

Wesleyan Spirit-Christology: inspiration from the theology of Samuel Chadwick

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Introduction

This paper explores the theology of Samuel Chadwick (1860-1932) and demonstrates that within it there is a Spirit Christology in a Wesleyan framework. Spirit Christology has been the subject of theological investigation in recent decades, with proposals being made for ways to add to or adapt the more dominant Logos Christologies of the Western theological tradition so that the work of the Holy Spirit in Jesus in the Gospels, and in the experience of Christians, can be better accounted for.¹ Chadwick's theology is brought into debate with this more recent conversation, and is found to be in many ways in line with the Spirit Christology being proposed. This is not an aspect of Chadwick's theology that has been given attention previously and new suggestions are made as to his place in the tradition of Wesleyan theology. In the process, Chadwick's sources are considered, including the ways that he draws on a Wesleyan theology of perfection, mid to late nineteenth century language of Pentecost and baptism of the Spirit, early twentieth century liberal Protestant theological work, and his potential relationship with the seventeenth century puritan, John Owen.

Most academic interest in Chadwick to date has focused on more practical issues. However, although Chadwick was primarily concerned with holiness and evangelism, it was only by the work of Holy Spirit that he experienced these being effective in his life and the life of churches, and consequently the Holy Spirit constituted the main content of his teaching to prepare people for evangelism. As the Holy Spirit theology under examination here was itself a vital element in his mission activity, so it is intended that the paper makes theological proposals which serve this larger purpose for churches now.

¹ The progress and current state of this conversation is well represented in this edited volume: Myk Habets (ed.), *Third Article Theology: A Pneumatological Dogmatics*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2016)

Samuel Chadwick's life, context and writings

Samuel Chadwick was a Wesleyan Methodist minister in the city centre of Leeds (1890-1907) and tutor, then principal, of Cliff College (1904-1932). His ministry, teaching and writing were characterised by an urgent concern both for evangelism and for encouraging people to be open to the work of the Holy Spirit. His ministry consistently included evangelism and prayer for revival,² and a subsequent increase in church attendance and testimony to the experience of conversion. This activity was closely associated with the temperance movement which Chadwick promoted in each church he ministered with, and his associated activity to resist the brewing and gambling industries, and to campaign for the alleviation of poverty.³ As principal of Cliff College he was concerned with strategies for evangelism and led the college in developing a distinctive style of team mission with churches in towns and rural areas. In the 1920s he pioneered the evangelistic strategy of "trekkers," teams walking from village to village for evangelism. As a member of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, and President (1919-20), he was an advocate of Methodist Union, and made a consistent appeal for the Church to give more resources to evangelism.⁴

Chadwick's published theology was expressed through homiletical and pastoral works, and can also be ascertained from his personal papers and notes. He did not publish any significant specifically theological work in his lifetime, only tracts on a variety of topics, many being summarised sermons,⁵ and one collection of sermons published in 1904.⁶

Chadwick's most influential writing though was religious journalism, of which he had much

² Especially on Chadwick's promotion of the formation of "Leagues of Prayer" see Ian M. Randall, "The Pentecostal League of Prayer: a Transdenominational British Wesleyan-Holiness Movement," in *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, vol.33 no1, pp.185-200.

³ See Norman G. Dunning, *Samuel Chadwick* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1933), pp.63-77; the chapter is titled "Hunting the Wolf" which became Chadwick's shorthand for resisting those who profited from the situations in slum housing areas.

⁴ Full surveys and evaluations of Chadwick's ministry or at least periods of it can be found in: Ian M. Randall, *Evangelical Experiences: A Study in the Spirituality of English Evangelicalism 1918-1939* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999); Howard G. Mellor, *Cliff: More Than a College* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 2005); David H. Howarth, "Samuel Chadwick and Some Aspects of Wesleyan Methodist Evangelism, 1860-1932," (unpublished thesis, M. Litt, University of Lancaster, 1977)

⁵ Whilst Chadwick was Superintendent Minister of Oxford Place Mission Circuit in Leeds, every Monday he summarised a sermon from the day before which was then distributed as a tract that week. Fifty of these were subsequently published; *25 Sunday Mornings with Samuel Chadwick: Selected and Arranged by D.W. Lambert, M.A.* (London: Epworth Press, 1951); *25 Sunday Evenings with Samuel Chadwick: Selected and Arranged by D.W. Lambert, M.A.* (London: Epworth Press, 1954)

⁶ Samuel Chadwick, *Humanity and God* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904)

experience during his active ministry, publishing regularly in a variety of contexts and also editing the quarterly journal *Experience* in the 1890s.⁷ From 1905 he was editor of the *Joyful News* weekly newspaper which had been started in 1883 by Rev'd Thomas Champness. For twenty years the proceeds from sales of the *Joyful News* had helped finance Champness' training of lay evangelists. As this training activity transferred to the newly opened Cliff College in 1904, and with Chadwick as the new editor, the paper also became intertwined with the College. Chadwick wrote a weekly editorial and often a further article for the paper. These were on a range of scriptural and theological topics of importance to Chadwick's work and ministry and in response to current national and church news.

The most important published writings of Chadwick with lasting influence were collections of these *Joyful News* articles. In 1931 his colleague at Cliff College, Rev'd J.I. Brice edited a collection of the articles, titled *The Path of Prayer*⁸ bringing together Chadwick's best pieces on prayer, the selection being approved by Chadwick who by then was in failing health. In the years immediately following his death, Brice edited three further collections of *Joyful News* articles. When Chadwick died in 1932, work had already been underway for the next volume, which was published very soon after his death, given the title *The Way to Pentecost*⁹ and gathering his teaching on the Holy Spirit. Then in 1934, *The Gospel of the Cross*¹⁰ was a selection from his annual articles leading up to Easter, and in 1936, *The Call to Christian Perfection*¹¹ represented his teaching on the doctrine and experience of perfection.

Chadwick's Theological and Spiritual Legacy

His works merit reading not just for their spiritual and practical wisdom, but also for their theology. Indeed, arguably, it is the theology that is primary – the simplicity, clarity and fitness for purpose of doctrinal expression results in texts through which the Spirit can work

⁷ Dunning, Samuel Chadwick, p137.

⁸ Samuel Chadwick, *The Path of Prayer* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 1995)

⁹ Samuel Chadwick, *The Way To Pentecost* (Calver: Cliff College Publishing, 1996)

¹⁰ Samuel Chadwick, *The Gospel of the Cross* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1934)

¹¹ Samuel Chadwick, *The Call to Christian Perfection* (London: Epworth Press, 1936)

again and again down the decades. This has become particularly true of *Way to Pentecost*, Chadwick's most widely circulated book. Since being published in 1932, and then republished many times, it has been formative in the Spirit-filled life of many people. It has been instrumental in many works of the Spirit, not least the beginnings of the Charismatic movement in British Methodism. Rev'd Charles J. Clarke, a key figure promoting Charismatic renewal within the Methodist Revival Fellowship, read and re-read Chadwick's book for nearly twenty years prior to his leading role in the new developments of the 1960s. He referenced Chadwick in his writings consistently over the period.¹²

Chadwick's theology thus deserves attention as it has been significant in influencing evangelism, holiness and revival in his lifetime and beyond. Furthermore, though, it will be argued that this is not simply a practical outcome, but the result of a particular doctrinal shape to his theology; exploring this is the purpose of the investigation.

