In Australia, work among released prisoners commenced. India witnessed ministry to the untouchables. In both India and Africa, schools were opened. In the United States, vast salvage programs provided relief, work, training and a return to society for thousands.

122 SASB. Song 577.
123 Seven weeks later TWC reported the Army had premises in the West India Dock Road, Limehouse to furnish a sleeping shelter for men. Cyril Barnes, Words of William Booth (London: Salvationist Publishing and Supplies Ltd, 1975). pp. 38-39.
each scenario, *The Social Gazette* recorded the cause of those who could not plead for themselves.\(^{125}\)

### 3.9.1 Challenge and Counter Challenge

In the disruption to prevailing structures and systems of inequality, it should not prove surprising that counter-challenges are raised in defending present practices or in the creation of new venues of control.\(^{126}\) It would be naïve to claim that everyone welcomed the unconventional practices of The Salvation Army. Proclamation of the reign of Jesus Christ and protesting opposing forces brought expected opposition but often from unexpected sources. Internally not all Salvationists agreed with the entry into the political realm to publicly protest injustice, amongst them George Scott Railton, whose reservations concerning the social emphasis of the movement saw him in 1891 launch a counter protest in *The Salvation Army Assurance Society*.\(^{127}\) Within ranks, some resisted the Army becoming active in social reform and debated amongst themselves how to save the poor by weaving social and spiritual work together.\(^{128}\)

Early in the Army’s history, its leader made it clear that the first principle in dealing with governments was to acknowledge their authority on the principle Jesus had taught ‘render unto Caesar the things that are Caesars and unto God the things that are God’s’ (Mt 22:21, KJV). Such recognition, however, did not indicate approval or disapproval of a particular form of government. These were not the grounds of cooperation of a government party or political opinion of a party – the Salvationist was to do their work...

---

\(^{125}\) Salvation Army magazine published from 1894 to 1917. Its predecessor *The Darkest England Gazette* published from 1893 to 1894.


\(^{128}\) Bringing Salvationism and socialism together was the passion of Frank Smith who until 1890 was at the helm of the Army’s contribution to the defence of the poor; his direct political involvement, however, irritated leaders and for a brief period he left the Army. As the Army’s involvement in social issues grew, Smith was appointed to give direction of the Social Reform Wing. Norman Murdoch, "Frank Smith: Salvationist Socialist (1854-1940) Principal ideologue of the Darkest England Scheme that Created Salvation Army Social Services," in *National Salvation Army Social Services Conference* (Orlando: The Salvation Army National Headquarters, USA, 2003). See also Suzie Swift, "Sociology and Salvation - Part 2," *All the World*, March 1890. pp. 110-113.
because of their focus on the poor.\textsuperscript{129} Cooperation with a political party was to cease with the accomplishment of the desired end. The Salvation Army’s policy focused on measures, not parties and only such measures as were directly favourable to the salvation and flourishing of people. One did not enter the region of political agitation \textit{per se}, but where a Salvationist came into contact with authorities and government, they were implored to have the courage of their convictions ‘do all you can to further the making of laws, which[…]ought to make virtue easy and vice difficult’.\textsuperscript{130}

Middle class Protestant Christianity regarded open-air evangelism with suspicion because it allowed women to preach and nor did they appreciate the ‘cathedral of the outdoors’ with its parades, loud singing and oratory.\textsuperscript{131} Critics described William Booth’s social reform as totally utopian in nature, impractical and more than once his personal leadership was described as authoritarian. On numerous occasions, Thomas Huxley, who intensely opposed evangelical soteriology, wrote to \textit{The Times} attempting to discourage people from financially supporting William Booth’s schemes, describing the Army’s efforts as ‘autocratic socialism masked by its theological exterior’.\textsuperscript{132} Brewers and white slave traffickers, threatened by decreasing clientele due to the Army’s converts’ change of lifestyle and choice to become abstaining soldiers, organised groups of ‘thugs’, who affectionately called themselves ‘Skeleton Armies’.\textsuperscript{133} Their purpose –

\textsuperscript{129} Booth, "International Social Council Addresses." 1911, pp. 68ff.
\textsuperscript{133} The term appears to have arisen as a result of the adoption of a ‘deaths-head’ badge or crest by some of the mobs, in addition to its supposed similarity to the name of The Salvation Army. Charles Terrot, \textit{The Maiden Tribute - A Study of the White Slave Traffic of the Nineteenth Century} (London: Frederick Muller Limited, 1959). p. 78. After hearing the American temperance crusader, John Bartolomew Gough at Exeter Hall in 1853, Catherine devised a temperance campaign later implemented within the framework of The Salvation Army’s social rescue work with inebriates. To this day The Salvation Army remains the world’s largest temperance society. Sandall, \textit{History of The Salvation Army (1878-1886)}, 2. pp.180-181. See Appendix 3 ‘Soldier Covenant’. 
to counter the Army’s protests with mock protests of their own. Assaults on Salvationists, attacks on property and local by-laws often made it illegal for Salvationists to march in the streets with their music. The right to proclaim God publicly and the right to defend young children exacted its price of life and limb – a real war with real casualties. As opposition increased, however, so did the fervour of Salvationists. Neighbourhood opposition to the Army held two consequences. Despite alliances between local authorities, street gangs and middle-class property owners, these unusual partnerships enabled Salvationists to use opposition to assert their place in such neighbourhoods. The Army argued for its rights against an unjust state and church and when they stood as champions for the working class, they assumed a place that echoed a tradition of non-conformist radicals.

In spite of violence and persecution, it is not without significance that during 1881-1885, an intense period of persecution, more than 250,000 persons knelt at Army penitent-forms and 500,000 people came under the ministry of the Army in Britain in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Not all were critics nor detractors. The Salvation Army knew its share of support from powerful leaders. Winston Churchill, then the Undersecretary of State for the Colonies, extended support for William Booth’s social ideas as did Cardinal Manning, the head of the Catholic Church in Britain and Charles Spurgeon, noted English preacher. The Salvation Army began to earn respect from both the lower and upper strata of society

---

134 Elements that most strongly identified Salvationists – their flags, uniforms and music instruments were attacked. ‘To smash the Army drum was to challenge the Army’s vaunted success in transforming the culture of the working class. To steal bonnets, caps and tear the uniforms denigrated the status of Salvationists and ridiculed their claims to righteousness and spiritual protection. At the same time, however, such riots were a defense of public space and institutions against the reclamation efforts of the Salvationist’. Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down - The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain*, p. 225.

135 As Salvationists worked in communities where disruption and fighting was commonplace, it is not surprising that they too, would be a target of such violence.


including Queen Victoria - ‘Her Majesty learns with much satisfaction that you have, with other members of your society, been successful in your efforts to win many thousands to the ways of temperance, virtue and religion’.\textsuperscript{140} By the end of the Victorian Era, the social reform work of the Army had become officially recognised with a number of religious leaders expressing support acknowledging that The Salvation Army was an instrument for both social and moral reform.\textsuperscript{141}

\textbf{3.9.2 Protest Documents}

Within the limited available documentation regarding early Salvationist protests, two in particular are of significance for this study – \textit{In Darkest England and the Way Out} and \textit{Social Reparation}. In 1889 William Booth had published his belief that salvation meant being saved from both the eternal misery of the future world and from the miseries of the present. Entitled ‘a gospel for both worlds’, it spoke of ‘the promise of salvation here and now; from hell and sin and vice and crime and idleness and extravagance and consequently very largely from poverty and disease and the majority of kindred woes’.\textsuperscript{142} In 1890, however, William published what would become his major exposition on England’s ‘submerged tenth’. While \textit{Darkest England} was an acknowledged paraphrase of \textit{In Darkest Africa},\textsuperscript{143} he presented in graphic manner many of the facts and figures in Charles Booth’s systematic survey of England adding specific case studies and records of Salvationist encounters.\textsuperscript{144} William traced the source of individual distress to the want of employment and denounced individualistic attitudes and solutions towards poverty. He also strongly protested the ineffective alliance of a deterrent \textit{Poor Law} (1834) as well as organized charity. While the protest language of the publication might be considered ‘quaint’ by twenty-first century standards, the intention was pragmatic. Upon closer examination one observes not only the comprehensiveness of the critique it offered of London’s poorest and English society but the vision of \textit{shalom} it proposed. In William Booth’s estimation (and of those who worked amongst the poor), the values of the Kingdom of God that should have been visible in a good society

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{142} Booth, “Salvation for Both Worlds (A Retrospect).” p. 2.
\textsuperscript{143} Henry M Stanley, \textit{In Darkest Africa} (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1890).
\textsuperscript{144} Charles Booth, \textit{Life and Labour of the People of London} (London: MacMillan, 1902).
were absent and in their stead was an economy based on self-interest rather than communal interest.\footnote{James E Read, "Socio-Political Holiness 'In the World' Social Justice," in The Salvation Army 3rd International Symposium on Theology and Ethics (London 2010). pp. 1-2.} As a result, Booth was prepared for a less than welcome reception to his proposal -

There is nothing in my scheme which will bring it into collision either with Socialists of the State or socialists of the municipality\footnote{IDE. p. 25.} excepting only those anti-Christian economists who hold that it is an offence against the doctrine of the survival of the fittest to try to save the weakest from going to the wall and who believe that when once a man is down the supreme duty of a self-regarding society is to jump upon him.\footnote{Ibid. p. 14.}

Those firms which reduce sweating to a fine art, who systematically and deliberately defraud the workman of his pay, who grind the faces of the poor, and who rob the widow and orphan, and who for a pretence make a great profession of public spirit and philanthropy, these men nowadays are sent to Parliament to make laws for the people. The old prophets sent them to Hell – but we have changed all that. They send their victims to Hell and are rewarded by all that life can do to make their lives comfortable.\footnote{Ibid. pp. 51-52.}

It is worthy of note that much of the latter half of the book was given over to discussing social reforms on behalf of working people foreshadowing low-cost housing, the provision of adequate recreation time and affordable holidays, legal aid, small claims tribunals, cooperative and credit unions. In each of these areas Booth looked forward to the day when ‘the state may be sufficiently enlightened to take up this business itself’.\footnote{Ibid. p. 14.} The scheme itself did not impact freshly upon The Salvation Army itself as much as it did upon the public, whom it awakened to an extraordinary degree the social misery which existed and to the Army’s availability for coping with at least some part of the problem by virtue of the extent and solidarity of its organization.

The details of the scheme were in sketch form with the general purpose of offering to the workless and destitute an opportunity of recovery through industry and discipline. The proposals were far from original but they did differ from the approach of the Charity Organization Society who had sought to distinguish between the deserving and undeserving poor in its approach to charitable assistance. At the core of each effort in
William Booth’s scheme was the belief that the most unregenerate could experience transformation by the Holy Spirit.\textsuperscript{149} By proposing ‘the way out’, the intention was to convince all that The Salvation Army was uniquely positioned to effect both temporal and spiritual transformation. Response from the public was swift, not the least about the poor, but about William Booth and his motives. Attacks included the claim that the scheme had marked a sudden change in the direction of the Army’s mission from spiritual to social salvation, an accusation refuted as late as 1911 establishing the historical continuity of William’s views ‘Our social operations as constituted are the natural outcome of Salvationism, or, I might say of Christianity, as instituted, described, proclaimed and exemplified in the life, teaching and sacrifice of Jesus Christ.’\textsuperscript{150} It was also claimed that the scheme was largely the work of others and not William Booth himself. While he acknowledged the assistance of a ‘friend of the poor’ (W T Stead) in shaping the book, authorship William Booth maintained was his own. A third criticism charged that the scheme was adopted as a crisis measure in response to slow growth in evangelical work.\textsuperscript{151} The evidence for this assertion, however, is not strong. While growth patterns varied and at times slowed, the trend was one of expansion across England and abroad. Even if this criticism proved correct, it would still reinforce the rightness of William Booth’s strategy – a holistic emphasis which linked both spiritual and temporal salvation as the most effect form of evangelism. Booth declared that his people were social workers because of their evangelistic zeal and evangelists because of their compassionate commitment to the healing and helping of those they were winning for Christ declaring that ‘they are but two activities of the one and same salvation which is concerned with the total redemption of man. Both rely on the same divine grace. Both are inspired with the same motive. Both have the same end in mind and, as the gospel has joined them together, we do not propose to put them asunder.’\textsuperscript{152} To those who criticized and complained regarding the scheme, William’s son, Bramwell Booth countered –

\textsuperscript{150} Booth, "International Social Council Addresses." p. 1.
\textsuperscript{151} Norman Murdoch, \textit{Origins of The Salvation Army} (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1994). p. 113.
\textsuperscript{152} Frederick Coutts, quoted in Waldron, \textit{Creed and Deed - Towards a Theology of Social Services in The Salvation Army}. p. 145.
In contrast with critics, both the labour movement and society in general responded well to the publication. Unions formally expressed confidence and offered reciprocal assistance as the Army had earlier been supportive of a docker’s strike. A substantial section of the labour press gave a warm welcome to Darkest England if for the moment judgment was reserved on the actual efficacy of the scheme while the Christian Socialist would acknowledge the Army to be well-fitted for the scheme’s proposals.

While perhaps In Darkest England and the Way Out is the best known of the Army’s declaration of war on social evils, a second document, Social Reparation, written by Bramwell Booth, demonstrates that the social reform work done by the Army was a rational and necessary attempt to repair, at least in part, the injustice from which many of the less fortunate were suffering. It was scathing in its attacks against a number of pieces of legislation which in fact worked against the working individual. First arguing against the Drink Laws, Bramwell advocated that if it was possible for a rich man to live where there were homes and no drink shops so it ought to be possible for a poor man to find a neighbourhood where there were no drink shops. Because that was not a reality for the working man, it in fact imposed an injustice upon the poor, resulting in ‘alarming intemperance and degradation’.

He further addressed Poor Law difficulties regarding funding distribution, arguing that unless help given was given to the poor in the right way, the result impoverished them further by relieving temporary pain and inconvenience but leaving the disease untouched. Referred to as the ‘Law without Love’ to reform humanity, he claimed that the laws of the land did an injustice to the poor as the laws left sufferers with no voice and no recourse. He countered that the

155 Ibid. pp. 24-25.
social efforts of the Army were an attempt to provide working opportunities for widows and the fatherless in decent surrounding at a cost that even the lowest could afford. He complained that the country trained people at enormous cost in what he termed ‘pauperism’ (the art of dependence upon society for subsistence) and spoke harshly regarding the effects of prison sentencing. The inequalities of the laws affecting women of the poorer classes were criticised, claiming that a woman who held property was shielded from base men until she was twenty one by measure of legal protection in contrast to her poor sister who after turning sixteen had no redress. Using the language of ‘injustice’ he protested that the law did not enable women to compel fathers to support the care and cost of raising children, nor did the law make provision to make him do so.156 Because such inequalities existed, Salvationists were eager to dispense justice to the needy and afflicted, not only because they believed the commissioning Christ had commanded them to open the doors to the hungry, but ‘because we are bent on doing justice to those who are only too often the unhappy victims of the injustice of the whole community’.157 While the written word is a powerful form of protest, early Salvationists recognized that print was but one dimension of challenging structures and ignorance of social evils. Work amongst the disenfranchised demanded that action spoke louder than word and the following record of two campaigns demonstrate Salvationist commitment to the eradication of sexual trafficking as well as poverty alleviation.158

3.9.3 Labour & Sweating Practices

Catherine Booth first expressed her concerns regarding the ‘sweating’ conditions of Britain’s workers in the autumn of 1884, four years before a Special Committee of the House of Lords enquired into the sweating system rampant in certain areas of industry within London.

(Here are) men and women nearly naked, children absolutely so, women who must not look up from their matchbox making at 2 l/2d. per gross, or their shirt stitching at 3d. each, for fear of reducing their earnings by a half-penny, and thus robbing their children of an ounce of bread, or the rent of their wretched room of the last fraction which an inexorable landlord exacts.159

157 Ibid. p. 30.
Contrary to accepted modern usage, the ‘sweater’ was not the exhausted, exploited worker, but the sub-contractor or middleman who obtained unfinished work from factories and farmed it out to workers in their homes for subsistence wages. 1888 saw a meeting of the Special Committee where Reverend W. Adamson gave testimony based on the perception of The Salvation Army forcing large firms to lower their prices by undercutting the present rate of pay for work leaving the working poor in financial crisis. The Army refuted the charges insisting that it never offered to make matchboxes at any price; therefore no firm could have come down in price through competition.160 However, home workers were not the only labour to be exploited. Factory hands also suffered sordid conditions and inadequate wages – particular within the match industry. Within weeks of the Army’s alleged sweating scandal, the girls of Bryant and May’s London match factory led by reformer Anne Besant, went on strike, gained public support and forced the firm to improve wages and conditions.161 The Salvation Army provided support by donating 5s to the London Trades Council Match Girls’ Strike Fund, and by mocking up ‘four sweaters’ victim dens’ in a corner of the Crystal Palace exhibition hall.162 Such protests saw strike issues quickly resolved and the government subsequently issuing new safety and health regulations.163 While a welcomed development, it did not, however, effect much change until a model factory was established – an enterprise for which credit would belong to The Salvation Army.

Encouraged by an earlier experiment in setting up a mini-bookbinding factory to provide employment for young women taken into the Army’s London rescue homes, William Booth’s own investigations into London’s ‘submerged tenth’ highlighted the matchbox industry with its more than 4,000 workers.164 ‘Match-girls’ as they were known, were subjected to long hours of labour, expected to handle heavy machinery and subject to wages at the base of the industry. However, as difficult as the work itself was, Booth

---

160 The Times, 12 May, 1888, quoted in TWC, 19 May, 1888, p. 9. See also the First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System, pp. 1005-1006. Leading match manufacturers Bryant and May also wrote to The Times indicating that Adamson’s statements were false. The Times, 10 May, 1888, p. 6.
163 Gauntlett, Social Evils The Army Has Challenged. p. 23.
164 IDE, p 262ff.
discovered that in minimising overhead costs and executing maximum profit, factory owners rejected safe, red phosphorous match heads in favour of deadly yellow ones, exposing match workers to the diseased most feared - necrosis of the bone or ‘phossy-jaw’. So toxic were fumes from the yellow phosphorus that, unknown to the workers, the chemical caused hideous facial disfigurement. In order to force a change to production and introduce a safety match, William Booth purchased a match factory in May 1891. While matchbox making had been part of his Darkest England scheme, a match factory as such was not. To be planning to press any part of such a scandal laden industry into Salvation Army service at that time when recent scandal had settled seemed foolhardy to the conservative-minded Salvationist one century later. It was, however, judged by the Salvationists of the day as a refusal to be deflected by ill-informed criticism. Funded by sympathetic readers of In Darkest England and the Way Out, a factory was opened producing only safety matches carrying the inscription ‘Lights in Darkest England’ and implementing unprecedented work conditions. Salvationists attempted to persuade local shopkeepers to stock the Army’s matches as the only factory in the country producing ‘safety matches’. Legislation in 1892 tightened control over the working conditions for the production of matches and by 1893 no new cases of phosphorous necrosis had been reported. In April 1894 the Army formed the ‘British Match Consumers’ League’ in an effort to gain further support for their campaign with members pledging to purchase only safety matches of British manufacture produced under healthy working conditions. However, despite the Army’s best efforts to persuade the public to purchase ‘Darkest England’ matches, sales began to suffer in 1894. In spite of the fact that the ‘Darkest England’ matches were produced under healthy working conditions, had raised wages paid to the trade and provided an object lesson to manufacturers, a reality had to be faced – the craze for cheapness served to over-rule all efforts. Subsequent years brought new legislation requiring new matchmaking machinery which dried the match splints in less time, thus reducing the

165 Elijah Cadman TWC, 16 May, 1891, p. 9.
167 Working hours were from 8:00 am to 6:00 pm, 6 days a week, with tea breaks at 11:00 and 4:00, an arrangement unknown in the early part of the 1890s. One hour was set aside for lunch with opportunity of midday prayer and testimony held on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. Many who attended were recent converts and soldiers of a nearby Salvation Army corps (church).
phosphorous fume risk to employees but it was not until 1900 that Bryant and May adopted the new safety match composition into the production of their own matches. With the new match introduced to the market, The Salvation Army’s campaign drew to an end.\footnote{The last advertisement for ‘Darkest England’ matches was published in The Social Gazette 24 February, 1900. It is believed that the Army gradually phased out match production during the early part of 1900 and sold off remaining stocks. 26 November, 1901 saw The British Match Company registered on the Lamprell Street site and the company took over the premises of the Salvationist factory.} From a financial point of view, the match factory failed but this in no way detracted from the social triumph of the Army’s campaign. In the establishment of the factory, Salvationists had challenged the moral conscience of the match manufacturers and convinced the British public that safety matches and fair wages for fair work was the right course of action for all. If components of twenty-first century fair trade programs fight poverty, pay fair wages for fair work, provide safe and clean working environments, and give dignity to workers, then perhaps The Salvation Army in its protest of unacceptable sweating practices in 1891 pioneered the way for this present global practice. This, then, is an example of Christian practice, while anchored in present space and time is always oriented to the future.

\subsection*{3.9.4 The ‘Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon’}

Of the social evils protested by early Salvationists, none received the prominence of what came to be known as the \textit{Maiden Tribute} where Salvationists and interested others successfully lobbied the British government in raising the age of consent for young women from thirteen to sixteen years of age.\footnote{Gauntlett, \textit{Social Evils The Army Has Challenged}. See also Booth, \textit{Social Reparation}, p. 9.} Prostitution was common in Victorian society and many girls as young as twelve years of age were sold into the trade by poor parents.\footnote{For details of the prostitution trade in Victorian England as well as some account of the Army’s role in working with prostitutes, see Edward J Bristow, \textit{Vice and Vigilance: Purity Movements in England Since 1700} (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1977).} Salvationists were already familiar with prostitutes in their dealings in public houses, but an organised response to assist these young women did not commence until the early 1880s as a confession by a young woman in an Army meeting brought to light that she had come to London ‘lured by a false address, finding herself in a brothel’.\footnote{Coutts, \textit{Bread for my Neighbour}, p. 46.} Determined not to return her to the same setting, she was taken to a Salvationist’s home...
until suitable accommodation could be secured. The law as it stood said that one could not be prosecuted for ‘incarnal knowledge of, or to indecently assaulting a girl’ who had reached the age of thirteen. Despite three efforts by the House of Lords during 1875 to 1885 recommending the raising of the age of consent, each recommendation failed in the House of Commons. Knowing first-hand the stories of many young women regarding prostitution, Catherine Booth and female Salvationists determined to enter the battle against sex trafficking with particular focus on that which targeted children. Allies in the ‘war’ were Josephine Butler, W. T. Stead and Bramwell Booth, son of William and Catherine and heir apparent of the Army. Butler was a well-known defender of children trapped in the European white slave market and had on occasion shared public speaking engagements with Catherine. Stead, acting editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the son of a Congregationalist minister, shared the Army’s fury that Parliament had not yet passed the Criminal Law Amendment Act raising the age of consent. Bramwell Booth was shocked that Victorian society refused to discuss its sexual ethics openly while many of its upstanding gentlemen were engaging in child prostitution without fear of moral reprisal or legal prosecution. Commensurate with Army terminology, a ‘battle plan’ was drawn with Stead exposing the white slave traffic in his newspaper in an effort to force a change in law through the tide of public opinion. The scheme was to expose those directly or indirectly involved in prostituting young women, carried out in such a manner that reputable individuals could be called to give evidence. Rebecca Jarrett, (former prostitute and brothel keeper who had come under the influence of The Salvation Army), ‘purchased’ Eliza Armstrong (thirteen years old) from her mother demonstrating the ease with which it was possible to purchase a child, take her to a brothel, and subsequently send her to the Continent, effectively becoming *persona non grata*. The first of ten articles entitled ‘The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon’ appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on Monday, 6 July 1885 to advise the public

---

172 Under Florence Soper Booth’s leadership, the Women’s Social Services expanded its operations from one rescue home in Whitechapel to 117 homes for ‘fallen women’ earning a reputation as one of the largest, most effective, and, to some extent, most innovative rescue organizations in Britain. Ann R Higginbotham, “Respectable Sinners: Salvation Army Rescue Work with Unmarried Mothers,” in *Religion in the Lives of English Women 1760-1930*, ed. Gail Malmgreen (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986).

173 Coutts, *Bread for my Neighbour*. p. 47.

of the ‘transaction’. Unsurprisingly, circulation rose exponentially and the offices of the Gazette came under siege.\footnote{Victor Pierce Jones, \textit{Saint or Sensationalist? The Story of W.T. Stead} (East Wittering, West Sussex: Gooday Publishers, 1988), p. 26.} When W.H. Smith’s bookstalls refused to sell the Gazette because of the exposed indecencies, William Booth opened up the Army’s international headquarters as a distribution centre using cadets from its training school as newsprint sellers. Catherine Booth publicly highlighted the issue of human rights for the poor, speaking of protection for young women and men from exposure to such corruption, convinced that had the wealthy experienced what the poor and working classes had with the sale of their daughters, the crime would long ago have been exposed and eradicated. She also plead intervention at the highest levels of the country - ‘legislation will not effect what requires to be done. Nothing but the most desperate, sympathetic and determined effort[…]can meet the case.’\footnote{\textit{TWC}, 8 August, 1885. pp. 1-2. The tri-colours of the movement are reflective of its Trinitarian understanding of redemption, symbolic of the war against sin and social evil and visible in every Salvation Army flag: ‘red’ – symbolic of the blood of Christ in Atonement; ‘yellow’ – fire and power of the Holy Spirit in a believer’s life enabling them to obey divine command; ‘blue’ representing the purity and holiness of God the Father. The motto of the movement in succinct expression – ‘blood and fire’.
\footnote{\textit{TWC}, 8 August, 1885. pp. 1-2. Copies of these letters and the Queen’s guarded replies were printed in \textit{TWC} (22 July, 1885 and 5 August, 1885).} A public petition of 393,000 signatures was drawn up bound in Salvation Army colours and carried to Trafalgar Square, accompanied by a large group of mothers and a Salvation Army band.\footnote{\textit{TWC}, 8 August, 1885. pp. 1-2. Copies of these letters and the Queen’s guarded replies were printed in \textit{TWC} (22 July, 1885 and 5 August, 1885).} Shortly thereafter, on 14 August, 1885 the age of consent was raised to sixteen years. Thousands celebrated what was perceived to be a great moral victory and Army personnel made provision for those who found themselves homeless as a result of the ruling. A dramatic sequel to events saw Booth, Stead, Jarrett and a Mrs. Combe brought to trial, summoned under their own Act, which provided much heavier sentences than had been possible under the old law.\footnote{\textit{TWC}, 8 August, 1885. pp. 1-2. Copies of these letters and the Queen’s guarded replies were printed in \textit{TWC} (22 July, 1885 and 5 August, 1885).} Reflected on the campaign’s effect on the Army, Bramwell Booth noted that the trial had put their ranks in the forefront of those who contended for the better treatment of the

\begin{quote}
Reflecting on the campaign’s effect on the Army, Bramwell Booth noted that the trial had put their ranks in the forefront of those who contended for the better treatment of the
\end{quote}

\begin{flushleft}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{TWC}, 8 August, 1885. pp. 1-2. Copies of these letters and the Queen’s guarded replies were printed in \textit{TWC} (22 July, 1885 and 5 August, 1885).
\item \textit{TWC}, 8 August, 1885. pp. 1-2. The tri-colours of the movement are reflective of its Trinitarian understanding of redemption, symbolic of the war against sin and social evil and visible in every Salvation Army flag: ‘red’ – symbolic of the blood of Christ in Atonement; ‘yellow’ – fire and power of the Holy Spirit in a believer’s life enabling them to obey divine command; ‘blue’ representing the purity and holiness of God the Father. The motto of the movement in succinct expression – ‘blood and fire’.
\item Subpoenaed for the defence were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Manning, Bishop Temple, Samuel Morey and Josephine Butler. \textit{TWC} kept the case before the public and defendants were viewed as heroes. Salvationists counter protested that those who had exposed the evil were being unjustly accused while those still engaged in grievous evils against women and children went free. Booth, "Echoes and Memories." Chapter 13.
\end{enumerate}
\end{flushleft}
It is evident through this historic narrative that Salvationists and their allies were prepared to contest immoral practices at great personal risk in order that legislation might be changed. Involved in a political process, their involvement was due to a pressing social injustice; the motivation – to right a wrong. The result was the commencement of a one hundred and thirty year campaign of The Salvation Army’s protesting against the sexual trafficking of people.

In reviewing early Salvationist practice, one identifies them as transformative. These were practices that sought not only to understand and to possibly correct / discipline the Christian life but they were practices which were intentionally enacted in order to transform the world in which they lived. They were soteriologically, pneumatologically and eschatologically grounded in Christian doctrine. The normative voice of Scripture was embedded in the Army’s operant practices. It would appear that the natural outcome of holy lives was to help others – to ‘do something’. The early years of The Salvation Army, with its hard and unflinching holiness apologetic, constituted true revival. It was countercultural to the accepted wisdom of western Christianity of that time and place, which practiced a privatised and individualistic religion. Conceived within an urban environment, home to London’s ‘submerged tenth’, Salvationists refused to confine themselves to the private spiritual struggle of individual Christians. In obedience to the ‘command of grace’ they chose to engage with the toughest issues of the day, directly and indirectly confronting prevailing structures of inequality that marginalised the poorest of the poor and thereby transformed a nation. They understood that the holiness they were exhorted to seek through Scripture was primarily for the sake of others. It was not for God’s benefit for he needed nothing from humanity neither was it for the church’s benefit as they understood the church to exist for those outside the church. It was not for their own personal benefit; if they sought to save their own lives, they would

---

179 Ibid, p. 139. Two postscripts to the campaign: ten years after the campaign it emerged that Charles Armstrong was in fact not Eliza’s father. Had such information been known during legal proceedings, trial and imprisonment would not have materialised. The second irony involved Mrs. Armstrong’s home on Charles Street, later owned by The Salvation Army for the purpose of providing respite and safety to poor women and children. The first child to be admitted - Eliza Armstrong’s niece. Roger Green, "Catherine Booth, The Salvation Army and the Purity Crusade of 1885," Priscilla Papers 22, no. 3 (2008). p. 15.

lose them as Jesus clearly taught. They were to be holy for the sake of an unholy world. Second, practices were inherently holistic. The early Salvationist’s life considered and sought to norm not only the mind but also the will and the affections. In other words, the life of discipleship was concerned not only with orthodoxy but also with orthopraxy and orthopathy.\textsuperscript{181} To be God’s soldier required acknowledging a personal response to the radical demands for obedience under the Lordship of Jesus Christ. As Salvationists surrendered will and affections in self-giving ways both within their own community and in the greater life of society, they experienced divine freedom to risk on behalf of others. They embraced the life of holiness to love God and their neighbour, and in so doing, found that while they could not imagine or project specific results from any given effort, they could trust the Spirit of the living Christ \textit{in} them, \textit{in} the world, to transform people’s hearts and lives as well as social circumstances. Such practices demonstrated a redemptive salvation – both eternal and temporal – soul and body. Third, Salvationists demonstrated primacy of praxis. They were an army, trained and empowered by sanctifying grace to act. Existing praxis was both the starting point and final goal of missional activity whether individual or corporate. In the mandate to win the world for Christ, no price was too high to exact in order that Christ might be visible to all. They took seriously the promise of Jesus that he was \textit{with} them, \textit{in} them, \textit{in} the world and would choose to reveal himself in their acting. Where they acted in his name, he stood among them and was present. Such praxis demonstrated responsive and responsible grace. Fourth, because of its connection to praxis, early Army life was necessarily contextual. Instead of a focus which sought for universal unchanging expressions of the Christian life, Salvationists undertook the demanding task of wrestling with both Christian revelation and the individual situation until it determined those particular authentic embodiments of Christian faith for its people. Salvationists entering the twentieth century were convinced that they were participating in the Kingdom of this world and the next. Confident that God was interested in this world gave them their sense of immediacy and relevance. Salvationists became identified with practical compassion and a faith that was dogma free, optimistic and joyous – and people

\textsuperscript{181} Noel B Woodbridge, ’Living Theologically - Towards a Theology of Christian Practice in terms of the Theological Triad of Orthodoxy, Orthopraxy and Orthopathy as Portrayed in Isaiah 6:1-8: A Narrative Approach,’ \textit{Teologiese Studies/HTS Theological Studies} 66, no. 2 (2010).
responded. Finally, practices were inherently occasional, concerned far more with addressing pressing issues in the crowded spaces of life as they arose rather than formulating a programmatic or abstract theological system. This Army spoke with sympathy and understanding of the real problems faced by the people to whom it sought to bear witness. It spoke through its actions, knew the problems of the poor, identified the link between poverty and vice and rather than blame the victim, took aim at the system.

3.10 Summary
This chapter began by affirming that the life of faith is focused within the immediate context and how practices that Christians engage in speak clearly to their reception of revelation of who God is and how he is present in the world. The Salvation Army was birthed amidst a number of economic, political and religious factors, adopting significant historic Christian practices but in time adapting, replacing or creating new practices in order to meet the need of their divinely understood mission – embodying the Kingdom of God in such a visible manner that men and women would be open to embracing a personal relationship with Jesus Christ. While some considered their practices outlandishness or offensive, Salvationists understood that the work of God and his declared war on injustice would advance only if they unreservedly dedicated themselves to the transformation of the world in sacrificial ways. For this they were prepared to battle the principalities and powers for the least, the lost and the last in society. In a speech often attributed to William Booth, the battle language is apparent -

While women weep, as they do now, I’ll fight;
While little children go hungry, I’ll fight;
While men go to prison, in and out, in and out, I’ll fight;
While there is a drunkard left,
While there is a poor lost girl on the streets
While there remains one dark soul without the light of God – I’ll fight!
I’ll fight to the very end! 182

Where many relegated the life of faith to the private realm and politics to the public, Salvationist imagination challenged such thinking choosing instead to ‘storm the forts of

darkness\textsuperscript{183} and demonstrate that divine redemption encompasses humanity in its entirety – soul and body.\textsuperscript{184}

In reviewing this period of history it becomes evident that a particular legacy has been passed on to following generations of Salvationists. The link between historic and present practices of movements are revealing of what has been adopted, adapted and discarded through time. Are the same Kingdom values present in the twenty-first century (and now global) expression of The Salvation Army and if yes, in what form does its historic roots find concrete shape in the world today? How does the historic protesting of injustices assist today’s Salvationist (and by extension the church) in re-contextualising what the proclamation of God’s reign and declaration of non-\textit{shalom} might look like in a contemporary setting? And, importantly for the purposes of this thesis, how are those convictions theologically grounded? The following chapter therefore focuses on both the fragmentation and recovery of such a legacy.

\textsuperscript{183} SASB. Song 980.
\textsuperscript{184} HOD. p 197.
Chapter 4
GROUNDING OF TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY PRACTICES

4.1 A Fragmented World
In the little more than one hundred years following the death of William Booth in 1912, much of the world transitioned from a ‘pre-modern predominantly agricultural society into a post-modern, post-industrialized one.\(^1\) In many ways it is a global village where, through the conduit of technology, knowledge has emerged as the primary product resource replacing capital and labour. While many of the economic and moral fragmentations of society remain similar to those of the early twentieth century, the scope and depth of humanity’s disregard for the world-as-it-should-be under the reign of Christ continues to challenge the Christian church.\(^2\) The ever widening gap between the world’s rich and poor continues to leave women and children most vulnerable. Women work two thirds of the world’s working hours, produce half of the world’s food yet earn only ten percent of the world’s income and own less than one percent of the property.\(^3\) The ‘submerged tenth’ that drew the attention of William and Catherine Booth is now a global concern, the United Nation’s Sustainable Development Goals for 2030 but one example of the urgent response required to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.\(^4\) Humanity is morally fragmented with many claiming not only to be postmodern but post-atheistic.\(^5\) Answers to the deep questions of life remain tentative at best as certainty in a pluralistic world is perceived as subjective with beliefs and ethical systems privatised to the individual and moral choices reduced to personal preferences. Such fragmentations continue to challenge the dignity and worth of individuals as in an increasingly placeless and displaced world people become commodities - replaceable

---

5 A variant of nonetheism that proposes that division of theism and atheism is now obsolete, that God belongs to a stage of human development now past.
and disposable – evidenced in the staggering statistics of global trafficking of children for labour and sexual exploitation. Fragmentations, however, are not only social and economic but deeply theological as The Salvation Army experienced for a portion of the twentieth century in relation to its own role in social reform. Recent years, however, have seen a vigorous return to protesting the world-as-it-is. But what mitigating factors might influence a fighting army’s ‘retreat’ from its divine mandate to advocate for the poor and marginalised? What were the impetuses for its subsequent revitalisation? Through an identification of political, cultural and theological influences that led to The Salvation Army’s fragmentation of mission and subsequent reclamation of prophetic voice in the twentieth century, this chapter proposes that twenty-first century Salvationist practices can be firmly grounded in a Trinitarian framework.

4.2 A Fragmented Army?
The colonial optimism and certainty pervading much of the nineteenth century which the Army used to great effect for its purposes encountered unimagined rivals in the early twentieth century. Scepticism and doubt fuelled by the sciences, found their way into controversies regarding the origin of the earth, the role of the church in education and the use of higher criticism in the search for the ‘historical Jesus’. A growing pessimism emerged after two world wars as faith in any human capacity to build a better world through Christian morals was shattered. The rejection of Rauschenbusch’s Christianity and Social Crisis within evangelical circles as a ‘social gospel’ saw those who held to the Wesleyan imperative of engagement accused of not believing in human sinfulness. Biblical literalism, spiritual perfection and premillennial Adventism became the global backdrop against which historic world-engaging Christian movements would struggle proving impossible for The Salvation Army to remain unaffected. In contrast to the post-millennial stance of the Booths, the premillennial view not only excuses Christians from the responsibility to alleviate poverty, but in its most extreme forms, alleges that a

---

quicker pace of world deterioration will hasten the Lord’s return. Any concern with saving the world is considered a distraction from rescuing souls before the Lord returns. A striking example of this view is Frank Perett’s novel *This Present Darkness* where those concerned with social justice or creation care are considered to be ‘in league with the devil’. Unlike many churches, The Salvation Army did not succumb and withdraw from social action, but as Jason Davies-Kildea notes, neither did it embrace the theology of the social gospel. Disappointingly, the reform of society as outlined *In Darkest England* became a remnant and gave way to the provision of charity.

