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Milligan, June Elizabeth (1982) *The persistence of the Salvation Army: a challenge to the "sociology of sectarianism"*.

PhD thesis

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The Persistence of The  
Salvation Army :  
A Challenge to the  
"Sociology of Sectarianism"

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Submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.  
Department of Sociology  
September 1982

**CONTAINS**

**PULLOUTS**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

**Acknowledgements are due to Prof. John Eldridge and Dr. Jason Ditton, both of Glasgow University, for the supervision of this thesis. For their generous contributions of time and interest, sincere thanks.**

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## Abstract

The perspective of this thesis is different from that of recent studies within the sociology of religion in that it questions the value of continuing the sect-church typology and favours a phenomenological approach. It intends to move towards the vision of one reviewer of Wilson: Patterns of Sectarianism (1967) who looked forward to "further and rather different analysis of much of this material". In looking at the same or similar material in a different light it aims to contribute to the theoretical base of the sociology of religion.

It sets out to look at the persistence of the Salvation Army as an institution, as a form of human organization designed to pursue religious aims, rather than as a "sect" or an example of any other academically imposed category. As such this study has nothing to add to the "sociology of sectarianism".

This thesis utilizes the theory of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann that there is a dialectic process involving the human construction and internalization of social reality, involving tensions and dualities which make the acceptance of that reality, and therefore human existence, possible. Here the processes involved in the genesis and development of the Salvation Army, together with the concomitant dualities and tensions, are exposed by empirical analysis and their importance assessed. An explanation of the persistence of the movement is presented built upon this theoretical perspective. This study represents an important empirical testing and application of Berger and Luckmann's theory.

"Conventionality is not morality. Self-righteousness is not religion. To attack the first is not to assail the last. To pluck the mask from the face of the Pharisee is not to lift an impious hand to the Crown of Thorns.

"These things and deeds are diametrically opposed: they are as distinct as is vice from virtue. Men too often confound them; they should not be confounded: appearance should not be mistaken for truth; narrow human doctrines, that only tend to elate and magnify a few, should not be substituted for the world-redeeming creed of Christ. There is - I repeat it - a difference; and it is a good, and not a bad action to mark broadly and clearly the line of separation between them.

"The world may not like to see these ideas dissevered, for it has been accustomed to blend them; finding it convenient to make external show pass for sterling worth - to let white-washed walls vouch for clean shrines. It may hate him who dares to scrutinize and expose - to rase the gilding, and show the base metal underneath - to penetrate the sepulchre, and reveal charnel relics: but, hate as it will, it is indebted to him."

(Charlotte Bronte: Jane Eyre, Preface)

## Chapter One

### THE PERSISTENCE OF THE "SOCIOLOGY OF SECTARIANISM"

#### Introduction

"The essence of Salvationism which may have been the 'idea' in the mind of God to which Catherine Booth referred, is elusive at best. Whatever it is on the supra-cultural level, the forms and structures, the methods and systems which have provided Salvationism with an official and durable vehicle were devised by men who were very much of this world. They reflect the characteristic interests, perspectives and biases of their time. The founders of the Salvation Army forged our organization and informed its life in creative interaction with the cultural currents which made the Victorian era so fascinating and productive." (Rader, 105, p.48)

Sociologists have studied religion for as long as there has been a reflexive academic discipline to call itself sociology. Comte and Saint-Simon considered the study of the religious sphere central to their newly-founded discipline. 42 81 Similarly twentieth-century sociology began with the studies of religion by Weber and Durkheim. 134,50 More recently, and perhaps affected by the forces of secularization, sociology has pigeonholed the sociology of religion as a peripheral interest. Fortunately, there have been those who have recognized the significance of a study of the forms of religious expression and of the meaning for both the individual and society of religious experience. If, then, sociology cut its

milk teeth on explaining the social significance of the theologian's domain, its more mature modes of analysis and methodology, once brushed clean to remove the stagnant accumulations which threaten decay, should today prove excellent tools for the investigation of religious phenomena.