Chadwick's Wesleyan Theology

Chadwick's theology is in basic structure and content of a firmly "traditional" Wesleyan shape: "Chadwick was a convinced Methodist in his theology and in his emphasis upon personal Christian experience, a firm believer in the Bible as the revelation of God, and a fervent evangelist."¹³ He identified the keynotes of Wesley's teaching to be the "democracy of the Kingdom," by which he referred to opposition to Calvinist doctrines of predestination and corresponding activist evangelism, the "assured salvation" based on the witness of the Spirit, and "groaning after" the reception of perfect love which was "Christian Perfection."¹⁴ Particularly with regards to the doctrine of perfection, his stated aim was to preserve the tradition going back to Wesley's teaching based upon the experience of entire sanctification in the Eighteenth century revival. "Testimony to the blessing is all too rare, and in this Methodism has a special responsibility. It is for this that Methodism was raised up of

¹² Peter Hocken, *Streams of Renewal: The Origins and Early Development of the Charismatic Movement in Great Britain*, (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1997), pp.79-85

¹³ David Howarth, "'Joyful News' (1883-1963) Some Reflections" in *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* volume 44-1, May 1983, pp.8-9

¹⁴ *Call to Christian Perfection*, pp.10-16

God.”¹⁵ Particularly through the platform of the annual Southport Convention, with which he was a prominent leader, Chadwick worked for a continuation and a renewal of a traditionalist personal reception of Christian Perfection, in a moment and eradicating sin, and the outworking of this in new revivals.¹⁶

Whilst the underpinning of Chadwick’s teaching was the Wesleyan experience of faith and revival, he, and others involved in the late nineteenth century renewal of focus on the doctrine of Christian Perfection, combined this with some of the language and developments of the mid-nineteenth century holiness movements. As Ian Randall concludes, “A crucial development in Wesleyan theology was the prominence given to Pentecost in 19th century Wesleyan thinking.”¹⁷ Generally Chadwick did not reference his articles and sermons, only occasionally attributing quotes or discussing theological predecessors. He did acknowledge William Arthur (1819-1901),¹⁸ author in 1856 of *The Tongue of Fire*, a book which was typical of the developments of the holiness movements of the time and quickly became widely regarded in the middle years of the nineteenth century, though more so in the United States than Britain.¹⁹ Arthur encouraged an emphasis on Pentecost as the key motif by which to understand the work of the Holy Spirit in sanctification.²⁰ This followed in the line of development²⁰ from the theology and language of John Wesley begun by John Fletcher in the 1770s, which in *Tongue of Fire* becomes a clear yearning for all to be baptized with the Holy Spirit: the final call was, “And, now, adorable Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, descend upon all the Churches, renew the Pentecost in this age, and baptize thy people generally – O baptize them yet again with

¹⁵ Quoted by Ian M. Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, p.79; from *Joyful News* 21 June 1923, p.4

¹⁶ Ian M. Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, p.79.

¹⁷ Ian M Randall, “Full Salvation: Expressions of Traditional Wesleyan Holiness in the Early Twentieth Century,” in *Methodist History* vol.36 no.3, April 1998, p.177-8

¹⁸ e.g. *Humanity and God*, p.230; this sermon on “The Spirit-Filled Life,” unusually for Chadwick’s style, includes a quote from Arthur’s book which is over a page long (cf *Way to Pentecost*, p.118-119 which includes a shorter section of the same quote). See also this direct acknowledgement of the role the book had in Chadwick’s early development: “The only sermon I remember on the subject [the experience of Pentecost] was preached by Rev. W.W. Walton in [1877]. It introduced me to Arthur’s *Tongue of Fire*, and awakened an interest in me that has never died”; quoted by D.W. Lambert, *The Testament of Samuel Chadwick 1860-1932*, (London: Epworth Press, 1957), p.76. [The 1957 publication has the year as 1887, but this is a misprint of 1877 as Chadwick goes on in the paragraph to refer to “my Pentecost” being “five years later” which he consistently recorded as being 1882 in Stacksteads.

¹⁹ Stephen Skuce, “Wesleyan Pneumatology,” in *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association*, 32:1, 15-27, DOI: 10.1179/jep.2012.32.1.003, p.21.

²⁰ Donald Dayton traces these developments in *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, (New Jersey: Scarecrow Press; Hendrickson, 1987 reprinted 2000).

tongues of fire!”²¹ Chadwick follows this language of “Pentecost” and the “baptism of the Holy Spirit” which subsequently became common in the holiness movements and revivals of the late nineteenth century. In this aspect of Chadwick’s writing he is closely in line with his contemporary and immediate predecessor as principal of Cliff College, Thomas Cook (1859-1912), who also combined the traditional momentous reception of Wesleyan entire sanctification with the “Pentecostal baptism.”²²

Chadwick thus has both a theology of Pentecost and a theology of Christian Perfection. David Howarth argues that for Chadwick “these two concepts were inextricably bound together as representing a fundamental dynamic and a realistic attainable goal.”²³ However, as with many others in this late nineteenth century Wesleyan tradition, the intertwining of these two by Chadwick is not always clear and unambiguous. His explanations of the doctrine of Christian Perfection are most often described in terms which do not include the Spirit. In *Humanity and God*, three sermons specifically about the Spirit are followed by one titled “Christian Perfection,” which then only mentions the Spirit once. Having described the whole process and experience of perfection, he finally warns the reader against any mistaken sense of achievement, almost as if to suggest that once perfection is reached one should look back and now recall that though not noticed at the time, the Spirit was behind it all; “The [perfect] life is not the life of the perfect man, but of the perfect Christ who dwells and works in the soul by His Spirit.”²⁴

However, whilst he sometimes tended to focus on one or other poles of these two doctrines of Pentecost and Perfection, he did overall conjoin them with some reasonable consistency. The “witness of the Spirit” is the primary way that Wesley sees the Spirit’s activity in entire sanctification, bringing assurance; Romans 8:16 is applied by Wesley to not only understand how one knows oneself to be justified, saved and adopted, but also how one receives

²¹ William Arthur, *Tongue of Fire*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1856), 354

²² Thomas Cook, *New Testament Holiness* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1902) p.138

²³ Howarth, “Samuel Chadwick and Some Aspects of Wesleyan Methodist Evangelism,” p.252.

²⁴ *Humanity and God*, p.267. Whilst this phenomenon is exacerbated artificially in the books of collected articles by grouping the articles on Pentecost and on Perfection separately, the lack of development of Holy Spirit doctrine in *The Call to Christian Perfection* is also noticeable..

assurance of entire sanctification.²⁵ Chadwick agrees that, “The experience was assured to them by the witness of the Spirit”²⁶ and that this functions alongside the verification that people’s lives bore fruits as a result of sanctification. Chadwick sees as complementary to the fruits of love, joy and peace, which Wesley identifies in the practical outworking of entire sanctification, an added emphasis on the continuing life of the Holy Spirit resulting in gifts for powerful and effective ministry and evangelism. Chadwick does not disagree with Wesley’s less easily verifiable role for the Spirit of transforming lives by granting, as Wesley puts it “a consciousness that we are inwardly conformed by the Spirit of God to the image of his Son, and that we walk before him in justice, mercy and truth; doing the things which are pleasing in his sight.”²⁷ Chadwick does though look beyond this to a more specific expectation of how the Spirit will work in extraordinary and powerful ways.

This point is made clearer when Chadwick approaches the question from the perspective of the Spirit rather than of the doctrine of perfection, primarily in the collection of his articles, *The Way to Pentecost*. His teaching is grounded in his own experience. He first knew Pentecost for himself in 1882 when ministering as a lay agent in Stacksteads. Looking back, he exclaims that, “There came into my soul a deep peace, a thrilling joy, and a new sense of power [...] Things began to happen. What we had failed to do by strenuous endeavour came to pass without labour.”²⁸ The immediate effect of this personal experience on the local community was revival, though it is important to note what is not always clear from his various accounts of this episode: that it was primarily through the ministry of others that this came about. Chadwick himself received the gift of power for personal prayer,²⁹ but it was his associate “Little Jonnie,” in the same prayer meeting and subsequently, who received in prayer the names of people to visit, which then led to conversions and revival.³⁰ Here then is the peace, joy and perfect love of traditional Wesleyan experiences of perfection, received in prayer, combined with a “Pentecostal” experience of Spirit-empowered evangelism and ministry. Chadwick was less suspicious than most of his

²⁵ Sermon 11, *The Witness of the Spirit II* (1767), §V.4, *The Bicentennial Edition of the Works of John Wesley, Sermons, vol. 1*, ed. Albert C. Outler, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1984), p.298

²⁶ *Call to Christian Perfection*, p.77

²⁷ Sermon 10, *The Witness of the Spirit I* (1746), §I.6, *Works vol.1*, p.274.

²⁸ *Way to Pentecost*, p.37.

²⁹ *The Path of Prayer*, pp.41-42.

³⁰ K. F. Bowden, *Samuel Chadwick and Stacksteads* (Privately Printed and published by Stacksteads Methodist Church, Bacup, 1982), pp.10-11.