Global expansion of the movement came at a high price. In contrast to its early days with direct and swift chain of command and individual spontaneous protesting of injustice, an international movement with an authoritarian command structure brought rigidity and conformity to the organisational ethos. The Salvation Army’s second General Bramwell Booth’s vision of an international Army culture resulted in Salvationist publishing, music and standardisation of soldiership – each commendable – except that the vision turned a world-engaging Salvation Army with weapons of the salvation war turned to internal use

pessimism about the world led to withdrawal from the world and eventually a lack of confidence in how to deal with the world […] Salvationist mission gradually lost its conviction that the institutions of society could be reformed, and then lost its belief that they *should* be reformed.

In what appears to be an ironic twist of ‘fate’, The Salvation Army became a victim of its own ‘success’. Many of its soldiery became upwardly mobile with new corps (community churches) planted in suburban areas away from the urban poor, rapidly losing contact or interest with the disadvantaged, losing much of John Wesley’s deeper
appreciation for its essential contribution to one’s own spiritual formation.\(^{13}\) This, paired with increasing requirements of professionalised social services (and who can question the desirability of going so?) resulted in parts of the Army ‘[abandoning] its evangelical theological stance in favour of a more liberal incarnationalism’, no longer protesting and in its place, partnering with existing systems.\(^{14}\) Hence it became possible for Salvationists to neglect the element of societal reform as increasingly non-Christian social workers were serving suffering humanity. Salvation Army pulpits prioritised ‘soul’ salvation, failing to integrate an understanding of justice into what it means to be in relationship with God and failing also to recognise the gnostic tendencies that had crept into its preaching and teaching.\(^{15}\) Moreover, a theology of ‘accompaniment with the poor’ found its way into Salvationist thinking replacing the post-millennial emphasis on transformation of individual and society, resulting in a fragmented theology of salvation. The highly visible and militant army of the nineteenth and early twentieth century had become ‘respectable’, and at risk of losing what early Salvationists had understood as divine mandate – ‘going for souls and going for the worst’. Perhaps because of the inevitable political implications of standing with the powerless and exploited and fears of loss of government funding, The Salvation Army was slow to advocate for justice and the perhaps the lack of protest documentation supports this reality. These developments speak clearly to an apparent disconnect between the normative voice of Scripture and the operant theology of some twentieth century Salvationists. Having acknowledged some of the influences that ‘induced’ the Army into its deep slumber, it is important, then, to identify elements, when collaboratively considered, might explain the revitalisation of its protest practices as an integral part of its mission. How and in what manner did the ‘sleeping giant’ awaken to reclaim its fidelity to the Kingdom value of justice and return to a congruency of practice to its claimed normative and operant voices?


\(^{14}\) Woodall, *What Price the Poor?* p. 211.

4.3 From Fragmented to Integrated

Despite numerous efforts, it would not be until the middle of the twentieth century that significant challenges to its own ‘Great Reversal’ would become evident. During the Army’s centennial celebrations in 1965 General Frederick Coutts, reminded Salvationists of their dual mission -

[...]the salvation of which the New Testament speaks had always to do with the whole man[...]if we ourselves for a want of a better way of speaking refer to our evangelical work and also to our social work, it is not that these are two distinct entities which could operate one without the other. They are but two activities of the one and the same salvation which is concerned with the total redemption of man. Both rely upon the same divine grace. Both are inspired with the same motive. Both have the same end in mind. And as the gospel has joined them together we do not propose to put them asunder.

In its participation of the 1974 Lausanne Congress of World Evangelism, The Salvation Army began to ‘directly questioned the marginalisation of social concern from evangelical mission expressing corporate repentance for both neglect and the sometimes assumption that evangelism and social concern were mutually exclusive.’ Within its ranks, prophetic voices began to unmask false assumptions Salvationists may have had regarding faith and world. Of particular interest are the writings of respected Salvation Army theologian Phil Needham who addressed the bifurcation of mission in a series of publications during 1986–1987. In these publications Salvationists were reminded that social ministry must not be separated from the life of local congregations but be properly understood as an ‘overflow of Christian caring’. These were accompanied by protests of a ‘soteriological shrinkage’ and calls to rediscover a salvation that was truly

16 The withdrawal of evangelical Christians from their strongly, socially-engaged roots was dubbed ‘The Great Reversal’ by historian Timothy L Smith.
18 Davies-Kildea, “A Vision for the Lost or a Lost Vision?” p. 6. See Appendix 5. The ‘Manila Manifesto’ issued from the 1989 Lausanne II Covenant was endorsed by The Salvation Army as part of its Vision 2000 direction for the 1990s.
‘bound-less’ in all dimensions of life and return to a covenanted lifestyle.\textsuperscript{20} In addition to a rise in the theological sophistication amongst Salvationists, new generations of officers and soldiers experienced a ‘convergence of convictions’ and were again drawn to an integrated approach to mission that understood holiness in its individual and communal dimensions calling for a return of Salvationists to the ‘hard places’ of society.\textsuperscript{21} A number of significant initiatives in the 1980s and 1990s marked renewed theological focus within the global Army. An international symposium ‘Towards a Theology of Social Services’ in 1986 provided impetus to clarify the roles of social services and social reform work, the establishment of \textit{Word and Deed}, the official Salvation Army Journal of Theology and Ministry in 1999 and an unofficial online platform for the \textit{Journal of Aggressive Christianity}, were indicative of a return to the movement’s theological roots regarding participation in the social realm. Alongside these developments was a renewed recognition of the importance of the espoused voice found in its laity. Appointments and employment of laity to international boards and public advocacy and affairs roles brought not only much needed recognition and expertise but provided a critical redress to what had previously been ‘officer only’ perspectives and initiatives.\textsuperscript{22}

It was to use a New Testament term, a \textit{metanoia}, a radical returning to its first principles. In the same manner that the Kingdom comes to humanity time and again with its demands for fresh responses, God’s people must continually \textit{become} Christians as Kierkegaard observed. It would appear that God’s army learned the lesson that permanent revolution requires permanent conversion to the other.

To William Booth, advocacy for change in social systems was an imperative to his vision. [He] initiated the mandate for system change...altered conditions are required to sustain it. Today...charity and goodwill are simply not enough. Effectiveness requires...social action, where mercy meets the cause of justice in the world.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{21} Gareth Fuller, "Salvationist Mission Recreated in the Hard Places" (Bachelor, Whitley College, 2011).
\textsuperscript{23} Geanette Seymour, "How can we make our voice heard and speak prophetically from our experience?," in \textit{USA Salvation Army Conference for Social Work and Emergency Disaster Services} (Orlando, FL2014).
4.4 Twenty-First Century Considerations

Calls for a re-integrated mission appear to be have been heeded as ‘healthy persons’ are once again understood within a ‘body-soul-in-relation’ perspective as against a priority of soul over body. Salvation Army official documents emphasise the relational dimensions of the Trinity, explicitly reject dualism and its tendency to only ‘go for souls’ and make clear reference to the Army’s social action and advocacy for social justice as a ‘consequence of our salvation’.

Faced with overwhelming need and limited resources, the wisdom of collaborative partnership is allowing the Army to gain greater impact in the public arena than working independently. This is evidenced in its relationship with the United Nations and government relations as found in its International Position Statement The Salvation Army and the State. Given its present size and connectional nature, The Salvation Army is well positioned to implement global initiatives despite the organisation’s geographically diverse operations. With the establishment of the Army’s International Social Justice Commission (ISJC) in 2007, a number of territories have appointed individuals to co-ordinate and develop justice initiatives in local contexts one example of which is the Social Policy Unit of the New Zealand, Fiji and Tonga Territory which since 2010 produces an ‘Annual State of the Nation’ address regarding economic and social realities for New Zealand’s poorest citizens.

The impossibility of providing a neatly tabulated twenty first century account of the global movement’s protest against the injustices throughout the 128 countries in which its personnel serve is perhaps obvious. These are documented in official publications outlining the breadth and scope of The Salvation Army’s advocacy and social reform

25 HOD, pp.176,243.
26 Jacquelyn Hadley, “How can The Salvation Army Faithfully Engage with the State, the Market, NGOs and FBOs?,” in USA Salvation Army Conference for Social Work and Emergency Disaster Services (Orlando 2014). Fuller, "Salvationist Mission Recreated in the Hard Places."
27 Appendix 8.
focus. In addition, whilst it is also recognised that one cannot protest against every issue that threatens the well-being of the world, the Army has retained its commitment to protesting two areas of injustice earlier referred to in Chapter Three – poverty and human trafficking. Similar to William Booth’s approach of addressing extreme poverty in the East End of London with the establishment of a Match Factory to reduce health hazards and provide a safe working environment, modern protesting against the cycles of poverty has been established in the form of employment opportunities enabling financial independence for those close to society’s ‘submerged tenth’. Known in the international development discipline as capacity building of communities it is but one demonstration of the Army’s pragmatic protest against impoverishment, encouraging local ownership and building a resiliency that in itself contributes to fighting poverty.

Also of note is the development of Others, a fair trade enterprise in Bangladesh providing support and skills retraining for homeless prostitutes and the Pathway of Hope, piloted in the United States, moving frontline material service from only serving the poor to ‘addressing not only the symptoms but the root drivers of under-developed structures, limited education, unequal power relationships and gender inequity’. Other examples include The ‘Living Wage Campaign’ in the United Kingdom (2001) and New Zealand (2013) and ‘The Dignity Project’ in Canada (2011) each modern echoes of the 1888 Match women who struck against appalling work conditions and salaries – campaigns spearheaded by Salvation Army laity. In addition to drawing attention to the complex dimensions of poverty these efforts seek to dispel the myths that poverty is a choice, that the poor are primarily responsible for their socio-economic status and that such a lot in life is divinely mandated or sanctioned.

The movement’s work in anti-human trafficking is a global concern. The creation of an International Anti-Human Trafficking Force (IAHT) co-ordinates the Army’s global efforts in countries of origin, transport and reception. Its anti-human trafficking measures include raising awareness, prevention, provision of means of exit, places of refuge, legal advice and advocacy, operational in twenty-three countries excluding those not covered by the Millenial Development Goals. Of these nations, The Salvation Army’s work in the United Kingdom is but one example of a sector leading program. As part of its government contract, the Army oversees twenty-seven safe-houses supporting 1,800 victims from 74 countries from the sex traffic trade. Despite the manifestation of evil this social issue highlights, Salvation Army personnel continue to prioritise advocacy for the rights of women and girls particularly in the areas of trafficking and exploitation. Similar to its war on poverty, the battle of The Salvation Army against human trafficking takes place in the public arena through initiatives such as ‘The Truth Isn’t Sexy’, a campaigned desired to address the demand side of human trafficking leading up to the 2010 Olympics and ‘Buying Sex in Canada in a Crime’, a response to 2014 Canadian legislation when it became legal for prostitutes to sell their services but a crime to purchase sex. Of particular note is the ingenuity of a group of South African Salvationists, transposing the 1882 Maiden Tribute into a twenty-first century key, who set up an exhibition known as ‘Whipped’ at the Sexuality and Adult Lifestyle Exhibition (SEXPO) South Africa 2015, to draw attention to the ease by which one could be trafficked. As false promises of work are not uncommon lures by modern traffickers, Salvationists created a brand offering an exorbitant salary and luxurious lifestyle with a single condition – to be seen at high profile parties with the branded product. Interested parties completed an electronic entry form with name, gender and mobile phone number and were informed they would be contacted regarding their suitability. To the surprise of the applicants an immediate ‘confirmation message’ in SMS text read

You’ve just become one of the 21 million people to be lured into human trafficking through false job promises. The Salvation Army set up ‘Whipped’ to show people how easy it is to become a victim.

33 Appendix 7.

Unsurprisingly in an age of technology this startling warning spread immediately across global news sites and social media. Those who believed they could remain unaffected had been caught unknowingly in the-world-as-it-is. The aims of the exhibition were four fold - promoting a Christian understanding of sexuality, highlighting some of the tragic sex-related issues and crimes, an opportunity to sign a petition opposing the trafficking of women into the sex trade and the potential for conversations of ‘eternal value’.\footnote{The War Cry, The Salvation Army Southern Africa Territory, Johannesburg, SA. December 2013.p.7.}

These campaigns and exhibition speak to the importance of giving presence and visibility in a world where all too easily people are neither valued nor given dignity. Each expresses the simple yet profound theological truth ‘I see you’, bringing to visibility that which has been previously ‘hidden’ echoing the experience of Hagar where she testifies to seeing the God who saw her; the beginning of any salvation story (Genesis 16:13). They also highlight the need that forms of protesting injustice must change with changing human need not only from decade to decade but also nation to nation and culture to culture. Societies with national health services perhaps have no need of advocacy for access to health care, nor may much of the western world with its free, compulsory and universal education require raising awareness for gender discrimination in schools. There are however, many areas in the world where people still need both and significantly more. It is here where the espoused voice of the marginalised must be heard if the church is authentically speak to human need. Recent years have seen a growing representation and presentation of papers at global Salvation Army forums from the two-thirds world where the Army’s majority membership find their home. Keen insights have been drawn from the work of Jayshong Lui who exposes gender based violence against women and girls in Papua New Guinea.\footnote{Jayshong Lui, “Violence Against Women and Girls in Papua New Guinea,” (New York: The Salvation Army International Social Justice Commission, 2014).} David Nku Imbie, from the Democratic of Congo raises questions of how African Salvationists
might make their voices known. Torben Eliasen envisions what shalom might look like in the Brazilian context. Oswald Malunda speaks about the specific impact of poverty in rural communities in Tanzania. Joseph Lalrintluanga Valkhuma articulates how ‘full salvation’ might be understood amongst the Dalit peoples. Within her South America East context, Claudia Franchetti identifies the tensions between ‘action theology’ and authoritative or academic theologies that inform the Army’s advocacy in her country. It is because of the global nature of The Salvation Army that the contextual and marginalised voices must be heard and that any protesting of injustices must remain both focused and flexible. Where one context may require an individual speaking to a local vendor regarding the removal of pornographic magazines from public view, another may involve advocating a local government representative regarding promises made during a municipal election. Other settings may seek large scale presentations of national significance. Each of these strategies speaks to the imagination and development a sense of the possible – a protesting of the world-as-it-is and a pointing towards the world-as-it-should-be. However, a word of cautious restraint might be mentioned at this point. Those who commit to working toward the social transformation of communities know all too well of the importance of calibrating expectations, to discerning what can be pushed to the limits of the possible and what is best left to a more opportune time and circumstance. It is as Melba Maggay states ‘advancing the possible good even as we seek the impossible best’. This is an acknowledgement of the challenge of mediating between a hard pragmatism and idealism, between what is possible and what is principled. How can one be effective in a world that thwarts our best intentions? Taking a leaf from socialist Mao Tse Tung’s

philosophy, it is a recognition that the process of change may take two steps forward and one step backward. It is an embracement of the strategy of proximate justice.

Proximate justice is grounded in realism. Some justice is better than no justice. More justice is better than less justice. True justice is marked by sustainable justice.

An example of proximate justice can be found in The Salvation Army’s participation in the universal suffrage vote during the 2017 election of the Chief Executive for Hong Kong. While a number of Christian churches actively opposed participating in the electoral process as they did not believe that the election would be truly representative of the city’s population, The Salvation Army chose to exercise its vote as an opportunity to speak of the concerns of the poor and marginalised for whom no electoral provision had been made. The matrix of proximate justice applied would argue that if the Army’s vote had not been exercised, the voice of the poor whom it claims to represent might have never been heard. Strategies of settling for nothing less than the best may at times not only be impractical but may in fact be barriers to justice. The Kingdom of God agenda does not always find favour with all and wisdom is necessary to discern when one must ‘give a little to get part of what is needed’. Notwithstanding this reality, whatever form a confrontation may take, the essence of and need for protesting of injustice must remain the same – the transformation of individuals and nations into the likeness of the One for whom they were created.

Theologically speaking in perhaps the strictest sense, Christian conversion as conversion to God already necessarily implies a conversion to the world, since it is this world which God’s love intends to save (Jn 3:16). Any decision therefore to follow Christ and let Christ’s love be the divine rule of one’s practices must lead directly to an identification with the Christ who stood alongside atheist neighbours defending the rights of the poor, the oppressed and the excluded (Mt 25:40,45). This is not an encounter with an

46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
abstract presence; this is seeking the reality of God where God has said he would be – in the world. This is a theological hermeneutic of protesting against factors that cripple humanity. These practices are what Peterson calls ‘practicing resurrection’, intentional living in the reality of the risen Christ. They are practices, theological in nature, because they presuppose a God who chooses to work through created things and persons to reveal and communicate God’s nature and will. In light of this, perhaps the ultimate focus for Salvationist practice needs not to be the praxis of its people per se but rather an awareness of and response to God’s presence and work in the world.

4.5 Holy Worldliness

Clear and well defined identities are not easy to sustain in a fragmented and rapidly shifting world. What is needed is an awareness and commitment to a ‘double identity’, first as a people called out of the world to belong to God and secondly called back into the world to be immersed in the world as salt and light (Mt 5:13-16). This is a dual calling – first to ‘holiness’ and second to ‘worldliness,’ (using the word as the opposite of ‘otherworldliness,’ and meaning involved in the life of the world.) This is a commitment to ‘holy worldliness’ that must ensure that neither identity suppresses the other. To stay in the world with God means simply to live as light in the dark spaces of the world and yet at the same time remain in the Body of Christ. Salvation Army theology teaches that humanity is invited to participate with God in his saving and sanctifying purposes in the world -

God is constantly at work by his grace to draw all people to himself. And yet response to God’s grace is an act in which we ourselves are involved, in that we have been given free will and we can accept or reject the new

52 While ‘holy worldliness’ was first coined by Alec Vidler. John Stott (Knowing & Doing, Summer 2001, CS Lewis Institute Report), it is also found in Salvationist thinking. Bramwell Cook, "The Holy Worldliness of the Gospel (1)," The Officer 1972; Bramwell Cook, "Holy Worldliness of the Gospel (2)," The Officer 1972; Bramwell Cook, "The Holy Worldliness of the Gospel (3)," The Officer 1972.
life that is offered to us.\textsuperscript{54}

In contrast to a metaphysical understanding of grace, the epistemological encounters with God in their practices could allow Salvationists to characterise grace as a conscious experience of and participation with God. But in what specific form, by what means and for what purpose might Salvationists understand themselves to participate with God in God’s transformative work in the world? In addressing these questions, this next section draws threads from James Fowler’s work on the locative presence of the disciple and God in relation to one another, and places it within a proposed Salvationist paradigm.\textsuperscript{55}

4.6 Grounded in Trinitarian Foundation

In common with other Christian communities, Salvationist orthodoxy and orthopraxy claims its Kingdom values and practices to be grounded a Trinitarian construct.\textsuperscript{56} The Trinity is understood as ‘mutually affirming and life giving with no false hierarchy or unequal distribution of power and glory. God as Father, Son and Spirit is at work in creation, redemption and re-creation as he brings the whole universe towards his ultimate purpose of reconciliation to himself’.\textsuperscript{57} The following section discusses the form, means and purpose of agency, freedom and power of the Trinity in relation to Salvationist engagement with the world for the restoration of shalom.

4.6.1 The Form: Jesus Christ – Embodiment

4.6.1.1 The Salvationist ‘in’ Christ

Central to the biblical understanding of the Creator and his relationship to the created order is the concept of a God who ‘acts’, an ‘act of God’ being defined as ‘the overall movement of nature and history towards God’s ultimate goal’ as well as ‘events which directly advance God’s ultimate purposes’.\textsuperscript{58} Any particular ‘act’ there can be seen in light of or in context of the comprehensive whole. And while the comprehensive whole may be hidden from humanity’s eye and only understood \textit{a posteriori}, creation continues its movement forward toward its eschatological goal. However, Christian faith

\textsuperscript{54} General, \textit{Salvation Story - Salvationist Handbook of Doctrine}. p. 72.

\textsuperscript{55} James A Fowler, "Christ in, as and through us "(2001), www.christinyou.net/pages/inasthrough.html. Accessed 1 April, 2017.

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{HOD}. pp. 51-77.

\textsuperscript{57} \textit{HOD}. p.58.

also understands that God has disclosed his true nature in Christ and through the Spirit in those who in faith, choose to participate in his redemptive work for creation. ‘If God, in some measure lives and acts in us, it is because first, and without measure, he lived and acted in Christ[…]thus the New Testament tends sometimes to say that as God dwells in Christ, so Christ dwells in us’. 59 It is ‘in Christ’ that one is invited to participate in the reality of God and the reality of the world at the same time. In contrast to Dietrich Bonhoeffer who called disciples to participate in the ‘powerlessness’ of God in the world, The Salvation Army calls its soldiery (members) to participate in the missio Dei, God’s transformation of the world while remaining in the world. 60

To be human is to be situated in nature, history, culture and society; to have a particular location. Every individual occupies a specific position in the cosmos, within a tradition and in a personal history that stamps the self with whatever character it has. As people in history, humanity stands in Christ taking human form in a segment of human history that he chose. When speaking of being ‘in Christ’, therefore, one must not speak abstractly but concretely and dynamically. Everything that is said concretely about the way this form becomes visible among humanity is strictly related to the form of Jesus Christ and it is from this that humanity has the assurance that in Christ’s becoming human he also desires to take bodily form among us, here and today. 61

4.6.1.2 Christ ‘in’ the Salvationist

From the work of Christine Faragher we learn that Salvationists draw from the well of mysticism in their desire to know God and his presence inasmuch as they demonstrate an ‘compromising singleness toward God’ and his purposes. 62 Her research demonstrates the Salvationist belief that the person and work of Jesus Christ works synergistically within Christians; extrinsically applied adopting one into the Body of Christ and

intrinsically as the Spirit actively indwells. (Gal 4:3-7; Titus 3:4-7). As a Salvationist acts in the name of Christ, it is believed that every act moves them more deeply within Christ and Christ within them. This reality is acknowledged in Salvationist sung theology ‘Spirit of the living God, fall afresh on me…break me, melt me, mould me, fill me’. Such petitions invite the Spirit of Christ to function freely, subjectively and spontaneously, existing as their identity in expressing divine power through the Salvationist. One of the Salvation Army’s early theologians, Samuel Logan Brengle, makes this point clear

When Jesus came, a body was prepared for him (Hebrews 10:5), and through that body He wrought His wondrous works; but when the other Comforter comes, He takes possession of those bodies that are freely and fully presented to Him […] and from that citadel He works, enduing the man who has received him with power.

God is not only present to humanity then; God is also present within humanity. By a gift termed grace God has by the Spirit made the human heart his dwelling place on earth. The Salvationist understanding is that the Spirit of Christ both indwells and empowers ‘bodies’, and through those bodies, the Body of Christ. The Christian scriptures clearly affirm the centrality of Christ’s presence within the Christian and the witness of the Spirit to the human spirit that they are children of God (Jn 17:23; Col 1:27, 2 Cor 13:5, Rom 8:9-16). Helpful insight is found in the use of the Greek preposition ‘en’ when referring to ‘Christ in us’. Its primary usage denotes the presence of Christ located in an individual with a secondary instrumental meaning expanding the meaning of ‘Christ in us’ to convey ‘by means of’. The indwelling of Christ by the Spirit then conveys an

---

64 HOD. p. 195.
65 A degree of Quaker influence found in Catherine Booth’s writing continues to influence Salvation Army worship as reflected in this Salvation Army prayer chorus. SASB. Song 312.
69 Fowler, “Christ in, as and through us “. p. 4.
70 Ibid.
active divine dynamic, never limited to a singular static location. In the same manner that the apostle Paul declares ‘it is no longer I that liveth but Christ that liveth in me’ (Gal 2:20, KJV), the Salvationist claim is that Christ lives in them, not only as a deposit of the life to come but in present reality of space and time through the experience of holiness. Christ’s life is mediated through them as ‘living words, living embodiments of Christianity, making embodiments of the Spirit and life and power of Jesus Christ’.  

Such an application of the locative and dynamic explains why ‘Christ in me’ is often sung by Salvationists as a comprehensive phrase to convey divine presence and activity in them – ‘Christ only, always, living in me’.  

Expressed differently, I suggest that the primary purpose of the Salvationist life might best be understood not as a static ‘imitation’ of Jesus but rather a dynamic ‘manifestation’ of his embodied life. It is saying ‘I choose and will move in the same way you have already performed in me’. This life is not a ‘re-creation’ of the life of Christ in the sense of producing exact replicas but rather using the unique personalities accorded individuals, Jesus lives his life within the human construct, hidden but present in power. As Christ manifests his life in Salvationist behaviour and actions, a unique representation of Christ’s life can become visible to the world. While the Christian narrative remains both authoritative and ‘the divine rule for Christian faith and practice’ for Salvationists, it is the living and active life of Jesus embodied in their lives that re-tells the Christian story. Salvation Army doctrine teaches that the Christ life within one is holiness, not expressed through simple obedience to the orders and regulations of their tradition (as important as a life of discipline is) but simply and profoundly, allowing Christ to express his being within the human soul and body, which are to be preserved blameless until his second coming (1 Thess 5:23). In the words of C S Lewis

...when Christians say the Christ-life is in them, they do not mean simply something mental or moral... Christ is actually operating through them the whole mass of Christians are the physical organisms through which Christ

---

72 SASB. Song 705, Verse 4.
73 Fowler, "Christ in, as and through us ". p. 9.
74 Doctrine 1. Appendix 1.
acts...we are his fingers and muscles, the cells of his body.  

4.6.1.3 Christ ‘through’ the Salvationist

The ‘whole’ gospel is not only that by faith one can know the indwelling life of Christ but that the fullest extent of his life can be experienced through a life of service to others and especially expressed in service to the poor and exploited. This is a ‘sanctified pragmatism’ at work which might be theologically expressed as ‘Christ in me, in the world, for others’. The Christian scriptures teach that God is love and God consistently expresses this love through serving humanity (Lk 22:27). Jesus was neither dependent upon particular historical or cultural conditions, yet came precisely within the particularities of those conditions in space and time. As Jesus was fully human without ceasing to be God, so Christians in their own particular space and time become fully human without ceasing to be divinely empowered. The experience of holiness (‘Christ in you’) in no way diminishes one’s humanity; rather it frees one to a more thoroughly human existence: ‘If Jesus is the ideal Man, it follows that the holy life is the truly normal, human life’ (1 Jn 4:17). It is in this way that the Son incorporates humanity into his mission and invites humanity to become ‘partakers of the divine nature’ through the Spirit (2 Pet 1:4). Christians live and work in the same context in which Christ lived and worked – human history, bodily existence, finitude, suffering and death (Jn 1:14; 21:27). While an action to ‘stand in the gap’ (Ezek 22:30) and lay down one’s life for the sake of another is not carried out in the exact same manner as Christ who purposed atonement for the world it is an expression of identity in Christ through participation in the ‘fellowship of his sufferings’ (Phil 3:10) as well as a redemptive willingness for Christ ‘through them’ to be physically expended for others. Such willingness is visibly imprinted on the uniforms many Salvationists choose to wear indicating they are ‘saved to serve’.

4.6.2 The Means: The Holy Spirit - Empowerment

Salvation Army doctrine emphasises the believer’s life in the Trinity as the sole source of the power by which one is a disciple of Jesus Christ. A full understanding of the

79 *HOD*, pp. 53-77.
Trinity can only take place in the experience of lived grace - God’s life of grace, God’s gifting of grace to humanity and humanity’s return of the gift. Western theology has historically emphasised the initiating work of the Father in what is sometimes termed the *monarchical Trinity*, with its concentration on sin and justification. Whilst acknowledging this emphasis, The Salvation Army also focuses on both the initiating and on-going work of grace of the Holy Spirit. The argument is that if one simply receives the embodiment of the Son without the empowerment of the Holy Spirit, one misses the opportunity to not only return the gift of grace to the Father but to demonstrate responsible grace in the giving of that gift to others. Neither is the experience of God fully explained by saying that he is both the invisible Father and the visible Son. The first Christians spoke of a God who dwelt inside them, living and working through their lives. Jesus had spoken of a ‘Counsellor’ (Jn 14:16,17) as a personality, and it became clear to them that someone, not something, was giving unseen strength and guidance. It was neither the memory of Jesus that made them brave nor faith in the supreme God (as Jews they already possessed this). It appeared as though they were possessed and occupied by the God who was in Christ and the one they came to call the Holy Spirit (or Spirit of Christ) was chief actor in their engagements with one another and with the world as the writer of the Acts makes clear (Acts 4:8; 5:3,32; 7:55). As the disciples were to protest sin in all its forms, the Spirit preceded their efforts and provided them with power (Acts 1:8). Where the historic Jesus had been external to them, the provision of the Holy Spirit meant they would never be without the *Paraclete* (1 Cor 6:19). It is in this same manner that Jesus remains real to his disciples today through the Spirit as agent in space and time. While the physical body of Jesus has been transformed and glorified irreversibly, humanity remains contingent in space and time. While hidden in present space and time (but not subject to space and time) Jesus remains present in his power through the Spirit.

---

80 Ibid. p. 150.
Salvation Army theology teaches that the church is both Christologically ‘instituted’ and pneumatologically ‘constituted’. As a work of the Spirit, the church is at the same time the mode of enactment of the Spirit’s mission. Because the Spirit is oriented toward Christ, one can recognise pneumatologically the connection between Christ’s body and the church as the Body of Christ. The Spirit realises the form of the Son within disciples which therefore fulfils the mission of the Son (to give the church his own Spirit). The Spirit creates the church as the body of Christ through distinct practices through which people are subject to the actions of the Spirit in their lives. Understood this way, the teleological focus is soteriological. Any ‘excellence’ in Salvation Army activity and practice then must involve holiness for it is the holy Spirit who renews and empowers heart, soul, and body for Christ-like conduct. Therefore, holiness as the form of Christ in human life and action must include a pneumatological dimension.

Such affirmations of synergism are carefully balanced by an eschatological proviso. While eschatologically Salvationists understand that one is not yet able to fully declare ‘God is all in all’, the present lived reality of ‘Christ in them’ allows them to affirm ‘Christ is all, yes all in all, my Christ is all in all’. Although actively present in their practices of piety and mercy (listening, receiving, responding and obedient) they acknowledge human activity alone does not constitute these practices. They remain the conduits through whom the works of the Holy Spirit are accomplished - ‘channels only blessed Master but with all thy wondrous power, flowing through me, thou canst use me every day and every hour’. In contrast to Hutter and Luther, this belief does not imply a passiveness in reception but rather represents a co-operant synergy. The grace of God is revealed in the objective, saving work of Jesus Christ. What God has done, however, demands a response. Christian faith is grounded in grace, but requires a personal,

---

84 Ibid. p.57.
87 HOD. p.224. SASB. Song 588 (chorus).
88 Ibid. pp.72,76,149. SASB. Song 577.
subjective response (human response to the divine initiative). In taking this view ‘The Salvation Army distances itself from the most extreme of Augustinian and Calvinist thinking which emphasises the sovereignty of God and fallenness of humanity to the exclusion of volitional human response.’ Given this stance, it should not be surprising that Salvationists seek to maintain a dynamic relation between divine grace and human response. God does not overpower but empowers those who yield to divine persuasion. The Spirit will draw, enable and empower, but the Salvationist must consent to be co-workers with God (2 Cor 6:1; Phil 1:19). Salvationists then, work out their salvation while God is at work in them (Phil 2:12-13). The ‘first’ Army theologian, Catherine Booth put it succinctly - ‘as He works, so He calls us to work with Him’.

4.6.3 The Purpose: Freedom

4.6.3.1 Freedom from Self – Free for Others

The Christian scriptures teach that the Father’s gift of love is infinitely great so that humanity remains in infinite debt (Jn 3:16; Rom 8:32). When gifts are given in such a manner or to such an extent that similar gifts can never be reciprocated, the one who receives the gift becomes ‘enslaved’. In a similar manner God could be portrayed as a philanthropist who gives in order to subjugate the receiver. Salvation Army doctrine follows both Paul and Luther in affirming the biblical notion that all human beings are slaves (Rom 3:23; 6:16-23; Eph 2:1). That is the human condition of the bondage of the will. The question is – whose slave? The good news is that to be the slave of God in Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit constitutes perfect freedom. The infinite gift of God’s own Son puts humanity in infinite debt yet in the giving of the Son, God ‘forgives’ the debt. As outlined in the Handbook of Doctrine, the Salvationist understands that justification is only the beginning of the faith journey and in and of itself is insufficient to experience the fullness of the Godhead as opportunity has not yet been given to return the gift. Disciples of Christ are exhorted to ‘love one another as I have loved you’ (Jn 15:12), giving as God has given, loving as God has loved. The point is

---

89 ‘In taking this view The Salvation Army distances itself from the most extreme of Augustinian and Calvinist thinking which emphasises the sovereignty of God and fallenness of man to the exclusion of volitional human response.’ Weymouth and Roberts, “The Image of God in Salvationist Thought.” p. 1.
92 HOD. p.191.
this – the Spirit through sanctifying grace empowers one to return the gift of God. In doing so, one of the paradoxes of the Christian life becomes apparent: when one is no longer enslaved to the Law and made free by the Spirit to serve (a form of voluntary self-enslavement), such ‘bondage of love’ is in fact both slavery and freedom in service to the Lordship of Jesus Christ. It is only by virtue of being indwelt by God that one is fully free to collaborate with the Spirit. The freedom which the Spirit brings is in fact a new reality, a release as it were, from previous social realities. In this new reality a new disposition is given – to serve the Lord and the new particular in which he has placed one; in defiance if need be, of what previously laid claim on allegiances. It is this linking of the Spirit and the living Christ in vocation and surrender that I suggest provides the ‘why’ for the Salvationist act and in particular the act of protesting injustice. Only a triune God has access to a freedom that recreates itself ever anew. It is as Douglas Meeks suggests a ‘communicative freedom’ grounded in the Trinitarian mystery of God. True freedom is significantly more than the free choices of individuals; it encompasses gastfrei, demonstrating generosity of spirit and compassion toward others. When God frees one by God’s Spirit (the personhood in which he is his own freedom), God shares divine freedom which releases one from the preoccupation and isolation of self and frees one for others to live what Randy Maddox terms a life of ‘responsible grace’. 

I would be thy holy temple, sacred and indwelt by thee 
Naught then could stain my commission, ‘tis thy divine charge to me. 
Time, health and talents presenting, all that I have shall be thine; 
Heart, mind and will consecrating, no longer shall they be mine.

Affirming the power of the Spirit to enable humanity to return the gift to God and the importance of situating human agency in nature and history is not to deny freedom a place in human life. The central task of any moral deliberation is to discern the fitting (or right) course of action in a particular moment and context. People are often guided in the exercise of freedom principally by their understanding of what human beings and the human condition are like. Rarely does one find such thoroughgoing pessimism about

93 Brengle, Love-Slaves, p. 5. 
95 Meeks, "Trinity, Community and Power." pp.124-125. 
96 Maddox, Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology. 
97 SASB. Song 591.
the human condition as one finds in Salvation Army literature but this is coupled with an equally thoroughgoing optimism of the efficacy of grace provided by the Holy Spirit.\textsuperscript{98} Salvation Army teaching constantly reminds that the conscience restored by sanctifying grace is a conscience simultaneously personal and social.\textsuperscript{99}

How and in what ways, then, might Salvationists understand they are free? How does freedom have an impact, within their actions on, with and behalf of others? They are, as has been demonstrated, a people who assent to God’s imperative of love in transforming the world, in the face of (and at times in spite of) the complexities of events in which they find themselves, radically adopting, adapting and creating new practices as context demands. Salvationist doctrine teaches that humanity has two freedoms – a volitional freedom to choose to receive God’s character in their personal lives and a teleological freedom to manifest or demonstrate this character in their behaviour towards others.\textsuperscript{100} There is, however, a sense in which freedom is never absolute freedom. No one is free from all restraint. While one might be volitionally free to sin, they are never teleologically free to misrepresent the character of Christ in behaviours which do not honour him. Put another way, volition freedom makes possible a teleological freedom which invites Jesus Christ to act in self-giving, sacrificial ways within the lives of those who claim to be his disciples.\textsuperscript{101} For Salvationists this should be good news as freedom to express divine character is a freedom to ‘readily give assent to God and their own bodies to become material cause in the divine purpose of transformation of themselves and their world.’\textsuperscript{102} Yet in spite of this, Salvation Army history records that in the mystery of Salvationist frailty and freedom resistance to God’s gracious salvific overtures occurs resulting in sins of omission and commission (Rom 7:15).\textsuperscript{103} Two examples make this clear. First, when moral issues were, to some extent clear, The Salvation Army did not publicly condemn Adolf Hitler or what he stood for during

\textsuperscript{98} HOD. pp. 111-116.
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid. p. 195.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid. p. 132.
\textsuperscript{101} Fowler, Freedom to Love by the Spirit. p. 10.
\textsuperscript{103} Office of The General, The Doctrine We Adorn (London: The Salvation Army International Headquarters, 1982). pp. 87-91.
World War II.\textsuperscript{104} The silence in part was related to the refusal to label any one ‘the enemy’ (not least since there were Salvationists serving on both sides of the war). However, in contrast, the Army’s silence during apartheid rule in South Africa was in part borne out of culpable desire for self-protection.\textsuperscript{105} Both are representative of the inherent ‘danger’ of freedom that opens the possibility of unfaithfulness to that which is known to be right as General Clarence Wiseman notes

\begin{quote}
As a rule we are unaware of our sub-conscious fears and prejudices […] when they do emerge it becomes tempting, by the subtle process of rationalization, to bring ourselves to the place where we accept them as valid […] like all sin, prejudice springs from the inherent self-centredness that spurns divine authority, and opposes the mutuality of love and concern which is evident throughout Scripture.\textsuperscript{106}
\end{quote}

What matters ultimately, however, is not the all too human weakness in moments of action (or inaction as the case may be), but rather a willingness to allow weakness to be transcended by the presence and power of the Spirit as noted in an old Salvation Army prayer chorus – ‘if I have wounded any soul today, if I have caused one foot to go astray, if I have walked in my own wilful way, dear Lord, forgive.’\textsuperscript{107} Such intentionality represents not a mastery over or precision of practice but a readiness to repent and keen awareness of dependence on God’s grace.\textsuperscript{108}

\section*{4.6.3.2 Being and Becoming}

In moments of self-determination characterised by freedom and decision that take place in the context of the good one stands at the intersection of time and eternity.\textsuperscript{109} The extent to which one has averted prior cognitive acts as conscious and intentional determines their capacity to become more fully who they are meant to be in that moment. The extent to which they accept the exigencies of the moral context in which

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{104} Shaw Clifton, “The Salvation Army’s Action and Attitude in Wartime (1899-1945)” (PhD, King’s College, London, 1988). pp.605-607.
\textsuperscript{105} Brenda Sterling, "The Salvation Army and Apartheid" (Masters - Christian Ethics, King's College, London, 2000).
\textsuperscript{106} Clarence D Wiseman, The Desert Road to Glory (Toronto: Kebra Books, 1982), pp. 33-34.
\textsuperscript{107} Date and author unknown. Each hold holds the ‘experience of potentiality’ both ‘to do’ and ‘not do’. Giorgio Agamben, Potentialities: Collected Essays in Philosophy (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 177-180.
\textsuperscript{109} The fact that one is active in producing the meaning of one’s life provides an ‘indeterminancy’ of life stories. Kaufmann, “The Attestation of the Self as a Bridge Between Hermeneutics and Ontology in the Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur ”. p. 52.
\end{flushright}
they live determines their capacity for acting on that potency and the extent to which they have allowed God’s love to permeate their lives determines the extent to which they can fulfil that potential and the end to which it is ordered.\textsuperscript{110} For example, when a Christian acts in the name of Jesus, they ask at some level ‘do I want to live and act as Jesus did?’ As the Spirit affirms they are ‘in’ Christ and Christ ‘in’ them (Rom 8:16), a second question emerges ‘do I wish to become him in this act?’ In the answering of this question a resultant shift of perspective occurs in the way a Christian sees themselves, their narrative and the world. Jesus’ presence in his Lordship prompts them to act in particular ways of which they may not be familiar. They do what they would not ‘ordinarily’ do. They in no way cease being rational beings who come to judgment freely about what they believe and do but instead begin to act in a manner similar to the apostle Paul’s experience - ‘it is no longer I who live but it is Christ who lives in me and the life I live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God’ (Gal 2:20).\textsuperscript{111} Things obscured are now apparent. Previous obstacles are viewed for what they are or removed. Conversely, actions previously automatic now require consideration and reflection. In reflecting on this changed perspective, it becomes possible to understand what it is one believes about God, God’s presence and revelation in the world and what they believe about their own participation. One comes to ‘see’ the world differently. But such is only possible through the divine gift of imagination.