Wesleyan contemporaries of the promotion of the gifts of the Spirit by early Pentecostals: Randall comments that he “was unusual in arguing that the nine gifts of I Corinthians 12 were still to be utilized.”³¹ However, though not opposing the gifts of the Spirit, he does value the fruit of the Spirit more highly as they are also evidence of a life transformed by the Spirit within: “Gifts are an evidence of the Spirit; but they are no proof of holiness.”³²

Pentecost is for Chadwick a paradigmatic event that defines and describes the Spirit-filled life which is available to all Christians. “The Day of Pentecost reveals every quality, every energy, and every condition of the Spirit’s presence and work in the world.”³³ Pentecost is offered and recommended as an experience which everyone should desire to enter into.³⁴ This is a “Baptism of the Holy Spirit” which is distinct from and subsequent to regeneration, and includes both “an experience of Sanctification and the abiding fullness of the Spirit.”³⁵ Chadwick associates being filled by the Spirit with the description of Romans 8, and discerns from that chapter seven key transformations to be inherited by the believer: “deliverance” from the power of sin, “abounding vitality” and exuberance of life, “understanding,” “new fellowship in prayer,” “power” for witnessing, the “fire of God” which is a glowing love, and “passion for souls” led by a “holy compassion.”³⁶ Chadwick’s Pentecostal experience is akin to Wesleyan entire sanctification but with a focused purpose towards evangelistic activity and the expectation of revival.

Chadwick on the Relationship between Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit

Thus far, Chadwick’s theology is in line with his contemporaries and predecessors in the Wesleyan holiness traditions and developments of the period. Although some see him as in no way inventive, he was also deep thinking and engaged with contemporary theological

³¹ Randall, “Full Salvation,” p.187.

³² *Way to Pentecost*, p.110.

³³ *Humanity and God*, p.207.

³⁴ *Way to Pentecost*, p.29.

³⁵ *Way to Pentecost*, p.39.

³⁶ *Way to Pentecost*, pp.42-45.

reflection of his day.³⁷ There are aspects of his thinking which are more complex than was required in sermons and gospel tracts for mass distribution, and his distinctive writing on the Holy Spirit does stand out against his contemporaries. Shaped as it is by key motifs of Pentecost, baptism of the Spirit and Spirit-filled sanctification, it is unsurprising that this theology is constructed around the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Compared to his predecessors, including Wesley, and the Wesleyan holiness preachers such as Arthur and Cook, Chadwick went further in not just fitting a theology of the Holy Spirit in alongside a theology of Sanctification, but instead he brought the Spirit to the centre and at least began to forge what is more clearly a “Holy Spirit Theology” – something on the way towards what Myk Habets describes as “a Christian Theology in a Trinitarian fashion, but one that starts with the Spirit.”³⁸

Chadwick’s Spirit-Christology

The relationship between Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit is a primary issue for developing any Holy Spirit theology and is to be found at the heart of Chadwick’s vision for the work of the Holy Spirit. As he does not explain or expand on his theology, it is only possible to speculate on the process by which he comes to think about this. Chadwick does not address “Christology” explicitly, but he does bring Christological questions to bear on the central concerns of his writings. There are two presenting issues which may have prompted the need to have included Spirit-Christology in his teaching. Firstly, it may be the need to better enable Christian people to understand how the Spirit works in them and how and to what extent it is, or is not, involved with their humanity. The answer for Chadwick would be to look to the example of the life of Christ, so making this a specifically Christological issue. The second possibility for his theological process would be to come from the other direction (within this spatial metaphor): the fact that more detailed and precise descriptions of the relationship between Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit are demanded by our reading of the gospels. Chadwick engages with this task of theological exegesis not just for curious interest,

³⁷ Howarth, “Samuel Chadwick and Some Aspects of Wesleyan Methodist Evangelism,” p.226; Howarth quotes Brice claiming that Chadwick’s breadth of scholarship and interest was not often communicated through his *Joyful News* articles, but that he was a keen reader of Karl Barth and P.T. Forsyth.

³⁸ Myk Habets (ed.), “Prolegomenon,” in *Third Article* Theology, p.3.

but in order to offer it as the model for the way that relationship between the Spirit and a human being is worked out. It seems clear that the first option best describes his methodology. It is important to realise that Chadwick starts thinking about his Christology not with an interpretation of the gospel accounts, but instead from the perspective of the church – what do we know of Jesus Christ now through the experience of Pentecost in the life of the Church? The work of the Holy Spirit in the life of the church is the starting point, and through that lens Chadwick forms the shape of his understanding of Jesus Christ. The work of the Holy Spirit is integral to his Christology, firstly, in making the incarnation possible and, secondly, in making its effects real in the life of individuals and of the church.

Pentecost as central moment in the work of salvation

For Chadwick, the central turning point of history is the day of Pentecost, when people first gather to follow Jesus and the church begins; all of the ways God relates to the world that go before are leading up to this day, all that goes thereafter is dependent upon it. “Pentecost is the crowning miracle and abiding mystery of grace. It marks the beginning of the Christian dispensation.”³⁹ He puts it more strongly in his unpublished sermons:

“In some ways the miracle of Pentecost is more wonderful than that of Bethlehem.”⁴⁰

“The Christian dispensation was inaugurated on that day by the gift of the Holy Spirit. It was the most wonderful day the world had ever seen since God made man in his own image. It closed a dispensation that had lasted for thousands of years, and opened another that will continue till the end of time.”⁴¹

By “dispensation” Chadwick means the way in which God provides for humanity a way into salvation.⁴² He is dividing time into two clear dispensations of God’s grace – one before and

³⁹ *Way to Pentecost*, p.31

⁴⁰ Unpublished sermon typescript held in Arthur Skevington Wood Archive, Cliff College [hereafter: *Sermons.*], E21/7/28 “The Miracle and Mystery of Pentecost,” p.7

⁴¹ *Sermons*, E21/7/27 “Pentecost,” p.1

⁴² This would be to follow Fletcher by seeing dispensations not as a progression of revelation, but as a progression of salvation history; see J. Russell Frazier, *True Christianity: The Doctrine of the Dispensations in the Thought of John William Fletcher (1729-1785)*, (Cambridge: James Clarke and Co, 2014), p.161.

one after Pentecost. Some tentative comments about the relationship of this attitude to his theological forbears is possible. Although no direct link is made, his use of the term “dispensation” here is reminiscent of Fletcher’s structure for the progression of salvation history, and especially as we will see the way that the Son is integral to this dispensation of the Spirit.⁴³ There are echoes here too with the work of one of Chadwick’s direct forebears, William Burt Pope one of his tutors at Didsbury College (1883-1886), whose *Compendium of Christian Theology* was well known to Chadwick in his early years, and became a basis for preaching in Leeds and teaching at Cliff.⁴⁴ Pope is careful in following a way similar to Fletcher on this, though using different terminology and with less overall emphasis on Pentecost. He makes far less use of the term “dispensation” in favour of a new “economy of the Holy Ghost,”⁴⁵ who acts primarily as the “Administrator of redemption.”⁴⁶ Several of the ideas below from Chadwick’s texts are briefly mentioned by Pope in his short section on the Spirit, but are not read back into his much fuller discussion of the “Mediatorial Ministry of the Son.” In more radically acknowledging the Spirit as also active in the work of the Son, Chadwick opens up the potential for a Spirit-Christology in a Wesleyan framework.

For Chadwick, the way by which God establishes a new “Christian dispensation” is through the incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ. These are not though the beginning of the new dispensation because it is not until the work of Christ is made available to people that it can begin to bear fruit. The Holy Spirit could be seen, and has been seen by many in the church, as simply the means by which this is achieved (for example, Pope’s notion of Spirit as “Administrator”), with the redemptive events of the life, death and resurrection of Christ being the main turning point. This though would be to diminish the equal place of the Spirit within the Trinity. Instead, the Spirit which is pivotal in making the work of Christ available to us in and beyond Pentecost is also pivotal in both the initial and ongoing effects of the incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection. This is an expression of an essential aspect of the orthodox understanding of the Trinity – the Father, Son and Spirit are

⁴³ Frazier, *ibid.* p.162.

⁴⁴ Howarth, “Samuel Chadwick,” p.27; Howard G. Mellor, “The development of mission theology and praxis at Cliff College, with reference to its antecedents and history,” (unpublished thesis, PhD Durham University, 2005), p.87

⁴⁵ Pope, *Compendium*, vol.2, p.326.

⁴⁶ *ibid.* p.321.

always distinct yet always act together (*Opera Trinitatis as extra sunt indivisa*). It can be seen that Chadwick relies on this key concept throughout this discussion.

Preparation for Pentecost – the Holy Spirit in Christ

The Spirit has been at work in Creation and in the life of Israel throughout the narrative of the Old Testament. God gives the Spirit to guide and instruct the people (e.g. Neh. 9:20), and this takes a range of forms, from inspired creativity (e.g. Exod. 31: 1-5) to the inspiration of the prophets who speak God's word by the Spirit (e.g. Ezek. 11:5).⁴⁷ The fullest reception of the work of the Spirit is associated with the promise of the coming Messiah (e.g. Isa. 11:1-3). "Jesus Christ claimed that in Him was fulfilled the Messianic prophecy of the Spirit,"⁴⁸ (Luke 4: 16-21). This though is more than just a work of the Spirit akin to that which the prophets experienced. It is by the Holy Spirit that the human and divine in Jesus are enabled to be consubstantial – he is both fully human and fully divine without either loss of distinction or lack of unity between these two natures. Chadwick maintains that the Spirit always works in human beings by cooperating with their spirit, and does this most fully in the man Jesus:

"He indwells the Body of Christ, as Christ dwelt in the Body prepared for Him by the Holy Spirit. [...] This two-fold action runs through the whole of redemption by Christ Jesus. Our Lord was born of a woman, but conceived by the Holy Spirit of God. He grew in stature and in knowledge in the house of Joseph, instructed and guided by the same Spirit. He offered himself without blemish unto God through the Eternal Spirit, and it was the Spirit that raised up Christ from the dead."⁴⁹

Chadwick is careful to avoid merging the Spirit into the Son, which would present problems for his doctrine of the Trinity. Whilst they are both working in the incarnation, they always remain distinct. The Spirit works in the humanity of Jesus to prepare it (sanctify it; make it holy), and ready it to be assumed by the divinity of Christ. As Chadwick describes this in one of his sermons, his carefulness to preserve Trinitarian doctrine is apparent:

⁴⁷ *Way to Pentecost*, p.47

⁴⁸ *Way to Pentecost*, p.59

⁴⁹ Samuel Chadwick, *The Path of Prayer*, Sheffield: Cliff College Publishing (1995), p.42

“The Incarnation was the conjoint act of the Father, the Son and the Spirit, but the Spirit is the active agent. The Body of Jesus was prepared of the Spirit, and yet Jesus is never called His Son. The Spirit prepared, the Son assumed. The Spirit protected and nourished that which He had prepared, and at the Baptism in Jordan the Spirit was given to abide in Him.”⁵⁰

It is important to note here that there is no sense of the human Jesus being “adopted” by the Spirit at the baptism in the Jordan. The Spirit has been at work preparing the body of Jesus prior to birth, and since then had been nourishing and protecting. Chadwick does not detail the way in which this took place – perhaps we can suppose it was through the people surrounding the infant and then young man Jesus, and through the work of the Spirit on (but not fully *in*) his inner life. However, what happens at the baptism is the Spirit coming to abide within – for Chadwick, an experience alike to baptism of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost and for believers now. Prior to this moment when Jesus’ ministry began, “life was ‘not yet given,’ and our Lord Himself was straitened until his baptism was accomplished and He had ‘sent fire upon the earth.’”⁵¹ As with all of Chadwick’s understanding of the role of the Spirit in the incarnation of the Son, there is a corresponding feature of the relationship of the Spirit to all humans. In redemption and regeneration, the work of the Spirit is assured to be with us, but only with the fullness of Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit will the Spirit begin to “abide in” us.

For the divinity of Christ to so assume human flesh in the birth of Jesus Christ demanded much to be given up; as Paul puts it in Philippians 2:7, Christ emptied himself to be born in human likeness, a process often referred to by the Greek term for emptying – *kenosis*. However, important though this process is, Chadwick balances it with the notion that whilst the divinity of Christ was emptied, the Holy Spirit “prepared” the humanity of Jesus to receive divinity by filling it to the full – in Greek, *pleroma*.⁵² He unites his Holy Spirit theology with his Christology, using a typically pithy turn of phrase – the way in which most of Chadwick’s deep theology is passed on –

⁵⁰ *Sermons* E21/7/28 “The Miracle and Mystery of Pentecost,” p.7

⁵¹ *Way to Pentecost*, p.27.

⁵² Chadwick makes no direct NT reference to the fullness (*plērōma*) of the Spirit, though see e.g., how the link between *plērōma* and the Spirit is made by first Eph 3:19, “so that you may be filled (*plēroō*) with all the fullness (*plērōma*) of God,” and then Eph 5:18, “be filled (*plēroō*) with the Spirit.” On the other hand, there is direct reference to the “fullness of Christ” in e.g. Eph 4:13; Chadwick is perhaps here interpreting this “fullness of Christ” to result from being “filled by the Spirit”?

“...there is a Pleroma as well as a Kenosis. Our Lord emptied Himself, but the Father gave to His self-emptied Son the fullness of His Spirit. He did not cease to be God, but He became in all things human, and was subject to such conditions as were possible to human nature possessed of His Spirit.”⁵³

It is the Holy Spirit dwelling within him that empowered Jesus’ ministry and miracles. It was by this indwelling Spirit that Jesus Christ is obedient even to his atoning death as a perfect sinless sacrifice (Heb. 2:9; 9:14), and then in the power of the Spirit, God raised him from death (Rom. 8:11). “From the Incarnation to the Resurrection, the life and ministry of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, were lived and wrought in and through and by the power of the Spirit of the Father and the Son.”⁵⁴

The Promise of the Spirit

Recalling the caution not to overestimate the significance of the redemptive work of Christ until it is actually activated in human lives, the focal point is yet to come in this work of salvation – the Spirit which has done all this in Christ is given to the disciples on the day of Pentecost. Jesus promises this Spirit which will do so much in the disciples. The foundation which makes possible the work of the Spirit in those who follow Jesus Christ is that which the Spirit has already brought about in Christ. The way that Christ’s human nature is made holy is the fullest expression of what now is possible for us. Our humanity will always fall short of the sinlessness of Christ, but this is atoned for in Jesus’ Spirit-led death. Through the resurrection the Spirit gives a promise and a hope of eternal life, beginning now. The Spirit makes the life of the risen Christ real in those who believe and trust in him, who know their sins forgiven, and their humanity, by the Spirit, is holy and ready to receive Christ.

“The glory of Christ’s work is not simply that He laid down His life for us, but that He imparts to us the very same Spirit in which and by which He lived. It is the miracle of the Incarnation duplicated, multiplied, and perpetuated in Christ’s believing people. For the Son a body was prepared, but the Spirit is incarnate in the believer, and dwells in the bodies of all that believe.”⁵⁵

⁵³ *Way to Pentecost*, p.61

⁵⁴ *Way to Pentecost*, p.63

⁵⁵ *Humanity and God*, p.189-90

This is the other side of the relationship between Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit which is so central for Chadwick. He has a Pentecost-shaped understanding of who Jesus Christ was and the work of Christ for salvation. He also has a Pentecost-shaped notion of how relationship with the risen Christ, that is actual life in Christ, is experienced in ordinary human reality now.