4.7 Sanctified Imagination

Imagination has been defined as ‘the capacity to image the world beyond what one takes as established given’.\textsuperscript{112} In his work, Third Eye Theology, Choan-seng Song refers to an Asian approach to imagination which includes the Buddhist concept of satori which its followers believe opens doors to the dimension of things hidden at particular moments


\textsuperscript{111} This making sense of personal story and practice in the larger faith community is reinforced in Paul Ricoeur, Oneself as Another (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1992).pp.158-161.

in time enabling one to see the reality behind and beyond the immediate. While *satori* in Buddhism is the work of a human spirit, Asian Christians acknowledge this is as a work of the Holy Spirit. 113 Because the Salvationist claim is that they are led and indwelt by the Spirit of Holiness, the expression ‘sanctified imagination’ could well express how they become aware of not only what is taking place around them in the present but of the very source to the present and access to a divine alternative future in contrast to present reality. 114 This reception and use of divine imagination makes normative the historic and contemporary practices of twenty-first century Salvationists. Sanctified imagination can project Salvationists into the situation of another to the extent that while they do not literally become the other person, they identify with them to such a degree that they are in solidarity with an individual’s need, caring enough to take either remedial or preventative action on their behalf. This is possible because in addition to a cognitive recognition of a lack of *shalom*, Jesus’ presence in his Lordship gifts an empathetic aspect of imagination, propelling one not only intellectually into a deeper understanding of the needs of people, but moving one affectively and emotionally so that one personally identifies with those in need. Solidarity moves from an intellectual assent that an injustice has been served to an individual to an identification that recognises the communal dimension of flourishing has been affected, including their place in it. 115 I suggest that this ‘being with the poor’, or ‘becoming the poor’ should be of importance in a number of ways for Salvationists. It can enable them to ‘step into another’s shoes’ and see life from that perspective, an impossibility if reception is limited to the intellect. It is as Brueggeman suggests a ‘heart’ identification that should propel the Salvationist to disrupt the other’s misery – to protest the world-as-it-is and proclaim the world-as-it-should-be, thereby providing a ‘sub-version of reality that insistently subverts the ordinary’. 116 But the purpose of the gifting of sanctified imagination is further to devise ways in which others might become aware and identify with the invisible and voiceless. It commands one to find ways of bringing to public attention that which begins as a personal experience but to also bring to public

115 Ibid.
expression the hopes and needs which have been denied for so long that one is no longer aware they exist. This kind of imagination is at the same time subversive and hopeful. It refuses to accept the present reading of reality which may express the voice of those with power and choice and instead takes personal risk in announcing that the present reality is now called into question. It is in fact a contest of competing imaginations for the world-as-it-is is also an act of sustained imagination. The ‘old’ reality has been part of humanity’s imagination for so long that it has been accepted as the only reality. However, when one gives serious consideration to the life of Jesus and his response to injustice, one begins to realise that the present reality is but a fragile imitation of the real world-as-it-should-be and can-be under the Reign of God.

4.8 A Radical Alternative

As stated in a number of its theological publications, the faith of Salvationists is essentially the hope of resurrection as it is only on the basis of the resurrection that one can believe God has made humanity his agents. In the light of this hope, freedom can be understood as the ‘creative passion for the possible’ and in agreement with Jurgen Moltmann is directed toward the future. Whereas the past remains limited in space and time, God’s future kingdom is limitless, a kingdom of creative possibilities linked to present reality. It is possible then that the Salvationist life can be marked by a dual partnership – holy freedom coupled with holy discontent. Holy freedom to celebrate the present Kingdom of God within present space and time (‘the now’) empowered by the Spirit to participate in cooperation Dei in bringing about the future (‘not yet’) Kingdom of God into the present age ‘in the making of spaces of freedom in the world’. In light of this understanding of freedom, Salvationists can be liberated to not only view the world with compassion and firm resolve to reconcile the world to God and humanity

117 Eg ‘We see what others don’t…’ The Salvation Army Canada & Bermuda Territory – 2006 Christmas campaign focus on the perceived invisibility of those in need.
to one another but to participate in the triune God’s creative acts of reconciliation and transformation, one of which is protesting injustice.\textsuperscript{122}

4.9 Summary
The theological act when coupled with Salvationist credentials then can be dynamic. The Salvationist claim is that they take seriously the doctrine of the Holy Spirit as Indweller and Guide who reveals the Father’s will through the person of Jesus Christ and empowers them with a dynamic freedom to act in his name.\textsuperscript{123} This has been demonstrated in their practices, grounded in Trinitarian foundation. Diversity and adaptability in practice are celebrated as hallmarks of the Salvationist ‘DNA’.\textsuperscript{124} If, as Phil Needham has suggested, the church is free to live its life in the world as a result of its humanity in Christ and Christ in them, then as the object of God’s love, the world is where the church is called to live and act redemptively (Mt 28:19-20; Mk 16:15; Lk 24:47; Acts 1:8). Therefore it cannot live in isolation from the world and remain the people of God.\textsuperscript{125} The continued task of Salvationists then is to discern what the triune God who was incarnate in Jesus Christ and is present in the Spirit is doing and calling them as people to do in his name for the flourishing and shalom of humanity.\textsuperscript{126} As Ellis has rightly noted, humanity is never asked to exercise or actualise something that has not already been accomplished on their behalf in Christ.\textsuperscript{127} Any commanded action is grounded in and modelled by Jesus. Such theological interest must always be understood within the context of the reign of God and therefore can never be understood in narrow, individualistic terms. As Salvationists believe they are made free by making

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{cooperation} Cooperation Dei speaks of the believer’s cooperation in healing the world and its ills. Volf claims the second creation account (Genesis 3) makes the case for cooperation with God as necessary for the world to function. Miroslav Volf, Work in the Spirit - Toward a Theology of Work (Oxford Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 98.
\bibitem{hedgren} Hedgren and Lyle, Mapping Our Salvationist DNA: Beliefs, Values and Behaviors, pp 144,145,168.
\bibitem{needham} Needham, Community in Mission - A Salvationist Ecclesiology.fig.35-36.
\end{thebibliography}
the course of conduct prescribed in Scripture as natural and spontaneous as it is with God, they are therefore free in the same sense that God is. But how might one recognise the practices of the triune God? By attending to the practices of Jesus for it is in the life of Jesus of Nazareth that one sees the most visible, embodied practices of God to which the Spirit calls the Salvationist and it is to these sacrificial, self-giving communicative practices of Jesus that the next chapter addresses.
Chapter 5
JESUS: DISRUPTIVE PROTESTOR

5.1 Faith that Protests
Christian faith that protests is one that lives in the present but also lives toward the future; pregnant with hope, not despair. It looks forward, as well as backward to Jesus. It is optimistic, confident, joyful, and as a protest for God bears on the widest range of affairs. It is aware of the significance of norms, structures, movement and historical processes and dares to evaluate them in the light of the Gospel and works in and through them. For Salvationist protest to be authentically Christian, it must be grounded and rooted in continuity with that of the entire tenor of Scripture and in particular the life of Jesus. While it is not the historical Jesus who lives today but rather the resurrected Christ who is beyond history, many see the resurrected Christ as the same as the historical Jesus of Nazareth only transformed by the Father and now present among us as Spirit (2 Cor 3:17).

While a variety of theological resources are used throughout this thesis, the importance of Scripture as a primary text for Salvationists cannot be overemphasised. As noted in Chapter Two, it is the normative voice of Scripture that constitutes the divine rule for its faith and practice and never a simple footnote to the life of discipleship. Therefore, this chapter gives priority in developing what a faith that protests may be modelled after – the living, incarnational presence of Jesus of Nazareth. By doing so the intention is to demonstrate that Christians and especially Salvationists who might consider a telos of shalom as the intended norm for creation need to examine the actions and attitudes of Jesus to exploited and oppressive situations in order to be better prepared to understand any subsequent actions they may personally take. The following study reaches back to the texts of the Old and New Testaments in order to identify how justice is grounded in the very heart of God, evident in the protested words and actions of the prophets and particularly embodied in the life of Jesus and in those who chose to follow and call him

---

1 Forrester, "Towards a Theology of Protest." p.36.
Lord. The chapter is structured around five important subject areas – the divine intent of *shalom* for human community, the inclusivity of the marginalised, the purity system and its relation to holiness, *imitatio Dei* and the reign of God present in the world. This is demonstrated through the treatment of several passages – Luke 4, Matthew 25, the cleansing of the Temple and narratives in the Acts of the Apostles, passages which enable one to see how the various elements, taken together, constitute Jesus’ vision of a new order – the Kingdom of God. These passages make explicit what is implicit throughout Scripture as to not only how Jesus responded to the social and spiritual reality of the poor and marginalised but how he specifically protested against the exclusive and oppressive policies and practices of the religious and political leaders of his time. The social stance of Jesus will become apparent through his teaching and conduct addressing questions of how people ought to live together. Analysis of the political stance will become evident in his interaction with religious leadership, political authorities and governmental policies (for example - taxation) and how these were both exclusive and oppressive in nature to those already marginalised in his society. As will become apparent, the Kingdom of God was not to be solely understood as Israel alone but rather to be found everywhere and nowhere, and present to those who recognise it (Lk 17:21).² The chapter concludes with a discussion of the Lordship of Christ and interlocutor Carl Schmitt’s understanding of sovereignty, freedom of agency and role of exception bearer.

The protest strategies of Jesus might be examined from three perspectives. There are first the strategies he will employ to challenge the dominant ideas of his day and proclaim an alternative worldview; today one might refer to this as the counter-cultural or ideological arena. Second, there are strategies he will use to create and maintain an organisational base for his work. Finally, there are what can be termed direct action strategies which he uses as examples of the new society he is advocating, but are also means of highlighting the contradictions within the dominant ideology, namely the control of interpretation and meaning of the Law that rested in the hands of the Jewish religious elite. Many Christians use the word ‘ideology’ in a pejorative sense to describe

systems of thought which appear opposed to the Christian faith. It is used here in the more open sense of the World Council of Church’s working definition as ‘a system of thought or blueprint used to interpret society and man’s place in society, the function of which is either to legitimate the existing structures of society or to change them’.³ However, as a number of passages will reveal, not only does Jesus protest against established religiously sanctioned norms but because of these actions he is in conflict with others regarding these norms. Two possible explanations surface for these counter-protests. First, any opposition may perceive Jesus’ protests as a temporary suspension of an accepted norm but disagree that there is sufficient crisis to justify his actions. In such cases, conflict is due to a differing interpretation of the present situation. However, it can also be understood that any action of Jesus is an attempt to permanently change or transform a practice so that its present function is undermined. This represents a conflicting interpretation of present reality but presses further, understanding that the future can, must and will be transformed by the new interpretation. Therefore where one party determines this interpretation as desirable, the other may see it as threat. Whether opposition to Jesus understands his actions as the first or second scenario can only be determined within individual circumstances. To his opponents who hold him under close scrutiny and seek to trap him, Jesus issues direct denunciations both public and provocative. At times, Jesus is the aggressor, directly attacking individuals for their hypocrisy, avarice and materialism. His understanding of God’s kingdom compels him to sharply criticise and in some cases, condemn the powerful. The aim is never to replace one ruling group with another but rather to develop a kingdom whose hallmarks are equality and servanthood. Such a view brings him into direct conflict with those who benefit from the oppressive power structures in place.

Each protest portrays Jesus acting publicly to reveal the reign of God present in the world. They present a series of protesting acts, varying in form, focus and intensity, some of which are considered ‘illegal’ drawing a diversity of responses from ordinary people and ruling authorities. The ethical questions he poses to both individuals and the ruling authorities of his day are posed in a manner that disrupts their worldviews. They are forced to consider their world from a divine perspective; some will be shocked, insecure, and irritated as the secure place from which they judge is threatened and disturbed. For others, awareness emerges that ‘the stakes have been raised’ and welcome the invitation of transformation.

The use of the term ‘disrupt’ is intentional. For purposes of this work, disruption is defined as a ‘process by which established points of reference for identity are being called into question’. Unlike challenges which can be overcome, disruptions have the capacity to shake one’s foundations. Disruptions are invitations to a new way of understanding and being in the world. This is precisely what Jesus does, revealing God and his vision of shalom for humanity. One cannot, however, understand the Jesus of Nazareth who protests against injustice and the lack of understanding of his Father’s vision for the world without first tracing what and how God’s vision of relationship and community was communicated in the Old Testament. It is only against the background of the Hebrew Scripture that one can place Jesus in context for his divine protest against the distortion of the Father’s vision for creation.

### 5.2 Shalom

When this Hebrew term is translated into English as ‘peace’, it is frequently understood as the opposite of war or absence of conflict yet this diminishes and negates its scope and richness of meaning and makes no provision for the relational life of a Trinitarian God to his creation. A number of scholars acknowledge that wholeness, completeness and universal flourishing can be ascribed to shalom but are cautious to commit to a

---

4 Of the gospels writers, it is Luke in particular who presents Jesus as a public figure. As Peter reminds his audience at Pentecost, the powerful deeds that God worked through Jesus were ‘in your midst, as you yourselves know’ (Acts 2:22).
5 The importance of the role of imagination and imagery in theological thinking is discussed in McIntyre, *Faith, Theology and Imagination*. 
singular, exact definition due to the variety of root meanings that can be applied. The primary point of departure in interpretation would appear to lie in whether shalom is understood as a state or relationship. For example, Claus Westermann considers shalom as a state while Gerhard von Rad affirms shalom as relationship which is always manifested externally because of its social context.\(^6\) Despite the semantic challenges a number of theological affirmations can be made regarding shalom that contribute to the work of this thesis. Shalom is gift and originates in the heart of God for his creation. It expresses the importance of wellbeing in all aspects of one’s life – soul and body – and in relation to the rest of creation. Shalom as defined in this thesis takes as its focus God’s purpose for his creation and not the sense of mere human flourishing. Therefore any seeking of shalom holds in tension a quality of life under God that includes the spiritual, material and relational.\(^7\) The enemy of shalom is chaos or disorder. If one accepts that chaos can be present in every dimension of a person’s life including health and well-being, so equally must shalom be understood to affect and involve the total person – soul, body, and environment.\(^8\) Because shalom can be diminished or damaged by chaos, action must be taken for its restoration and this God has done by giving humanity responsibility, under his reign, to return creation to its original purpose – shalom between Creator and creature. Such restoration speaks to the necessity of justice as shalom cannot exist without the presence of just relationships.\(^9\) To use theological language, restoration includes a measure of healing, wholeness and the receiving of a new identity and regeneration of body, soul and mind – in a word, redemption. It is in this regard that the work of Walter Eisenbeis is noteworthy. His use of ergänzung focuses on the restorative aspect of shalom with respect to the wholeness of creation. While acknowledging that chaos has indeed damaged humanity community, he argues

---


\(^7\) Simon Cartwright, "Seek the Welfare of the City: Where I Place You Into Exile (Towards a Transformative Strategy for the Church’s Engagement with Urban Development)” (PhD, University of Nottingham, 2004).pp.88,93.


that sacrifice is the means to the restoration of *shalom* between Creator and creation.\(^{10}\)

Because temple sacrifice is linked to creation (a vision of how things should be), the function of sacrifice is to restore the world-as-it-is to the world-as-it-should-be.

Eisenbeis’ work is clear in its focus in making humanity complete and whole through sacrifice. The significance of this interpretation becomes apparent in Chapter Six when protest as an applied particularity of sacrifice is explored.

From the first pages of *Genesis*, one sees a God whose quest is to forge a faithful human community characterised by *shalom*. According to the *Genesis* narrative, God’s *shalom* in the community of creation was dramatically broken. This radical disruption was a break in creation on multiple levels – relationships between God and humanity, humanity and creation and man and woman.\(^{11}\) After this break in creation, *shalom* was no longer normative but became the *telos* of the twelve tribes of Israel in search of God’s peace and justice.\(^{12}\) The *Exodus* narrative sees God acting decisively to free an oppressed people siding with the suffering and marginalised and equally siding against those who perpetrate oppression. These experiences teach Israel first about God’s character and second about the kind of community they are called to become, one that embodies divine righteousness as a norm applied to all people and which orders a society dependably and securely. It is to be a community grounded in God’s compassion extended to those who are most vulnerable – the widow, the orphan and the alien.\(^{13}\)

*Deuteronomy* provides the framework for how power, resources and influences are to be distributed and where individual rights never outweigh communal duties.\(^{14}\) As a demonstration of their commitment to holiness, Israel is to evidence deep concern for its

---


\(^{11}\) Marshall identifies the cultural mandate of Genesis 18 as a central tenet in establishing Christian responsibility to shape creation in the image of God. The essential implication is the recognition that despite being sinful fallen creatures, the mandate was not altered. Paul Marshall, *Thine is the Kingdom: A Biblical Perspective on the Nature of Government and Politics Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986).

\(^{12}\) In Jewish teaching, this struggle to restore God’s *shalom* is referred to as *tikkun olam*, the healing and repairing of the world. Paul Marshall, "Thine is the Kingdom." p. 6.


\(^{14}\) Burke, “Shalom”, p. 12.
neighbours as well as its own citizens and never institute nor replicate their Egyptian oppression.  

The role of the Spirit in the Old Testament is clearly manifest in terms of the Spirit’s work in promoting the well-being or human flourishing of human community. This is evident in the book of Judges where God raises up a series of leaders to deliver Israel from its enemies and to restore communal identity to Israel as being God’s people. In each scenario a pattern emerges – the Spirit descends on a particular individual, and they lead people out of their disarray and oppression into restoring community and re-establish a clear identity for Israel as God’s people. Such actions represent ‘an intervention of God’s Spirit into the structural patterns of human life’, an intervention that is public and also highly political.  

The basic pattern of the working of the Spirit evident in the period of the judges continues after Israel is given a king. Here, however, the focus shifts to whether the king adequately seeks to serve in obedience to God’s command, especially as developed through the covenant legislation (1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings). In this pattern of the Spirit’s ministry it becomes evident that the Spirit often works through leaders who are clearly fallible, Saul and Samson being clear examples. An interesting aspect of the Spirit’s ministry in the Old Testament concerns the practices of extending mercy and exercising justice. God institutionalises these expectations by building them into the law and in making them part of the cultic service of God where the priests are responsible to implement them. Mercy and justice are to be extended to those without power of influence. Actions towards such persons represent what Jesus would later summarise in his teaching as the fulfilment of the second great commandment – loving your neighbour as yourself (Mt 22:39). God’s intent is to have a people who live in reconciled relationship to himself and neighbour and who demonstrate this to a watching world so that surrounding nations might worship and serve him. God’s justice is a social form of his holiness broadly reaching out to the

---

15 Wolterstorff contends that while the writers of the Old Testament are not explicit, the thought is that there is something incomplete and fractured about an unjust society and in particular where the most vulnerable do not enjoy conditions of flourishing. The unjust society is one whose shalom is partial and incomplete and thus incapable of reflecting God’s holiness. Wolterstorff, Until Justice and Peace Embraces, pp. 120-121.

whole earth; holiness that is inclusive and integral, embracing the integrity of human personhood and humanity’s integration into the community of creation. Regrettably because of the presence of sin and evil in the world, Israel’s pursuit of being a holy people proves to be an on-going struggle to be in right relationship with God, humanity and creation. The practices designed to express this holiness always have a twofold purpose - the larger world in view but they also anticipate the eschatological future as part of their ultimate purpose (2 Sam 7:15-17). They look toward the type of community that will be formed through the pouring out or descending of the Spirit. This is articulated most clearly within the prophetic tradition. This quest for a just and inclusive society becomes a preoccupation of many of the eighth century prophets of Israel. The prophets offer Israel a clarion call to embody salvation in the earthly struggle to end injustice and live together in shalom. The prophetic literature offers vignettes of the social dimension of holiness. The Hebrew prophets deploy a dyad – justice and righteousness, mishpat and sdaqah – to call Israel to restore creation’s shalom as a concrete way of worshipping their Creator. They are calls to end injustice because God hates injustice. Where injustice results from broken people’s evil action, justice will empower the wronged through making their wrongs right and restoring broken relationship. Thus, people are called to express their holiness through their struggle for justice and in their protesting of injustice. Such ‘poets’, as Walter Brueggemann rightly notes, are those who cry out the ‘public processing of pain’ releasing ‘new social imaginations’ such that ‘the cry of pain began the formation of a counter-community around an alternative perception of reality’. What is striking in the Old Testament declarations about justice is the passionate insistence that all the members of a community are entitled to a full and secure place in the life of the community. Hence the repetitive references to orphans, widows and sojourners. Over and over when justice is spoken of, that ‘trinity’ is brought into view. For these were the marginal ones in

---

18 The Hebrew term translated ‘righteousness’ does not refer to moral behaviour so much as it refers to rightness. ‘The root meaning is probably straight: something fixed, and fully what it should be[...]a norm – something by which other things are measured, a standard’. Christopher J H Wright, Old Testament Ethics for the People of God (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 2004). p. 255.
Israelite society. Justice only arrives when the marginal ones are no longer marginal (Zeph 7:9-10). It is out of this prophetic tradition of crying the pain of the oppressed and mediating the presence of the divine that Jesus will press Yahweh’s covenantal lawsuit against the wayward leaders of the people. Like the classical oracular prophets, Jesus will relentlessly unmask the way in which the structures and stewards oppress the poor. In the footsteps of Amos he will deliver sharp oracles to the powerful. In the footsteps of Jeremiah he dramatises and embodies his message with symbolic action. Faithful to ‘Second Isaiah’, he experiences the cost of speaking truth and of calling people to account, prepared to be ‘despised and rejected, a man of sorrows’ (Isa 53:3). He takes it upon himself to mediate Yahweh’s healing to the poor and outcast with a unilateral declaration of Jubilee for those doubly oppressed by the symbolic order, pronouncing the unclean whole and debt-ridden forgiven. He liberates Yahweh’s presence from its controlled ‘reclusion’ in the Holy of Holies in the Temple, announcing that it dwells amongst the people. People are to learn to eradicate debt by cooperating in a new community of sharing and forgiving, to welcome the impure and anoint the sick and cast out demons. The ‘blood of atonement’ is no longer to be a vicarious offering controlled by temple stewards but rather the only acceptable sacrifice is one’s own lifeblood, shed in service to people and in resistance to those who oppress. In his humanity, then, Jesus stands in the long line of prophets who live and die in an effort to be bearers of the Kingdom of God, losing life in order to save life.

5.3 Embodied Word

According to human law it was inconceivable that the divine would ever become human. God was to remain God both in the image humanity created God to be –

---

21 Taxation, the abuse of credit and debit bondage, the over-driving of workers on estates, the corruption of justice for gain are all condemned. Such actions are offences against God but in the first place against humanity. Walter J Houston, Contending for Justice - Ideologies and Theologies of Social Justice in the Old Testament (London: T & T Clark, 2006). pp. 58-74.
22 For the biblical prophets, the gates of heaven could never be closed to the gates of the city. God tells Jeremiah to ‘stand in the gate of the Lord’s house and proclaim ‘you that enter these gates to worship the Lord…amend your ways and your doings and let me dwell with you in this place[…]if you do not oppress the alien, the orphan, and the widow[…]then I will dwell with you in this place’ (Jer 7:2-7).
powerful, violent and judgmental - as well as in locale – God lived above the heavens, distant and powerful, to be feared and reverenced; clearly distinguishable from humanity and creation. Otto’s *mysterium tremendum et fascinans* describes such a divine/human experience. As *mysterium*, the *numinous* is ‘wholly other’; entirely different and objective, external to self and any other ordinary experience, thus evoking human silence. However the *numinous* is also *mysterium tremendum*, provoking terror because it represents as an overwhelming power, thus creating a fearful and fascinating mystery.

If, in fact, God were to descend into the human realm it was thought it must be in the form of a powerful and wealthy ruler. The idea that God could be recognisable, visible, ‘born’ into poverty in an obscure town into a refugee family who would demonstrate a life of active love and sacrificial service for others and bring indictment upon the rich and powerful was inconceivable in first century Judea. With the affirmation in the prologue of the Gospel of John that ‘the Word became flesh’, the tension between fallible humanity and God is heightened. But God does not cease here to be wholly ‘other’ in relation to flesh; this God chooses to dwell within humanity as the flesh that is Jesus Christ.

The events surrounding the birth of Jesus take place under the leading of the Spirit. Mary is informed by an angel that she would conceive the Son of God by the Holy Spirit. Elizabeth, Zechariah and Simeon under the leading of the Spirit, divine the presence of Jesus and worship him (Lk 1:2). The gospel writers record how poorly his coming amongst humanity was received ‘he has scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts and has put down the mighty from their thrones’ (Lk 1:51ff) and while Herod and his supporters erroneously supposed that this new power would violently overthrow their systems of oppression and injustice, they were correct in expecting a challenge from Jesus. Instead of one who yielded military power, they would be disrupted by one who wields the power of non-violence and the power of the powerless.

The incarnation then defies expectation of how God is seen, understood and

---

26 Mary echoes the prayer prayed by Hannah (1 Sam 2:1-10). The fiery notes contained in Mary’s *Magnificat* have frequently, but not always, gone unnoticed. According to a Dantecan legend (cited by Walter Rauschenbusch), King Robert of Sicily recognized the revolutionary ring present in Mary’s prayer and thought it well that the *Magnificat* be sung only in Latin. Richard J Cassidy, *Jesus, Politics and Society* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1979). p. 141.
experienced. And so in becoming human, God protests the division between human and divine and invites the world to imagine him ‘upfront and personal’. To borrow a colloquial phrase, he has become ‘larger than life’ itself. Little is known of Jesus’ formative years with the exception of his presentation in the Temple and the statement that ‘Jesus grew in wisdom and stature and in favour with God and man’ (Lk 2:52). If *habitus* is a plausible descriptor for this period of time, it is reasonable to presume that any action of protest emanating from the ‘adult’ Jesus, far from being a calculated risk, is instead an intuitively obeyed command of the Father, informed through a prophetic heritage and human legacy as a child refugee and displaced person.

5.4 Declaration of Jubilee - Luke 4

The gospels make it clear that the ministry of Jesus in announcing the reign of the kingdom is under the leadership of the Holy Spirit. It is Luke who records Jesus’ proclamation of the coming of the prophetic, political vision of a reign of justice in Jesus’ first public appearance in the synagogue at Nazareth. When handed the Isaiah scroll the selection of this specific text is deliberate in content and self-acclaimed authority.

> The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favour[...] today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing (Lk 4:17-19,21).

27 Dear, *The Sacrament of Civil Disobedience*, pp. 142-143.

28 Infancy narratives indicate the earthly family of Jesus comprised of prophets (Zachariah, Elizabeth, Mary, John, Simon, Anna) each of which was directed by God’s spirit in speech and action. Johnson, *Prophetic Jesus*, p. 56.


30 Joseph A Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I - IX: Introduction, Translation and Notes*, Anchor Bible 28 (New York: Doubleday, 1981). pp. 531-532. The quotation is a conflation of Isaiah 61:1-2 and 58:6. While the appropriation of the Isaiah text has been considered a Lucan composition, ‘programmatic’ in defining the purpose of Jesus’ anointing, it should be noted that such mixed texts were not unusual in synagogue readings. Even so, the synagogue scene was no doubt subject to shaping by Luke toward its programmatic end.

31 This passage touches on the themes of poverty, liberation and blindness mentioned earlier in the songs of Mary and Zechariah (1:52-53,71,79).
In what is termed ‘likely the most important passage in Luke-Acts’, compassion for the disadvantaged is placed at the centre of Luke’s Gospel. The phrase ‘the year of the Lord’s favour’ refers to the year of Jubilee and its attendant ideas of forgiveness of debts, repatriation of property and release of slaves and would have been a favourite passage of the listeners who no doubt viewed themselves as the referents for whom deliverance was promised. The echoes of the Jubilee proclamation (‘liberty’, ‘acceptable year’) might point to a royal figure proclaiming not only from a prophetic stance, but as a decree, ‘good news to the poor’ and the ‘deliverance of captives’, as d’ror, a liberation. Who are the poor and the captive? Those robbed of the ability to make choices for themselves. Significantly, Luke employs Isaiah 61:1-2 to characterise Jesus’ ministry at its outset as an exercise of the royal function of deliverance of the oppressed with the accompanying declaration ‘today, in your very hearing’ this scripture has come true’. This can only mean that ‘the one for whom it was written, the one who alone has the authority to proclaim the liberation of which it speaks, has now proclaimed it, and as the words are a legal decree bringing that liberation into effect, it is now a reality’. Upon hearing Jesus’ interpretation which specifically identifies Gentiles as the co-recipients of this liberation, Jewish admiration turns to offense. To suggest God’s inclusion of Gentiles and Jews in the plan of salvation rejects the central tenet of

---

33 Craig A Evans and James A Sanders, *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 1993). pp. 21-22. Examination of Leviticus 25 shows that the intended redistribution every fifty years did not affect every form of wealth, with the exception of slaves and land outside walled cities. Given the relatively short life span of people, the interval between Jubilees made it inevitable that those born after one Jubilee dying before the next were never helped. If the purpose of Jubilee was to encourage and endorse a redistribution of wealth, why were some important forms of wealth unaffected and why was the distribution scheduled at such distant intervals? Nash, *Social Justice and the Christian Church*, pp. 76-80. Whilst acknowledging that the society portrayed in Leviticus 25 was not a reality, Houston argues a society like it would be necessary for the Jubilee to work, arriving at the paradoxical conclusion that the Jubilee may not be impractical but it is utopian. Houston, *Contending for Justice - Ideologies and Theologies of Social Justice in the Old Testament*, pp. 198-199. Jameson concurs that a utopia is projected precisely because it is an ideological text – justice between ‘brothers’ is a possibility, exemplified by the proclamation of liberty, but only possible if class divisions do not exist. Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), pp. 281-299. Utopias, then, project an image of a world of justice which convinces that such a thing is possible and encourages one to work towards it.
Judaism: Israel’s primacy as the covenant community of Yahweh. Such a declaration of the commencement of God’s reign by overturning dehumanising practices affirms that God claims sovereignty over all aspects of life, including relationships. Luke 6 continues this explicit declaration of Jesus as Lord of the Sabbath and a proclamation of the reversal of the world’s unjust social order: the Kingdom of God is the establishment of justice and righteousness in the traditional sense and oppression and need are to be abolished by the reign of God. The Spirit is clearly identified as involved in every aspect of this proclamation and heralds what becomes the leading role of the Spirit in the early church as the body of Christ in the world. The distinctive character of the message of Jesus for those ‘who hear it gladly’ is the experience of the reign of God already present both in signs and wonders and in fellowship meals that protest the divisions in Jewish society between the ‘pure’ and the ‘impure’. Such divisions between ‘pure’ and ‘impure’ are applied in daily life by rabbinic teachers particularly in bodily contact through sex and food. Such divisions between the pure and the impure marginalise many classes of people.

5.4.1 Women
Feminist theology, a marginal but growing voice within theological thinking has critically noted that women within the Jewish population were accorded secondary status in relation to both temple holiness and rabbinic study by their very nature as women and as causes of ritual pollution through the sexual functions of childbirth and menstruation. Women were considered only of importance in terms of property and

---

35 Such a critique of Israel’s narrow-mindedness was a common theme in the message of the prophets of Israel and Judah (Lk 1:32; 3:8,16-17; 13:24-30) and nettlesome to a temple-based Judaism.
36 It is a mistake to think of Luke as politically complaisant – see for example 13:31-35 and 18:7-8 which foreshadow the fall of Gentile rule and the establishment of the kingdom of Jesus’ followers as a kingdom of a new sort: the rule of those who serve where the greatest is the servant of all.
37 Scott argues that the principal division in ancient Judea and Galilee and surrounding areas was not only between ‘Jews’ and ‘Gentiles’ but between the rulers (Romans and local clients – Pharisees) and subject peoples. Scott, Domination and the Arts of Resistance.
procreation and little attention was given to them regarding their personhood.\textsuperscript{39} Despite examples of capable and strong-willed women in the Old Testament, rabbis of Judaism for the most part, devalued women in their teachings.\textsuperscript{40} Rabbinical interpretation of Deuteronomy 5:21 reasoned that all potential objects of a person’s coveting as listed in this commandment are the possessions of a person’s neighbour, including wives. Because of this interpretation, women were granted few legal rights of their own in ancient Israel. Just as a husband could refuse to acknowledge any business arrangement entered into by his wife, an unmarried woman was regarded as the possession of her husband’s male next-of-kin. She could inherit but any inheritance would be put in trust for her, managed by the man who was in charge of her care. Those who appeared in public in ancient Israel were enveloped in social mores that both protected them and isolated them.\textsuperscript{41} The code of customs and prohibitions for women was not simply a curious means of demonstrating respect and honour. Behind it was the attitude with the prayer that every Jewish male was enjoined to recite each morning, thanking God that ‘he did not make me a Gentile[…]a woman[…]a boor’.\textsuperscript{42}

It is against the backdrop of silencing women as agents (1 & 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah) that the gospel writer Luke portrays Elizabeth, Mary and Anna as prominent prophetic figures in his infancy narratives. Despite minimal social status, they are depicted as instruments through which the Holy Spirit speaks (Lk 1:28, 41; 2:38).\textsuperscript{43} Women are similarly prominent among those whom Jesus heals and exorcises – Peter’s mother-in-law, the mother whose son Jesus restores from the dead, the bent woman in the synagogue. Two stories that Luke reiterates from Mark (5: 21-43) are of particular note as they indicate Jesus’ willingness to cross social boundaries in order to touch and


\textsuperscript{41} Eg. It was regarded as improper for a man to speak to a woman in public, even if she were his own wife. In speaking to a man in public a woman was presumed to have an improper relationship. For such an act a husband could divorce without returning the dowry.

\textsuperscript{42} Yoel Kahn, "The 3 Morning Blessings - A Historical Study of a Jewish Liturgical Text" (PhD thesis, Graduate Theological Union, 1999).

to be touched by women considered impure: the woman with the haemorrhage (8:43-48) and the daughter of Jairus whom Jesus raises from death (8:40-42, 49-56). But not only are women recipients of healing – they are welcomed members of Jesus’ itinerant group. The story of the sinful woman saved by faith and the women who accompanied and supported Jesus and the twelve as they proclaimed the Kingdom place women at the centre of those that move with Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem (Lk 7-8). The hospitality of sisters Mary and Martha with the particular affirmation of Mary as a disciple, the story of the woman whose loss and recovery of a coin is parabolic for rejoicing over sinners who repent, protesting the injustice of a widow believing she must lose her entire livelihood, (in contrast to the wealthy who give out of abundance), defending the presence of a woman at an all-male banquet and recounting the widow who gains a just decision from an unrighteous judge out of her own persistence are other Lucan examples of how Jesus not only elevates the position and importance of women in his mission and ministry but clearly protests against the established division between male and female. Jesus’ teachings on breaking down social discrimination and anticipating status reversal in relation to the reign of God convey a liberating message to women who were particularly affected by these forms of marginalisation. Women are found not only mourning and lamenting Jesus at his crucifixion but are the first to witness and announce his resurrection to the eleven (Acts 1) and included with the ‘daughters’ and ‘women slaves’ upon whom the Spirit is outpoured at Pentecost (Acts 2). Such testimonies are not incidental details. In the first century women were not eligible to testify in a Jewish court of law. Josephus records that even the witness of multiple women was not acceptable because of the ‘levity and boldness of their sex’. Such background matters because it points to two crucial truths – first a theological reminder that the Kingdom of the Messiah turns the system of the world on its head as Jesus radically affirms the dignity of women and the value of their witness. Second, it

44 While the traditional interpretation is one of praise for the widow who offers her livelihood, in light of the preceding section in Mark and Luke 20 it is highly probable that Jesus was protesting the injustice of a widow believing she must lose her entire livelihood. Grateful to Geoff Webb, Salvation Army officer, Australia South Territory for this insight.


provides a powerful apologetic reminder of the historic accuracy of the resurrection accounts. If these were ‘cleverly devised myths’ (2 Pet 1:16 ESV), women would never have been presented as the first eyewitnesses of the risen Christ.