The Holy Spirit and life 'in Christ'

Jesus promises that the Spirit will come to be with them primarily in chapters 14-16 of John's gospel, to an extent through acceptance and encouragement of the preaching of John the Baptist (Matt 3:11, Mark 1:18, Luke 3:16), and then also, after the resurrection, in the instructions to wait for the Spirit to be with them after he has ascended (Luke 24: 39, Acts 1:8). Chadwick gives a summary list of what exactly Jesus is promising:

- '1) That the self-same Spirit that had been given to the Son would be given to them.
- 2) That He would be to them all that He had been to Him.
- 3) That He would be to them all that the Son had been to them and more.
- 4) That He would be in them as the Son had been with them.
- 5) That they would gain in Him more than they would lose in the departure of Christ.
- 6) That He would be the Paraclete, or Other Self of the Christ, and through His indwelling the Christ would live in them.
- 7) That His Mission was to glorify the Son by taking of the things of Christ and making them available to us.'⁵⁶

The key notion behind this list is at no.4: Chadwick's often repeated description of the significance of Pentecost consisting of the contrast between 'with' and 'in.' Jesus had been 'with' the disciples, alongside them as teacher, healer and friend, but now that he has gone and the Spirit has come, he will be fully 'in' them. It is the Holy Spirit at work in us who makes the risen Christ apparent to us and present in us. Here Chadwick is wrestling with a key aspect of a Spirit Christology – in what way and to what extent is the work of the Holy Spirit in believers similar to the work of the Spirit in Jesus Christ. A Logos Christology

⁵⁶ *Way to Pentecost*, p.21

stresses the uniqueness of the Incarnation in Christ, and so ever limits the potential of the work of the Spirit in realising the life of Christ in ordinary humans. There are good reasons for this, usually to resist forms of adoptionism whereby the Son of God either does not fully become human, or the humanity of Jesus is not fully united to the Son of God. The Logos Christology of Nicene and Chalcedonian orthodoxy stresses that the Word became flesh and so there is only one substance in Christ, and humans can never be the same as Christ – questions are left as to how the Spirit might be involved in human life in the intimate and transformative ways suggested in the New Testament. Conversely, by beginning with the life of the Spirit in Jesus, Spirit Christologies make a link between the work of the Spirit in Christ and the work of the Spirit in believers. Leopoldo Sanchez has expressed it like this: “due to ‘its close association with the incarnate Word,’ the Spirit takes form in Christ and then takes the form of Christ in his saints.”⁵⁷ Chadwick does not discuss the distinctions between Logos and Spirit Christologies, but through these simply expressed concepts of his Pentecost-shaped theology similar negotiations over the extent and limits of the role for the Spirit in Christology are indeed being explored. Further to the difference between Christ “with” the disciples and the Spirit “in” the apostles, there are two related concepts which are significant for the way Chadwick relates the life of the Spirit in believers to the Spirit in Christ and so offers a Spirit focused spirituality. He develops notions firstly of the Spirit as representative of Christ in the believer, and secondly of the Spirit being clothed with the believer.

The Spirit as advocate for Christ in the believer

Firstly, at no.6 in the list above, he states that the Spirit is the “Paraclete, or Other Self of the Christ;” consideration of the way Chadwick uses the term “paraclete” will lead to reflection on the phrase “Other Self of Christ.” The Greek word *paraklētos* occurs four times in John’s gospel (14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7) and in the 1611 *King James Version*, and also in the

⁵⁷ Leopoldo A. Sanchez M., “Sculpting Christ in Us: Public Faces of the Spirit in God’s World,” in Habets (ed.), *Third Article Theology*, p.298.

new 1885 *Revised Version* preferred by Chadwick,⁵⁸ is translated each time as 'Comforter.' The meaning of this word in other Greek texts offers more possibilities though, and a footnote in the *Revised Version* is noted and commended by Chadwick (below). 'Comforter' is too easily limited to implying that the Spirit will come to be with the disciples as helper and strengthener. This is good and to be longed for, but Chadwick expects more and argues that 'advocate' or even just 'paraclete' would be a better translation. Note that he does not see this word as meaning that the Spirit will be an advocate for us before God. This is the use of the word as found in 1 John 2:1 when Christ is an advocate before God on our behalf, and some interpretations apply this logic to John 14-16 and ascribe this role to the Spirit. There is no single sufficient interpretation, and perhaps at best a range of meanings are to be held and explored through the term paraclete.⁵⁹ Chadwick is insistent that the primary meaning is that the Spirit will be an advocate to us on Christ's behalf; The Spirit represents Christ to us. The focus of the promise of the Spirit is the way that he will convey, not just to, but actually *into* the disciples the presence of Christ. The Spirit leads us into all truth (John 16:13) and so communicates the fullness of Christ not just as if he were with us, but because through the Spirit he is actually in us. This is one of his several explanations:

'It is unfortunate that "Paraclete" should have been translated "Comforter," for the ministry of consolation hardly enters into Christ's promise. The margin of the Revised Version suggests the Latin word "Advocate" as the nearest equivalent to Paraclete, and if "Advocate" is substituted for "Comforter" in St. John 14 to 16, it is astonishing how illuminating it becomes. The Spirit is not our Advocate, but Christ's. An advocate appears as representative of another, and the Holy Spirit comes to represent Christ, interpret and vindicate Christ, administer for Christ in His Church and Kingdom; to be to the believer all that Christ Himself was, and is - - with this difference, that the Christ was with His disciples and the Spirit is in them.'⁶⁰

⁵⁸ He generally used the *Revised Version* translation of the Bible which was the work of multiple British and American scholars and published in 1885. Their aim was to update the 1611 *King James Version* of the Bible only by changing things which could be improved on the basis of manuscripts of better provenance, age or quality than those available to the seventeenth century translators. Chadwick was in theological training in Didsbury 1883-86 and in his first circuit in Edinburgh 1886-87, and in both places he was much engaged with the contemporary debates of biblical scholarship that would have featured the new *Revised Version* (see David Howarth, *Samuel Chadwick*, pp. 28, 32-37). Whilst he was student at Didsbury he was presented with a copy of the new Bible, which is now kept in the Samuel Chadwick Centre Archive at Cliff College.

⁵⁹ For this conclusion, see Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to John: New International Commentary on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1995), pp.590-591.

⁶⁰ *Way to Pentecost*, p.22

This interpretation of the term *paraclete* serves to stress the importance of Chadwick's conception of the relationship between Christ and the Spirit. The Spirit is not the same person of the Godhead as Christ, but the Spirit is essential to the presence of Christ in the life of the Christian. Without the Spirit in us, we cannot know Christ in us, and we cannot fully know what it is to benefit from the life, death and resurrection of Christ. Hence he can go so far as to call the Spirit "the Other Self of Christ."⁶¹ Can this be more than hyperbole? Are there two "selves" of Christ? If allowing that it may be a realistic identification, then consequences ensue for the understanding of the Spirit in Jesus. When the Spirit indwells Jesus, is it representing Christ to him in the same way as Chadwick is arguing the Spirit represents Christ to the believer? Here the Spirit Christology is again strained to avoid adoptionism and account for the full union of human and divine prior to the baptism of Christ, even if not accompanied by Holy Spirit power for ministry. Applying this back onto Chadwick's understanding of the life of the Spirit in the believer, if the union of divine and human is not dependent on the Spirit as "Other Self of Christ" when the human Jesus is filled, then neither can the believer's potential for union with Christ depend solely on being filled with the Spirit in a particular experience of "Pentecost." Those who have faith in Christ are one with Christ through the benefits of justification and regeneration, but this is actualised and made public in a new and full way by the filling of the Spirit which brings sanctification and so power for effective service.

Chadwick's theology will demand similar careful treatment when now considering the second, and more unusual, way that he relates the life of the Spirit in believers to the Spirit in Christ – the Spirit is clothed with the believer.

The Spirit clothed with the believer

How does the Spirit actually work in human beings? There is inevitably an element of mystery in this, and an extent to which such things can only be known by experience, and then defy explanation from one person to another. This is even more mysterious in

⁶¹ cf *Humanity and God*, p.188

Chadwick's view because the way that he has framed his Holy Spirit theology means that the process by which the Spirit dwells in us is the same as the way that the Spirit indwells Christ. To know the Spirit in oneself is to know something of the incarnation of the Son of God. Chadwick is explicit in describing this as a mystery:

“He that is Christ's not merely has the Spirit of Christ ruling in him, leading him, guiding him, sanctifying him, preparing him body and soul for glorification; but has Him also as the new animating Soul of his soul, Spirit of his spirit, repeating in himself the mystery of the union of two natures in one personality.’ That is the mystery of grace that passes all understanding, and the miracle of grace by which the Incarnation is perpetuated in the Body of Christ. That is the mystery of the ages.”⁶²

Any insight that Chadwick can offer on this point is indeed worthy of attention then! In his *Joyful News* articles and in his sermons, on this question, he often makes reference to a concept from a marginal reading of Judges 6:34 noted in the 1885 *Revised Version*.⁶³ The main text reads, ‘But the Spirit of the Lord came upon Gideon,’ but the note in the margin says that the Hebrew could be read as, ‘clothed itself with Gideon.’ Chadwick explains:

‘The marginal reading of Judges 6:34 (Revised Version) will help us here again, especially if we read it in the light of New Testament experience: "the Spirit clothed Himself with Gideon." Spirit clothing itself with humanity is the miracle of the incarnation. A body is as necessary to the Spirit as to the Son. For the Son a Body was prepared by the Spirit; for the Spirit a Body is made possible by the Son. The Spirit lived in and through Gideon. The life of Gideon became the life of the Spirit. The man was endued and the Spirit was clothed. The Spirit thought through Gideon's brain, felt through Gideon's heart, looked through Gideon's eyes, spake through Gideon's voice, wrought by Gideon's hands, and yet all the time Gideon was still Gideon and the Spirit was still the Spirit.’⁶⁴

For Chadwick relating the work of the Spirit in the incarnation to the work of the Spirit in believers is a most powerful insight. Whilst the more common and usual phrasing is for a person to be clothed with the Spirit, this turning round of the image helps us see how vital the indwelling life of the Spirit is. In the incarnation the life of the indwelling Spirit is not an

⁶² *Way to Pentecost*, p.51; The source of the quotation in this passage is unidentified.

⁶³ In the articles selected for the book *Way to Pentecost*, he refers twice directly to Gideon (pp. 47 and 51), and five times to the general concept of the Spirit clothing himself with a human (pp. 33, 57, 69, 89, 119).

⁶⁴ *Way to Pentecost*, p.51; cf *Humanity and God*, p.190

extra power added onto the Christ, but the way that “a Body was prepared” (cf Heb. 10:5). By the indwelling fullness of the Spirit, the human nature of the person Jesus Christ is most fully enabled to witness to the divine nature of that same person, for example in the achievement of human virtues, the fruits of the Spirit, and in the working of the supernatural gifts of the Spirit. As well as being divine, Jesus is fully human, realising full human potential. Other humans can be filled in exactly the same way and, though not divine (for they are not the person who is the Son of God), can be, like Jesus, fully human through the fullness of the Spirit within.⁶⁵ Ian McFarland puts it simply like this: “*the Spirit is not what makes Christ divine, but rather what makes him human*, in that Jesus fulfills his specifically human vocation from conception to glory through the power of the Spirit.”⁶⁶ As in the Christ, so in the life of the disciple of Christ – the Holy Spirit is not just a desirable extra helper, but an essential element of our relationship with God through which we know Christ to be in us and ourselves to be in Christ. Chadwick does not explore his other corresponding phrase, “for the Spirit a Body is made possible by the Son.” Here, McFarland’s reasoning may again help, and avoid any complications of Chadwick’s concepts. “The Son” does not here refer to the divine *nature* of Christ, but to the hypostasis which is identified as both divine and human, the key point of Chalcedon being to keep distinct the concepts of the two natures in one person.⁶⁷ The human being, Jesus, who is filled by the Spirit to the extent that is most possible for human nature, was the person (hypostasis) who was the Son of God. This is the mysterious unique reality of the incarnation: Jesus Christ is both the second person of the Trinity and a human being exactly like any other, filled with the Spirit in the same way as any other human being might also be.

The implications of this image of the Spirit putting on Gideon like a coat, having given insight into the incarnation, also helps Chadwick expand upon the way the Spirit relates to us. He is at pains to stress that the Spirit is a distinct personality which then acts upon, or even within our personality. This is how one might become Christ-like, or how one might see Christ in

⁶⁵ cf *Way to Pentecost*, p.42: “He clothes Himself with sanctified men and women, ‘that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.’ [2 Cor 4:7].”

⁶⁶ Ian McFarland, “Spirit and Incarnation: Toward a Pneumatic Chalcedonianism,” in *International Journal of Systematic Theology* vol. 16 no.2 Apr 2014, p.158 (his italics). Note that this paper has proceeded to use the term “Spirit Christology” differently from McFarland, who sees all such Christologies as adoptionist, and in line with the interpretation of Myk Habets et al., *Third Article Theology*, passim.

⁶⁷ McFarland, “Spirit and Incarnation”, pp156-7.

another. However, this is not to say that the Spirit takes over or takes away our personality – Gideon was still Gideon. It is put starkly in one of Chadwick’s unpublished sermons by combining quotes of Matthew 16:25 and Galatians 2:20 –

‘Pentecost accentuated personality. Each found himself in the fullness of the Spirit. I have known people who expected to become somebody else, and were disappointed because they did not bring forth another person’s fruit. “Whosoever loseth his life – shall find IT.” The ‘I’ crucified is the ‘I’ that lives in the in-living Christ. “I, yet not I, but Christ in me.”’⁶⁸

This concept of indwelling by the Spirit informs several other aspects of Chadwick’s theology, including the way that the fruits and the gifts of the Spirit are made manifest. His primary concept is always for the Spirit to be working from within, intimately intertwined yet always still distinct from the personality; it is a quite different notion to the Spirit as a power which works from outside of us. Another verse which Chadwick is fond of quoting in his writing, and which is neatly underlined in the Bible he used from 1882 onwards for his own personal prayer and study, is Zechariah 4:6 – ‘not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts.’⁶⁹ The power of the Spirit was clearly vital for Chadwick, but, combining this with the insight from Judges 6:34 shows how, rather than overwhelming from outside, it is a power that fills and changes from within. Undoubtedly the image of the believer being put on like a coat by the Spirit could provoke questions about identity and autonomy, but at its best it is an understanding which is both intimate and also awesome. Chadwick certainly found it so: ‘The grandest thing I ever did was to cross out Gideon’s name and put my own. The difference it made to my life is beyond my power to tell.’⁷⁰

Potential theological sources for aspects of Chadwick’s Holy Spirit theology

There are two authors, Auguste Sabatier and R.C. Moberly, whom Chadwick quotes directly in *Way to Pentecost* in relation to his understanding of the Holy Spirit, and these are both surprising sources for Chadwick to use.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *Sermons*, E21/7/19 “The Pentecostal Life,” p.4; capitals for “IT” as in original; cf *Way to Pentecost*, p.48.

⁶⁹ This Bible is archived in the Samuel Chadwick Centre, Cliff College. He uses this verse in the text of *Way to Pentecost* on six separate occasions (pp. 17, 22, 56, 70, 72, 75).

⁷⁰ *Sermons*, E21/7/19 “The Pentecostal Life,” p.3

⁷¹ There are also direct quotes from E.M. Bounds (p.32) on how God empowers the Church by changing people rather than methods, Andrew Murray (p.37) on the devotional realisation that one is a temple of the Spirit,

Auguste Sabatier

Chadwick quotes Auguste Sabatier (1839–1901) in connection to this union of the Spirit with the human personality through indwelling as if the Spirit was clothed with humanity, and specifically in the explanation of his use of Galatians 2:20.⁷² Sabatier was a French Protestant theologian and founder of the Religious Science department at the Sorbonne in Paris, working in the liberal Protestant framework which had developed from the theology of Schleiermacher. Chadwick quotes from *The Religions of Authority and the Religions of the Spirit*, which had been produced from Sabatier's final manuscript, and published soon after he died in 1904. Sabatier is explaining his interpretation of Pauline pneumatology:

“It is not enough to represent the Spirit of God as coming as a help of man's spirit, supplying strength which he lacks, an associate or juxtaposed force, a supernatural auxiliary. There is no simple addition of divine power and human power in the Christian life. The Spirit of God identifies Himself with the human ME into which it enters and whose life it becomes. If we may so speak it is individualized in the new moral personality it creates.”⁷³

In this book, Sabatier argues that the authority of the Christian faith is founded neither on the Roman Catholic assertion of propositional truth within the history of the *magisterium* of the church, nor on the Protestant assertion of propositional truth based on the inerrancy of Scripture. Instead, the source of all authority is the indwelling Spirit by which “a new moral personality” is formed enabling the follower of Christ to engage in Spirit-led discernment as to the history of the interpretation of Scripture and the teaching of the Church.⁷⁴ Sabatier represented a liberal and Pietist interpretation of scripture and ecclesiology that sought also to maintain by this combination a transformative and uniquely Christian critical relationship

P.T. Forsyth (p.71) on how the Spirit is muted in the Church due to the decay of faith, and William Arthur (p.118) which is a shorter section of the same quote as *Humanity and God* p.230 (see above). These authors are not the subject of attention here as the quotes are not related to the central concerns of this paper and they are all similar to Chadwick in their theological backgrounds. There are also three quotes which are unattributed and as yet unidentified (pp 50, 51, 81).

⁷² *Way to Pentecost*, p.48.

⁷³ Auguste Sabatier, *The religions of authority and the religions of the Spirit* (London : Williams & Norgate, 1904), p.307.