5.4.2 Children

If the attention that Jesus pays to women is not extraordinary enough, then the attention given to children is more startling by ancient standards. If women were regarded by dominant males as incomplete humans and therefore not to be taken seriously, then children were considered even less significant when measured by male adults. In every respect, literally and figuratively, they represented the ‘poor among you’ as they made demands on the wealthy and powerful for their very existence. Yet the gospel’s portrayal of the birth and childhood of Jesus reveals a divine conviction that parent-child relations and childhood experiences are significant to God in contrast to humanity’s attitude. The story of the twelve year old Jesus in the temple, asking questions and providing answers that astonish reveals an understanding of the prophetic call – God’s Spirit can and does work among the young. Jesus’ healing of children calls one to notice how he respects the place of children in families (Lk 7:11-15; 9:42). Protesting the prevalent demeaning attitude towards children, Jesus proposes that the way a child is received is in fact the measure of receiving himself and challenges his listeners that there is no better test of living by the reversal of ordinary values than to receive those who are always needy, dependent, weak and never able to repay (Lk 6:30-36). The second child as measure account (Mt 19:13-15; Mk 10:13-16; Lk 18:15-17) witnesses the disciples’ rebuke of people bringing children to him but Jesus declaring in response ‘Let the children come to me and do not prevent them. For the kingdom of God belongs to such as these[…]whoever does not accept the kingdom of God as a child will not enter it’ (Lk 18:16-17). Here the structure of the story indicates a reinterpretation of the Kingdom is necessary. The significance of Jesus’ protest regarding treatment of children is not that people must become like children in receiving the Kingdom, but rather that children embody the poor just as Jesus teaches the poor ‘yours is the Kingdom of God’ (Lk 6:20).

5.4.3 Neighbour

Jesus’ protests further reverse the conventional Jewish understanding and divisive practices regarding relationships with foreigners and Gentiles. Israel understood holiness as a matter of separation and distinctiveness evident in its exclusive practices with neighbouring nations. However the gospels present Jesus appealing to the precedents of both Elijah and Elisha whose healing work embraced those beyond the Jewish borders, evident in the account of the Gentile centurion who requests Jesus to heal his slave (Lk 7:5) and Jesus’ contrast of this significant act of faith with a less than commendable Capernaum. Openness to foreigners is also demonstrated in the positive way Jesus treats Samaritans in the gospel narratives. He breaks with convention and intentionally engages with a Samaritan woman who becomes the means of bringing many to faith (John 4). The refusal of the disciple’s repeated requests to call down fire on Samaritan villages that do not receive him well and elevation of the status of a Samaritan who proves himself more of a neighbour to an injured traveller than a priest and Levite, challenge Jewish listeners to ‘go and do likewise’ (Lk 20:29-36). Jews were prepared to grant the rights of a neighbour once neighbourship had been defined and proven, but in the estimation of Jesus, to be a neighbour was not to have rights that put others under obligation to oneself, but rather to be conscious of one’s duty to another. This protest against lack of compassion towards a neighbour was not a claim that all in the world are physiologically equal. Jesus recognised the lame and the halt (John 5:1-9). Nor are all mentally equal. The parable of the talents (Mt 25:13-30) establishes that reality. Nor does he teach that because men are to be brothers they are therefore to be twins. According to the new social standard of Jesus, two individuals are equal, not because they have equal claims upon each other, but because they owe equal duties to one another. 48

5.4.4 Pure and Impure

Perhaps the most startling protests against socially divisive practices are when Jesus defies purity customs and traditions by engaging and sharing table fellowship with those

considered unclean and impure - ‘sinners’. The historic definition of ‘sinner’ does not appear entirely clear. The term included all who did not know the Torah, did not keep it or could not keep it. Whether it refers to the morally flawed or ritually unclean, these individuals were considered unfit to participate in society and religious practices. It was believed that certain trades placed people in a constant state of either impurity or temptation to immorality – soldiers, tanners of hides, doctors, shepherds, and especially tax collectors who were considered Roman collaborators. Beyond these occupations, a definitive sign was sexual promiscuity. Any association with those involved in such practices or livelihood represented a direct threat to the Pharisees’ and Essenes’ understanding of the religious life acceptable to God. In contrast, Old Testament principles taught that God had created all people and was no respecter of persons. These truths emerge clearly in Jesus’ teaching of the three kingdom parables – the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin, and the Lost Son (Luke 15). In the story of the Lost Sheep, Jesus states that God actively seeks the overlooked, outsider, excluded and poor, giving first attention to the group that the proud hearers scorn. In the Lost Coin, he defies them to imagine thinking and acting as a woman (they who thanked God daily that they were not!) in order to understand what God is like. The story of the Lost Son declares that it is not what people deserve or whether they are wealthy and important were of import, but God’s obsession to find people and bring them back to his love and care.

5.5 Holiness Code

Fundamental to understanding Jesus’ protests of socially divisive practices is the opposition between Jesus’ concept of a man’s approach to God as determined by a man’s moral attitude - ‘holiness of heart and life’ - rather than through a highly interpreted Mosaic law. To the Pharisee the law properly interpreted and observed was

always the means of approach to God’s favour. In contrast, Jesus counters that the way of holiness demonstrating right relationship with the Father is in treating other people’s needs as holy. He not only objects to the perceived need of professional interpreters of the Talmud as well as the Law’s sufficiency in and of itself, but declares that the Law is fulfilled by his own presence and the Law is to be possessed by the poorest as well as the learned. He unqualifyingly condemns any limitation set on the forgiving love of God and accuses any who do to be misrepresenting God. He purposely seeks out a Samaritan woman in a public place, marginalised not only by nationality and gender but sexual immorality, and the account of Zacchaeus records Jesus’ insistence of table fellowship despite the exploitive relationship Zacchaeus has had with citizens of Jericho. His further commendation of a gift of expensive oil used by a marginalised woman to anoint his feet, his forgiveness of a paralytic’s sin and the plucking of grain by his disciples on the Sabbath all draw criticism from the Pharisees who challenge the lawfulness of such activities. Jesus’ counter protest declares that the holiness of God and the holiness people are called to live out is not about isolation from sources of defilement requiring protection but rather a transformative power that is both contagious and inclusive, a striking example of which is when Jesus stretches out his hand and touches a leper, commanding him to ‘be clean’ (Mark 1). Where leprosy is understood to exclude one from community rendering one unclean (and subsequently anyone in contact with them), this narrative heralds the reversal where the presence of the holy one overpowers uncleanness and the leper is made clean. The same protest of holiness underlies the account of the healing of the woman with a discharge (Mark 5). Levitical law renders her unclean yet after touching the hem of Jesus’ garment, she is healed. A number of exorcism accounts portray Jesus in triumphant conflict with such spirits who identify Jesus as ‘the holy one’ (Mk 1:23-27; 7:24-30; 9:14-27). Each time Jesus protests against a particular social more or practice, he affirms that he, ‘Immanuel – God with us’, far from needing protection, is a dynamic power that overcomes that which is considered unclean. His very presence is a disruption, a visible embodied reminder that God’s Kingdom is one of inclusion and welcome, not exclusion. God’s holiness cannot be contaminated nor diminished.
Because God’s acceptance is unconditional, God’s children are to imitate the same and this has implications for both Israel’s future internal reform and its external relationship to the world. As with the earlier prophets, Jesus understands *shalom* justice to define the actions not just of individuals but of entire cities and nations (Mt 25:40). The expectation that nations will direct their resources toward the least of these is a radically anti-imperial understanding of the role and responsibilities of the state. This capacity to be compassionate flows out of a distinctive lifestyle and identity. The same understanding of compassion and reinterpretation of holiness which makes it possible for Jesus to embrace the marginalised and undesirables makes it possible to abandon policies of isolation from the world, a possibility which the post-Easter Gentile mission will realize. 53 To opponents of Jesus who fear that inclusion and compassion as core values result in the loss of distinct identity, one might imaginatively respond that to live with such core values does not necessarily involve the loss of distinct identity but rather might well be the result of a distinctive identity and lifestyle. Jesus never opposes the distinctiveness of the Jewish tradition. Neither does he set aside the Torah. His disputes rest in the interpretation of the Torah, not its validity. His challenge to Mosaic law includes loving one’s enemies, the priority of a clean heart over clean hands and Sabbath as blessing rather than burden.

5.6 The Question of Protest as Civil Disobedience

To discern a New Testament call that explicitly describes and ‘recommends’ civil disobedience (the intentional breaking of an unjust law in order to bring it into question), one only has to turn to several pericopae in the Gospels. In Mark 2 Jesus and the disciples break the Sabbath proscription against working on the day of rest by gathering corn to eat as the law allowed the poor to scavenge after harvest. The issue at hand is not one of theft but that the disciples break a religious law against work on the Sabbath. The law in question oppresses the poor who do not have the luxury of choosing which day to search for food and are by their actions made ritually unclean as well as materially poor. The religious law in this case thus serves to impose a divine

consequence to their poverty, forcing into their poverty an additional separation from God and another layer of division between them and their social and religious superiors, those who have the luxury of keeping the law. By Jesus’ choice not to deny the charge, it is possible that he authorises the collection of food knowing full well they are being watched by the Pharisees. He therefore acts deliberately, intentionally breaking the law. To the Pharisees’ charge of disobedience, Jesus cites the precedent set by David who broke the law surrounding ritual food when he and his companions were in need (Lk 6:3; 1 Sam 21:1-6). Such protest might have had minimal force if simply made conjecturally, that is, without the context of violating the law. The protest had to be public in order to draw attention that the law ought not to bind people. Jesus defends this civil disobedience by citing the primacy of mercy in light of human need. Jesus’ argument lays out a key qualification of the rightness of a law – it must serve humanity, not enslave them to mere obedience. Immediately following this exchange, Jesus enters the synagogue (itself a bold protest as he has just made himself ritually unclean by breaking the Sabbath prohibition to work) and proceeds to heal a man with a withered hand. In this specific act of mercy Jesus points to human duty to the truly supreme law of mercy commanded by God, loyalty to which required the violation of the Sabbath law in its unjust application. But perhaps what is also implied here is the admonition that not acting is sometimes itself an act. Choosing to not do something in certain circumstances is in fact doing something. Here Jesus protests the status quo, declaring that perpetuating an unjust status quo by inaction is just as much an act of injustice as performing an injustice directly. What is significant about both of these Sabbath protests is their public nature and the pointed questions that Jesus asks as he acts. He denounces the religious culture’s inability to heal the poor and the broken. By making others whole in public and ‘breaking’ Sabbath law, Jesus highlights the corrupt nature of Jewish law, its unwillingness to serve people, and its complicity in keeping people ill and poor. In overturning the authority of purity and debt codes, he reveals himself not only as ‘lord of the Sabbath’ but ‘lord of the entire house itself’ (Mk 13:35).

---

54 Myers, Binding the Strong Man. p. 161.
This ministry of bringing good news to the poor, liberating captives and protesting the
established interpretation of the Torah can only be properly understood as the work of
the Holy Spirit. The coming of the Kingdom of God is to be understood in terms of both
its Christology and pneumatology. Jesus never ‘merely’ heals a hand, casts out demons
or restores sight and speech. On a fundamental level, these are socio-political acts of
protest – restoring order where there has been incapacity. Healing opens up new
horizons of possibilities. The man healed of the shrivelled hand can live with a fully
functioning body. The demon-possessed individual will live without the debilitating
effects of this power in his life; he can see and talk. Although the social mobility
available to men in Matthew 12 does not compare to contemporary twenty-first century,
physical healing no doubt transforms the material and social circumstances of their day.
Thus, there is a sense in which Jesus brings justice in the power of the Spirit by being
compassionate toward the unattractive, the marginalised and the disenfranchised, and by
fanning the spark of the human spirit that has been nearly smothered by shame, offence
and abuse. He does so precisely by transforming the material aspects of people’s lives
and by advocating for both the spiritual and social well-being of individuals. 55

The gospel writers characterise the opposition of the Pharisees with particular harshness,
accusing them as lovers of money and devouring the houses of widows while reciting
long prayers, and being hypocritical. Underlying this polemic however, is a genuine
conflict between two different understandings of God’s vision for humanity. The
Pharisees and others who oppose the actions of Jesus represent the conventional
approach of social reform through a strict observance of the Torah and a clear
delineation of the boundaries between insider and outsider, clean and unclean, righteous
and sinner. It should not be surprising then that they object to Jesus’ assumption of
authority to heal and forgive as they understand that this is God’s prerogative alone.
They question why Jesus does not show deference to century old traditions of Sabbath
keeping and criticise his embrace of those considered unacceptable (Lk 5:30; 7:34;
15:1,2). The Pharisee’s position that holiness demands separation, that associating and

55 In the final earthly days with his disciples, Jesus names himself ‘advocate’ and promises to send
another, the Holy Spirit (1 Jn 2:1).
identifying with sinners and tax collectors flouts the ancestral understanding of repentance makes perfect sense within the traditional framework of Torah. In many ways, the Pharisees’ position is not outrageous and scandalous within this framework; rather, it is Jesus’ protests against such established practices accompanied by his proffering of an alternate kingdom that appear new and offensive.\(^{56}\) The ‘new’ kingdom is not to duplicate the same social-sacral relationships of the past. Those who wish to be ‘great’ are not to ‘lord’ it over one another but are to be servants to each other, and like ‘little children’ who lack power and trust entirely to the goodness of those who love them. In a series of iconoclastic reversal sayings, Jesus likens the new reign to unlikely small things such as a mustard seed that grows into a sheltering bush, a leaven that one sows in a measure of flour that leavens the whole, reversing the holiness of unleavened bread; like an old woman sweeping her floor to search for a lost coin or a shepherd who uncharacteristically leaves ninety-nine sheep to search for one that is lost (Mt 13:24,31,33; Lk 15). Entering this reign of God reverses the established pattern of holiness and reverses the divisive practices of the scribes and Pharisees. The last shall be first and the tax collectors and harlots will go into the reign of God before the chief priests and elders (Mt 21:31).\(^{57}\) It has been argued that Jesus does not seek political power because he makes no attempt to secure a position within the established religious hierarchy but this is to overlook the strategy that he employs, one that bypasses the current political establishment and appeals for support among the dispossessed of society. Capps follows Haley when he suggests that the tactic is to define the poor as more deserving of power than anyone else. In some of his first statements of public ministry Jesus declares that the poor are blessed, salt and light and that they, the weak will inherit the earth.\(^{58}\)

\(^{56}\) Ruether suggests a juxtaposition between the traditional kinship, represented by Jesus’ own mother and brothers who are presented in opposition to him (the notable exception being Mary his mother) and the community of his followers identified as his ‘true’ family. (Mt 12:46-50; Mk 3:31-35; Lk 8:19-21) ‘In Christ No More Male and Female’ in Ruether, Women and Redemption: A Theological Journey. pp. 13-44.

\(^{57}\) This new people includes all those previously marginalised within Israel. All are collectively referred to as ‘the poor’. For a comprehensive study of the New Testament poor see Luise Schottroff and W Stegemann, Jesus and the Hope of the Poor (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1986). pp. 6-16.

In each of his encounters with people, one of the tests Jesus probes for is whether a person has the same sort of attitude in human relations that God has in his. Followers are to be ‘perfect as their heavenly father is perfect’, that is possessed of sacrificial social-mindedness (Lk 6:36; Mt 5:48). Such lives must demonstrate a willingness to regard persons as ends and not means and to make one’s own good coordinate with the good of all others. At the heart of Jesus’ actions is the missio dei and imitation of God. While he rightly affirms the Old Testament commandment that one is to ‘love the Lord your God with all your heart, soul and strength’ and then adds a second new commandment ‘and[…]love your neighbour as yourself’ he is in fact saying that if God is your father, become what you are – his child. In other words, to live as a child of God is to treat your neighbour as God treats you, to imitate in one’s behaviour the quality and direction of God’s activity. Consideration has been given to a number of incidences where the social stance of Jesus is evident. Where he identifies a lack of Kingdom values, he protests socially divisive practices regarding the marginalised – women, children, the unclean and impure, drawing attention to the alternative inclusive nature of the Kingdom where all are welcome. He confronts the dominant social mores of his day and addresses the question of how people and groups ought to live together. With ‘his face toward Jerusalem’, one now examines his political stance in order to highlight the collusion of religious authorities and governmental policies with regard to the Temple - the centre of Jewish life.

5.7 Temple Protest

During the Jewish celebration of Passover, there would typically be a Roman military parade to remind the sometimes rebellious peasants of their place and consequences of any zealous revolt. On horseback, through the front gate, the Roman officers or client rulers would ride and march. During what some acknowledge as his misnamed ‘triumphal entry’ Jesus mocks the imperial power of the Roman officials, both defiantly and humorously by entering the city riding on a donkey (Lk 9:51). Nonviolent – but no

mistaking a protest and a threat. The evangelists are clear – Jesus is resolute in confronting the Temple and all it represents. Dramatically and symbolically he turns over the tables of culture. (Mk 11:15-17; Mt 21:12-13; Lk 19:45, 46; Jn 2:13-17). He is willing to be rejected and risk life but nonetheless prepared to do and speak for what is right.

Much has been written regarding the exploration of the Temple’s place as the centre of the purity system of Judaism and focal point of Jewish resistance to Rome, but Jesus also identifies it as a centre of an exploitive domination system. Instead of seeing purity operating in a fairly undifferentiated way through Jewish society, purity as the ideology of the ruling class centres itself in the Temple. In an effort to illuminate why Jesus protests with the vehemence he does against the Temple, a brief summary of a model that discusses historic political-economic structures and their relationship to power and society is in order. This model postulates that pre-industrial agrarian societies emerged when agriculture became sufficiently able to support cities. Over time, these societies were increasingly marked by sharp social distinctions both of power and wealth, city and country people, evolving into two social classes. In the cities were the urban ruling class (aristocracy, religious officials, government staff) and its ‘retainers’ (middle and lower level government officials, military, some of the priesthood, scribes, merchants and servants). The second social class was rural (peasants, fishermen, labourers, artisans and beggars) the relationship between these two classes one of exploitation. Generally across cultures, the urban elites comprised six to eight percent of the population, typically acquiring two-thirds of the annual production of wealth. Rural residents, ninety percent of the population, were left with the remaining one-third. How then, did the elites manage to retain two-thirds of the

---

60 Public mockery of power was considered as threat by the Roman Empire and exposed its desire for power.
peasant’s production for themselves? First, through taxation of production itself and second because of their ownership of the agricultural land where peasants paid rent or worked as sharecroppers; leaving workers vulnerable to poor production in a bad year and a subsistence life at best in a good year. If the gross economic inequality was not sufficiently exploitive, these societies were also politically oppressive. Ruled by a few, ordinary people had no power over the direction of community. Many were legitimated by religion and the religion of the elite declared that God or the gods had ordained both the social order and their divine right to do so. Together these societies were marked by systemic injustice – injustice built into the very fabric of society. The kind of society portrayed by this model was common throughout the ancient Near East as evidenced in the Exodus narrative when the Israelites gained their liberation from Egyptian domination. With the emergence of kingship within Israel, this domination system was re-established and legitimised by a ‘royal theology’. Within this social reality, the messages of the Old Testament classical prophets now become clear. Like Moses before them, they are voices of divine protest against the ruling elites of both palace and temple. Despite the promise of the Torah that land will remain in the hands of the peasant families in perpetuity, there is persuasive evidence that land was increasingly being acquired by the wealthy elite. By the first century, life is characterised by Roman imperial control with its taxation, tributes and links to both Herodian and high priestly families. On the one hand the temple is the centre of traditional Jewish devotion and pilgrimage, the place where God dwells on earth and where sacrifices are offered. On the other hand, it has become the centre of an economically exploitive system. Priestly families dominate then not only religious rule, but economic and political rule. Thus the great paradox of the Temple: in order to enshrine the idea of the Covenant directly between the people and God, a bureaucratic organisation has arisen maintained by a civil service of scribes, administrators, accountants and high priestly families all of whom are dependent on Temple revenue. According to the Torah, Temple tithes and offerings are meant to ensure God’s blessing for the country’s agricultural

---

65 Walter Brueggemann, K C Hanson, and Douglas Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflicts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998). This prohibition not to own land was interpreted to mean that, though they could own land, they could not work it. See E P Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE – 66 CE* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992)

bounty, yet they place significant economic burden on the rural population when other
taxes and tributes are also in place. ‘In short, the vast ritual of hierarchical holiness and
strictly divided spaces appeared to be the very antithesis of the covenantal ideals of
those[…]who insisted that they had no lord to rule them except God’. 67 Therefore when
Jesus, in what some consider his first form of violent protest, 68 overturns the tables of
the money-changers in the Temple, it is an indictment of the Temple as the centre of an
economically exploitative system legitimised in the name of God (Mt 21:12-17). 69 This
protest is against the villainy of profiting from and legitimising (consciously or
unconsciously) an exploitive sacrificial system grounded in a misguided understanding
of holiness and purity emphasising separation and circumscribing how people are to
imitate the compassion and love of God. Sacrifices are to be intimate expressions of the
giver but the temple system has destroyed any bond between worshipper and God
replacing it with an automated and depersonalised process. As Jesus proceeds to destroy
the temple, he makes an unheard of claim – he will tear it down and rebuild it in three
days (Mt 26:61; Mk 14:58; Jn 2:19). 70 Here Jesus advocates for an alternative
interpretation of the life of holiness, marking compassion as a ‘new priority, intimately
linked with the action of God for his people.’ 71 The Hebrew word translated as
‘compassion’ is the plural of the word for ‘womb’, connoting the giving of life and
nourishment. When compassion led Jesus to touch, heal and feed others, it moved him
to protest the dominant socio-political program of his social world. Such practices have
been termed ‘politics of compassion’ over and against a ‘politics of purity’ which

68 Using ‘violence’ as physical force resulting in injury or destruction of property, the Exodus, central to salvation history, is bathed in violence, God himself perpetuating it in defence of his people. The
cleansing of the temple is then also a violent act but in contrast shows Jesus as an agent of redemption.
George Cornell, Behold the Man: People, Politics and Events Surrounding the Life of Jesus (Waco, TX: Word, 1974).pp. 120-121. Brandon hinges the entire argument of his book on the likelihood that the
temple cleansing is one of the few remaining indices of an original memory of a violent Jesus. S G F
Brandon, Jesus and the Zealots: A Study of the Political Factor in Primitive Christianity (New York:
Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967).
69 George R Edwards, Jesus and the Politics of Violence (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1972). pp. 60-
69.
70 In Jesus’ prophecy the destruction and rebuilding of the Temple is juxtaposed with the building or
renewal of the people, now free of the oppressive ruling institutions. Richard Horsley, Jesus and Empire: The Kingdom of God and the New World Disorder (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 2003). p. 97.
dominated the Jewish world. Those with physical deformities are made well. The Temple, now purged of taxation and exclusion, becomes a place where all may meet God. It would be an insufficient conclusion here, however, to see an expression of prophetic indignation alone toward the economic exploitation of the temple clientele. Linked as it is in the next sentence with Jesus’ initiation of a daily teaching presence, this is a symbolic takeover of the temple precinct by one who claims jurisdiction there.

Strengthening his earlier declaration as Lord of the Sabbath, Jesus now not only asserts absolute authority over Temple but pronounces himself to be Temple, the very presence of God. From this, it can be reasonably concluded that the chief priests and the scribes who sought to destroy him are linked to the messianic claim acted out in the seizure of the holy place, and not simply to the offense in his driving out the bulls and money changers.

5.8 Kingdom Non-Negotiables - Matthew 25

The substance and the reality of the Kingdom of God pivots on Jesus. By both imaginative word and action he subverts all conventional practices of power and conventional claims for truth. His presentation of the non-negotiable terms of the Kingdom of God is clear – neighbour love or no neighbour love. The characteristics of the kingdom are inclusion, provision of care, and hospitality. They are also pared down to a single question: ‘What have you done?’ Words, position, power and importance are absent. In their place, echoing the biblical prophets, the Son of Man identifies with those who are hungry, thirsty, unclothed and imprisoned (Mt 25:45,46). This is a God who

72 In this act Jesus strikes at the centre of the doctrine of election traceable in the Zion tradition at least as far back as Isaiah. Brueggemann, The Prophetic Imagination, p. 87.
73 Apart from Jesus’ own statement, the text suggests the popular response to Jesus’ action: witnesses to the event treat Jesus as though he were the new temple ‘the blind and the lame came up to him in the temple and he healed them’ (Mt 21:14). Perhaps it is in his death that Jesus is most clearly identified with the Temple as the curtain of the Temple was torn in two, from top to bottom. One stream of the interpretative tradition, beginning with Hebrews 9 suggests that this fact ensured unmediated access to God by means of the high priesthood of Jesus. Jennifer A Harris, "The Body as Temple in the High Middle Ages," in Sacrifice in Religious Experience, ed. Albert I Baumgarten, Studies in the History of Religions (Boston: Brill, 2002). p. 234.
74 All four Gospels connect the cleansing of the temple with a debate on the nature of Jesus’ authority. ‘This is the Lord coming to inspect and take possession of what belongs to Him[…]He consecrates anew’. Lohmeyer, Lord of the Temple, p. 34.
75 Storkey, Jesus and Politics: Confronting the Powers. p. 260.
76 NRSV correctly translates this verse ‘to me’ echoing the personal reference of Jesus to Paul on the road to Damascus ‘why are you persecuting me?’ Obery Jr Henricks, The Politics of Jesus: Rediscovering the
so involves himself in the lives of humanity that what happens to them, happens to him. He declares their hunger, thirst and suffering as his own. Here Christ conditions salvation and God’s judgment around the treatment of the ‘least of these among us’. Note carefully the significance of the choice Jesus gives – God or the economics of wealth or oppression. This is a religious choice for ultimate allegiance, not a reflection of economic preference or personal convenience. As has already been demonstrated, any practice of oppression and exploitation is a practical denial of God. People must choose their sovereign. What is ‘done’ with Christ is perhaps the greatest political act and it is this that humanity is judged on their works of mercy, confirming Isaiah 58 tying acceptable worship to the work of justice. Faithfulness necessitates entering into a new world that reduces distance between those with various degrees of privilege and those who are oppressed.

Jesus, who is the Kingdom of God in person, comes among humanity and faces the evils of intent and twisted thinking. He embodies God’s message of justice, mercy and peace, yet is clearly prepared to carry human failure. Here the Old Testament insistence on wrong being atoned for by sacrifice is completely turned around. While the wrongs belong to humanity, God provides the sacrifice in the form of his blameless Son who breaks yet another commandment which forbids killing by laying down his life as sacrifice for sin. Despite the leaders of Jewish religion and Roman politics acting in collusion regarding the execution of Jesus, the empire does not have the last word. By preaching and incorporating a greater righteousness than that of the Pharisees and a vision of an order of social relations more universal than the pax Romana, Jesus’ crucifixion represents perhaps the ultimate protest against and victory over exploitive power. ‘His obedience to death is itself not only the sign but also the first fruits of an


77 The accounts of the rich young ruler and Zacchaeus both demonstrate this.


authentic restored humanity. Here we have for the first time someone who is not the slave of any power, of any law or custom, community or institution, value or theory.\textsuperscript{80}

5.9 Resurrection

If in the incarnation God became ‘larger than life’, for the first time God is now known as larger than death. The resurrection proves to be both disturbing and disruptive for political leaders. The one who protested against the power of the priestly establishment and the power of Rome with its soldiers, taxation, control and slavery, who decreed the freedom of God and exposed the establishment was supposed to be silenced. Suddenly he is unassailably present and the authorities are unable to produce the body or refute evidence of terrified soldiers. The reversal is complete – ‘the one condemned as a malefactor, reckoned among the wicked, God by raising him from the dead, exalted. The one accursed of God is made judge, having authority.’\textsuperscript{81} This is not triumphalism of the old order. This rule involves voluntary acknowledgement and submission to a new lordship and kingdom. The women’s journey to the tomb where they receive the angel’s matter-of-fact message that Jesus is risen and to be found among the poor where he began his mission, the simple act of hospitality of Cleopas and another disciple sharing a meal with a (so they thought) stranger they meet on the Road to Emmaus, (Lk 24:1-35), Jesus’ invitation to Thomas to touch his hands and side - each encounter is a demonstration of the risen Christ’s power over death and establishment of his Lordship over space and time (Jn 20:26-28). Thomas’ response to the risen Jesus becomes the proclamation of the early church, a community comprised of believers and protestors. ‘My Lord and my God’ are not simply words of worship but signal a distinct change of allegiance in service from the emperor to the King of Kings. When Jesus makes it clear to his disciples that he is leaving them, assurance is given that they are not to be alone. As he returns to the Father, he and the Father promise to send the Spirit to be with them. Jesus refers to the Spirit as ‘advocate’ – literally \textit{paraclete} (Jn 14:16-26). The same Spirit that led Jesus through his earthly life will also lead the church in all of its life and ministry. While Jesus does not specify how the community of followers will be

organised or function, he does make it clear that the Spirit’s empowerment and work through this community will make it unique in the world to accomplish even greater things than he himself has done as they learn the new terms of God’s government in their own particular context.

5.10 Spirit as Agent

If in Jesus’ life, his poverty displays the good news to the poor yet protests the dominant assumption that wealth equalled worth, then the same demand is placed on the individuals and community who bear his name. If his prayer life opens him to the guidance of the Spirit yet protests the world’s premise that honour from humans rather than the truth before God is important, then those who call themselves his disciples need to be men and women marked by prayer and sensitivity to the same Spirit. If his itinerancy demonstrates the freedom that follows from obedience to the Spirit’s promptings yet protests the conventional wisdom of the scribes and Pharisees that security comes through control, then those who name him Lord must similarly be obedient to the Spirit’s direction and work in the world. It would seem reasonable then, to expect to see the church in Acts to not only be found proclaiming the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus but exhibiting the same praxis as Jesus ‘in his name’ precisely because he is the source of the Spirit who will empower them. In light of these expectations, perhaps, the most remarkable evidence that the empire’s sovereignty is disarmed is after the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost when Jesus’ followers expand their movement among other subject peoples of the empire and do so with astounding confidence and drive giving divine voice to all languages and to the marginalised. It can easily be forgotten that the community of believers who emerge out of the Pentecost experience are comprised of the marginal whom Jesus called into fellowship. These are the male and female slaves on whom the Holy Spirit falls and empowers in Acts 2. It is these who embody the mission of Jesus in his name, taking good news to the ethnically marginalized.

---

82 Metz names Jesus a ‘mystic of open eyes’. In common the prayers of Job and the Hebrew prophets, Christ’s prayers showed unceasing concern and protest over others’ suffering. Sarah Katherine Pinnock, "Solidarity and Resistance: Johann Baptist Metz’s Theodicy-Sensitive Response to Suffering," in Beyond Theodicy: Jewish and Christian Continental Thinkers Respond to the Holocaust (New York: State University of New York, 2002), p. 95.

and ritually marginalised. Such is preparation for what becomes the most dramatic extension of Jesus’ mission of embrace, namely the inclusion of the Gentiles (Acts 8). Jesus is to be more than a Jewish messiah; as exalted Lord he shares God’s rule over all creation. In Christ, Paul declares that all who embrace the good news are a ‘new creation’ (2 Cor 5:17) understanding themselves as part of a new humanity (Col 3:11) sharing all things (Acts 2:43-45). Luke makes it evident that this is the most radical realisation of Jesus’ mission of outreach and takes pains to demonstrate that it is God’s Holy Spirit who moves ahead of any human agency. This first generation of Christians experiences the disruption of the divine presence when it consistently moves out of personal comfort zones in order to obey the Spirit’s promptings as Peter’s own experience indicates ‘it is not lawful for a Jewish man to associate with, or visit, a Gentile, but God has shown me.’ (Acts 10:28). Jesus tells the disciples that after receiving power from the Holy Spirit they will be his witnesses (Acts 1:8). The term ‘witness’ (Greek martyr) is Luke’s most inclusive term when speaking of the apostles and Paul (Acts 1:22; 2:32; 3:15; 4:33; 5:32; 7:58; 10:39,41; 13:31; 20:26; 22:15; 23:11; 26:16,22). But in what manner does this service bear witness? In service to the world. Such witness is clearly more than merely speaking about God or even recording events about the life and mission of Christ. It involves and demands voluntary embodiment of that word in people’s character and the enactment of that word in actions. The gospels recount that those who return to the city and experience the presence of the risen Christ make it known that Jesus is alive, that God has in fact raised him from the dead. By confessing him as risen they bring to expression the fact that Jesus’ person and praxis are not annihilated with his execution but rather confirmed, vindicated and exalted by God. Where the first Christians protest in the name of Jesus against social, religious and political injustice, they bear witness in situations of prophetic action to Jesus’ prophetic praxis. In such acts they make him present, comprehensible and visible, thereby giving witness to what they have experienced through, with and in him.84

---

5.11 Divine Disruption - Acts 9
Enroute to the synagogues to arrest followers of Jesus, Saul of Tarsus experiences first-hand the disruptive protest and presence of the risen Christ (Acts 9:1-9).\(^85\) Blinded by a light from heaven, Saul experiences Jesus not only challenging the authority of Saul’s actions but hears Jesus speaking on behalf of the persecuted in Damascus as his own suffering.\(^86\) Confronted with the knowledge that his zeal for the cause of God has become an attack on the God who raised Jesus from the dead (his actions in effect making him an enemy of God), Saul (now Paul) ceases to passively accept the rule of Rome as the will of God and turns his allegiance to the Lord of a new era of human existence.\(^87\) The apocalyptic vision so transforms Paul that he asks ‘have I not seen the Lord Jesus?’ and claims ‘it is no longer I that lives, but Christ that lives in me’. He now understands his missional purpose to announce (not inaugurate) the Kingdom’s reign over all reality and to submit to ‘Jesus is Lord!’ (Rom 10:9; 1 Cor 12:3).

The book of Acts speaks about the first church in terms of the Holy Spirit and embodying the same prophetic qualities as taught and exemplified by Jesus. Perhaps it is not surprising to find that the church in Acts continues the healing ministry of Jesus, but one might expect that a newly formed community would quickly establish sharp lines of inclusion and exclusion in order to clearly identify itself. Certainly Paul in his letters to the Corinthians differentiates between ‘the holy ones’ and ‘the world’ and the need to be


\(^{86}\) Both the bright light and voice are characteristic of divine revelations (cf. Mt 17:5; Ex 3:1-6; Isa 6:8). Paul then can be said to have had an encounter with the risen Jesus in which he heard his voice.

\(^{87}\) Horsley and Silberman, *The Messiah and the Kingdom*. pp. 114-144.
pure and faithful yet in the Acts of the Apostles (which some scholars have termed ‘Acts of the Spirit’) there is a complete absence of any instinct to retract and separate. Instead, the church appears to extend and deepen Jesus’ own embrace of the marginalised. Such can only be possible because of their reception of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The Acts narrative records the followers of Jesus performing exorcisms and healings among the people ‘in the name of Jesus’, demonstrating that the power of the crucified and exalted Messiah is also ‘with them’. His presence in a particular context and now universally has a transformative influence on the disciples. There is justice, judgment, vindication and new creation. Yahweh’s kingship is exercised and the seat of his enthronement is the community of those who believe, a building of living stones (1 Pet 2:5). God’s rule, proclaimed and embodied in Jesus breaks and redeems the idols of injustice and oppression, the Principalities and Powers. The Spirit – the Spirit of Jesus not only consoles but is present and at work where the need is greatest, outside the circle of sedeq where sin abounds (Heb 13:12-13). When crowds express amazement at Peter’s healing of a lame man, assurance is given that he and John do not make the man walk but rather it is the resurrected Jesus. Because of the boldness of action of the disciples, opponents recognise that the disciples have been with Jesus and the power of the resurrected Jesus now works through them in ways that are more spectacular than done by Jesus during his ministry (Acts 5:12-16). The life of holiness which had been understood as a struggle is now proclaimed as an earthly and experiential reality in the present and into the future. In the exercising of the authority given to them by Jesus to proclaim the new kingdom and confront oppressive powers, the early church experiences suffering in continuity of Jesus himself. The book of Acts records Peter and John rejoicing they were counted worthy to suffer dishonour for the name (Acts 5:41), Stephen suffers death at the hands of the Sanhedrin after accusing them of ‘betraying and murdering the Righteous One’ (Acts 7:52,53), and Paul and Barnabas encourage


89 Human lives are deeply influenced by the presence of others. This presence is ‘cashed out’ in sympathy, in actions of kindness and effective intervention on behalf of others, sometimes individually and sometimes collectively, in intimate presence and at a distance. George Newlands, Christ and Human Rights - The Transformative Engagement, ed. Douglas Davies and Richard Fenn, Theology and Religion in Interdisciplinary Perspective Series (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). pp. 82-85.
believers as they embrace self-denial in order to take up their cross and follow (Lk 9:23). Like Jesus, they are to welcome the poor and outcast in celebrating God’s presence in the world and thus live within God’s rule. Like him, they are willing to face the suffering that such boldness in word and deed involves.⁹⁰

In attending to the particular practices of Jesus in his relationships with individuals as well as the unjust political and economic systems of his day, one notes a diversity of responses to this divine disruption of power. Jesus protests against conventional social standards of first century Israel that marginalise and exclude women, children, the poor and the ‘unclean’, challenging Sabbath restrictions and deploring Temple exploitation of those who came to worship. These protests illuminate their forced exclusion and loss of identity within society and publically affirm their value to the Kingdom of God. In protesting against ‘principalities and powers’ that oppress and exploit the weakest in society, Jesus draws attention to the Kingdom’s non-negotiable of expressing God’s powerful concern to those in need and the formation of a people who will embody compassion and justice in his reign. Many of the wealthy and powerful resist his prophetic call to inclusion because they fear loss of power, self-identity and see only marginalisation of themselves in the new realm; others reject the invitation to Kingdom rule out of attitudes of indifference and apathy. However, for those who embrace a new Weltanschauung, they, through the power of the Holy Spirit, experience both freedom and authority to not only witness to the presence of the risen Christ and act ‘in his name’, they affirm that his presence continues to be at work in their lives, enabling them to be his hands and feet in their particular context. As with the Hebrew prophets before them, by focusing on the social and political dimensions of holiness, the Christian proclamation of ‘Jesus is Lord’ (Rom 10:9) means a reversal of human expectations as well as a realignment of human realities.⁹¹ Christ in his Lordship stands in direct opposition to the reign of the modern state. Using Carl Schmitt as interlocutor in the

⁹⁰ Jesus had one later disciple who kept substantial political faith with him. Perhaps no stronger critique of Rome can be found than in the prophecy of John in Revelation. John’s reference to Jesus’ praxis is brief: he gave ‘faithful witness’ against Rome that cost him his life (Rev 1:5;5:9).
following section will provide a contrasting perspective regarding sovereignty and the effective wielding of power and who may make claim to a ‘state of exception’.

5.12 Sovereignty, Exception, Power and Carl Schmitt

Controversial for his close ties to Nazism and supportive stance of Adolph Hitler’s authority, German ‘crown jurist of the Third Reich’ and political theorist of the twentieth century Carl Schmitt argues that all significant concepts of the modern theory of state are actually secularized theological concepts, ‘not only because of their historical development[…] but also because of their systematic structure.’ 92 In his theory society is shaped by reigning metaphysical understandings, grounded in what he terms the ‘idea’ – what the world understands to be appropriate as a form of its political organisation. The determination of this identity is for Schmitt ‘the sociology of the concept of sovereignty’. 93 When, due to the passage of time these metaphysical realities change, the question of determining where sovereignty actually resides becomes problematic. This is established through the state’s ability to distinguish between who it understands as friend, who it sees as foe (the foe being one, who in some fashion or another, works against the state’s interests) and the willingness of the nation to take up combat and assert its self-interests in opposing the foe, using violent means if required. 94

The notion of ‘exception’ is key to Schmitt’s work: ‘sovereign is he who decides on the exception’, who has the ability to not only decide when there is an exception, to bear the decisions during an exception but who also bears the power and authority to declare that an exceptional situation exists. 95 While he links the sovereign to an existing order, the

---

93 Political Theology. p. 46. Whereas the omnipotent lawgiver was still associated with the personal element of rule up to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the personal factor had dissipated by the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such fragmentation occurred under democratic legitimacy and division of power. George Schwab, The Challenge of the Exception: An Introduction to the Political Ideas of Carl Schmitt between 1921 and 1936 (Berlin1970).
95 Schmitt, Political Theology. p.5. Schmitt’s concept of exception does not consider when any one centre of authority challenges a second or where two centres of authority attempt to gain dominance, both claiming their source of power is from God. Without challenge to an existing countervailing sovereignty,
sovereign is a liminal figure, at the same time both inside and outside of the law. When the established norms of rule fail, the community which is bound by these norms is now in crisis and it is the sovereign’s responsibility to intervene to re-establish the unity of community, effectively setting aside previous legal norms as the ‘new’ sovereign assumes power. In this scenario obedience to authority arises not out of violent coercion or because one believes the authority is a transcendent power. People hold authority over one other because the source of their authority comes from the realm of the ‘Idea’. Any ‘concrete’ authority figure is ‘understood not as the privileged embodiment or incarnation of that idea, but rather as its representative. This representative makes visible and concrete something that is by its very nature ‘immaterial, ephemeral, and undetermined.’ Unfortunately Schmitt bases his modern state on a faulty theological premise. While the sovereign (god) involved is omnipotent, he remains abstract, devoid of anything that is historically concrete, with no relationship to particular context. In contrast, the Christian God is one who is not only attentive to the needs of the world which he created but demonstrates supremacy through ‘a love that is made perfect in weakness’. He remains creator, preserver and governor of all things – in a word - sovereign. The Trinitarian construct has this sovereign present as Father, Son and Holy Spirit, co-equal in power and glory. He sides with the poor and oppressed and delivers a people from bondage in Egypt. His operant ‘Idea’ is love and so loves the world that he sends his only son to proclaim and presence himself among humanity in human form (Col 1:15-17). In Jesus everything in creation is systematised, held together. The universe, nor the powers within, are sustained in an arbitrary manner but rather divine purpose developed a series of norms by which people could live

an explicit notion of exception is unnecessary as one centre of authority could presume to be the rightful ‘exception-bearer’. (Eg. Crusades between Christians and Muslims). See Phillip Gray, "Political Theology and the Theology of Politics: Carl Schmitt and the Medieval Christian Political Thought," Humanitas XX, no. 1 & 1 (2007). pp. 175-200.

96 Giorgio Agamben’s The Kingdom and the Glory rejects or at least complicates, the centrality of sovereignty to political theology. Like Schmitt, Agamben sees a close connection between theology and politics however Agamben claims that economy, not sovereignty is the key to understanding these connections. Giorgio Agamben, The Kingdom and the Glory: For a Theological Genealogy of Economy and Government, trans. Lorenzo Chiesa (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).
harmoniously in *shalom* and ‘it was good’. However, both creature and the world are fallen and in this the powers have their own share. They are no longer active only as mediators of the creative purposes of God but instead have absolutised themselves and demanded an unconditional loyalty, enslaving humanity and subjecting it to a loss of freedom. Structures and systems designed for service and protection of the weak and marginalised, have in fact become self-declared masters and guardians – in a word, sovereign. It has been shown that Jesus never concerns himself with the shifting forms of human political systems but rather is concerned with the purposes for which those power structures are divinely ordered. Instead of recoiling from unmasking economic, political and religious powers, Jesus decisively names that which is antagonistic to human flourishing, that which prohibits *shalom*. Jesus takes it upon himself to remind the political rulers of his day the ignored reality that any human power is subsumed and subject to God’s sovereign timetable. He consistently protests the absolutising of governmental and religious authority and the exercising of that authority without concern for those who are subject to it. In bringing the public view of the nature of sovereign power, he also contests the ultimacy of any temporal power. To this end, Jesus identifies oppressive structures as foes to his Fathers’ kingdom and re-establishes himself as sovereign, declaring to be not only Lord of the Sabbath and Lord of the Temple but Lord of all creation.


103 In contrast to Horsley and Yoder, Bryan believes the biblical tradition does not challenge human power structures by attempting to dismantle or replace them with other power structures. Power is understood as a gift from God, a gift that it is to be used to serve God’s will that can be taken away by God when misused. Christopher Bryan, *Render to Caesar: Jesus, the Early Church and the Roman Superpower* (Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 9.

104 From the diverse descriptions of powers in the New Testament political powers may be viewed negatively and positively in their functions. A key question is whether the powers are simply what people make them to be or whether they have ontological standing. Swartley makes three declarations regarding powers (1) the power of Satan is ever ready to enter people and systems thus functioning as the causative force of the evil (2) people in structures may make decisions that operationalize Satan’s goals and (3) the structures as structures may become dominated by evil and thus dominate human life. Theologically, Christologically and ecclesiologically, the third stream presents Jesus’ victory over the powers and guides Christians’ understanding of their position, authority and witness in relation to the powers. Williard M Swartley, *Covenant of Peace - The Missing Peace in New Testament Theology and Ethics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), pp. 228-241.
A further note regarding sovereignty. If it is subordination to Powers that makes men and women human and if God desires to save his creatures in their humanity, then the Powers cannot simply be destroyed, set aside, broken or replaced.\(^{105}\) If exploitive power structures are recognised as part of a fallen creation, then consideration must be given for their redemption and restoration of purpose. Wink suggests it is precisely because the Powers have been created in, through and for the humanising purposes of God in Christ that they must be honoured, criticised, resisted and redeemed.\(^{106}\) This is what Jesus does, concretely and historically, by living a genuinely free and human existence in contesting the Powers, ‘fully attentive to the immediacy of the command of the Father’ (Jn 15:10).\(^{107}\) In his living he looks to the Father as

\[
\text{an Other who is incomparably free in relation to everything creaturely; an}
\text{Other who cannot be exploited by anyone, however propertied or powerful;}
\text{an Other who for human beings is new, surprising and challenging […] totally}
\text{different from what people imagine and want to be true. It is this very God,}
\text{in his grandeur, superior over the world and incomprehensible to human beings,}
\text{that Jesus proclaimed.}^{108}
\]

This is the paradox of Jesus above all else. He proclaims and is *Immanuel*, God with us. The urgency of Jesus’ message and protests has everything to do with the immanence of God’s coming rule and reign. His urgency is offensive, because the God he announces is offensive. Schmitt’s concept of the exception is readily identifiable in the protests of Jesus. Through him (Jesus) God ushers in a new ‘state of exception’ for his people – the Word becomes flesh, each time Jesus steps into the public square to challenge the conventional social mores, his crushing of the Powers through crucifixion, defeating death in his resurrection and conferring his Spirit at Pentecost - all demonstrating the ability to decide the timing of the exception, to bear the decisions during the exception and to bear the power and authority to declare that an exceptional situation exists. Jesus


is a leader for whom basic laws of nature simply do not apply. Congruent with Schmitt’s sovereign liminal figure, while linked to the existing order of space and time, Jesus remains both inside and outside of the law at the same time. In contrast to Schmitt’s sovereign, however, the state of exception established by Jesus is not limited to a single ‘state of emergency’ but rather becomes a constitution for a new way of life – one of inclusion and compassion for all - both neighbour and stranger and for the least of society and not from its power base. Schmitt’s issue of obedience to the sovereign for Jesus is captured neither by discourse nor by violent coercion. Standing apart from both is the idea of sacrificial love. Here is the image of Jesus sacrificing his life before the incomprehensible command of a sovereign God -‘not my will but Thine be done’ (Lk 22:42). Here is a God whose truth is expressed in his self-description ‘I am that I am’ with the same expression of existence proclaimed in the readiness to sacrifice ‘Here am I’. Jesus’ willingness to sacrifice is not a matter of yielding to superior threat as in Hegel’s myth of subordination.  

Rather as Catherine Booth notes,

Jesus Christ came to establish the Kingdom of God upon the earth...he put forward the claim, as the King and sovereign of this Kingdom, to the highest affection, allegiance and homage of the hearts of his subjects, representing himself as a king in a sense entirely beyond and above all earthly sovereigns. He represented himself as reigning, not by virtue or outward power, but by virtue of the inward love, devotion and adoration of his subjects; and thus more perfectly and completely over their outward lives than any earthly king could pretend to do so.  

God is sovereign but Jesus is not a slave in the traditional sense nor are those who imitate him. Theirs is a choice of voluntary submission to a loving benevolent dictator whom they gladly crown Lord. Acts of sacrifice are grounded in the premise that through death is life, the central idea of any act of sacrifice. But one does not sacrifice for a universal ideal which has no locus in space and time. Sacrifice occurs only for a sovereign presence and the promise of a world-as-it-should-be that in part can be realised in the present.

110 Booth, Popular Christianity, IV, pp.86-87.
5.13 Summary

Through a thematic focus on the divine intent of *shalom*, the inclusivity of the marginalised, the purity system and its relation to holiness, *imitatio Deo* and the reign of God present in the world, this chapter has demonstrated how Jesus specifically protested against exclusive and oppressive policies of religious and political leaders and did so in self-giving, sacrificial ways with the expectation that those who followed him would do likewise. In the announcement of the reign of God, Jesus confronted leaders forcing them to consider if their social structures acknowledged the Kingdom of God and if they did so in such a manner that human flourishing was possible. The examination of Carl Schmitt regarding sovereignty, exception and power highlights the need for Christians to confront inadequate perceptions of sovereignty and power and to do so in visible, embodied ways. What remains to consider is how disciples of Jesus are to participate in the Kingdom of justice and *shalom* that Jesus both announced and manifested personally.

A number of teachable threads are evident from this chapter. First, God does not advocate from a distance but comes near in the person of Christ, revealing authentic human nature. Advocacy and the protesting of injustices on behalf of others demands a faithfulness to our own humanity, which must always be defined by Christ’s own example. Jesus dwelled with the poor, sat with ‘sinners’, intentionally connected with those on the margins of society, met with religious leaders and tax collectors and gently rebuked Pilate with regard to the real state of power (Jn 19:10-11). From this we learn that authentic protest not only engages the powers at the institutional level but also attends to what takes place at the grass roots, where injustice, and marginalisation seem most plentiful. Location matters. Jesus reminds us of a new way of being human in the world, which if heeded, has the potential to work its way into the structures of society through his presence by the Spirit in disciple’s lives. Third, throughout Scripture the persons in the Trinity redefine power, choosing to express it in generosity and sacrifice for the ‘other’. In a world where competing power contends for people’s identity, the powerless suffer from the actions of others and are made to feel less than human. An African proverb states ‘where two elephants fight, the grass suffers’. In other words, in a
world of power those without power or voice suffer from abuse or neglect and are often neither seen or heard. Jesus, the ‘mystic with the open eyes’, exemplifies a new kind of power that takes its essence from God’s moral ontology. Fourth, protesting injustice is more than words (powerful though they might be). It is a form of dramatised wisdom. Jesus defends the adulterer, sits with sinners and elevates the outcast. But he also ‘sees’ political leaders; which would not be possible if Jesus had not lived in the world. Jesus’ advocacy is not an idle one, encased in sterile language but flows out of relationship with the Father and Spirit into the lives of others. Like Christ, there is a necessity not only to challenge the visible structures of our time but also the underlying symbols and narratives that influence the structures and systems. To bring about this kind of change requires hard, disciplined and often behind-the-scenes work. Deep cultural change requires countless small changes wrought by those on the ‘inside’. It is easy to forget that Jesus protested injustice as he found it - within daily life - and chose to address it not by using the coercive power of those he opposed. This review is also a reminder of the importance of allowing God to define the term ‘protest’ and not to be content to limit one’s understanding to any predetermined, specific cultural readings that might exist. Craig Keen reminds us that Christ was not raised on the last day of the week but rather on a new day that exceeded the old order of a seven day cycle. First days do not stand in competition with the old order but instead fold it into the new. The church is sent to embody Christ in this new time. It is to offer Christ, the Bread of Life and perfector of freedom for the world; never be ‘owned’ but as a life in which to enter. And finally, by entering into God’s story, one can develop the imaginative ability to improvise in ever new circumstances, true to the narrative of Scripture while still faithful to contemporary settings.

If protesting injustice is one key practice for the announcement and declaration of the Lordship of Christ and his Kingdom to fallen powers, then it must be clear what might underpin such activity. If, as has been already suggested, this underpinning is sacrifice,

---

then focused attention must be given to the ways in which this might ground a theology of protest informed by a telos of shalom.
Chapter 6
PROTEST GROUNDED IN SACRIFICE

Just as the prophets of the eighth century B.C. left their villages, carried their ‘thus saith the Lord’ far beyond the boundaries of their home towns and the apostle Paul left Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to the far corners of the Greco-Roman world, twenty-first century Christians are compelled to carry in their bodies the gospel of freedom beyond the realm of private thought and conviction. Protest against exclusion and oppression as a fundamental element of discipleship in The Salvation Army and by extension Christian faith, must therefore be grounded Christologically in order to provide the ‘why’ a Jesus follower might protest in self-giving ways in imitation of her Lord. This chapter argues that sacrifice is an effective theological motif to speak of personal agency in the act of Christian protest. It posits that since the purpose of sacrifice is efficacious to effect change, the transference of modality from the sacrificial body of Christ to the Body of Christ is a meaningful way to speak of the act of protest. Because sacrifice is an oft misunderstood concept, however, it is necessary to first establish what is understood as authentic Christian sacrifice before determining how such a motif theologially might underpin protest. Every symbol or motif serves as a bearer of meaning that is never fully determined. There are always possibilities to be uncovered within the symbol through interpretation with the corollary being true – every symbol can be made to function differently. Through an expanded (radicalised) treatment of ‘sacrifice’, this chapter applies sacrifice to the act of protest in such a manner that the act of Salvationist protest on behalf of the poor and marginalised might be understood as Christological sacrifice.

By way of introduction, three reasons may be suggested for focusing on sacrifice as a significant motif in relationship to protest. First, sacrifice as interpreted in this chapter addresses itself to the matter of giving of one’s life – to what one lives for and what one dies for. Sacrifice carries in it an assessment of the goal and direction of self-giving as
well as of context in which self-giving is attempted and speaks of the form that self-giving may take. But as has already been demonstrated in Chapter Three and Four, because we receive the life of his body by his Spirit as freedom, sacrifice opens up in an intentional way the possibility that the giving of one’s life is a medium through which grace is received and shared with others. Further, the image of sacrifice is more than simply an image. It becomes a lens through which one may interpret life, the world and ultimate reality. It implies ontological claims that are relevant to the global Christian community as it responds to injustice. Finally, for Salvationists, sacrifice is scarcely avoidable as theological motif as Chapter Five demonstrated it figures prominently in the life of Jesus of Nazareth and in the sacrificial imagery used by the early Church in interpreting the Christian life. Therefore it seems a reasonable and normative choice to underpin protest.

6.1 Sacrifice’s etymology

In many respects, sacrifice can be instinctively affirmed as a natural expression of love. Parents sacrifice in countless ways for their children. Women sacrifice their own sense of identity and achievement by delaying or relinquishing careers in order to care for family demands. Professionals sacrifice personal time in order to enrich others. Spouses of essential services may share in the sacrifice of service rendered to community and country. In contrast, however, other sacrifices may be uneasily marked with regret or misgiving - adult children limiting independent choices for a demanding parent or family business or women submitting to spousal abuse because they do not value themselves worthy of protection. Feminist criticisms have been raised regarding the use of ‘sacrifice’ as a valued part of Christian life and identity, charging that the risks may involve a destructive loss of self, a misuse of Christian imagery, an uncritical acceptance

---


2 While sacrificial terms might be considered a minority strand within the New Testament, they should be understood as ‘salt and pepper’ within the host of other motifs. Markus Barth, Was Christ’s Death a Sacrifice? (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1961). p. 8.
of self-abnegation and are suspicious of male praise for female self-sacrifice. In noting these concerns, a reading of Salvation Army history highlights a number of potential obstacles for female Salvationists in considering the call to self-sacrifice. In view of the military structure of The Salvation Army, it is not surprising to learn that it was founded on the principle of implicit obedience. Andrew Eason, Janet Munn, Danielle Strickland and Caroline Jewkes draw attention to the apparent dissonance between theology and practice with regard to the inequity experienced by married women officers due to a gender specific appointment system in its formal power structures with the underlying expectation that its married female officers will sacrifice their own giftedness and accept supportive spousal roles. In addition, married women in a number of territories do not receive an allowance in their own name, and with no employment record in their respective countries are left vulnerable should they leave Salvation Army officership and/or should their marriage fail. Munn in particular argues that married women are expected to sacrifice a basic dignity offered without exception to male officers and single women officers. These two examples illustrate the unintended (?) but real abuse of power in a military structure against those who engage in its mission and stand in stark contradiction to the historical principle of the organisation – personal holiness and social responsibility in particular concern for the just treatment of women in addition to its own international positional statement regarding the abuse of power. These issues alongside a largely unexamined hetero-normativity and colonialism raise an important question – to what extent can sacrifice be freely chosen when it is written into the structures that shape the choices of Salvationists? There would appear to be an inadequate hermeneutic regarding power and the *imago Dei* within Salvation Army

---


4 IDE. p.250.


7 Ibid.pp.32-33. Appendix 6.
theology and an imaginative hermeneutic is needed that can ‘demonstrate the coming of the Kingdom of God by means of an unconventional relational power dynamics in which those whom society would exclude are welcomed, the weak are empowered and the powerful humble themselves, resulting in a domination-free order’. Awareness of these risks should enable a critical hermeneutic of the central Christian insight of sacrifice and the need for an investigation of how identity relates to sacrifice and to the one for whom one sacrifices. The removal of ‘sacrifice’ from the Christian lexicon however distorts the gospel message and obscures a profound Christian insight that self-realisation is often discovered in service and dedication to the other. The idea of sacrifice, therefore, is complex not only because it is subject to distortion but because it involves a genuine paradox. The Christian idea of sacrifice originates in the radical call of the gospel to lose one’s life in order to save it (Mt 10:39), give up one’s life for one’s friends (Jn 15:13), and take up one’s cross and follow Jesus (Luke 9:23); each of these radical and idealised exhortations existing alongside another command - to love one’s neighbour as oneself (Mt 16:24,25). In Jesus’ time and in the present, fidelity to God demands what some might term ‘dangerous’ acts, not necessarily in the sense of physical danger but involving personal risk and cost for the sake of the gospel. In a word – sacrifice.

The language of sacrifice occupies a large place in the religious realm and has a wide range of meanings. Originating from the Latin sacrificium, meaning the performing of priestly duties or functions, the term is composed of two Latin roots – sacer meaning ‘sacred or holy’ and facio ‘to do or make’. The same Latin roots are found in the word ‘sacrament’, a visible, outward sign of inward grace. While the rich texture of sacrificial language with its overlapping referents of self-limitation, giving up, self-giving, self-denial and self-sacrifice has long been noted, it is necessary to define these terms for

---

8 Ibid. p.27.
9 The invitation to lose one’s life for Jesus has been interpreted in many different contexts and cultures is valuable because they constitute the treasure of the universal Church’s tradition’. Paul Ricoeur, "Whoever Loses Their Life for My Sake Will Find It,” in Figuring the Sacred: Religion, Narrative and Imagination, ed. Mark I Wallace (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995). pp. 284-285.
purposes of clarification in this chapter. The use of ‘self-limitation’ may involve substantive sacrifice; however, it still carries the basic sense of self-determination and continuity of selfhood. Limitations are self-imposed, yet implying to some degree that the self retains a robust sense of identity. ‘Self-giving’ recognises not only a measure of loss of self as it directed to others but with an acknowledgment that there is a recipient to receive the gift. ‘Self-sacrifice’ is perhaps the strongest term because it implies that in a significant way the self is actually lost or non-existent (although it can be argued that one part of self is lost for the sake of another part of self, suggesting a giving up parts of one’s identity). Self-sacrifice properly understood requires that one has a robust sense of the value of the self that is to be emptied. As such a robust sense of self places limits on what kinds of sacrifices are called for, a teleological framework for evaluating self-sacrifice is required. Self-sacrifice loses its value and may be sinful when it occurs for the sake of something that is not worthwhile and therefore one should not expend time and resources on inconsequential matters. There are, however, things that are of more worth than the individual life. In particular, bringing about the Kingdom of God is something to which Christians are called and for which they are to give up claims of self-interest. Proper self-sacrifice is proper precisely when it aims to stop or limit the destruction of other people or of healthy social relations. This kind of sacrifice is intrinsic to personal agency. No one works for the good and the elimination of injustice without the assumption that this kind of self-sacrifice is possible and indeed necessary. Such thinking does not stem from a diminished sense of self-worth but rather occurs in the context of a healthy sense of worth of self. In other words, it is because I know who I am and what I believe in that I am willing to sacrifice for what I understand as right and just. This does not mean that self-sacrifice is not real sacrifice. Rather, it is because the self really does desire its own flourishing as well as that of others that makes sacrifice real. The right balance between self-actualisation and self-sacrifice is struck if one thinks of God as the one who has created humanity in his image as gifts to be valued and enjoyed but who has also given in Christ a powerful example of love that gives itself for the good of the other. A further teleological aspect of self-sacrifice should be

That the language of sacrifice evolves over time testifies to the importance of on-going reflection on the meaning of sacrifice in new contexts.
emphasised here. When sacrifice leads to a worsening of oppression it can never be termed proper. When, on the other hand, sacrifice aims at halting exploitation and is aimed at healing social relationships, it operates for the ultimate benefit of all involved and is justified.11

6.2 Authentic Christian Sacrifice – Holy and Acceptable

In the death and resurrection of Jesus, God makes it clear he is reclaiming the world in a new way. In these two events God decisively begins to reverse the social and political order with an unexpected act of grace, confirming God’s reign has begun. In light of this action, the disciples pray the prayer of Luke 11 with confidence ‘thy kingdom come’. In consequence one sees the apostle Paul choosing not to repudiate Jewish faith and expression but instead revaluing or ‘transvaluing’ them in the light of this reality.12 One of those revalued is sacrifice as Paul views Christ’s death through the lens of sacrifice. Transposing the cultic language from his Pharisaism into a new key,13 Paul appeals to his readers to make a ‘living sacrifice’ of their bodies and in the most radical sense to become both patron and victim.14 Just as both the sacrificial victim and patron must be in a state of ritual purity for valid Temple worship, Paul urges his readers to be sacrifices ‘holy and acceptable to God’. His intent is to sacralise everyday conduct and thereby remove the barrier between worldly and ‘spiritual’ behaviour for those in Christ. In Romans 12 he argues life in Christ must lead to sacrifice for others expressed in service to the Body of Christ and to larger community. For Paul, obedience (literally slavery to God) is a form of consecration that bridges the chasm encountered in the sacrifice between this life and the next, the present and the eternal. The same understanding of compassion and reinterpretation of holiness which makes it possible

11 A consistent ‘test’ distinguishing ‘proper’ from ‘improper’ self-sacrifice is to question whether sacrifice aims at the true good of all concerned or leads to destruction of moral character of the parties concerned. 12 The ‘trans-valuation’ of offerings is discussed by Hicks in F C N Hicks, The Fullness of Sacrifice: An Essay in Reconciliation (London: SPCK, 1959). 13 A number of scholars use musical motifs to speak of theological truths - Cornel West, Paul Fiddes, Barry Harvey, Dietrich Bonhoeffer. 14 Paul urged his addresses to offer their thusian zōsan, holy and acceptable to God as their divine (logikēn) worship. Today’s revulsion at the very idea of sacrifice may not have been shared by the early Christians and Paul in particular. Where much of what is consumed in twenty-first century urban areas has been slaughtered in warehouses prior to reaching markets, in the Hellenistic world most animals were routinely offered to the gods when they were killed.
for Jesus to embrace the marginalised and undesirables is to be exemplified in sacrificial social-mindedness of the believer on a daily basis. A living sacrifice is not one that seeks to bend God’s will to suit personal purpose but instead seeks to have the mind and will transformed so that one is in tune with God’s purposes for the world; in Martin Luther King’s words, a ‘transformed nonconformist’. 15 Christian sacrifice begins when followers of Jesus, in the power of the Spirit are taken up into this Father-Son relationship. 16 Such a distinctly Christian understanding of sacrifice finds its roots in the Old Testament with its emphasis on the sacrificer’s personal heart disposition and the acknowledgement that God alone decides what is an acceptable sacrifice. 17 ‘Authentic’ Christian sacrifice then as understood and used in this chapter is the willingness to make one’s life and resources available to God and to one’s neighbour in God’s name as a response to the self-giving of the Father to the Son, received through the Spirit. 18 Just as sacrifice finds its source in the triune God, Salvationist protest must also find its place as a radicalised expression of sacrifice. In order to understand why Salvationists might choose to sacrificially protest on behalf of the poor and marginalised and why other individuals might choose not to engage in such actions, the relationship between culture, identity and sacrifice needs examination. 19

18 Robert J Daly, Sacrifice Unveiled: The True Meaning of Christian Sacrifice (Bloomsbury: T & T Clark, 2009), pp.6-14.
6.3 Culture and Identity

People are products of their communities which influence humanity for better or worse, richer or poorer, in sickness and health. In centuries past people lived in close proximity to their neighbours, creating networks of shared meaning and reciprocal duties. Much of the world today, however, lives anonymously among strangers whose religious, cultural and moral codes are different from their own.\(^\text{20}\) The twenty-first century is dominated by a hyper-individualised, digital world which provides unprecedented opportunities to surround ourselves only with those we choose, thus reducing or managing the complexity of the world. We accept and reject ‘friends’ via social media never leaving our rooms and yet interact with thousands. We occupy space (albeit cyber-space), but in fact may represent a ‘displaced’ and disembodied generation and on occasion must be reminded that such e-transactions are with real people in real places conducted in real time and space.\(^\text{21}\)

Sociologists tell us that life cannot be defined as a series of aimless or unintelligible events.\(^\text{22}\) Something fundamental within the human species demands that birth, growth, struggle, suffering, love, conflict, beauty and death have specific purpose, direction or significance. The problem, however, is that meaning is not automatically or immediately available; it must be acquired. Therefore humans must construct meaning-systems – patterns of purpose by which to make their lives meaningful. These created meaning-systems are what is sometimes termed ‘culture’, a social group’s shared norms, values and symbols that provide frameworks for life together.\(^\text{23}\) Because of its temporal nature and focus on a community of people, cultures of particularity work against universal inclusivity and receptivity. Such cultures are protective, exclusive in nature and work

\(^{20}\) In contrast to western culture which emphasises independence, Asian and African communities practice an interdependent sociality (eg. ‘ubuntu’ – Swahili phrase meaning ‘I am because we are’).

\(^{21}\) Davies, Theology of Transformation. p. 236.


against exposing oneself to the new, the other, the unjust situation. How we understand who it is that we are (idem asks ‘who are you?’) is influenced by culture and memory which allows one to close down ‘the complexity of the real’ and filter it through the person we are becoming.\(^{24}\) In contrast to cultural particularity, however, is a universalistic culture rooted in realities believed to exist above and beyond the temporal, mundane and material world that one views empirically. This is Christian culture; culture predicated upon the commissioning Christ – with an orientation towards the world.\(^{25}\) In principle it excludes no one and no thing, ‘catholic’ in the fullest sense. In this regard, Kathryn Tanner’s work regarding culture and identity for the Christian community is thought provoking. While she agrees that the identity of a Christian way of life (termed ‘discipleship’) is formed by its own cultural ‘boundary’, she also claims that the possibility of maintaining an alternative Christian social world is difficult to sustain empirically, that the boundaries between Christian and non-Christian ways of life are permeable, characteristically ‘hybrid’ and share some cultural forms with a wider host culture.\(^{26}\) For her, Christian culture cannot be determined by ‘group specificity...or homogeneity of practices’ – instead what unites Christians is a concern for true discipleship.\(^{27}\) While it is commendable that Tanner seeks to avoid a cultural dominance within Christianity and a human prescription of how God might work in the world, her work is not without its own risks and reductions. She wrestles with the tension of remaining ‘open’ but also risks a reduction that leaves Christian culture lacking in substance and conviction particularly as it remains unclear of what ‘discipleship’ consists. As was argued in Chapter Three (3.1), Christians seek to live in ways that respond directly to the mercy and freedom of God as it is made known in Jesus Christ. In light of this there are boundaries which are not permeable or negotiable.

It is my contention that one of these is the protesting of unjust practices against humanity.

---


\(^{25}\) Christianity is both a prisoner and a liberator of culture, for while distinctive, it influences and is influenced by the cultural setting and other settings it inhabits. Within such situatedness, Christians will both bless the social world and denounce and stand in antithesis to it. Andrew Walls, ”The Gospel as Prisoner and Liberator of Culture,” *Missionalitas* 10, no. 3 (1982). pp. 3-15.


\(^{27}\) Ibid. pp.141-152.
Christian culture as understood in this thesis affirms people are created with an inherent inclusivity that accepts humanity in all its complexity and diversity. This is a culture which addresses the deepest questions of who we want to be in the world and is premised on the ‘agent’ self. Christian culture is based upon Christ gifting not only his idem identity to his followers, but also his ipse (answering the question of ‘who’ did this in the immediate) freeing disciples to sacrificially embrace ‘face-to-face’ encounters with humanity in both just and unjust contexts. This divine freedom which is at the centre of the human act is not a freedom ‘from’ but rather a ‘freedom to’ when the first question ‘what should I do?’ is followed by a second ‘what would Jesus do?’ It is in the answering and acting upon this second question that it is possible for the Salvationist to discover who they are and who they are ‘becoming’ in Christ. It is precisely because there is no difference between ipse and idem for Jesus (both pure ‘becoming’ in history and Lord of history who by the Spirit dwells within a life) that the possibility exists for Salvationists to experience a redefinition of culture and (again) become a ‘new’ creation (2 Cor 5:17), therefore living in the world in a new way with unparalleled freedom. In order to call one a Christian one must model one’s very existence after the crucified and resurrected Christ, both in self-denial and in solidarity with the poor and marginalised. To those who object that the example of Jesus is beyond the power of humanity to follow is to miss the spirit of Philippians 2:5-8. The apostle does not call for a mechanical imitation of the precise act of Jesus emptying himself, but pleads that all might have in them ‘the mind’ which was in Christ Jesus impelling him to act in the interest of others. Only by deriving norms for protest not from rule books but from the person of Jesus Christ as the ultimate exemplar (evidenced in Chapter Five), will Salvationists be able to discern appropriate acts of response in their individual contexts.

And it is only by ‘standing in the gap’ (Ezek 22:30) and protesting the presence of non-
shalom where there should be shalom that Salvationists might do so, not in the power of self (because in human frailty they, like the rest of humanity are part of the problem) but in the power and presence of the one who gifts his life to and in them in order that shalom might be restored.

There is power in identity. When one creates the right kind of identity things can be said to the world that rationally do not make sense and act in ways previously thought impossible. In the reception of these graced gifts and their own response to such grace, people ‘become’ who they are meant to be - Christian. Catherine Booth expressed the principle that self-denial was the only way of self-realisation ‘Our Lord links the joy with the suffering, the glory with the shame, the exaltation with the humiliation, the crown with the cross, the finding of life with the losing of it’.33 Perhaps the distinct identity of Christian existence is most evident in the instruction to ‘put on the Lord Jesus Christ’ (Rom 13:14) offering one’s life as sacrifice and doing so on behalf of and with one’s neighbour in need

wherever we go we are always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be made visible in our bodies. For while we live, we are always being given up to death for Jesus’ sake, so that the life of Jesus may be made visible in our mortal flesh. So death is at work in us but life in you. (2 Corinthians 4:10-12).34

6.4 The Christ of Sacrifice and Sacrifice of Christ
In grounding protest Christologically, it is necessary to identify both the Christ of sacrifice and the sacrifice of Christ. In order to speak of sacrificial protest as efficacious it is necessary to reflect on the redemptive and cosmic scope of this sacrifice and the implications for the Body of Christ – his people. Sacrifice is at the core of who God is. The very being of God is patterned upon ‘costly self-giving and the bringing about of

33 Catherine Booth, Female Teaching; or, the Rev. A A Rees Versus Mrs. Palmer, Being a Reply to a Pamphlet by the Above Gentleman on the Sunderland Revival, Second ed. (London: Stevenson, G J, 1861). p. 25.
life through the agency of death’ - in other words, sacrifice is the ultimate opus Dei. God sacrificially loves – and as Augustine has said in his Confessions, God’s image and likeness within humanity will not let that desire rest. This desire is union with the divine, its essence is sacrifice and yet there is nothing more humanly real than sacrifice. It is precisely what makes one human. However, choosing to respond to such love almost inevitably leads to suffering. None of the particular ways people suffer (or die) are absolute in that they are always contingent on the choices made. This is true of the details in the life of Christ, as in the details of every human life. None of it has to happen in exactly the way it transpires. This in no way undermines the absoluteness or centrality of the Incarnation of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus nor is it to suggest that humanity is not saved by the historic life, death, and resurrection of Jesus and his indwelling Spirit. Contrary to some Christian theorists, there was no absolute necessity for the events in Jesus’ life to happen in the exact manner they did. There was a certain contingency in the events. God could have done it differently. However what is not contingent is that because God loved, God chose to sacrifice, giving the Son to the world who in turn gives his life for the redemption of humanity. God’s purpose in making atonement on behalf of humanity by means of the Incarnation is not simply to fulfil the requirement of retribution. The ultimate cause of God’s action lies elsewhere – in God’s constant will to restore and transform fallen humanity and so bring divine purposes to completion – the renewal of all creation. And it is in humanity’s own self giving love to the world that it discovers what it means to be a kenotic servant and truly human.

6.4.1 Redemptive – The World Redeemed
The cross of Jesus of Nazareth could seem to be disconnected from the many crosses of history where others have suffered and continue to suffer from the injustices in this

36 In Anselm’s satisfaction theory the requirement of retribution regulates the means of God’s act of atonement. Sin cannot be forgiven unless satisfaction for sin is made by compensation to God or punishment imposed upon the sinner – but does not determine the end for which God acts.
world. His cross could be understood as unrelated to the social and political reality of crucifixion, his suffering different from the suffering of other crucified people and the hope of his resurrection for souls in eternity but not for bodies in this world. Yet because evangelical Christians (and specifically The Salvation Army as a part of the evangelical church) affirms a bodily resurrection, this means Jesus’ cross, while unique, must also be connected to the many other crosses of history and his resurrection, glorification and exaltation must also be connected, not only to a hope for souls in the afterlife, but for bodies in this life as well.38

At the core of Salvation Army doctrine is a conviction that God’s love is redemptive and predicated by the idea that the world can be changed.39 Any protest against injustice therefore, must be based on the certitude that sacrificial self-giving is redemptive and holds the potentiality not only of restoration but transformation for both victims and oppressors. Such protest is committed to redeeming, not defeating its opponents and done in confidence that biblical justice will, in the end, win over injustice. The Pauline epistles share this perspective ‘if in fact, we suffer with him so that we may also be glorified with him’ (Rom 8:17). The redemptive purposes of God are seen in the life of Jesus, who empties himself of privilege as second person of the Trinity and comes to earth in the form of a servant and gives himself sacrificially for God and others.40 As demonstrated in Chapter Five, the fully human Jesus chose to endure and experience the human condition in the way that humanity must. Yet, without ever emptying himself of anything essential to his being truly God, he chose to embrace the human condition.

This element of surrender is seen in his single-minded devotion to do the will of and complete the Father’s work. As Jesus makes indelibly clear throughout his earthly life, holding tightly to God’s kingdom values determines the non-negotiables of one’s life which then determine one’s objectives and pursuits – what one is willing to surrender to and sacrifice for. While the concept of surrender is often understood in terms of defeat

38 HOD. p. 226.
or failure, the *Handbook of Doctrine* teaches that the Salvationist surrender to God is ultimate victory, representing the letting go of small-minded and over-personalised world views.\(^{41}\) The way of Christian discipleship then is a ‘quirky’, upside-down paradox for as the apostle Paul reminds ‘When I am weak, then I am strong’ (2 Cor 12:10).

Salvation Army theology teaches that God-in-Christ has done for humanity something necessary for salvation of which we were incapable by ourselves.\(^{42}\) In one respect Jesus’ death and resurrection does ‘for us’ that which we cannot do for ourselves. By the power of God, the atoning work of Christ cleanses one from sin, removes guilt and frees from the power of sin and the ultimate end of sin in death - ‘he breaks the power of cancelled sin, he sets the prisoner free’\(^{43}\) It is in this sense that one speaks of a substitutionary atonement of God-in-Christ for us.\(^{44}\) However, if one only speaks of the atonement from an substitutionary perspective, the challenge is to relate a past event to one’s present reality. In considering the atonement from a subjective perspective, Jesus’ death and resurrection does for us that which provokes repetition, not as substitute victim on a cross but in the sacrificial and victorious offering of lives in his name.\(^{45}\)

The Christian story of redemption affirms that Christ has decisively conquered the hostile powers that oppress humanity and that this has been accomplished only through great suffering. In the atonement Christ put to death what Rolfe King terms ‘the pull to the self-life in our humanity; self-life defined as that which goes against obedience to God where self is put before God’.\(^{46}\) Known theologically as ‘sin’, this is a direct result of humanity’s abuse of the freedom to choose good from evil that was given to Adam and Eve in the Garden and which has plagued humanity in its relationship with God.