⁷⁴ Eugène Ménégoz provides a summary of his theological work; “The Theology of Auguste Sabatier” in *Expository Times* vol.15 no.1, pp 30-34.

with modernist culture and society.⁷⁵ Chadwick does not develop his interaction with this text and its ideas, and only cites it with regards to this concept of a new Christlike personality being formed by the union of the Holy Spirit with the human spirit. Sabatier's development of a central place for the doctrine of the Holy Spirit resonated with Chadwick's project, even if the underlying theological and philosophical framework was quite different.

R.C. Moberly

In a way similar to Sabatier, Chadwick presents only a tangential relationship to the Anglican theologian from the University of Oxford, R.C. Moberly (1845–1903). Chadwick quotes his most significant book, *Atonement and Personality* in the context of a discussion of how the Spirit is identified with the presence of Jesus, but without them ceasing to be two persons:

“In one sense it is true that when the Spirit comes it is Jesus who comes again to dwell and rule in the hearts and lives of men, but though the Presence is identical, the Personalities are always distinct. Moberly has expressed the distinction perhaps as clearly as we may ever hope to get it when he says: ‘It is not for an instant that the disciples are to have the presence of the Spirit *instead of* the [presence of] the Son. But to have the Spirit *is* to have the Son.’”⁷⁶

Moberly's book was received as a work of subtle philosophical theology which stood in the stream of liberal Protestant thought of the nineteenth century. Moberly explored the distinction between “objective” and “subjective” approaches to the atonement, and now, with his development of the theme of how personality is shaped by divine love and the Holy

⁷⁵ Glenn Harris sets Sabatier's theology within the tradition that sees “Revelation as religious experience,” beginning with Schleiermacher and progressing on towards Dodd, Hick and Rahner; “Revelation in Christian Theology” *Churchman* vol 120, 2006, pp.11-34. Donald A. Nielsen shows the extent to Durkheim took issue with Sabatier's fideistic individualism; “Auguste Sabatier and the Durkheimians on the Scientific Study of Religion,” in *Sociological Analysis*, vol. 47, no. 4, Winter 1987, pp. 283-301. These engagements with Sabatier place him within theological debates of the early twentieth century that Chadwick was clearly aware of, and, though he only engaged with them very occasionally publicly, and then when they in some way directly affected the needs of the Church for revival, we can at least see that the theological thinking behind his homiletical publications was not unaffected by the academic theological discourse of his day.

⁷⁶ *Way to Pentecost*, p.60; quoting R.C. Moberly, *Atonement and Personality* (London: John Murray, 1901), pp.168-169. Chadwick has altered the quote from the original, indicated by the square bracket; the italics are in the original but their inclusion varies across publications of *Way to Pentecost*.

Spirit, his work still stands as an exemplar of the “moral influence theory” of atonement.⁷⁷ It seems unlikely that Chadwick would necessarily have agreed with all of his thoughts on the atonement – himself being firm in defending the substitutionary model of atonement: “Most of the defective teaching about the Cross comes from false ideas about sin, or the misunderstanding of faith.”⁷⁸ However, Chadwick is, as ever, seeking a balance, and in that same passage he also recognises the importance of the subjective reception of atonement: “Substitution is made effective by identification. The fact that Christ died for me must be made operative by the faith which translates the Cross into the personal experience of crucifixion with Him.”⁷⁹ So perhaps we can suppose Chadwick would have appreciated some of Moberly’s thoughts on the atonement, and would have more than likely warmed to his focus on the Holy Spirit as providing the way that the atonement is made real for believers. Indeed, some of Moberly’s key insights into the incarnation and Trinitarian doctrine align closely with the Holy Spirit theology of Chadwick, for example:

“The Spirit of the Incarnate is the Spirit of God. But it is not so much the Spirit of God, regarded in His eternal existence, or relation, in the Being of Deity: it is the Spirit of God in Humanity, the Spirit of God become the Spirit of man in the person of the Incarnate – become thenceforward the true interpretation and secret of what true manhood really is – it this which is the distinctive revelation of the New Testament, the distinctive significance and life of the Church of Christ.”⁸⁰

By using these two quotes from liberal Protestant theologians, Chadwick reveals a further source for his theological thinking to add to his more explicit indebtedness to the Wesleyan tradition of Perfection and the nineteenth century holiness movement’s use of the language of Pentecost and baptism of the Spirit. Howarth characterises him as a “bridge person” within Methodism, often resisting extreme of fundamentalism and of liberalism and instead

⁷⁷ e.g. Moberly is used in this way in Alan Richardson and John Bowden (eds), *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology* (London: SCM Press, 1983), p.53. Note also that in other text books, Sabatier is given as a similar exemplar of the moral influence theory of atonement; e.g. Jeff Astley, *SCM Study Guide to Christian Doctrine* (London: SCM Press, 2010), p.125.

⁷⁸ *Gospel of the Cross*, pp.10-11. Reception of Moberly’s book at the time by evangelical commentators levelled precisely these criticisms, e.g. the review by the Reformed Baptist theologian, Augustus H. Strong of Rochester Theological Seminary in the USA, in the *American Journal of Theology* vol. 6, no. 2, Apr., 1902, pp. 370-372.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁸⁰ Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, p.195.

seeking a middle path.⁸¹ He was engaged with the latest academic theological thinking of his time, and, even if he might not have agreed with the liberal foundations, it seems likely that his doctrinal formulations were affected positively by this interaction.

John Owen

Chadwick often lamented the lack of focus on the Holy Spirit in Christian writing and devotional practices over the centuries. This concern was a theme which subsequently became increasingly common in twentieth century theology. He regrets that, "Sermons and hymns are singularly barren on this subject, and the last great book on the Spirit was written in 1674."⁸² He is referring to *Pneumatologia: or A Discourse Concerning the Holy Spirit* by seventeenth century puritan, John Owen. Although he does not otherwise refer to it, this work does seem to have been a source of inspiration for Chadwick's own theology. There is much in Owen's approach to Christology and the Holy Spirit that is reflected in Chadwick's thinking. The theology of John Owen has been a focus of recent discussions on Spirit Christology as from a Reformed Protestant perspective he offers an alternative to the Logos Christology which dominates the theological tradition. Chadwick does not offer anything like the systematic treatment given by Owen in *Pneumatologia*, nor the in-depth analysis of recent thinkers, but his position can be profitably located within these discussions. Investigation of the way that he has drawn this Spirit Christology into his predominantly Wesleyan theological framework may also offer fruitful paths for future work on Wesleyan Christology.

Owen's key Christological innovation, explained in *Pneumatologia* II.3-4,⁸³ is to give a role to the Spirit in the process of Incarnation. The Son assumes the human nature of Jesus, but the Spirit thereafter sustains the union of the human nature with the person of the Son of God. Owen makes clear that, "The only singular immediate act of the person of the Son on the

⁸¹ Howarth, "'Joyful News'", p.10.

⁸² *Way to Pentecost*, p.7

⁸³ John Owen, *Pneumatologia* II.III-IV in *The Works of John Owen*, Vol.3, ed. William Goold (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1966 [first published 1850-1853]), pp.159-188; subsequent references will be to the paragraph following Owen's numbering system, and the relevant page number.

human nature was the assumption of it into subsistence with Himself.”⁸⁴ Thereafter, it is the Spirit who immediately acts upon the human nature of Christ in all the various ways indicated in the New Testament, which Owen explicates in careful detail; primarily by sanctifying him and so enabling a human life without sin, and by empowering him for particular acts of ministry, and supremely for the crucifixion and resurrection. Owen recognises the potential objection that there does “not seem to be any need, nor indeed room, for any such operations of the Spirit”⁸⁵ if the Son has assumed the human nature of Jesus. A Logos Christology focuses on the union of the divine and human natures of Christ only in and by the person of the Son of God. This is answered by Owen through reliance on the principle of *Opera Trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa*, such that just as when the Son acts to assume human nature, the Spirit is not detached from this intent, nor is the Son absent from the subsequent work of the Spirit. Just as, “Whatever the Son of God wrought in, by, or upon the human nature, he did it by the Holy Ghost, who is his Spirit, as He is the Spirit of the Father”⁸⁶ so also, “the glory of the human nature, as united unto the person of the Son of God, and engaged in the discharge of his office as mediator, consists alone in these eminent, peculiar, ineffable communications of the Spirit of God unto him, and his powerful operations in him.”⁸⁷ The Spirit operates in the human nature of Christ not alone, but in unity with the Son and the Father. Finally, the Spirit works in all people who seek to be conformed to Christ in the same way as he did within Christ’s own human nature, but of course without them being assumed by the Son. The role for the Spirit in the incarnation means that without being the same as Christ, we can be like Christ through the work of the Spirit: “this conformity consists only in participation of those graces whose fullness dwells in him. We can, therefore, no other way regularly press after it, but by an acquaintance with and due consideration of the work of the Spirit of God upon his human nature.”⁸⁸

It has been shown above how in *Way to Pentecost* Chadwick’s gathered homiletical references to the work of the Holy Spirit in Christ and in believers clearly follow this Spirit Christology pattern. His acknowledged appreciation for Owen points towards an

⁸⁴ *Pneumatologia* II.III.I.1, p.160.

⁸⁵ *Pneumatologia* II.III.I, p.160.

⁸⁶ *Pneumatologia* II.III.I.5, p.162.

⁸⁷ *Pneumatologia* II.IV.II, p.186.

⁸⁸ *Pneumatologia* II.IV.II, p.188.

acquaintance with his theology. On particular points there are clear resonances, including; on the assumption of the human nature of Jesus by the Son, but the sanctification of his human nature by the Spirit; on the application of the principle whereby the outward works of the Trinity are indivisible; and on the way that appreciating the role of the Spirit in the life of Christ is vital for a full recognition of the potential for the work of the Spirit in the life of believers.

Debate over whether Owen's Christology is coherent has revolved around the issue of whether he sufficiently retains a place for the agency of the Son in the human nature of Jesus, or if instead there is an irrecoverable division between the work of the Spirit and the relationship of the Son to Jesus the man. Habets defends Owen by proposing that as long as some of his language is "tamed," what he is describing can be seen as a "dual agency" of the Spirit and the Son.⁸⁹ Oliver Crisp is more critical and concludes that Owen's account cannot maintain consistency with Chalcedonian orthodoxy. He proposes a corrective which develops a kenotic Christology more towards what he terms a "krypsis" whereby the assumption of the human nature by the Son includes a deliberate "hiddenness" limiting the communication of divine attributes, which opens the way for reliance upon the Holy Spirit in the same way as other humans' experience.⁹⁰ This makes more explicit the agency of the Son in the work of the Spirit in Christ. It is not possible to determine clearly where Chadwick would locate himself in this debate. However, his evocative and suggestive phrase, "there is a Pleroma as well as a Kenosis" does speak into this issue. From the general tenor of his Christology it seems reasonable to see this functioning in the way that Habets interprets Owen. The kenosis is through the agency of the Son uniting his person to a human nature and so limiting his own divinity as it is known in Jesus, whereas the pleroma is the subsequent filling of the human nature by the Spirit. Rather than the filling being made possible only by the deliberate hiddenness of the divinity of the Son, Chadwick might rather give full agency to the Spirit and argue that indeed it is the filling by the Spirit that sustains the incarnation by a body being prepared, that is sanctified, by the Spirit. This is more akin to Habets' dual agency model than Crisp's krypsis model.

⁸⁹ Habets, "Spirit Christology," p.227.

⁹⁰ Oliver D. Crisp, "John Owen on Spirit Christology," in *Journal of Reformed Theology* vol.5, 2011, p.24-25

Spirit Christology and Wesleyan Christology

It has been noted in the discussion of Chadwick's uniting of perfection and Pentecost themes that they did not always work together smoothly, but then was argued that his key to establishing better coherence between them was through his Spirit Christology. Wesley's Christology does not develop the role of the Holy Spirit in the incarnation and the question arises as to whether a more thorough integration of Spirit Christology themes into a Wesleyan framework would be helpful. Problems have been identified with Wesley's Christology, primarily over whether he adequately allows for the fully human nature of Christ.⁹¹ A variety of solutions have been suggested, either by interpreting Wesley carefully and understanding how his cultural and theological context constrained his expressions, or by adjusting the Christology whilst retaining the essential links to Wesleyan soteriology and the theology of sanctification.⁹² I have argued elsewhere that the latter of these approaches is the way forward, and specifically, that beginning with the Wesleyan experience of Christ in the life of those being sanctified will be the way to understand more clearly the human nature in the life of Christ.⁹³ The way that Chadwick does this through a Holy Spirit theology which connects the work of the Spirit in the life of those being sanctified with the work of the Spirit in the human nature of Christ would inform and deepen this attempt to express a more coherent and complete Wesleyan Christology.

Chadwick's focus on the present experience of the Spirit is already an authentically Wesleyan methodology for pneumatology in a Trinitarian framework: Rob L. Staples has helpfully noted that "for Wesley the main point of such scriptural teachings is not merely that the Spirit is a person in relation to the Father and to the Son, but that the Spirit is a person in relation to us."⁹⁴ With Chadwick's inspiration, Wesleyan pneumatology can then be pushed further to bring fresh understanding not just to life in the Spirit now, but also to life in the Spirit for Jesus Christ and the associated Christology that this produces.

⁹¹ The strongest and fullest expression of the criticisms are made by John Deschner, *Wesley's Christology: An Interpretation*, (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1960, second edition, 1985)

⁹² The whole range of available analyses of Wesley's Christology is summarised and surveyed, Richard M. Riss, "John Wesley's Christology in recent literature," in *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 45 no 1 Spr 2010, p 108-129.

⁹³ George Bailey, "Making the invisible Christ visible: problems and opportunities for Wesleyan Christology," in *Holiness: The Journal of Wesley House Cambridge* vol. 3 (2017), issue 2 (Holiness & Reformation), pp. 207–224.

⁹⁴ Rob L. Staples, "John Wesley's Doctrine of the Holy Spirit," in *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, vol.21 1986, p.92.

The supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ (cf. Phil. 1:19, KJV)

By way of conclusion, a final comment on the purpose for the careful framing of Christology will set the arguments here in the context of the life of the Church. Whilst this has been a discussion of how Chadwick's explanations of the Holy Spirit relate to more systematic Christological considerations, it should be kept in mind that this was not the purpose for which he wrote. His published works were designed for the building up of the Church and the encouragement of personal holiness, evangelism and revival in the life of the churches. Clearly there is an interconnectedness of the theology under review and this missional purpose. The comments on Christology in *Way to Pentecost* are intertwined throughout with reflections on the importance of the life of the Spirit in the Church:

“The Spirit needs the Church, and the Church needs the Spirit. They are partners; both necessary, and each dependent upon the other. The success of both is according to the measure of ‘the supply of the Spirit’ through the Church to the world.”⁹⁵

A well ordered and coherently expressed Christology is the foundation by which Christian churches might be effective in witnessing to the gospel. The integral involvement of the Holy Spirit in this Christology, rather than just as administrator of its saving benefits, is of great advantage in maximising potential for the “supply of the Spirit.” The Spirit and Christ are both separate and also interconnected at every level of scripture, experience and witness. This paper has shown how Chadwick exemplified this in his theology as expressed through his writings. These writings are still communicating the gospel and provoking people to review the role of the Holy Spirit both in their lives and in the life of Christ. This year they informed the theme of the Cliff College Annual Festival, “Ablaze,” and people were again reading Chadwick's offerings.⁹⁶ His works continue to bear fruit in helping people to make the necessary connections for the Holy Spirit to work through scripture, doctrine and experience making Christ known in our lives and through our churches. A final word from Chadwick:

⁹⁵ *Way to Pentecost*, p.55.

⁹⁶ An abridged edition of *Way to Pentecost* was published for the event: *Ablaze: Chadwick's The Way to Pentecost (Revised and edited by Howard Mellor with contributions from George Bailey)* (Calver: Cliff College Resources, 2018)

“Where Christ is glorified the Spirit comes to abide, reveal, direct, and work. Through Him we enter into living union with our Lord, for the Spirit of Christ is the Spirit of God, and by Him we find the unity which brings identity of interest and community of possession. That is why faith and prayer count for so much in the work of the Spirit. Nothing else really matters. These are the things that make possible the fellowship of the Spirit. He asks for nothing more than unreserved consecration to Christ, unclouded simplicity of the open heart, and exultant faith in His grace and power. By these the Churches live and prevail through the fellowship of the Spirit.”⁹⁷

⁹⁷ *Way to Pentecost*, p.56