\(^{41}\) *HOD*, p. 83.
\(^{42}\) Ibid, p.86 Pt. 2. See also ‘Salvation’ in Andrew M Eason and Roger Green, *Boundless Salvation* (Peter Lang, 2012), p. 41.
\(^{43}\) *SASB*. Song 89. Verse 4.
identifying completely with humanity’s estrangement, Christ willingly and voluntarily chose to participate in an alienation which humanity brings as judgment upon himself. There is no room here for thinking that the Father was inflicting punishment on the Son nor that the Son was ‘driven’ by suicidal thoughts. Far from an escapism from darkness and despair, the Son journeys deeply into the heart of man’s condition and makes redemption for both the effect of the Fall upon all humanity and for the personal sin of individuals without which it would not be possible for humanity to receive forgiveness, reconciliation or resurrection.⁴⁷ Having said this, while various models of the atonement integrate God’s love with his wrath against sin, until recently none of them have succeeded in relating this event to the present and importantly for this thesis.

6.4.1.1 Salvation – Then and Now

Paul Fiddes, known for his work regarding the atonement and suffering, suggests that it is possible to interpret the finality of Christ’s victory over the powers as an event that creates and enables victory in lives in the present.⁴⁸ The premise is that through his Spirit, God is always coming to us, offering victory against all the forces that oppress, holding out the possibility of victory through his presence in the world. The problem, Fiddes argues is not to be found in God but rather in human cooperation with the missio Dei. Those who call themselves the people of God have not understood that the victory of Christ at the cross empowers them to participate in God’s victory in the present. Building on John Macquarrie’s work, Fiddes identifies two ways in which the victory of Christ in the atonement creates victory in the present. First, is in the power of revelation as in this act new possibilities for existence were opened up.⁴⁹ Here something genuinely new had been achieved in them and they can be rightly termed ‘eschatological’ in that they are open to being repeated in the future and relived in experience.⁵⁰ This represents much more than mere imitation of Christ, because a truly eschatological event is one in which God is present to reveal himself. Through his Spirit God acts both in the original event and in its repetitions, so that such events are marked

⁴⁸ Fiddes, Past Event and Present Salvation.p.135.
⁵⁰ Ibid.
by grace (working in those whom it addresses making possible their response of faith) and creativity (because God is in it to enable a response). Fiddes, however, takes this further by suggesting that this creative power of ‘objectivity’ is not only capable of repetition but actually *provokes* repetition of itself.\(^{51}\) He concludes that this must also be true of the atonement event where God is present in an unprecedented manner in identifying himself with Jesus Christ. The objectivity of the event, then, is not only that God is present to elicit response, but that through the event he draws out repetitions of victory in the future.

Fiddes proposes two specific applications regarding the objectivity of the atonement.\(^{52}\) Because the idea of victory through revelation is recorded in Paul’s account of Christ’s triumph over the powers at the cross where Christ makes a public exhibition of them (Col 2:15; Gal 4:9), the revelation that the rulers of this age have defeated themselves by crucifying the Lord of glory is a ‘received victory’, transforming those who receive it and altering their perspective of the powers. The second factor that links present victory with Christ’s victory is what Fiddes terms ‘the community of the crucified’.\(^{53}\) In his absolute self-giving, Christ has created a community in which his victory can be repeated. This community both precedes and enables any individual appropriation of salvation. Because Christ absorbed evil and refused to retaliate reversing the tendency of evil to spread, Christ by the Spirit enables new human communities to not only absorb but to confront evil.

Such perspectives are helpful as one links these insight to a theology of protest. The reception of an altered attitude which understands the powers to already be eschatologically defeated (Heb 2:14) provides those who in Christ’s name protest unjust practices the knowledge that the evil one has already been conquered. Confrontation of injustices can then be seen as visible acts that re-enforce the defeat of the evil one. Secondly, in the confrontation of injustice, Christians are given the capacity not to retaliate with the same abuses of power that they protest against but instead are able to in (assumed) victory exercise any entrusted power in a spirit of love (Eph 6:4). Two

\(^{51}\) Fiddes. *Past Event*, p.137.
\(^{52}\) Ibid.
\(^{53}\) Ibid.
further notes of import. To the victims of injustice, the atonement and resurrection affirms that the last things are in the hands of God. It thus reverses the thrust of a situation within which a victim is helpless and a perpetrator wields the power of life and death. The apparent omnipotence of evil, able to dispense pain and death at will is found in the atonement which has spoken a last word. Those who perpetrate injustice have the power neither to determine the ultimate destiny of their victims nor to extricate themselves from the process of divine judgment. There is also here a word of forgiveness that Christ alone can utter and which he utters from the Cross – ‘Father forgive them; for they know not what they do’. In this word of mercy rests the hope for humankind. It is a word which he speaks as Victim, addressed to the Father, securing the forgiveness for all. The dialogue of the Son and Father at Calvary consists not in Christ bearing the Father’s punishment but in Christ securing the Father’s forgiveness for the race with which he stands in solidarity. He heals the division between God and humankind. But he also stands in solidarity with the victims over against the perpetrators and makes possible at a ‘horizontal’ level the forgiveness of the sinner by the sinned against.\(^{54}\) Implications for the Salvationist community become clear – they must be a people who commit to stand with everyone in their Good Fridays and in particular with those who stand closest to the cross – the neglected poor, the homeless, and the sinner, remaining until Easter morning to rise to newness of life but they can do so in the knowledge and reality of their own resurrected lives.\(^{55}\) Their own female African Salvationist leaders give testimony that they ‘stand at the cross’ pressing against powers of patriarchy, racism, and poverty that seek to dehumanise their communities and welcome a redemption that advocates for the liberation of humanity. Theirs is an embodied and present salvation – ‘the cross is now – and so is resurrection’.\(^{56}\)

### 6.4.1.2 Hebrews 13 – ‘Outside the Camp’

It would be erroneous to associate the totality of Christ’s sacrifice with the singular act of atonement. The cross in and of itself was neither the totality of Jesus’ sacrificial work

---


\(^{55}\) *HOD*, p. 253.

nor perhaps even its central focus, rather the cross was one component in a larger sacrificial script of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Jesus’ death made entrance into the heavenly sanctuary possible and provided the blood necessary to cleanse and bring about new covenant between God and humanity. His death was an offering of his body yet for the efficacy of his overall sacrificial offering, his blood was more significant. Leviticus 16 teaches that on the Day of Atonement, the unused portion of the sacrifice was disposed of ‘outside of the camp’ but the effective blood was brought into the sanctuary. Following this pattern, the book of Hebrews significantly divides the suffering of Jesus ‘outside the camp’ from the effect of his sanctifying blood (Heb 13). The extraordinary nature of Christ’s sacrifice consists of him taking on the roles of priest and victim offering himself in sacrifice for humanity (7:27; 9:14,26). In an unexpected twist on sacrificial imagery, Hebrews recontextualises Leviticus 16:27 into a challenge to the community of faith (Heb 13:11-13). In contrast to the blood brought into the sanctuary, the remnants of the Day of Atonement victim are taken outside to be burned. Hebrews applies this pattern to the crucifixion of Jesus ‘outside the camp’ (exō tēs parembolēs). Paradoxically, this event takes place to transform those addressed into a holy people by means of Christ’s sanctifying and cleansing blood. Hebrews challenges Christians to follow Jesus ‘outside the camp’ to the place where disgrace and loss are experienced and where living sacrifices are to be offered on behalf of others. Outside the camp – once a place that created a need for cleansing – is now the site of the sacrifice that brings about people’s cleansing and shalom. If such is the ‘logic of sacrifice’, then the same must be true for a ‘logic of protest’. Christians are called to live ‘outside the camp’ and to stand with and become identified as the marginalised, making it clear that the crucified and resurrected one is Lord. A new construction of identity emerges in Hebrews – a movement of identity to the margins, the call to embrace a self-identification of alien status. Christians are called to embrace the margins and the excluded found therein. Because of who Jesus is. Because this is

57 HOD. p. 85.
58 The phrase ‘the logic of sacrifice’ is used by a growing number of scholars in attempts to communicate what it means to live in the world as a Christian. Davies, "Faith, Freedom and World - The Logic of Sacrifice." Fiddes, Past Event and Present Salvation.
what Jesus does. Where can Jesus be found? At the margins, the new centre. Here then, is a further reversal in Kingdom values - the margins are the centre and those ‘inside the camp’ are in fact at the margins as Puerto Rican theologian Loida Martell-Otero makes clear:

Any soteriology that does not incorporate a radical call to serve those at the periphery is, in Dietrich Bonhoeffer’s words ‘cheap grace’. It is a disincarnate Christianity that allows its adherents to exploit the poor, ignore the suffering and smugly await a heavenly reward at no cost to themselves. Only a soteriology of the privileged can ignore God’s call to go ‘outside the gate’. This is why the locus of salvation is never in the centre of powers which are blind to their inherent sin or injustice. To truly experience God’s salvation, one must begin at the periphery where Jesus sato beckons us to follow.60

In asking Christians to make their home as valorised outsiders, they are invited to join the lineage of Hebrews 11. By doing so, they ‘spend’ themselves contributing to the redemption of the universe and as individuals in their obedient response to the life they have received from the Father.61

6.4.2 Cosmic in Scope - The World Reclaimed

The redemption obtained by the sacrifice of Christ is cosmic in scope.62 The principalities and powers that are confronted and defeated are universal in nature. The death of Christ is a direct consequence of the attempt of the powers to destroy Jesus who would later be understood and discovered to be none other than ‘the Lord of glory’ (1 Cor 2:8). This attempt leads to his victory, triumphing over the powers. Christians share in this victory as ‘more than conquerors’ and by faith reign with Christ (Rom 8:37-39).

The New Testament affirms the completeness of Christ’s sacrifice and claims that the

62 The human body was not considered ‘like’ a microcosm but rather ‘was’ a microcosm in the cultural milieu of gospel writer Luke. Luke’s picture of God raising the literal flesh of Jesus indicated that God was redeeming the universe in microcosmic form. Johnson argues that because the body of Jesus was ‘shared material with the rest of the old order, the redemption of the cosmos as a whole has begun’. Andy Johnson, “Our God Reigns: The Body of the Risen Lord in Luke 24,” *Word and World* 22, no. 2 (2002). p.141.
salvation obtained by Christ redeems the world in its entirety, including the cosmic powers. Because Jesus is Lord over the powers, there is given to humanity the possibility of the alleviation of human poverty, suffering and injustice in every generation and context for ‘there is not a square inch (literally, ‘thumb’s breadth’) in the whole of our human existence over which Christ, who is sovereign over all, does not cry: Mine!’ Kuyper’s assertion that Christ is Lord over every inch of the cosmos is an affirmation of the Christian calling and conviction that it is possible for one to be a conduit for the agency of Christ by his Spirit to influence and transform all aspects of community life. It also reinforces that protesting the lack of shalom as part of seeking the peace of the city (Jer 29:7) takes place literally inch by inch. The chaos and disorder that characterises broken communities is not overcome with announcements of counter-narratives of peace, but requires painstaking work of forging concrete new beginnings of shalom in the lives of those who live within these neighbourhoods. Where the redemptive work of Christ is universal and cosmic in nature, the salvific participation of Salvationists in his name and for his sake on behalf of and with those who experience injustice must be conducted within particular contexts and against specific social issues that minimise or bar flourishing. If present exploitive powers are part of a fallen creation, then consideration must be given for their redemption and restoration of purpose. Any protest against the powers is both a declaration to individuals and institutions that they are not acceptable as they are, nor can they ever make themselves acceptable. Because acceptability has everything to do with the one who is Lord, any stance taken towards them must in the first place be critical and a contestation of the ultimacy of any temporal power. To make clear that Jesus Christ is Lord requires then that Salvationists not let the given order be. Each act of protesting injustice must make clear that not only is this world passing away but it is the focus of God’s redemptive

65 ‗Cosmos‘ is defined as ‗the universe as an ordered whole‘. HOD. p.349.
66 Wink suggests it is precisely because the powers have been created in, through and for the humanising purposes of God in Christ that they must be honoured, criticised, resisted and redeemed. Wink, Engaging the Powers. p.73.
resolve. But how might the world be reclaimed? By and through what means? Not by how or what a Salvationist thinks because that remains invisible and can at best be described as only private internal conviction. In choosing flesh to reveal himself through the first and second Adam, God reveals and claims for himself God’s world – through the flesh – his temple – the human body consecrated to his service for ‘the body, and it alone, is capable to make visible what is invisible: the spiritual and the divine. It was created to transfer into the visible reality of the world the mystery hidden since time immemorial in God, and thus be a sign of it.  

6.5 The Body and Presence

The Bible is replete with examples of how humans are symbolic creatures, whose attitudes and convictions are expressed in the language of the body. When Adam and Eve discover their nakedness in the Garden of Eden, they hide their bodies. Jacob crosses his hands when laying them on the heads of Manasseh and Ephraim to signify which is greater. Elijah stretches himself over a dead child, Ezekiel lies on his side bound with cords as a symbol of God’s word. In the same fashion God speaks when Jesus touches the ears and tongue of a deaf man, heals a leper by touching him, eats with tax collectors and sinners, holds children in his arms and in his final earthly meal, shares bread saying ‘this is my body given for you’ (Lk 22:19).

Human bodies have the capacity to move involuntarily and voluntarily. Involuntarily in the sense of pulse and breath (indicative of quantitative if not qualitative life in some measure), but also voluntarily (through habituated patterned practices), gained from communal activity. Not all language spoken by bodies is of universal or immediate intelligibility. Gestures of the body, like the words of a language, exist within the context of cultural symbolic structure.  

Where the crossing of legs may be a sign of relaxation in western culture, the same gesture in Thailand is considered an affront. Bodies also, at times, express even unwillingly, what speech cannot or dare not. In spite

---


of a voice indicating light banter, rigidly crossed arms in front of the chest suggest another locution. Yet the body is more - it is a sign that effects what it signifies. It not only signals the state of one’s heart, but makes it real in the world outside the mind. The body speaks to the mind as much as the mind speaks to the body. Because this ‘traffic’ moves both directions, it is therefore possible for someone to place their body in witness to their convictions. It is one thing to think or state that human trafficking devalues people and is unacceptable; it is quite another to place one’s body ‘on the line’ for this conviction. When one experiences opposition for this belief, there is a testimony to others but first to oneself that one believes human trafficking is wrong. The disposition of the body then not only expresses conviction, it also strengthens conviction and makes possible the divine command of grace to Christians to ‘become in our bodies instruments of his resurrection righteousness’ through lived obedience.69

It is helpful at this juncture to bring together some theological strands regarding divine presence and dwelling in the world. Earlier in the work the continual presence of the triune God in the world to transform the whole of creation and the mutual indwelling of the universe and God was affirmed. It has also been suggested that in authentic protest and action on behalf of the poor is where Jesus ‘makes the universe his home’. In order to demonstrate how the embodiment of Christ in the world is coherent with the missio Dei, different kinds of divine dwelling in the world need to be considered.

One begins by stating that God is not in a protected place shrouded in a hermetically sealed ontological box. God is, rather, a shocking presence in a world of ambiguities. God both provokes an eschatological dynamism and following the thought of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the theologians of liberation, is a God who suffers on the cross at the heart of the world. This vision of God disturbs any tendency on the part of theology to settle for a comforting indwelling of God in the world of protected particularities. The catholicity of God’s transcendence cannot be domesticated or controlled. God is equally present and at work in all places on earth but humanity may not be aware of nor acknowledge this due to the ‘hiddenness’ of God. He is not ‘located’ in the physical

sense of bonded space (eg in a human body which cannot be in two places at once).
While God’s own sense of ‘space’ is outside the space of created reality, he is present in
the created reality by virtue of his act of creation.70

While Christ is present to humanity by faith and in the Spirit, there are a number of
ways in which he is also present through mediation. Within the Catholic tradition this is
received liturgically in the Eucharistic body of Mt 26:26-9. The bodies of those in need,
in whom Christ is present (Mt 25:34-46) may also mediate the ascended body under the
accent of its humanity and particularity. Further mediations of his presence include the
presence of Christ among those ‘who are gathered in my name’ (Mt 18:30), and Christ’s
promised presence to the church to ‘the end of the age’ (Mt 28:20). There are mediations
of Christ’s presence are also acknowledged in the Word as preached and in the biblical
text as received. Through each of these mediations Christ’s ascended body by the Spirit
disruptively pushes into a disciple’s life and claims it for his own.71 It is here one is
conformed to the movement of that body as Trinitarian sending, taken up into the
Father’s own presence to the Son and made real for us by the Spirit in the actuality of
our living.

One of the most scandalous ways in which God has promised to be present is in and
through the church. What the church offers the world is something it has first received
only by God’s prior gracious initiative. As a result the church’s identity and mission as a
mediator of God’s presence remains inextricably tied to its identity as a recipient of
God’s self-gift. Philip Kenneson suggests that there are two distinct ways that the church
may serve as Christ’s presence in the world. The church may be used by God to
announce or herald God’s presence and reign in the world, but never in the proclamation
of a disembodied message (as if such were possible). Because all messages are
embodied messages, the church must remember that its embodied life, a new life made
possible by the reconciling work of the Spirit, is itself part of the good news of

70 Luco J van den Brom, Divine Presence in the World: A Critical Analysis of the Notion of Divine
Omnipresence, Studies in Philosophical Theology (Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing
reconciliation.\textsuperscript{72} While this embodied witness to God’s sacrificial self is important to the church’s vocation as herald of God’s grace, the church is also called to announce the presence of God’s reconciling work in the world wherever that presence and work is manifested. Because God’s Spirit is not confined to the church, neither is God’s reconciling work. The church is entrusted with the task of naming God’s work and rule in the world so that the world might come to know and experience God’s presence. It is in his work \textit{Seeing the World – Knowing God} that Paul Fiddes helpfully identifies specific ways Christ’s form is visible to the world.\textsuperscript{73} Using the parent-child rubric of Jesus of Nazareth who was obedient to death under the command of the one he called Father, Fiddes states that those ‘in Christ’ also occupy this same space as it is Christ shaped. Individually and corporately they are the hands and feet that comprise the life of the church which participates in the life of God. They do not represent a body nor are they like a body Fiddes argues - they are the body of Christ and whenever they give of themselves in self-sacrificial ways on behalf of others, their actions can be patterned and recognised as the actions of the son in obedience to the father. Though expressed uniquely through each personality they are attuned and related to a common space – in God – and because of this Jesus is embodied in each individual and his presence discernable in them.

If then, God is present to us in Christ through the Spirit at the deepest point of our humanity how should Christians live faithfully in that knowledge? \textit{Transformation Theology} suggests that ‘the proper life of faith’ is lived in an embodied openness in history’.\textsuperscript{74} In other words, we make ourselves present to the God who is present for us just as we throw ourselves into the liveliness of life, giving ourselves to the other in the enactment of love. Knowing that God in Christ has altered the world at its core, we


\textsuperscript{73} Fiddes, \textit{Seeing the World – Knowing God}. pp.390-392.

\textsuperscript{74} Davies, Janz, and Sedmak, \textit{Transformation Theology - Church in the World}.p.92.
become ‘conformed to a new openness of thinking’ that frees us to ‘make our lives our own through deliberate patterns of judgments and acting’.  

6.5.1 Site of Contestation + Transference of Modality

Struggles for recognition and respect, equality and social justice are connected to the articulation of dissent through protest. Bodies are central to these power struggles within which the body itself is often the locus of both repression and resistance. Acts of protest rely on bodies, and therefore, to protest is to engage one’s body ‘What besides bodies can resist? It is my body that marches in demonstrations, my body that goes to the polls[…]attends rallies[…]participates in work slowdowns[…]engages in civil disobedience’. The relationship between bodies and protest is then significant. Bodies are powerful sites of resistance as well as vehicles to explicitly challenge oppression; the medium and the message. Protest expressed through the body cannot be ignored because it not only challenges the existing order but contests the very space in which it is located. Where present powers exacerbate the divisions within humanity (Eph 2:11,12) God confounds them by creating in Christ one unified, multiracial body consisting of formerly divided groups of people. The apostle Paul speaks of an intense unity between Jesus and the church. In Ephesians 6:10-18 he addresses the church as the presence of God in Christ on earth, a reality brought about by the Spirit of God. Just as Jesus during his time on earth was the very presence of God in human form, so the church as the Body of Christ is now the presence of Jesus in the world to both contest and subordinate the powers. Similarly, just as Jesus was subject to the assault of the

75 Ibid. p.120.
78 Feminist scholarship in particular has gone to great lengths to demonstrate that all acts carried out on and through the body are political because of the body’s situatedness within social meaning. Michele Alexandre, "Dance Halls, Masquerades, Body Protest and the Law: The Female Body as a Redemptive Tool Against Trinidad's Gender-Biased Laws," Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy 13(2006). p. 178.
79 Orna Sasson-Levy and Tamar Rapoport, "Body, Gender and Knowledge in Protest Movements - The Israeli Case," Gender & Society 17, no. 3 (2003). p. 395. The growing literature on the role of the body in movements demonstrates that the linkage between the body and protest may take different even contradictory forms. The body can be subject matter of the protest (eg. violence against women) or carrier for the protest even when the body is not the subject matter of the protest (eg. Greenpeace).
powers during his time here on earth, the church now battles against the powers and authorities in opposition against God’s purposes in the world (Ephesians 6:12).

6.5.2 A Re-quantification of Space
While it seems futile to argue against the abundance of sin and evil in the world, Christological sacrificial protest makes possible a treatment of the question of its meaning in light of the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement. The former makes it possible to say that the material world’s fundamental meaningfulness is demonstrated by the fact that the one through whom it took shape became material; the latter takes with full seriousness the problem of fallenness and evil. Jesus, as Incarnate God, dies as a result of his engagement with a fallen world and by his death and resurrection calls it back to its true destiny – life. Because of this the material world is affirmed as the place where there can be meaning while through the sacrificed life of the crucified one, the material world is redeemed from meaninglessness. And it is here where the question of transformation of matter is raised. The dynamic at play is the body of Jesus (or Jesus) making the universe his home. God establishes himself in creation through the dynamic of embodiment evidenced within the Christian Scriptures (the Spirit resting within individuals for specific tasks, the declaration of temple being his dwelling place and most clearly expressed in the life of Jesus of Nazareth). This concept is not difficult to understand in that everyone turns space into place. In God’s case the overwhelming structure of this is his sovereignty and freedom. If Jesus is not ‘free’ in the world in the sense that he has no freedom as one crucified, then God sets the universe free in him by reaching into the world through the broken body of Jesus and liberating the world through the Spirit that pours forth from that body. However, liberation can only take place where creation is redeemed from its bondage and oppression; the Spirit transforms only in relation to the work of the crucified. Just as Jesus’ broken body is a ‘tabernacle of glory…where the divine and human meet’, when redeemed humanity embrace embodiment, it becomes poised and ready to receive this same gift by becoming (by faith) the temple of the Holy Spirit – the Spirit of Jesus who lives his life in and through us. (1 Cor 6:9). It is in his Lordship that Jesus is free, making possible that anywhere and anyone can be his place through free and loving acts.

---

81 John Paul Orientale Lumen, n 15.
emanating from his sovereignty. Authentic Christian protest is a form of God’s sovereign freedom reaching into the world, making it his place (home) in ways not completely understood but made possible by his Spirit. Just as in the incarnate Christ one sees the human face of God and divine face of man, by virtue of Jesus’ embodiment in us, we can reflect the divine face of God within the human body which in a sense re-quantifies us as Christological space. It is true we do not follow Jesus in bodily movement in the exact same manner as he did nor in the way the disciples did who walked with him across Galilee. Ours is a true following yet in a different manner. The language of ‘following’ points to the image of a way or path. To follow after Jesus, to follow in his way, means to walk the road to death, to deny one’s self and take up the cross. As a metaphor, the path of death involves the death of the heart centred in the finite world and its security and to the self as the centre of focus and concern. But just as one follows in death, so one also follows in resurrection – to victory over death. The victory of Christ creates victory in those who attest to his Lordship – with an invitation to walk the road of Life. The new and pure heart sees God (Mt 5:8) at work as the self-giving bodily life of Jesus moves one openly into the world freely attending to another’s interest before one’s own.82 ‘Such a choice to embrace this new reality[…] is termed logic of sacrifice.’83 Such a life finds its home where other’s lives are threatened and offers itself as the body of Christ, given for them.84

It was suggested in Chapter Five that an important element of Christological protest is miracle, an unusual phenomenon that violates the usual course of nature, where for just for a moment the intersection of heaven and earth meets uniting two worlds an example of which is the resurrected Jesus meeting the apostle Paul on the road to Damascus as recorded in Acts 9. Miracles occur in ordinary time and space but their power is a

84 Such embodiment occurs between the times – morning and evening, Sunday and Sunday, Easter and Easter, and between the two comings of Christ. The experience of time as ‘end’ gives importance to what one does ‘now’ making it decisive. Alexander Schmemann, For the Life of the World: Sacraments and Orthodoxy (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1973). pp. 64-65.
manifestation of an other-worldly place. They are ‘signs that the world as we know it is not (yet) made right and that history as we know it is not arching toward justice’. The moment of miracle in protest reveals an intimate connection that explains God’s ‘world’ as it reveals where in everyday life the eternal and mundane are experienced in opposition. Where in patristic and medieval writing the earthly and heavenly cities were critically separated (e.g. Augustine’s City of God), in protest they are portrayed as intimates where they both intersect and interlock. The man or woman of God belongs at once to both worlds because their citizenship is both and at once one of the polis but also of the heavenly city. Where the ‘border’ of particularity exists to separate, the authentic border of ‘universality’ exists to provide inclusivity and facilitates the meeting of heaven and earth. These are ‘thin spaces’ where bodies lay bare, choosing to tell the truth of one’s life.

Space creates presence. Space acknowledges and makes claim to presence and bodies are the primary mediators of this presence. Therefore, when one is considered ‘somebody’ and ceases to be a ‘nobody’, one is made present. When one is present, one has significance and ‘takes up space’. This notion of space as presence is significant to a theology of protest because it is revelatory. If social transformation is universalist in its range (family – community – world), it is nevertheless highly focused in its structure. The same universalistic culture that is inclusive and names presence also contains within itself the seeds of radical social criticism and disruption. Just as Christianity provides the world with meaning through a sacred reality which transcends those mundane realities, it also establishes a perceived objective reality above and beyond temporal life to act back upon the mundane. That which is sacred and transcends the earthly and temporal

---

87 Giorgio Agamben, Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998). The Parables speak of both joyful and dangerous crossings of ‘borders’ – the return of the Prodigal Son whose father runs to meet him; the rich man compelling the lame and poor to his wedding feast when the original guests refuse; the Samaritan enemy who is a good neighbour; the landowner who sends his son only to have him murdered by wicked tenants. See also Mark D Roberts, "What are Thin Places and how should we think about them in light of Scripture?," http://www.patheos.com/blogs/markdroberts/series/thin-places/. Accessed 11 May 2017.
reality also stands in a position to question, judge and condemn the reality. In the act of protest, one creates spaces of resistance where the Kingdom of God not only challenges the reality and inevitability of the secular imaginations of space and time but anticipates the resurrection of the very body which has been oppressed and exploited. Therefore, by choosing to ‘stand in the gap’ by protesting unjust practices, it is possible for a Salvationist to halt particular oppressive actions simply by their bodily presence and visibility. While such actions might prove temporary and symbolic, they are also eschatological in that they point to a time in the future when such practices will cease completely or be redeemed for life-affirming purposes.

6.5.3 Imago Dei

If one begins where Scripture itself does in Genesis 1 with the affirmation that all that exists is created to be good by a loving Creator, and that humans in particular are created in the very image of the living God (Gen 1:26), one commences with the right perspective for thinking about self-sacrifice. Being an image, rather than an original source implies that there is something (one) greater than personal existence providing meaning and context for self-worth. The implication is that humanity’s existence is not the final value and therefore it must sometimes be given up for a higher cause. It would be a strange Christian ethic that did not allow for the possibility that being conformed to the image of Christ involves the giving up of something important, even life. Crucial here is the recognition that the emphasis is not on giving up, absolutely and without qualification, but rather to offer to God that part of creation which he has already placed on humanity as stewards. Such an adequate self-sacrifice involves what Colin Gunton terms a ‘double orientation’, what one does with self as soul and body and what one does with the rest of the world; both of which consist in large part as an

89 The image of God can be understood as having three aspects: the natural image (that which make one capable of relationship with God - understanding, will and freedom), the political image (God’s endowment of faculties of leadership and management that enable humanity to image God insofar as benevolence is reflected in stewardship of creation) and the moral image (focuses on humanity’s capacities and functions directed by love). Because God is love, humanity is to continually receive and reflect it back to him in obedient works of mercy. Theodore Runyon, “The Renewal of the Image of God,” in The New Creation - John Wesley’s Theology Today (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998). pp. 13-18.

interpretation of Romans 12:1.\textsuperscript{91} As has been established, the Greek word translated ‘spiritual’ is better translated ‘logical’ and therefore the logic of one’s embodiedness, of being created in the image of God, is the presentation of a certain form of being before God and the world. Such logic includes in large part how one relates to others for no action, however ‘private’, does not have implication for life with others. Using the motif of sacrifice as criteria - if any act or form of relatedness with other people can rightly be offered to God as praise of his creation, then it can be appropriately called an exercise of the image of God.\textsuperscript{92} When one speaks of this in terms of protest, then actions on behalf of another and/or with another with respect to injustice could also be considered as an exercising of the political image of God.\textsuperscript{93} If authentic Christian sacrifice is a triune, relational self-giving, then perhaps humans do not reflect the moral or political image of God primarily as individuals but rather is most clearly reflected in relationships characterized by equality, human dignity and mutual love.\textsuperscript{94} Oppression and exploitation of people, however, expose the image of God as a desecrated image, a threatened image, a ‘crucified face of Jesus today’.\textsuperscript{95} In such contexts, humanity is not yet freed to become what they are and yet are created to be. In the confrontation of injustice one draws attention to what is a not yet acknowledged dignity and the reality that until conditions of equality and justice are fully realised, sacrificial protest is needed to bring about such recognition.

6.5.4 Question of Priesthood?

As the one who is both fully God and fully human, Jesus remains the true mediator between the divine and human, the link between God and humanity and the human world. The New Testament uses priestly language to describe the character of the

\textsuperscript{93} The recovery of the political image is about relationality, Any movement towards wholeness can never focus solely on individual relationships and practices but must be corporate endeavours making provision for all voices to be heard if it is to mirror God’s governance of creation. Cartwright, "Seek the Welfare of the City: Where I Place You Into Exile (Towards a Transformative Strategy for the Church's Engagement with Urban Development).” p. 224.
\textsuperscript{94} Frederick Douglas Powe, "John Wesley and James Cone on the Rhetoric and Practice of Justice" (Doctoral, Emory, 2004). pp. 218-242.
Christian community itself (1 Pet 2:5; Rev 1:5,6). If then a Salvationist chooses to engage in sacrificial protest, in what manner is it possible for them to understand their actions as priest and/or mediator? Not in the sense of a separate priesthood, neither in the sense of a spiritual aristocracy or hierarchy in its fellowships, not again in the sense of a required human mediator in order for humanity to speak to God. Despite of and in response to a number marginalised efforts in recent decades to establish a stronger linkage of the liturgically understood priestly office with the role and function of its officer personnel, the 2010 version of the *Handbook of Doctrine* and *Servants Together: Salvationist Perspectives on Ministry* state that all Salvationists are to exercise the ministry of intercession on behalf of one another and the world and that all share equal responsibility for the salvation of the lost.96 This underlies the belief that all are created equal regardless of life’s station and that any share in the priestly office of Christ is divine gift and does not originate from human initiative or decision. In light of this it is reasonable to expect that to the degree that any Salvationist (officer or soldier) chooses to become a conduit for the living Christ to act against injustice, they can understand themselves as both mediator and nexus between the human world and God exposing both the paradox of evil deeds and the light of God’s love.

It has been suggested that in the New Testament sacrificial terminology was ‘spiritualised’.97 While such a tendency existed in inter-testamental Judaism, for the New Testament witnesses it is more accurate to say that they ‘radicalised’ sacrifices according to the pattern laid down by Christ.98 To worship God meant to offer oneself, with one’s words, acts and whole life for God’s glory and purpose. In the same way that baptism can be understood as signifying being crucified, dying, and being buried with Christ in the hope of the resurrection (Rom 6:3-11), so concrete human existence (i.e. our bodies) is to become an on-going sacrifice. It is to be ‘living’, ‘holy’, ‘acceptable’ –

all Old Testament terms descriptive of a victim fit for offering. In this sense everyday Christian life is worship, a participation in Christ’s priesthood by becoming a sacrificial offering of self for others.\(^{99}\) The once for all and wholly sufficient self-sacrifice of Christ need not be repeated but his followers participate in it. In this way they allow the cosmic reconciliation brought by Christ’s sacrifice to become efficacious in new ways and contexts of the world. Unlike later theology which made careful distinctions between Christ’s sacrifice and ours, New Testament authors emphasised the intimate relationship of Christ’s passion and resurrection to the Christian life. Worship as daily life and action is thus wholly centred on Christ, through him and through the power of the Spirit, directed to the Father. In this way the apostle Paul affirms ‘I have been crucified with Christ and it is no longer I who live, but it is Christ who lives in me’(Gal 2:20). In the same manner that offerings without blemish were to be made, so Salvationists must offer up the creation for which they are responsible beginning with their own lives - ‘I am thine O blessed Jesus, washed by thy precious blood; now seal me by thy Spirit, a sacrifice to God’.\(^{100}\) This is only possible as one is conformed to the image of the Son through the Spirit’s enablement. Yet because it is also human work, it can be considered in relative independence. To be the bearer of the political image of God towards the world – to be a ‘guarantor of justice’ or ‘channel of conveyance’ – is to behave towards the world in such a way that it might once again come to be what it was created to be.\(^{101}\)

### 6.5.5 Visible

To flee into invisibility is to deny the call. Any community of Jesus which wants to be invisible is no longer a community that follows him[...].

By entering into the broken body of Christ, the church keeps itself from ‘disappearing’. In that one feeds on the Bread of Life (Christ) and is filled with his life (Jn 10:10), no

---

\(^{99}\) Paul describes ministry as in the priestly service of the gospel and points to the costly obedience to the calling of Christians to live for others as priest (Phil 2:17; 2 Cor 4:7).

\(^{100}\) SASB. Song 609. Verse 4.


\(^{102}\) Bonhoeffer, The Cost of Discipleship. p. 225
evil experienced in this life has the final word.\textsuperscript{103} The concrete way to bear witness to the broken body and shed blood of Christ in a fragmented world is for the church to place its body (bodies) visibly in sacrificial solidarity with those who suffer. That which protesting addresses often finds its roots in the foundations of darkness. Protest as an act against injustice therefore not only brings a light of comfort and healing, it also shines a light on the insidious darkness of human suffering. It brings to light that which is unseemly, unlovely, that which others would prefer to forget or not acknowledge. It demands to be seen and heard, occupying space where injustice has not been acknowledged and where lifeless bodies are invisible to society but nonetheless potential members of Christ’s body.\textsuperscript{104} The contention has been made by retired General Shaw Clifton that invisible Salvationism and silent Salvationism are contradictions in terms and incompatible with what is means to be a Salvationist.\textsuperscript{105} While recognising that advocacy in the public arena is a demanding and at times costly pursuit, he charges Salvationism to take its God-given and Christ-commissioned place in ‘the debating chambers of the nation, in the halls of influence, in the TV studio and radio station. Salvationism has world-formative things to say and dare not, cannot be silent (or invisible). When Salvationism speaks, it speaks for Christ. The price of silence is unthinkable’.\textsuperscript{106} In light of these statements, it is reasonable then to hope that Salvationists will live lives not only with good intentions (as honourable as these might be) but do so in a visible and audible ways regardless of personal cost. They are to be a people who give where God gives, gifted with metanoia, the mind of Christ (1 Cor 2:16) offering their bodies to be broken and blood to be shed precisely where those who crucified Christ will not be found: among the poor, and marginalised.

6.6 Free for Others – Holy and Available

In genuine Christian community when the Spirit rules in freedom, the Spirit ministers to the community in a number of compelling ways – assisting the community in prayer

\begin{itemize}
\item Matthew 25:25-31-46.
\item Ibid.
\end{itemize}
(Eph 6:18); granting gifts to the community and for the sake of the community (Eph 4:11-13; Rom 12:6-8), mediating God’s grace (Eph 1:13-14) and in the sending forth in service (Jn 16:8-11). The Spirit does this both as Paraclete and as the Spirit of Truth; therefore nothing of the believing community can take place apart from the Helper and from what is true. Just as Christ existed for others, so the church must exist not for itself but for others, even if that means suffering with others. Being holy and available is possible only by the Spirit of Freedom (Rom 8) who produces two different and yet interdependent freedoms that exist synergistically. First, a freedom ‘in’ Christ (freedom to participate in the reality of God and the reality of the world at the same time as referenced in Chapter Four) and then a second and ‘higher’ freedom. In the renouncement of perspectival reduction one becomes free to be the person Jesus wants one to be – for others.107 John Clifton argues that Salvationists engage with the world because they can ‘see’ the face of Christ in the face of others. ‘Seeing’ God is not just a disembodied, otherworldly matter but rather involves seeing the divine image in others in the loving act of providing a night’s shelter.108 Here God becomes ‘invisibly present’ in the visibleness of others as taught in Matthew 25. If then, God reveals and makes his presence known through people, greater consideration must be given to the physical well-being and presence of others.109 In considering the freedom Salvationists claim to experience as they protest injustice in sacrificial ways on behalf of the poor and exploited, one returns to Carl Schmitt’s work. Perhaps the deepest issue that Schmitt’s theory of sovereignty raises is the very possibility of freedom – free action and free thought. Because Schmitt was not a defender of individual freedom and chose ‘enemy’ as an organising principle, he rendered any political action, including those marked by sacrifice, as grounded in a ‘politics of fear’.110 For him freedom was the measure and testing of one’s strength in the unrestrained use of force by the sovereign who alone

109Coakley suggests that redemption like resurrection, must have a tangible effect on human bodies and sense. Sarah Coakley, Powers and Submissions: Spirituality, Philosophy and Gender (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002). pp. 130-152.
determined the exception. In contrast, as was demonstrated in Chapter Four, it is only in the subsuming of self to the Father that Christians might share the divine freedom through the Spirit of the one they make present in real space and time. This gifted freedom from the Spirit is a perfected freedom bringing redemption to self and through them to others and then in obedience to that freedom, compelling them to speak out where shalom is absent.

6.7 Protest as Applied Particularity of Sacrifice

The life of discipleship has been described as a dance of life and death but one that comes with the assurance that within the economy of the Kingdom of God, dying is both productive and purposeful (Jn 12:24). Solidarity and protest on behalf of and with others would seem to be premised on a death somewhere within us. Dying as a condition for solidarity and dying as a way to new birth are seen concretely in the life and ministry of Jesus. Precisely because of his suffering and sacrifice, God exalted him, gave him a name which is above every name to which every knee will bow and tongue confess that Jesus is Lord (Phil 2:9-11). For those who engage in protesting injustice, there are a number of affirmations that can be made as they participate in this dance. First, the purpose of God as revealed in sacrifice is that of shalom within the covenant that God has established between himself and his creation; the condition of belonging, being reconciled to God, self, others and the condition of that which is broken being made whole. Eisenbeis’ work effectively links shalom to the purpose of sacrifice: reconciliation. Sacrifice is concerned with gaißheit (the integral whole) and unversehrtheit (the integrity of the one with which the sacrifice is associated). Sacrifice acknowledges the multi-layered ruptures in relationship between Creator and creation and creation within itself but holds that such ruptures in shalom must and indeed can be healed through sacrifice. This is because shalom as a theological term has salvation as part of its root concept. Such an interpretation can be read Christologically. If in sacrifice there is restoration of relationship and a cosmic holism, then sacrifice is

113 Ibid.
making that which is broken, complete; that which is fragmented, whole; replacing that which is empty with fullness. The sacrifice made by Christ in the Atonement, given in his own wholeness, makes possible the restoration of relationship between Creator and creation. The Christ act of protesting against injustice is an applied particularity of sacrifice. Protest that is sacrificial enables God’s people not only to share in the recreation of *shalom* (first in the naming of non-*shalom* where there should be *shalom* but second in the declaration thereof in the name of the One who brings it) but in their selflessness, to facilitate the participation of those voices who have not yet experienced the liberty of God’s *shalom*. In other words, they must act (as did Jesus) on behalf of persons of a community not yet formed. This participation must be the essential work of Salvationists, not done in the sense of gaining merit or favour but rather one that originates in a sanctified imagination that envisions and is convinced of a better world.\(^{114}\) Secondly, sacrifice contributes to the understanding of how protest embodies an element of necessary negation, yet still retains a positive content. It is a negation that births redemptive newness through the power of the Spirit. There can be incarnation without a crucifixion. To protest injustice, to be immersed in solidarity with the exploited is to be vulnerable in those places where one is by nature or by social circumstance strong. *Kenosis* is an ‘accommodative power’, a readiness of self-sacrifice and willingness to humble oneself in a way that ‘hurts’. The Christian scriptures record that Jesus was not simply prepared to fast, pray and go to the synagogue; he made himself nothing in such a manner that there were those who scoffed at the suggestion that he could be the Messiah. Salvationists must become immersed in (or dare it be suggested return to again?) the communities they claim to represent without which they live in danger to repeat the attributed response of French queen Marie Antoinette who when confronted with her people’s basic lack of bread, responded ‘*Qu’ils mangent de la brioche*’ (let them eat cake).

In considering the relationship between atonement and protest, there is also a need to recognise how the past event of the cross of Christ might relate to engagement with

\(^{114}\) The concept of being called into a partnership of sacrifice is explored in ‘The Response God Requires’ Read, *Studies in Sanctification*, p.112.
political issues and bodies in the present. What becomes evident when the death of Jesus is set in the context of his life that confronted unjust practices and structures of power, one can only conclude that atonement must have something to do with how the church is to engage in the redemption and transformation of society. If as Fiddes has suggested that the cross is a creative event which deals with sin by transforming sinful attitudes in the present, then Christians (and specifically Salvationists) must participate in addressing change on a social level for the ‘principalities and powers’ which Christ overcomes are both corporate and individual. This will on occasion require the protesting of unjust practices.\footnote{Fiddes, \textit{Past Event}, p.197} In addition, if the sufferings of Christ are not understood as self-inflicted or a punitive ‘commercial transaction’, nor again as wrath directed at him from the Father, but rather as a voluntarily offering of wounds for the healing and perfection of humanity’s self-pulling nature and as a means of moving humanity to penitence, then communities of faith need to consider not only what individual penitence looks like but what expression penitence for social sin might take. In light of the prominence given to ‘act’, one would assume that a Salvation Army would affirm that only an active movement to remove the cause of social sin constitutes an adequate repentance.\footnote{Ibid.}

There is in the act of protest a realism in the inevitable presence of evil and human inadequacy that sacrifice keeps constantly before the Christian. Sacrifice is an invitation to take part in the ‘fellowship of his sufferings’ (Phil 3:10). There is no place for triumphalism thinking that naively believes it will change the world by sheer effort and enthusiasm. Those who seek to confront injustice are likely to experience the full force of the enemy. In standing against evil in its social and structural expressions, one stands directly at the centre of spiritual opposition. It is also not accidental that those who engage in protest suffer tremendous opposition and in some cases, persecution; battle scars are to be expected. For every advance in the kingdom of light, there is a corresponding advance in the kingdom of darkness. Scripture is clear that confronting the existing order is dangerous and requires sacrifice (Eccl 10:8). Thus, in his Kingdom manifesto, Jesus juxtaposes ‘blessed are the peacemakers’ with ‘blessed are those who ...
are persecuted for the sake of justice’ and ‘blessed are you when people revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account’ (Mt 5:9-11). Jesus’ willingness and that of his followers to sacrifice in order to elicit the best from unjust situations is a reminder that apart from such willingness to sacrifice and risk no good can either emerge nor evil be redeemed. If there was another way, or this world was perfect as God intends it to be eschatologically, sacrificial protest would not be necessary. Since sacrifice underscores prevenient grace, every protest against injustice must be understood as both a prayer and a hope that each protest might and can be the occasion for shalom. Sacrifice recognises that evil is so deeply a part of the created order that it cannot be avoided but paradoxically is best dealt with by confronting it directly. However, underlying this strategy of response to evil is the conviction that in divine sovereignty, God will in grace transform evil into redemption and unleash his power of reconciliation through the Body of Christ. Precisely because sacrifice does speak of the human sharing of God’s grace, it also averts the humanist critique which sees in sacrifice a call to weakness. Sacrifice and protest both express statements of intention and confidence. They are affirmations of one’s willingness to be a part of the divine redemptive process. Where sacrifice demands the acceptance of a moral obligation to change things that are known to be evil and calls for obedience to God’s moral command, protesting oppressive practices is a visible response to that moral obligation. If all of creation is sacred, sin is the desecration of that creation and reconciliation is the re-consecration of desecrated spaces. If the people of God raise redemptive voices and are present in the public arena, cities and neighbourhoods can be reclaimed in the name of Christ not because of headquarter edicts or mission statements but because the Body of Christ intentionally, without reservation or consideration of personal risk, incarnates the redemptive and reconciling love of God in sacrificial ways. But in addition to intention is an expression of confidence; confidence that in protest the divine power to transform evil into redemption is indeed available and efficacious. Such a perspective is both optimistic and eschatological, now and not yet. Such confidence is aware of the significance of structures, movements and historical processes but dares to evaluate and confront them in light of the Gospel. The fellowship called into life by

---

Christ’s own self-giving serves to provide the nexus of both worlds – the meeting of heaven on earth. It does so through protesting that which is unjust, through solidarity with the suffering of people and through participation in the representative work of Christ in the Spirit.

6.8 Summary

Linking sacrifice with protest is ontological in that it is one lens through which Salvationists may interpret reality. Envisioning life in this manner allows a Salvationist to understand their protesting not just as evidence of faith in Jesus but as emulations of Jesus’ own actions. Acting as the agent of God’s redemption, reconciliation and re-creation, Jesus by his Spirit advances God’s just cause against the reality and power of evil in all its forms (Rom 1:18; 8:38,39). Rather than displace humanity from action and render them passive, however, Jesus’ life ‘in them’ can render them not only capable of but absolutely free to actively participate and live out as gift as his body for others. ‘Obedience unto death’ is the only path of genuine fruitfulness and spiritual power in acts of protesting injustice. In Jesus’ ministry there was much to tempt and distract from a life of sacrifice (Mt 4:1-11; Lk 4:1-13). In the same manner, those who wish to serve the poor are under constant pressure to reduce the work and risk of protest to a matter of mere economics or strong political will. While Jesus fed the poor (feeding of the 5,000 was an economic miracle) and remained sufficiently independent of political authorities, it is worth remembering that Jesus also understood his command from the Father as nothing less than the wrestling of the world order from the strongholds of evil (Jn 12:31). Sacrifice then importantly reminds Salvationists that in protesting evil one’s self-interest is only part of something larger that is working itself out in the concrete particularity and therefore stands as a guard against self-interest that is too narrow. It challenges one to redefine self-interest in such a way one sees serving the marginalised in protest is in fact self-interest.

If has been proposed it is true that sacrifice speaks of the way in which protesting injustice is part of the larger will of God while at the same time marking out a place for a wholesome and necessary synergy of the human and the divine, then sacrifice aims
ultimately at freedom – free to be holy and available - for God and for others. Just as early Christians carried their sacrifices to a literal altar of blood and fire, Salvationists have historically marched behind a ‘blood and fire flag’, denying self and carrying their bodies, for Christ’s sake, to the crowded spaces and crises in the margins where sacrifice is needed to protest injustice in ways that make Christian faith intelligible. Why? Because there must be a response to participate in a ‘boundless salvation’, a salvation war fought on two fronts – the personal and social, one which saves ‘from the uttermost to the uttermost’ – in this world and the next.118

Because such a salvation is for ‘both worlds’119, the sacrificial act of protesting injustice must be examined in light of the eschaton and the redemption and reconciliation of creation. It is to these ultimate concerns that the next chapter addresses.

118 SASB. Song 509. See also Green, War on Two Fronts: The Redemptive Theology of William Booth. p.102.
Chapter 7
THY KINGDOM COME – THY WILL BE DONE

Authentic Christian protest is never conducted in isolation. As with all Christian practice, while done in immediate and particular contexts, each act signs beyond itself to its ultimate purpose: the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth as taught by Jesus to his disciples ‘thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven’ (Mt 6:9-13, Lk 11:2-4).

Protesting the world-as-it-is in contradistinction to the world-as-it-should-be indicates that the present world is neither the final word regarding its rule and sovereignty nor representative of the quality of relationship or shalom that the Creator purposed in creation. Christian protest then speaks to what is of ultimate importance and purpose – the reign of God in Christ by the Spirit over the created order.

It is the intention in this chapter to place protest within the eschatological purposes of the Kingdom of God with particular reference to the gospels of Matthew and Luke who emphasise its manifesto and mission and declare the Kingdom of Heaven to reside within those who claim allegiance to Jesus Christ. If protest as a Christian practice decry the lack of shalom it must do so in light of the Kingdom values of love, mercy, dignity and inclusion. It must speak to the radical nature of the Kingdom as good news particularly for the poor and marginalised. Placing protest within Kingdom context also requires focusing on the eschatological nature of the Kingdom, eternal and timeless, yet present in Christ’s sovereignty and rule. The demands of the Kingdom command one to consider the role of protest in relation to that which is ultimate – sacrifice, freedom, truth and the reign of God over fallen powers which enslave humanity.

This is done through an examination of ‘heaven on earth’ noting its dynamic and transformational nature, both prophetic and sacramental. The place of the human body within the created order as a manifestation of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth is explored referencing Hilary of Poitier’s claim that redeemed humanity is the kingdom.
The chapter concludes by considering the implications of a community that reorders a shared world where all may flourish.

7.1. Ultimate and Penultimate Matters

‘What one believes about the end of things affects how one feels about the world in which one lives and one’s attitude towards efforts to make the world a better place’.1 The teaching of Scripture cautions the disciple that the present earth provides neither permanent citizenship nor final residency (Phil 3:20) and that one’s identity and hope can only be found in Jesus Christ, Saviour and Lord of the cosmos. The divine promise and hope of a new heaven and earth at the end of time is given for the purpose of orienting lives towards God’s future for humanity which is no less than the redemption of all things. Rummel has rightly pointed out that ‘Christian hope is eschatological because in the coming return of Christ it looks for the complete achievement of justice to be realised’.2 The church as the Body of Christ is to be a bearer of hope in this world particularly to those lives marked by deprivation and exploitation and to demonstrate in visible ways that God is closest to those in deepest need. The proper response to a world that is not-as-it-should-be is action and while human action itself does not birth life in God; there are particular human actions that God requires, one of which is the protesting of unjust actions.3 While every act of protest takes place in the penultimate, ‘the place in God’s economy that humanity currently occupies’, its significance reaches far beyond what it accomplishes in the immediate.4 These concrete interventions in a fallen and unjust world represent ultimate spiritual realities. To those who argue that the present and future worlds have no bearing on one another, Pannenberg responds ‘To love the preliminary is no small thing…hope for the coming Kingdom knows that ultimate fulfilment is beyond human powers to effect. Yet far from being condemned to inactivity, we are inspired to prepare this present for the future. Such preparation is the

3 Tanner, “Eschatology and Ethics”,p.53. See also Micah 6:8.
work of hope carried out by love’. The eleventh doctrine of The Salvation Army gives voice to the Christian conviction regarding penultimate matters and speaks of the life of holiness as a ‘practice of future hope’ in the present. Known in Wesleyan theology as ‘processive eschatology’, it implies the value placed on the present dimension of God’s gracious salvific work, reinforcing the conviction that the present dimension is not a static reality and that the future God has proposed for humanity and the created order is not characterised by the pain of families living in poverty or vulnerable to human trafficking (Rev 2:4). Paradoxically this practice of hope finds its home in the present with a refusal to accept the world-as-it-is and a declaration of the world-as-it-should-be and will be one day.

7.2 Heaven is a Wonderful Place
Christianity speaks of heaven as the place of peace and perfection, the final ultimate ‘destination’ of the redeemed, a distinct place, unlike any imperfect and finite location. It has been described as ‘home’ to ultimate flourishment of its inhabitants, where sorrow, disease and injustice have no place and where knees bow and tongues confess that Jesus is Lord of life and cosmos to the glory of the Father (Phil 2:10,11). Heaven can never be completed by human hands alone for if possible, heaven would then be finite and finite places are but one place amongst many. Heaven then is infinite and is a divine work, not limited to space and time. Jesus in his teaching spoke about the nature and function of heaven in Matthew’s gospel as yeast in leaven (13:33), a treasure hidden in a field (13:44), a pearl of great price (13:45-46), a landowner (20:1), a king giving a wedding feast (22:2) and as a man who sowed good seed (13:24-53). Entrance to heaven is conditioned upon one turning from sin and becoming as a child (18:3). Heaven has also been referred to as ‘a question of practice; both an impossibility and a necessity, a task never completed but always undertaken in the fulfilment of life’.

7.3 Heaven on Earth

In the Christian Scriptures, ‘the Kingdom of God is the broadest, most comprehensive horizon of hope for the general well-being of the world’. Synonymous to the Kingdom of God, which speaks of the sovereignty, rule and presence of God, is the Kingdom of Heaven, which references the scope of the reign of God. The focal point and central theme of all that Jesus did was the Kingdom of God and by his own declaration, inaugurated its reign (Lk 4). His disciples are called to seek first the Kingdom (Mt 6:33), receive the Kingdom (Lk 19:2), sacrifice for the sake of the Kingdom (2 Thess 1:5) and become the Kingdom (Lk 17:21). Salvation Army teaching places a particular emphasis on the present reality of the Kingdom. The Kingdom of God to be established is termed the ‘reign of righteousness’ one mark of which is ‘righteous government, just laws and the equitable administration of them’, each advancing human flourishing. When the grace of God transforms individual lives the life of the Kingdom is experienced in the present yet only completed in glory. (Mt 17:9; Lk 7:22; 11:14-20). It is ‘a state to be enjoyed on earth: the proper disposition for the glory of Heaven, rather than the possession of it’. The establishment of the Kingdom on earth is beyond the acceptance and rule of the Kingdom in one’s heart. Inward acceptance of this rule must be evidenced by the social dimension of grace in outward acts of love which impact the world and bring it under the reign of God (Mt 5:13). God’s reign has an active presence in current reality through the work of the Spirit in and through believers. This Kingdom is formed of divine power, is visible and exercised to point to Jesus’ authority over evil. The Kingdom ‘breaks into’ the world (though not of it) to demonstrate the comprehensive power that is yet to be, allowing humanity to experience victory over evil in the present.

---

10 The gospels of Matthew and Luke in particular present teaching regarding the way of the Kingdom and the power of the Kingdom. The use of ‘Kingdom of Heaven’ is distinctive to Matthew, while Luke and Mark speak of the ‘Kingdom of God’.
11 HOD, p.224.
13 HOD. p.238.
The meeting of heaven and earth which the author of Ephesians describes as the marriage of Christ and the church (5:21-33) and which the book of Revelation depicts as a descent of heavenly Jerusalem to the earth (Rev 21-22) captures a sense of the earth’s possibilities and of humanity’s with it. This same longing is evident in Romans 8:18-25 when speaking of creation groaning for the revealing of the children of God, a description of the desire for the salvation of creation.  

To speak of heaven and earth is to ‘read and interpret the signs of God in the midst of the signs of life’ and to do so ‘for the sake of the coming of God’s kingdom’. Essential to the prophetic task of naming and reimagining a broken world is the question ‘what if the world-as-it-is could be different’? Those who have experienced ‘heaven on earth’ know how to envision a different future, envision new possibilities and declare amidst injustice ‘the kingdom of heaven is like…’ To speak of heaven on earth is not to limit one’s concern with transformative possibilities in the present. To return to midwifery terminology, heaven on earth is also the ‘womb’ of the future as one cannot build ‘surrogate’ heavens on earth at the expense of the poor and marginalised. Therefore in each act of protest there is the awareness that further transformations of the world are yet needed and ultimately a new heaven and earth birthed.

In consequence of these insights, a number of threads may now be drawn regarding protest within the parameters of heaven and earth. First, because of God’s prevenient mercy extended to humanity, it is possible to extend mercy to others in self-giving ways as a demonstration that mercy as a core value of the Kingdom is at work in the world (Mt 18:33). Because judgment of the nations at the end of the world is based on works of mercy (Mt 25:31-46), faithfulness to this passage entails a relationship between the oppressed and those of relative privilege. As demonstrated in Chapter Three, works of mercy for Salvationists are a means of grace in their life in the world as a lived expression of holiness. One of these works of mercy is the act of protesting the absence of shalom amongst the world’s most vulnerable in response to the rule of the Kingdom

15 Terry A Veiling, Practical Theology "On Earth as it is in Heaven" (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 2005), p.54.
of Darkness. Second, to the extent that a disciple (and by extension the church) is the body of Christ in whom Christ dwells by his Spirit (1 Cor 6:19) it can also be said following Hilary of Poitier that a disciple of Christ is the Kingdom of God, a place where God’s will is both realised ‘now’ and ‘not yet’. Inasmuch as Jesus promised his disciples that they would in fact share in his glory (Mat 13:43), they are conformed to the glory of his body as he dwells within them. Being conformed to the glory of his body, disciples both ‘are’ and will ‘become’ the Kingdom of God that the Son will one day present to the Father (Lk 17:21). Therefore, inasmuch as the act of protesting injustice simultaneously confronts non-shalom and announces the Kingdom of God and is done in the name of the one who is Kingdom, this act must be considered a Kingdom act, an act of Christ, an act of mercy. Such an act is ‘blessed’ (Mt 5:7). But to what extent is the act free? And to whom is it free for?

7.4 Freedom
‘Responsibility and freedom are mutually corresponding concepts...responsibility is human freedom that exists only by being bound to God and neighbour’. What ultimately motivates participation of Kingdom people in the liberating practice of protest is a conviction of incompatibility between the message of the gospel and an unjust society. Two important eschatological inferences regarding freedom may be drawn when speaking of the Kingdom act of protest. The first is that authentic freedom is realised only in the complete surrender of self will and interest to the Lord of the cosmos. One of the paradoxes of the Christian life is that one is only ‘master’ of one’s life when one becomes ‘slave’ to Christ, bound in loyalty and service in this life and the one to follow. One is ‘responsibly free’ only as one demonstrates ‘continued obedient

17 Speech by then Commissioner Paul Rader at the 1993 High Council of The Salvation Army. Rader and Rader, To Seize This Day of Salvation.p.22.
18 Within the framework of 2 Corinthians 15, Christ handing the Kingdom over to the Father is nothing other than the final stage of the assumption of all humanity: he is the kingdom and he assumes all humanity into the kingdom through his body. He hands this kingdom over to the Father just as he hands everything he is to the Father because he has received it from him. Ellen Scully, Physicalist Soteriology in Hilary of Poitiers (Leiden: Brill, 2015).p.179.
19 Bonhoeffer, Ethics, 6.p.283
faith in Christ’. Surrender is not only understood in terms of self-will and interest but also acts in ways deemed necessary in light of the gospel imperative to share good news to the captives. In the surrender of the self and ‘goodness’ to God, decisions are understood to be made under divine guidance and actions considered as God’s own free actions performing the eschaton.

Here is a creative freedom of possibilities which imagines a world-as-it-should-be within the present constraints of the world-as-it-is. Here, too is a ‘curious’ freedom that defines itself not in terms of power but paradoxically in the empowerment and freedom of others including creation. The freedom that comes about in Christ-centred acts of protest is a freedom of creation set free. As all of creation is united under the cosmic Lordship of Christ, any action which sets one creature free is a participation in the freedom for all creation. Because everything in heaven and on earth is united under the Lordship of Christ, any freedom received by creation is never owned by creation itself but rather belongs to the one who perfects it. It is only within this ultimate perspective that any claim can be made regarding the good of actions taken within history. If one accepts that protest is a Kingdom act of mercy, (divine in origin and purpose), then one becomes free through concrete action for others by participating in the free action of Christ for others.

7.5 Truth

Over and against a world which embraces relativism, the Christian claim is not only that there is absolute truth but that the one who is truth (Jn 14:6) is Lord of the cosmos. Truth is a moral issue for humanity for it exposes that which is of ultimate importance in people’s lives. Protest speaks to the reality of the world-as-it-is, unveiling the inadequacy and unacceptability of a worldview which permits exploitation and oppression of its inhabitants and makes the counter claim that humanity has been made in the image of its Creator and therefore has inestimable value. While Christians do not speak ‘as’ God, the reality is that Christians claim to speak ‘for’ God. Truth spoken in

---

protest is not an exercise of self-aggrandisement for followers of Jesus are under divine orders to ‘speak truth to the powers’ and capture attention of those both present and hidden. Their authority is derived from the name in which they act. The act of protest makes claim that the Christian God to whom Christians declare their ultimate loyalty and allegiance is present in infinite power and the truth spoken on behalf of others becomes his, proclaiming freedom to the captives reminiscent of Luke 4. Truth spoken demands that those who hear it must decide like Pilate, whose truth they will accept and whether the counter-imagination of a better world is to be accepted. Truth spoken has eternal consequences and is non-negotiable in its claims. The Kingdom of God is near; therefore, repent and believe. (Mk 1:14-15).

7.6 Cosmic Battleground
The image of the Christian as a faithful soldier, protesting principalities and powers which assault both body and soul is much favoured by New Testament writers, perhaps the best known passage of which is Ephesians 6:11-17 where disciples are called to engage in the warfare of peace-making and put on ‘the full armour of God’ with the challenge to ‘stand’ against the rulers of the darkness. It should come as no surprise that the image of warfare where the cosmic battle of good and evil has prominence and where the work of Christ as both redeemer and victor over the forces of evil, resonates with The Salvation Army. Where the language of warfare speaks in terms of providing an adequate response to the pain and depravity of a hungry and hurting world, the emphasis of discipline, obedience and sacrifice has a paradoxical appeal. The ‘salvation soldier’ is a figure both of power and powerlessness, symbolizing the might of the Kingdom they serve yet existing only as part of a larger mission with their chief value lying in readiness to obey. Acts of protest presuppose that there is an essential conflict

---

between the world-as-it-is and the world-as-it-should-be. The ‘battle’ between justice and injustice, order and chaos, while waged in the public spheres of society, is ultimately contested on a cosmic plane, each protest a confrontation for acknowledged supremacy, the central issue being that of God’s authority and rule. Kingdom people measure fallen society by Kingdom norms as established by Jesus in his life, death and resurrection. Because they know the linear direction of his-story, they are a hope-full people and protest unjust actions, confronting people to move, however, imperfectly towards the eschaton. The fact that these limited results may be termed ‘justice’ in no way discourages their efforts as one day the Lord will return and complete their work (Rev 22:2, Eph 1:10; Rom 8:21). In the confrontation of injustice, one is faced with perpetual Good Fridays where it would appear Caesar reigns; however, such reign is temporary and limited by space and time. It must always give way to Easter. Men and women of warfare know that ultimate triumph is not determined by immediate victory.

7.7 Sacrifice
Sacrifice is a lens through which one interprets life, the world and ultimate reality. As was identified in Chapter Six, there is a cosmic scope to sacrifice. The act of sacrifice is grounded in the ultimate cause of any of God’s actions: to restore and transform fallen humanity and so bring divine purposes to completion and the renewal of all creation. Just as God’s redemptive love is predicated by the idea that the world can be changed, acts of protesting injustice are based on the certitude that sacrificial self-giving is redemptive and holds the potentiality for redeeming and transforming humanity. It is in humanity’s self-giving that it discovers what it means to be a kenotic servant. As the sacrifice of Christ is both universal and cosmic in scope, any sacrificial participation in his name and for his safe on behalf of others is also then universal and cosmic as the Spirit continues the work of reconciling all things to himself (Col 1:20) in order to make ‘the sacrifice complete’. Every act of protest against injustice must make clear that not only is this world passing away but that it is the continual focus of God’s redemptive

resolve by the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world in order to reveal the endless, self-giving character of God toward his creation (Rev 13:8). Just as purposeful, cruciform, self-sacrificial sending is intrinsic to God’s own life, being sent in a cruciform, purposeful and self-sacrificial way must be intrinsic to the church being the church. Because God is a missionary God, divine mission never comes to an ‘end’. There is an eschatological continuation to God’s mission. For all eternity, the Father will continue to send the Son and Spirit to bring shalom and joy to creation.

### 7.8 Sacramental Sensibilities

Philip Sheldrake speaks of a ‘sacramental sensibility’ that understands the divine to be accessible through the human, the universal through the particular, the transcendent through the contingent, the spiritual through the material.  

Similar to Jesus of Nazareth, humanity makes themselves through signs, claiming to be read, questioned and answered. Jesus acted for a community which was yet to be realised but each of his acts were signs of the promised shalom and stood at odds with the religious and political status quo of his time. Sign making as understood within protest act is an action of hope, the hope that this world-as-it-is might become the world-as-it-should-be and speaks to the fact that ‘all human significant action arises from the primordial action, the art and sign, of a God committed to drawing our lives into the order of healing and communion’.

Sacramental theology acknowledges the agency of Jesus Christ and the Spirit to be at work through signs of sacrament and the materiality of the human body at the point of movement that it acts in his name. This emerges from an understanding that in the giving of the Spirit at Pentecost, the body of Jesus was irreversibly transformed into the world and therefore makes it present for humanity in its own particular realities. The reception of this life makes one a mode of his hidden presence and power when acting in his name. Just as within the Catholic tradition where the Spirit is understood to be

---

31 Ibid, p. 203.
concealed in baptismal waters or the body and blood of Christ in Eucharistic bread and wine, so too, can the exalted Christ and Spirit be concealed in bodily movement when acting in love in concrete ways in his name.\textsuperscript{33}

The \textit{imitation Christi}, while open to repetition, is never merely repetition. It reveals itself as the \textit{innovation Spiritu}, which Harvey says is the ‘always more original’ presence of Christ in the world in, with, and under his body politic.\textsuperscript{34} The form of Christ, the God who became human, crucified and now risen, takes form in humanity in quite different ways ‘re-narrating and re-realising Christ’.\textsuperscript{35} To use sacramental language, each act of protest against unjust practices finds its dignity and value from the one who expresses self-sacrifice through it, who says with Christ ‘this is my body, broken for you’ (Lk 22:19). The space where protest takes place is sacramental in nature for in its broadest sense, a sacrament communicates the transcendent through material means. One speaks of a sacramental sensibility in protest in part because it is one way to describe the continuing presence of Christ in the world. Yet any acknowledgment of such a sensibility in a loving act must first be ascribed to Christ who through the Spirit dwells in a believer. Jesus alone remains the primordial sacrament as Jesus is the ultimate revelation of God’s character and grace to the world.\textsuperscript{36}

7.9 Place

In his work on ‘land’ as a central theme of biblical faith, Walter Brueggemann argues that it is within the spatial connections of human life that one most deeply encounters the meaning of existence.

Place is space which has historical meanings, where some things have happened which are now remembered and which provide continuity and identity across generations. Place is space in which important words have been spoken which have established identity, defined vocation and

\textsuperscript{33} Fiddes and Taylor both suggest that as the body may provide a place of encounter with the movements of the triune God, pastoral workers might be regarded as ‘living sacraments’. Fiddes, \textit{Participating in God - A Pastoral Doctrine of the Trinity}, p. 295. Taylor, \textit{Like a Mighty Army? The Salvation Army, the Church and the Churches}. p. 252.


envisioned destiny. Place is space in which vows have been exchanged, promises have been made and demands have been issued. Place is indeed a protest against an uncompromising pursuit of space. It is a declaration that our humanness cannot be found in escape, detachment, absence of commitment and undefined freedom[...]  

The doctrine of the Incarnation speaks of God’s commitment in Jesus Christ to such a placed nature, the nature of discipleship. By entering the world and taking on human flesh, God in Jesus becomes committed to and thus redeems humanity and spaces where humans dwell.  

Place is always a contested rather than a simple reality and therefore any human engagement with place is a political issue. Place is political because the way it is constructed means that it is occupied by some and not by others. What one sees in active, enacted Christian protest against injustice is Jesus making the world and us his place as we open ourselves to the demands of neighbours, known and unknown. All human beings seem to turn space into place. Christ does this for the Catholic tradition through the sacraments. If catholic sacramentalism is essentially about Jesus turning space into his place, then the discussion of ‘place theology’, (Jesus in act inhabiting the Salvationist), in one’s freedom made pristine by Trinitarian presence, comes into view. If true, then it strengthens the ultimate purpose found in freedom. One becomes free in embodiment or constraint where his freedom and sovereignty transform us as acting persons. The humanity of Jesus is to turn the world into his place (which is called Kingdom).

7.10 Shared World

Eschatology is ultimately about ownership and the truth regarding ownership. Locating protest within the eschaton speaks to matters of ultimate allegiance and loyalty to the Lord of creation. Of the four models in eschatological thinking, Simon Cartwright correctly sees the salvation history perspective (where Christian mission is to assist with

38 ‘Dwelling’ implies commitment - ‘the Word became flesh and lived among us’ (Jn 1:14).
bringing the future kingdom into the present) as the one most clearly related to eschatological *shalom*. This perspective understands that while Christ has inaugurated his Kingdom and despite the fact that it will not be fully realised until the second coming, the church’s commitment to eschatological *shalom* has social implications to create a just future in the present. As a consequence, Salvationists must seek every possibility to bring heaven, as the promise of the future, into the reality of this world. This they can do in the Christ act of protest - challenging unjust practices against the poor and marginalised and bringing to bear matters of ultimate importance: truth, freedom and sacrifice.

Drawing attention to the eschatological values found within the Christ act of protest also brings a renewed emphasis on the hope and victory of the Christian life (1 Pet 3:15). The impact of eschatological thinking is that it speaks to the importance of correcting a Christianity which at times has become too individualistic in its focus. Forward thinking faith engages in the present social realities because it is motivated by a creative hope – a hope that this world can be changed. In this sense, protesting injustice contributes to the importance of a Salvationist political and public theology that focuses on the biblical message that the world-as-it-is is not the world-as-it-should be.

The eschatological community is one that is radical in its understanding of how humanity is to be treated and is committed to reordering a shared world where everyone can flourish, not simply in terms of legal and human rights but in ultimate enjoyment that is relational in nature – with God and with one another. While ultimate *shalom* awaits the *eschaton*, Christians (and by extension humanity) have a responsibility to participate in what God is doing to establish penultimate expressions of *shalom* for the earth. In a shared world the task is to ask what it might mean to be a steward of *shalom*.

---

in a world characterised by social inequality and injustice. As part of the created order, humanity is responsible for the manner in which it engages with the rest of creation.\textsuperscript{43} The act of protesting injustice speaks to the truth of a shared world. All are equally created in the image of God yet are differently positioned in the world.\textsuperscript{44} In affirming that humanity is a steward of \textit{shalom}, one must affirm that all, regardless of gender, economic worth or social position, have equal dignity and value and a God given right to the use of the earth’s resources to meet their needs. One is therefore required to address structures that concentrate economic power in the hands of the minority at the expense of the majority. While such stewardship entails lifestyle choices about what one consumes and how to best invest resources, it also requires deliberate attempts to protest the economic, social and political structures of society that promote non-\textit{shalom}. If humanity is to reflect the character of God, then it must share God’s identification with the poor and marginalised. To those of privilege and in possession of choice, this demands nothing less than the adoption of the kenotic attitude of Christ (Phil 2) and the pursuance of structures and strategies that bring justice to others regardless of the impact upon one’s personal lifestyle. For those who experience marginalisation, it means taking course to assert right of voice to access and use of the earth’s resources in accordance with God’s purposes. For all, it means being prepared to adopt a sacrificial attitude for the good of the earth and its inhabitants.

With an increase in awareness that humanity lives in a shared world, more have access to opportunities to flourish and be in direct relationship to its Creator. This is the blessed life in communion with God, other human beings and all other creatures. For God’s sake \textit{shalom} cannot be limited to individuals. It must remain accessible to all. Whatever humanity experiences of it is but a beginning and an anticipation of the ultimate \textit{shalom} that will one day bring life eternal to all. The Christ act of protesting injustice then is not a defence of heaven as it needs no defence. Protest is an act which keeps heaven before humanity in an ever present way.

\textsuperscript{43} Marshall identifies the cultural mandate of Genesis 1:28 as a central text in establishing Christian responsibility to continually shape creation in the image of God with the essential implication that falling from God in sin did not alter its mandate. Marshall, \textit{Thine is the Kingdom: A Biblical Perspective on the Nature of Government and Politics Today}.p.27.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid. p. 394.
Chapter 8
Living Right While Righting Wrong

One of the clearest lessons from church history is that the church has always been most faithful when it returns to its biblical, spiritual roots for then it has been freed to be most creative in challenging the spiritual, social and economic crises of the time. Crises call for radical reappraisals of perceived reality and radical measures to move forward. The early church radicalised its understanding of sacrifice, offering its words, acts and life for God according to the pattern laid by Jesus Christ. In the same sense, a nineteenth century Christian mission radicalised its understanding of sanctified discipleship taking the form of militant soldiers of Christ prepared to win the world for God at deep personal cost. Today, known as The Salvation Army, it is a visible expression of personal and corporate holiness, true to its radical roots in that it adopts counter cultural political, social, or religious ideals and publically protests injustices experienced by the poor and marginalised of society. This is radical discipleship actively engaged in the battle for humanity’s body and soul.¹ This army marches to war protesting against injustice and paradoxically proclaims redemptive shalom.

The use of the term ‘radical’ throughout this thesis in describing The Salvation Army practice of protesting injustice has been intentional. Derived from the Latin radix meaning root, the word ‘radical’ carries with it both definitions of newness and extremity as well as a returning to and re-centring of one’s roots and beginnings. In a time when radicalisation is commonly understood as an adoption of extreme political, social and religious ideals that undermine personal freedoms, this thesis has proposed that Salvation Army protest must remain radically self-disinterested, sacrificial and participative of the triune God’s redemptive activity in the world. This exercise of volitional freedom to receive God’s character makes possible a teleological freedom in

which Salvationists invite the risen and exalted Christ to act in self-giving, sacrificial ways. This freedom to express God’s character is freedom to collaborate with the Spirit and to seek the highest good of others. Such a freedom extends to imagining the world-as-it-should-be and radically setting them free for others and in the process to discover what is means to be truly human. Christian protest against injustice on behalf of the poor and exploited is expressive of its first theological and biblical principles in order that the world might ‘re-orient, refocus and re-emerge into a fuller, more informed and effective future’.

What has been woven implicitly throughout this thesis must now be made explicit, namely that missio Dei, holiness and embodied witness are key theological concepts in the construction of a broadly Christian and specifically Salvationist response to injustice. By refusing to relegate the idea of humans becoming holy to the realm of individual inward piety or to the realm of the impossible prior to Christ’s return, it has been argued that God’s primary means of making people holy is through participation in his redemptive, reconciling mission of bringing the created order to its intended destiny – shalom. As part of the Body of Christ one is personally and corporately shaped by the Spirit into the image of the cruciform Son and thereby restored into the image of the imago Dei. This is possible only through the transformed embodiment of the risen and exalted Christ, who by the Spirit is hidden yet present in power in the lives of those who act in his name protesting injustice against the world’s poor and marginalised. The Salvation Army is in its protesting of injustices but one compelling example of how the shape and practice of a faith community might commit to these missional ends.

Because The Salvation Army has been led by the concerns of practice, Chapters One and Two provided the framework for a theology of protest as a second order account of first order theology. It also identified the work as a public and political theology insofar as The Salvation Army is a living tradition engaged with its public environment desiring to provide theological underpinnings for its political discourse and participation. Recognising the diversity of etymology surrounding justice, it was necessary to establish

---

a number of working definitions as well as identify the Salvationist vocation in their response to the question ‘what does God call one to do?’ The presentation of Salvation Army vocation within a new theological framework required significant historic details in order that a prophetic identity in Salvationist praxis might be established. Chapter Three was, therefore, extensive in its identification of works of piety and works of mercy practiced by the first Salvationists. While grounded in its Wesleyan theological roots, this section clearly identified how early Salvationists adopted and adapted what were considered radical practices in order to facilitate their divine call to participate in God’s redemptive mission for the world. Key historic protest documents, *In Darkest England, Social Reparation* and *Salvation for Both Worlds* laid bare the conviction that the principles that governed William Booth’s world did not reflect the values of the Kingdom of God and that the protesting of such injustices towards the poor and marginalised proved the only Christian course of response. Examination of The Salvation Army’s protests against labour sweating practices and human trafficking revealed the transformative nature of the Salvationist sacrificial act. Chapter Four revealed the all too present danger that every generation may lose the organic and intuitiveness of the first generation prophetic voice unless there is intentionality in its practices. The Body of Christ is ever vulnerable to dichotomous theological thinking and bifurcation of practice as The Salvation Army experienced in the twentieth century. As Salvationists re-embraced their historic mandate of the marginalised becoming named and included, a radical return to first principles was realised. A renewed grounding in Trinitarian participation in purpose for the world sees this expressing a radical dependency on the Spirit’s empowerment, thereby opening the possibility of becoming radically free in their protesting against injustices on behalf of others. Living right while righting wrong must be firmly grounded in Jesus’ own radical identification with the poor and marginalised. Therefore Chapter Five was structured around the divine intent of *shalom* for human community, the inclusivity of the marginalised in the ministry of Jesus, the purity system of the temple and its relationship to holiness, *imitatio Dei* and the reign of God present in the world. The Christian Scriptures provide radical choices that can reorient human concerns toward human need. The world gains new possibilities when one gives to another. Yet such potentiality only becomes real
when they are appropriated. Chapter Six confirmed that authentic Christian protest is firmly grounded in sacrifice as one’s ‘reasonable service’. It further proposed that the past event of the Atonement is in fact present salvation for Christians and the world. In interpreting this past event as one of victory for those who protest in the name of the one who sacrificed his life, confidence is given that such redemptive activity actualises Kingdom. Chapter Seven brought the work to conclusion by placing the Christ act of protesting injustice within the ultimate purposes and eschatological framework of the Kingdom of God and discussed the implications of a community in a shared world where all flourish.

8.1 Marching on the Margins
While elements of identity have already been established for the twenty-first century Salvationist, this thesis contributes further to that understanding particularly as it relates to the Salvationist response to evil in the form of injustice. Increasingly, Salvationists are acknowledging their prophetic responsibility of speaking truth to power. In light of this, they must choose to continue to participate in the Triune God’s redemptive activities of the world. If its practices are grounded Christologically with regard to unjust powers and systems that oppress the poor and marginalised, Christ by his Spirit will make his presence visible through Salvationist’s lives. In light of this it should be impossible for a Salvationist to remain indifferent or invisible to injustice. Compelled by divine love to act in his name, theirs must be a sacrificial freedom toward God and others. To call oneself a Salvationist then must be to model one’s very existence after the crucified and resurrected Christ, both in self-denial and in solidarity with the poor and oppressed. The paradox is that being rooted and yet bound in Christ will free Salvationists to be deeply in the world, at the margins of human acceptability, yet at the very centre of God’s heart and interest. By deriving their norms of protest not from orders and regulations but from the person of Jesus as ultimate exemplar, Salvationists will then be able to discern appropriate acts and levels of protest in their respective contexts. By ‘standing in the gap’ and protesting non-shalom where there should be

---

3 Clifton, Who Are These Salvationists? An Analysis for the Twenty First Century.
4 Webb, Castle, and Court, Holiness Incorporated - Living and Working Beyond Corporate Integrity.pp.55-68.
shalom, they can do so, not in the power of self (because in human frailty they, like the rest of humanity, are part of the problem) but in the power and name of the ‘sacrificed Lamb who rules and demonstrates that sovereignty is servanthood’. The answer to the question posed in Chapter Two ‘can one be an invisible Salvationist, a non-serving Salvationist or a non-sacrificial Salvationist?’ is now evident. Invisible Salvationism must be a contradiction in terms. Neither can it permissible for a Salvationist to be ‘morally mute’. Samuel Logan Brengle stated it in these terms

Jesus was not a whisperer. Scripture does not record him standing close to a disciple speaking in an ear, concerned that someone might hear him say something he did not want others to hear. He met people and spoke directly and frankly...he spoke only truth to others and to those in power (John 18:37) and calls those who call him Lord to follow in his steps (1 Peter 1:21).

While it may be true that The Salvation Army has had an invisible ecclesiology for much of its history, it cannot be claimed that it has been an invisible part of the Body of Christ.

The life of discipleship is about creative possibilities. The upside-down nature of the Kingdom of God sees children instructing politicians, the outsider and vulnerable speaking truth to power, the margins being the very centre of God’s interest and people giving voice to what the world might look like when everyone has a stake. This thesis has spoken to the importance of the prophetic imagination, the sanctified imagination and a sacramental imagination. The thread of holiness woven throughout this work contributes not only to understanding the call, commission and covenant upon the Salvationist but proposes theological rationale for their commitment to a better world. If God in Christ by his Spirit makes it possible to enjoy the abundant life promised in John 10:10, then the same God makes provision to work through consecrated and sacrificial acts which reveal him in visible ways to those who have not yet heard and received

---

8 Green, "Facing History: Our Way Ahead for a Salvationist Theology." p. 29.
liberation from the evil of this world. The reality of the holy life embodies the promise that evil does not have the final word.

The life of discipleship has the potential to produce revelations of God or denials of God, reveal what it is to be human or to demonstrate a false ‘revelation’ of the underlying meaninglessness of human existence. It has been seen that the work of protest is a costly matter requiring personal sacrificial investment as the ‘re-consecration of desecrated places’ refers both to the individual person who has been marginalised or diminished as well as the locations within our cities that speak only of human void. Places of social transformation do not homogenise people but instead create space for the diversity of human voices to participate. They invite those who inhabit them to make space for ‘the other’, to move over socially and spiritually, and in the process for everyone to be redemptively transformed into something new. The new humanity created in Christ Jesus (Eph 2:15-22) is called to participate in this redemptive and transforming work of God, imagining and proclaiming an alternative to the fragmentation, distortion and brokenness of human life and society. It is called to bear witness to the whole gospel and to embody it in personal and corporate presence and action.

In answering the question ‘who is the Salvationist’ in the act of protesting, this thesis has also addressed the question ‘where must the Salvationist be found’? In many western contexts, because of its historic record of working with the marginalised, The Salvation Army is an established, acceptable social enterprise enjoying government subvention for its programs and privileged access to the ears of the powerful. The Army must be mindful that such privilege must only be used for others and particularly those who have been marginalised by society. The work of Argentinian scholar Marcella Althaus-Reid seeks to redress what the Christian’s perception of ‘centre’ should be in relation to the gospel.⁹ If in the values of the Kingdom of God the perceived centre of power is in fact the periphery and the margin is where Jesus is to be found making it the

---

⁹ Marcella Maria Althaus-Reid, "In the Centre There are No Fragments," in Public Theology for the 21st Century: Essays in honor of Duncan B Forrester, ed. William F Storrar and Andrew R Morton (London: T & T Clark, 2004).
centre, then this thesis is also a call to Salvationists to be found in their proper place: in the margins, as the place of transformation.

8.2 The Way Forward
The primacy of act within The Salvation Army was articulated in the opening pages of this thesis and traced through its historic and to a lesser degree present practices in respect to its acts of protesting injustice on behalf of the poor and marginalised. An examination of the life of Jesus of Nazareth revealed that it was not mere intellectual reception but rather in actions towards the excluded and exploited as well as to the powers that he demonstrated who the Father was and commanded those who would follow to ‘go and do likewise’. Such acts are to be marked by disinterest, sacrifice and sacramental sensibilities. If the intention in each act in the name of Christ is to create the world anew in some way, then perhaps this study might contribute to the Church’s understanding of lived discipleship. Perhaps ecclesiology is a misnomer when speaking of the study of the church and in its place the term ecclesiality might be used as the former suggests that this is an objective entity. When one thinks of church as objective entity one makes the same mistake as a child when they think that the cathedral is the church or that one ‘goes’ to church. The church is only what a body of Christians is and does. No one encounters the church as institution. One encounters space, land and people, each of which is subject to change by the Spirit. This perspective has a number of implications. First, boundaries become permeable because there is only one from whom a judgment can be made concerning who is inside or outside the church, who is or is not acting in and as Christ in any particular situation and that position belongs to God alone. It also means the church is characterised as radical with respect to both place and the evaluation of any act that occurs in that place. Cities are filled with post-modernists struggling to find the soul of the church and its purpose for their lives and the communities in which they live. They are a socially minded generation desirous of a faith that integrates body and soul. This study is a clarion reminder that the upside down nature of the Kingdom of God rearranges the long held borders of religious life and determines that the presupposed centre of Christian life as worshipping community is in fact at society’s margin and those at society’s margins who have never been considered
acceptable, are in fact the centre of God’s attention. It is here where God turns space into place and makes his home. One also might conclude that the work of the church exceeds any and all limitations imposed by powers and dominions. It may be affected by them but is never subservient to them and therefore offers spaces for resistance to them. Finally, the gospel lived out in works of mercy can never be restrained by ecclesial systems (however helpfully they may inform) because a radical submission to Christ in community with other Christians living sacramentally governed lives is experienced far beyond the precincts of denominational systems and leadership.

**8.2.1 Reception of Work**

Elaine Scarry’s *On Beauty and Being Just* takes up the Platonic thesis that perceiving an object of beauty leads one to seek new objects of beauty and ‘prompts a copying of self’. In the recognition of beauty Scarry states we undergo a radical decentring of self and particularly with regard to the realm of body. Beauty pulls one into another realm and space and upon ‘return’ to our sensibilities we find ourselves in a different relation to the world than prior to seeing beauty. ‘It is not that we cease to stand at the centre of the world, for we never stood there. It is that we cease to stand even at the centre of our own world. We willingly cede our ground to the thing that stands before us.’ Such an understanding of beauty that seeks out equality may find a welcome home in German Romanticism as Espen Hammer notes ‘beauty is freedom in appearance’. If as this thesis has considered, true beauty is the expression of one’s perfected freedom at the level of embodiment, Salvationist beauty can only be as conduit for the freedom of Christ to act within them - ‘let the beauty of Jesus be seen in me’.

The protesting of injustices in the public realm might arouse the concerns of two sorts of skeptics. One is the secular individual for whom all talk of the Kingdom of God or a political analogy of Christ’s redemption begets a worrisome vision of modern crusades and military response, particularly when speaking of a ‘Salvation Army’. The other sort of skeptics’ worries complement those of the secularist. They are the concerns of

---

11 Ibid. p. 77.
13 SASB, Song 717.
Stanley Hauerwas, William Cavanaugh and John Howard Yoder, who caution that when the church involves itself in modern society, it all too easily contracts out its soul and marginalises its message. The complicity of the church is at its worst they believe when the state wages war. In political orders dominated by violence they believe the church is a ‘resident alien’, one who preaches a message from the outside. The ‘true’ mission for them is for the church to ‘be the church’. It remains unclear in the writings of these theologians however what sort of activities are authentically Christian and which sort are not. Several features of the current project might trouble them. This thesis envisions the church, specifically The Salvation Army as a public actor and agent that is separate from the state but active in influencing it. Does this confine its witness or free it? Here is a question open for another conversation.

**8.2.2 Areas of Future Research?**

This thesis has revealed a number of potential areas of research that might prove fruitful both to The Salvation Army and to the wider academy. First, due to a scarcity of publications in the field, there is need to develop a greater articulation of The Salvation Army’s received theology through an expanded examination of the doctrine of God’s action in the world. This could offer a contribution to future editions of its doctrinal publications. Second, William Booth would appear to have had little appreciation for the world as God’s creation, possibly because he was preoccupied with redeeming its inhabitants. In light of the fact that his view of redemption was the transformation of life on earth, it would seem important to investigate to what extent a Salvationist doctrine of creation might contribute to the Salvationist’s view of redemption. Third, in the ongoing and necessary attempts to minimise and close the dualistic tendencies of spirit over matter, more work is needed regarding the Salvationist understanding of embodiment. Fourth, while Theodore Weber’s work regarding political holiness has found a place in the wider Wesleyan tradition, it has yet to find a permanent home in Salvationist thinking and practice. While protesting injustice has been proposed as one expression of political holiness, others of its practice also need examination. Fifth, beneath and behind the injustice of this world are the tears of God. If it is the coming of shalom that Salvationists commit to, one must assist young people in acquiring cognitive frameworks for thinking and recognising issues of injustice not found in the Old and
New Testaments. With its 4,000 schools and more than 200,000 students, the Army is in need of a theology of education that teaches for shalom.

From an ecumenical perspective, threads of convergence and divergence between a Salvation Army protest of injustice and liberation theology are evident in this work. Further examination of these two bodies’ understanding of salvation could assist in ecumenical dialogue efforts in South America where The Salvation Army has a growing presence. It is also evident that the unfinished and ongoing aspect of a Wesleyan (and specific Salvationist) Christology has certain similarities to that of Jurgen Moltmann. For both the work of Christ continues in the present in the power of the Spirit and the potential link of eschatology with the present work of the Spirit would appear similar. Fuller attention to these doctrinal interrelationships might well provide fruitful fodder for conversations between the Wesleyan and Reformed traditions.

8.3 Like a Mighty Army Moves the Church of God

Salvationists can offer an important perspective on struggles that the church as a whole must face. While much of the church is rediscovering the gospel’s social implications, there is still a lively conversation regarding the place of social action and social justice in relation to people’s understanding of salvation. What is important for the contemporary Christian and for the church is to realise that, even if they are not of the world, they are in the world; they have a specific social location in time and yet are called to address universal, systemic issues that affect much of humanity. An appropriate response to that context requires a life posture of willingness to pursue a life of radical grace for the sake of God and others. To commit one’s resources and those of the church to the public protesting of injustice and care for the poor in the name of

14 Ibid, Song 971 vs 3.
15 Volf outline three challenges to the Christian church in its deliberations regarding the addressing of injustices: the need to explicate God’s relation to human flourishing with regarding to concrete issues faced today, the need to make plausible the claim that the love of God and neighbor is a key to human flourishing and the need to believe that God is fundamental to human flourishing. Miroslav Volf, A Public Faith: How Followers of Christ Should Serve the Common Good (Brazos Press, 2013). pp.73-74.
Christ is a radical departure from self-interest and self-investment, one that requires sacrifice, made only possible by the living Christ, by his Spirit, dwelling in one’s life. If Salvationists desire to pattern their lives after Jesus it must be remembered that when he protested unjust actions, it was never done purely for the sake of change itself. It was an unreserved commitment to announce and establish the Kingdom of God and restore the Father’s vision of shalom for creation. The motivation for confrontation must find its home in the need for reconciliations of humanity’s relationship with God and with one another, modelling a ‘convicted civility’ which retains personal conviction while still nurturing a spirit that is kind. One must also remain aware that God is not restrained by any particular tradition or expression (however unique) and that the divine often works outside known boundaries. The church’s prophetic voice in challenging the world then is equally challenged by ‘the words of the prophets written on the subway walls…’ and must be willing to respond to the work of the Spirit as revealed through those means and mediums beyond its control. As it considers the cost of moving into hell in order to bring ‘heaven on earth’ to the present world, the particular history, learnings and identity of Salvationists might be uniquely positioned to contribute to these very discussions.


Angell, Ralph Norman "No Title." *The Social Gazette* 1895-1916, no. Sir Norman Angell Collection, Box 29, Chronological Files (1892).


Booth, Catherine. "Female Ministry or Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel." London: Morgan and Chase, 1859.


———. *Godliness*. Boston: McDonald and Gill, 1885.


———. 6th February 1853.

———. "Fight!" *All the World*, May 1885, 112-14.
———. "No Title." *The Officer*, February 1893.
———. "Salvation for Both Worlds (a Retrospect)." *All the World*, January 1889, 1-6.
Brekke, Bo. "We Are the Poor." *The Officer*, April 2001.


———. "Officers." The Officer 2008, 2-4.


———. "Holy Worldliness of the Gospel (2)." The Officer, 1972, 80-85.


Davies, Oliver. "Confucianism and Christianity: Towards a Phenomenology of Social Transformation." 2012.


Fowler, James A. "Christ in, as and through Us " (2001), www.christinyou.net/pages/inasthrough.html.


———. *Six Theories of Justice*, Perspectives from Philosophical and Theological Ethics. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986.


———. "Redemption and Social Reformation (a Theological Study of William Booth and His Movement)." MTh, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1967.


———. "Knowing, Being and Doing: The Spiritual Life Development of Salvation Army Officers." Professional Doctorate - Practical Theology, Anglia Ruskin, 2011.


Taylor, David W. Like a Mighty Army? The Salvation Army, the Church and the Churches. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014.


THE DOCTRINES OF THE SALVATION ARMY

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

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

3. We believe that there are three persons in the Godhead – the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, undivided in essence and co-equal in power and glory.

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

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

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

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

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

9. We believe that continuance in a state of salvation depends upon continued obedient faith in Christ.
10. We believe that it is the privilege of all believers to be wholly sanctified, and that their whole spirit and soul and body may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

11. We believe in the immortality of the soul; in the resurrection of the body; in the general judgment at the end of the world; in the eternal happiness of the righteousness; and in the endless punishment of the wicked.
CALL TO SALVATIONISTS
(International Spiritual Life Commission)

1. We call Salvationists worldwide to worship and proclaim the living God, and to seek in every meeting a vital encounter with the Lord of life, using relevant cultural forms and languages.

2. We call Salvationists worldwide to a renewed and relevant proclamation of and close attention to the word of God, and to a quick and steady obedience to the radical demands of the word upon Salvationists personally, and upon our movement corporately.

3. We call Salvationists worldwide to recognize the wide understanding of the mercy seat that God has given to the Army; to rejoice that Christ uses this means of grace to confirm his presence; and to ensure its spiritual benefits are fully explored in every corps and Army centre.

4. We call Salvationists worldwide to rejoice in our freedom to celebrate Christ’s real presence at all our meals and in all our meetings, and to seize the opportunity to explore in our life together the significance of the simple meals shared by Jesus and his friends and by the first Christians.

5. We call Salvationists worldwide to recognize that the swearing-in of soldiers is a public witness to Christ’s command to make disciples and that soldiership demands on-going radical obedience.

6. We call Salvationists worldwide to enter the new millennium with a renewal of faithful, disciplined and persistent prayer, to study God’s word consistently and to seek God’s will earnestly; to deny self and to live a lifestyle of simplicity in a spirit of trust and thankfulness.

7. We call Salvationists worldwide to rejoice in their unique fellowship, to be open to support, guidance, nurture, affirmation and challenge from each other as members together of the body of Christ; and to participate actively and regularly in the life, membership and mission of a particular corps.

8. We call Salvationists worldwide to commit themselves and their gifts to the salvation of the world and to embrace servanthood, expressing it through the joy of self-giving and the discipline of Christ-like living.

9. We call Salvationists worldwide to explore new ways to recruit and train people who are both spiritual mature and educationally competent, to develop learning programs and events that are biblically informed, culturally relevant, and
educationally sound; and to create learning environments which encourage exploration, creativity and diversity.

10. We call Salvationists worldwide to restate and live out the doctrine of holiness in all its dimensions personal, relational, social and political in the context of our cultures and in the idioms of our day while allowing for and indeed prizing such diversity of experience and expression as is in accord with the Scriptures.

11. We call Salvationists worldwide to join in the spiritual battle on the grounds of a sober reading of Scripture, a conviction of the triumph of Christ, the inviolable freedom and dignity of persons, and a commitment to the redemption of the world in all its dimensions physical, spiritual, social, economic and political.

12. We call Salvationists worldwide to restore the family to its central position in passing on the faith, to generate resources to help parents grow together in faithful love and to lead their children into wholeness, with hearts on fire for God and his mission.

The founders of The Salvation Army declared their belief that God raised up our movement to enter partnership with him in his great business of saving the world. We call upon Salvationists worldwide to reaffirm our shared calling to this great purpose, as signified in our name.

Salvation begins with conversion to Christ but it does not end there. The transformation of an individual leads to a transformation of relationships, of families, of communities, of nations. We long for and anticipate with joy the new creation of all things in Christ.

Our mission is God’s mission. God in love reaches out through his people to a suffering and needy world, a world he loves. In mission we express in word and deed and through the totality of our lives the compassion of God for the lost.

Our identification with God in this outward movement of love for the world requires a corresponding inward movement from ourselves towards God. Christ says ‘come to me’ before he says ‘go into the world’. These two movements are in relation to each other like breathing in and breathing out. To engage in one movement to the exclusion of the other is the way of death. To engage in both is the way of life.

The vitality of our spiritual life as a movement will be seen and tested in our turning to the world in evangelism and service, but the springs of our spiritual life are to be found in our turning to God in worship, in the disciplines of life in the Spirit, and in the study of God’s word.
SALVATION ARMY COVENANTS

ARTICLES OF WAR OF THE SALVATION ARMY
(Soldier Covenant)

Having accepted Jesus Christ as my Saviour and Lord, and desiring to fulfi
my membership in His Church on earth as a soldier of The Salvation Army, I now by God’s grace enter into a sacred covenant. I believe and will live by the truths of the word of God expressed in The Salvation Army’s eleven Articles of Faith:

We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by inspiration of God; and that they only constitute the Divine rule of Christian faith and practice.
We believe that there is only one God, who is infinitely perfect, the Creator, Preserver and Governor of all things, and who is the only proper object of religious worship.
We believe that there are three persons in the Godhead – the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost – undivided in essence and co-equal in power and glory.
We believe that in the person of Jesus Christ the Divine and human natures are united, so that He is truly and properly God and truly and properly man.
We believe that our first parents were created in a state of innocency, but by their disobedience they lost their purity and happiness; and that in consequence of their fall all men have become sinners, totally depraved, and as such are justly exposed to the wrath of God.
We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ has, by His suffering and death, made an atonement for the whole world so that whosoever will may be saved.
We believe that repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and regeneration by the Holy Spirit are necessary to salvation.
We believe that we are justified by grace, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and that he that believeth hath the witness in himself.
We believe that continuance in a state of salvation depends upon continued obedient faith in Christ.
We believe that it is the privilege of all believers to be wholly sanctified, and that their whole spirit and soul and body may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.
We believe in the immortality of the soul, in the resurrection of the body, in the general judgment at the end of the world; in the eternal happiness of the righteous; and in the endless punishment of the wicked.

I will be responsive to the Holy Spirit’s work and obedient to His leading in my life, growing in grace through worship, prayer, service and the reading of the Bible. I will make the values of the Kingdom of God and not the values of the world the standard for my life.
I will uphold Christian integrity in every area of my life, allowing nothing in thought, word or deed that is unworthy, unclean, untrue, profane, dishonest or immoral.
I will maintain Christian ideals in all my relationships with others, my family and
neighbours, my colleagues and fellow Salvationists, those to whom and for whom I am responsible and the wider community.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**JUNIOR SOLDIER PROMISE**

I know that Jesus is my Saviour from sin. I have asked him to forgive my sins, and I will trust him to keep me good. By his help, I will be his loving and obedient child, and will help others to follow him. I promise to pray, to read my Bible, and to lead a life that is clean in thought, word and deed. I will not use anything that may injure my body or my mind, including harmful drugs, alcohol and tobacco.

**OFFICER COVENANT**

Called by God to proclaim the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as an officer of The Salvation Army, I bind myself to him in this solemn covenant -

To love and serve him supremely all my days
To live to win souls and make their salvation the first purpose of my life
**To care for the poor, to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, love the unloveable, and befriend those who have no friends. **
To maintain the doctrines and principles of The Salvation Army, and by God’s grace to prove myself a worthy officer.
Done in the strength of my Lord and Saviour and in the presence of the Territorial Commander, Training College Officers and fellow cadets.
Some months after the wording of this phrase was added to the Covenant (December 2000) the wording of the Covenant was brought into Orders & Regulations for Officers (October 2001).

ARTICLES OF MARRIAGE

We do solemnly declare that, although we enter into this marriage for reasons of personal happiness and fulfilment, we will do our utmost to ensure that our married status and relationship will deepen our commitment to God and enhance the effectiveness of our service as soldiers of Jesus Christ in The Salvation Army.

We promise to make our home a place where all shall be aware of the abiding presence of God, and where those under our influence shall be taught the truths of the gospel, encouraged to seek Christ as Saviour, and supported in the commitment of their lives to the service of God.

We declare our intention to be to each other, by the help of God, true Christian examples and, through times of joy, difficulty or loss, to encourage each other to ‘grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ’.
HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF SALVATION ARMY PROTEST
1858-1899

1858  Catherine Booth becomes aware of and concerned for the poor particularly women and children.

1864  Catherine Booth and Bramwell Booth support Josephine Butler’s campaign to repeal *The Contagious Diseases Act*, legislation regulating the activity of prostitutes, effectively defined the prostitute as the guilty party, rather than clients.

1865  Catherine Booth encounters and works with ‘The Midnight Movement’, an organisation dedicated to the rescue and redemption of prostitutes, seeing them as victims and their monied patrons as the criminals.

1867  During a cholera epidemic, William Booth writes in *Revival Magazine* (31 January) that The Salvation Army is giving away soup and bread. By February, the plight of many is so dire, Booth reports the opening of a soup kitchen in *Popular to Christian World*.

1868  William Booth protests the numbers of destitute in inner London in *East London Evangelist*. (8 December) and challenges the wealthy who name Christ as Saviour to provide relief.

1870-1874  ‘Food for Millions’ scheme established by Bramwell Booth and James Flawn. Shops asked to sell cheap meals to the poor of the east end of London.

1872  Catherine Booth’s first public criticism of social economists who state if people do not work, they should not eat.

1875-1882  No new social initiatives pursued.

1883  Prison homes established in Melbourne, Australia marking the official start of structured, organizational commitment to social work. Catherine Booth publishes *The Salvation Army in Relation to Church and State* indicating responsibilities towards humanity and the state.

1884  Frank Smith and Florence Booth open first rescue homes in London.

1885  *Maiden Tribute* campaign launched to raise age of consent. This involved The Salvation Army in public political agitation including the arrest and trial of Bramwell Booth and gaoling of journalist and editor WT Stead, amongst others.
1887  Slum posts established. Catherine Booth’s conviction grows that poverty is a critical problem and that many Christians blame the poor. She issues a series of lectures entitled *Popular Christianity* detailing schemes for social amelioration promoted by various Christian and secular groups. Term ‘temporal salvation’ first used by William Booth (later featured in *Darkest England* publication). *War Cry* articles reflect The Salvation Army’s sensitivity to distress of East London’s unemployed. Limehouse Food and Shelter depots established.

1889  Trafalgar Riot / London Dock Strike.  
*Salvation Socialism* published.  
*Salvation for Both Worlds* published.

1890  Social Reform Wing established.  
*The Millennium; of the Ultimate Triumph of Salvation Army Principles* published.  
*In Darkest England* published.  
‘Sociology’ articles by Frank Smith for *War Cry* (Lord’s Prayer and social implications).

1891  Darkest England scheme launched.

1899  *Social Reparation* published - Bramwell Booth critiques legislation which works against working poor and workless. Addresses drink laws, laws affecting poor women, *Poor Law*, orphans and pauper laws and prison reform.
5. We affirm that God is both the Creator and the Judge of all. We, therefore, should share his concern for justice and reconciliation throughout human society and for the liberation of men and women from every kind of oppression. Because men and women are made in the image of God, every person, regardless of race, religion, colour, culture, class, sex or age, has intrinsic dignity because of which he or she should be respected and served, not exploited. Hereto we express penitence both for our neglect and for having sometimes regarded evangelism and social concern as mutually exclusive. Although reconciliation with other people is not reconciliation with God nor is social action evangelism, nor is political liberation salvation, nevertheless we affirm that evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty. For both are necessary expressions of our doctrines of God and man, our love for our neighbour and our obedience to Jesus. The message of salvation implies also a message of judgment upon every form of alienation, oppression and discrimination, and we should not be afraid to denounce evil and injustice wherever they exist. When people receive Christ they are born again into his Kingdom and must seek not only to exhibit but also to spread its righteousness in the midst of an unrighteous world. The salvation we claim should be transforming us in the totality of our personal and social responsibilities. Faith without works is deed.

Drafted by Congress on World Evangelism, Lausanne, Switzerland, 1974
The Salvation Army International Positional Statement
THE USE OF POWER

The Salvation Army believes that power is neither good nor evil in itself. It is, rather, the purposes to which power is applied and the manner in which it is used that define its character. As a Christian church, The Salvation Army believes that almighty God always exercises his power for righteous purposes. As an extension of this, The Salvation Army believes that power, whether it is economic, emotional, legal, physical, political, psychological, religious or social, should always be exercised so as to promote the values of the Kingdom of God, such as love, justice and mutual respect. It should never be used for manipulation or exploitation. The Salvation Army strongly opposes any use of power that is oppressive, cruel or corrupt, or that denies human rights.

Background and Context

Power is the possession of command, control, or influence over others. Although the presence and importance of power is frequently denied, ignored or minimised, all individuals, institutions, businesses and nations have power. It is a means by which they achieve some of the world’s most positive goods and some of the world’s most horrifying evils. Consequently, an informed understanding of the proper use and potential for abuse of power is essential.

Grounds for the Position of The Salvation Army

Christians understand that God intends human beings to have rights and responsibilities, which are meaningless unless people have the power to exercise them. This applies to nations, corporations and religious bodies as well as individuals. However, the longing for absolute and unaccountable power is a mark of sin (Matthew 20:20-28; Mark 9:33-37). This longing is a sign of our deep and sinful desire to be independent from God and dominate others. Behind it is the mistaken assumption that we will be content only when we are in full control. Scripture teaches that we are to set aside the lust for power and ambition in favour of a servant’s heart (John 13:1-20; Philippians 2:5-11), and that our true happiness is found in the conformity of our will to God’s will (I Peter 4:2; I John 2:17). The Salvation Army’s understanding of the use of power is shaped most profoundly by Jesus, who is both ruler of all and servant of all (Philippians 2:6-11). Along with the example of Jesus, there are Scriptural principles that help elucidate the proper use of power, especially the following: Power is given by God, and we are accountable for its use (John 19:10-11). In the use of power, we all bear a responsibility to act for the benefit of those in need and to confront the abuse of power (Proverbs 31:8-9; Isaiah 1:17; Jeremiah 22:3). Power should be exercised in a spirit of love (Ephesians 6:4), to empower others (Ephesians 4:11-12). Power that is entrusted for the common
good is to be employed for the common good (1 Kings 3:9; 1 Corinthians 12:7). The appropriate use of power presumes an attitude of humility toward God and one’s fellow man (Numbers 12:3; 1 Kings 21:29; Matthew 18:4; Mark 10:42-45; Philippians 2:3; 1 Peter 5:5). In the absence of such humility, the use of power will likely be driven solely by human selfishness and thereby become a sinful abuse of power (2 Samuel 12; Jeremiah 23:10; Micah 3:9-12; Acts 5:1-10). To fail to use the power one is given may itself be wrong, for abandonment risks exposing to harm and exploitation those for whom one is responsible (Ezekiel 34:8; Matthew 9:36).

**Practical Responses**

1. Consistent with its theology and history, The Salvation Army continually seeks opportunities to bring relief and justice to people who are suffering, poor, marginalized and oppressed.

2. The Salvation Army seeks to empower those whose power is constrained, and it employs its people, resources and influence at every level of society and government so as to improve the lives of men, women and children who would otherwise remain neglected, isolated, and unaware of the love of God.

3. The Salvation Army seeks to help people discover, develop and enjoy their God-given capacities for abundant living. This is one of the principal objectives of its evangelistic mission and social programmes. It is an outcome sought, for example, through congregational life; centres helping the victims of abuse; schools offering education opportunities for children; and health and community centres providing places for healing and wholeness.

4. The Bible is instructive on the nature and use of power and informs The Salvation Army’s thinking, but many who do not accept the authority of Scripture nonetheless believe power should be used with accountability, humility, love and justice. They may welcome the opportunity to form common cause with The Salvation Army in its opposition to the misuse of power.

5. Through such bodies as The Salvation Army International Social Justice Commission, the urgent needs of powerless people are impressed upon world leaders. Through the development of its relationship with the United Nations, The Salvation Army engages with those who can effect policies and programmes that will ease the burdens on and enrich the lives of millions around the world.

6. The Salvation Army supports and cooperates with efforts to recognise human rights, root out corruption in business and government, promote fair trade, and preserve and protect the environment. Through micro-credit, trading and other initiatives The Salvation Army seeks to promote economic justice for those who would otherwise be unable to earn a living.
7. The Salvation Army is pledged to use its own power wisely and well in relation to all who receive its services, who belong to it, who work for it or who collaborate in its mission.

Date Issued: January 2011
IHQ - London
The Salvation Army International Positional Statement
HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Statement of the Issue

Human trafficking is a modern-day form of slavery. Reliable reports show that millions of people around the world are subjected to it. The techniques used by traffickers and the forms in which trafficking is manifested are various, but what is common to them all is the exploitation of some people by other people. Those who are victimized include babies, children, teenagers, women and men.

The following statement created by the United Nations and adopted by many others, is both a definition of human trafficking and a clear call to action:

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

Statement of Position

The Salvation Army is deeply committed to fighting human trafficking however it may be manifested. We seek to exercise care in restoring the freedom and dignity of those affected.

Principles

Human trafficking is contrary to the principles of freedom and dignity. The exploitation of human beings dehumanizes the individuals who are trafficked, rewards the inhumanity of the traffickers and weakens the moral and social fabric of society at large.

Restoring dignity to persons who have been exploited is not easy, and the danger of peternalising trafficked victims in the name of aiding them must be kept in view.

Traffickers need to be stopped and held accountable, but they also need those who will help them to a transformation of heart and mind.
The Salvation Army is opposed to the corrupt abuse of power against other human beings that is inherent in trafficking for personal economic gain. We therefore have the responsibility, both individually and collectively, to work for the liberation of those who have been enslaved in this manner, and to establish the legal and social mechanisms by which human trafficking can be stopped.

**Biblical and Theological Background**

Humankind is created in the image of God (Gen 1:26). All people are valuable to God, holding a special place in God’s creation (Ps 8:5). The Bible teaches that nobody should be exploited or damaged. Psalm 10 describes the wickedness of those who entrap others and the Psalmist calls on God to intervene. This Psalm is as relevant now as it was when it was written many years before the birth of Jesus. Isaiah 42:22 says ‘But this is a people plundered and looted all of them trapped in pits or hidden away in prisons. They have become plunder with no one to rescue them; they have been made loot, with no one to say, “Send them back”’. Joel 3:3 says ‘They cast lots for my people and traded boys for prostitutes; they sold girls for wine that they might drink’. Jesus taught that no one should live in physical or spiritual bondage. He said ‘The Lord has sent me to announce freedom for prisoners, to give sight to the blind, to free everyone who suffers, and to say ‘This is the year the Lord has chosen’ (Lk 4:18-19). He was quoting Isaiah 61:1-2. Later in Isaiah 61 are these words ‘I, the Lord, love justice! But I hate robbery and injustice’ (v 8). Consequently, Christians are called upon to work for the elimination of all forms of human trafficking.

**Practical Responses**

Since its inception, The Salvation Army has sought to reduce the worldwide phenomenon of abuse of individuals or groups of people for personal gain, now defined by the United Nations as human trafficking. It has established places of refuge for victims, sought legal changes that would both prevent trafficking and punish those involved, and it has created alternatives for those vulnerable to trafficking. Through its constituent territories, corps, centres and individual members, The Salvation Army continues to plan and undertake culturally and biblically appropriate responses which will help to eliminate the development or continuation of any form of human trafficking.

The Salvation Army recognizes that there is a great deal of sex trafficking and that the majority of those trafficked for sex are women and girls. It rejects this commodification of women in any circumstance – including pornography, prostitution and sex tourism – and works both to eliminate human trafficking for this purpose and to creative alternatives for women who would otherwise be forced into prostitution.

The Salvation Army will work against any activity that trafficks people for the sale of human organs.
The Salvation Army seeks to develop strategies and methods which assist trafficked people to re-enter and make a home in their chosen place of residence.

Often the incidence of human trafficking is hidden within a society. The Salvation Army takes an active role in researching where human trafficking is occurring and aims to raise public awareness as a result.

The Salvation Army calls upon all legislators in local, national or international jurisdictions to create laws and enforcement mechanisms which criminalise trafficking and which will punish those engaged in such activities.

The Salvation Army also encourages all law enforcement agencies to actively prosecute perpetrators of human trafficking and to work with other government and community organisations to free people from any present or future coercion or threat.

Human trafficking flourishes because there is a demand for the services trafficked people are forced to provide. The Salvation Army therefore undertakes education and awareness training activities so that those who use products or services supplied by trafficked people are confronted with the human misery, suffering and injustice created by their continuing use of these services or products.

The Salvation Army recognizes that there are a number of credible organisations working locally and globally on the issues of human trafficking. The Salvation Army encourages cooperation and networking with these agencies to achieve the elimination of human trafficking and to provide support to trafficked people.

The Salvation Army calls upon Salvationists and other Christians worldwide to seek God’s face and pray.

Date Issued: 2009
IHQ - London
The Salvation Army International Positional Statement

THE SALVATION ARMY AND THE STATE

Statement of Position

The Salvation Army is politically non-partisan. Although it seeks to influence governmental and public affairs, it will not promote or endorse specific candidates or political parties.

In working with any State and its agencies, The Salvation Army seeks to promote Biblical values, including justice, truth, mercy, equity, human rights and peace, as part of its religious convictions and practice.

Background and Context

As an international Christian church and charitable organization, The Salvation Army works within a wide variety of political and social contexts. No matter where it is operating, however, The Salvation Army’s unchanging mission is to proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ and serve suffering humanity in his name.

Grounds for the Position of The Salvation Army

The State is established by God for securing justice and doing good, and both Christians and the Church have a duty to respect its authority (Rom 13). Nonetheless, the Bible also teaches that we must seek first God’s Kingdom (Mt 6:33). Biblical values must be upheld by the Church even when they are not upheld by the State.

The Salvation Army’s relationship with the State is founded upon scriptural principles, which include the following:
* God is the creator of the Earth (Is 40:28)
* States and their leaders are responsible for acting wisely and with an understanding of their subjection, together with all creation, to God and his ordinances (Ps 2:10)
* God requires justice, mercy and humility (Micah 6:8)
* While Christians should actively seek opportunities to influence positively and thereby promote the well-being of the State (Jer 29:7), that obligation is subsidiary to a Christian’s primary allegiance to God (Ex 5:1; Acts 4:18-31).
Practical Responses

1. By virtue of its doctrines, its approach and its reputation, The Salvation Army is particularly called to work with those who live in poverty or who have otherwise been marginalized. Consequently, The Salvation Army seeks opportunities to work in cooperation with the State and its agencies whenever their actions promote a just and fair society.

2. The Salvation Army will work with the State and its agencies to deliver and provide humanitarian and social services that benefit people without discrimination.

3. The Salvation Army will seek to offer pastoral care to those who undertake the onerous responsibilities of political and government leadership, and it will endeavor wherever possible to create productive relationships with those who hold positions of authority in the State.

4. The Salvation Army will constantly seek to be a positive influence on individual States, their respective agencies and institutions, and international bodies such as the United Nations. Its goal in all of these relationships will be the promotion of Biblical values.

Date Issued: March 2011
IHQ - London