As the introductory quotation reminds us the infinite variety of organizational forms of religious expression are humanly-constructed rather than divinely ordained. It is while bracketing questions as to the truth of religious presuppositions, for the sociologist is not a theologian, that the sociological investigator is free to assess the social values, interactions and consequences hitherto obscured by the vocabulary of religious aims and rites. By resting firmly upon the scientific base of the discipline, the sociologist, to a greater extent than the researcher in any other academic sphere, is able to demystify and explain the social significance of religious activity.

It was thus armed that I embarked upon an empirical study of the Salvation Army, the fruits of which research are presented in the central section of this thesis. The study is based upon the documentary evidence contained in the internal publications of the Salvation Army from its inception to the present day. It also contains information gleaned from the available statistics and accounts of the Salvation Army. A knowledge of the lore passed from one generation of Salvationists to the next and a great deal of background knowledge of the organization were derived from my own socialization into the Salvation Army heritage. Participant observation has continued throughout the research.

Before proceeding to examine the predominant theories of sectarianism within the sociology of religion it should be noted here that there are two areas from which my position as researcher is assailed. Firstly, and of lesser significance, there is the objection of those, for example, Catherine Bramwell-Booth, Frederick Coutts, who argue that it is impossible to explain the success of the Salvation Army other than by attributing its genesis and continuance to the direct working of the Spirit of God. 30,45 Indeed Paul Rader, the writer with whose clear grasp of the social determining of the form of the Salvation Army we prefaced this chapter, later reverts to this statement:

"The danger lies in thinking of the Army merely as an organization, totally explicable in sociological terms, rather than as an organism experiencing the mystery of the presence and power of God 'in the midst'"

(Rader, 105, p.141)

In reply to such objections it is only possible to stress the importance of conducting one's analysis within the frame of reference of the discipline in which one is qualified. The value of Frederick Coutts' Bread for My Neighbour in which he seeks to unite the human and divine elements in an appraisal of the Salvation Army's social work is not doubted - but it is not sociology nor is it theology. 45 Its terms of reference are those of Salvation Army belief. Its limitations as an analytical work rest upon its failure to question the social implications and relevance of that particular belief system. What is attempted here is an analysis of the Salvation Army as a form of human organization, characterised by religious belief and activity, but accessible nevertheless to sociological

analysis by virtue of its essentially social construction.

The second objection to the methodology of this research comes from sociology itself. In his most recent work Religion in Sociological Perspective Bryan Wilson reiterates the importance of value-freedom for the sociologist, and stresses as has been outlined above the unique way in which this principle allows the sociologist to analyse his subject matter. His perspective is further outlined thus:

"The sociologist must first take the self-interpretations of religious individuals and groups as the point of departure from which his study begins. He does not, of course, seek to learn the doctrines of a religion in the same way in which believers seek to learn. He is not going to become a disciple, were he to do so, he would necessarily cease to be a sociologist. But he should at least seek to understand exactly what it is that a disciple learns, and as far as possible he should seek to understand what they understand and should do so in their terms. Now clearly, since he is to remain detached and apart, there will inevitably be a gap between the ultimate meaning for him, and the meaning for the believer, of the same formulations. But he can, and indeed must, seek to acquire an empathic understanding of their commitment and their beliefs. Only if he can gain some apprehension of what it means to be a believer can he say anything useful about the religious movement he studies; and yet, in gaining that understanding, he must not actually become a believer." (Wilson, 143, p.13)

But can this viewpoint really be logically supported? There

is no question that Weber's ideal of value freedom has been the basis for the scientific pose of social science, nor is there any question as to the practical value of this perspective. 132 What must be questioned is Wilson's continuation of this line to the point where he would appear to argue that the sociologist of religion must be an unbeliever. Since questions of religious truth are to be bracketed are the "ultimate meaning for him, and the meaning for the believer" at all relevant? Since ritual, worship, forms of organization and ethical codes are all empirically available to the sociologist devoid of their metaphysical element is his own religious interpretation of them any more relevant than that of his subjects? And finally, if religion can only be studied by the agnostic or atheist sociologist should opportunities for sociological research into political commitment and organization be restricted to the politically insensitive or the study of the family to those who have vowed to avoid both social and sexual intercourse? For in this respect principle and methodology can surely not only be specific to one area of sociology, the sociology of religion.

But is this what Wilson is really wishing to say? It could be suggested that his final sentence above refers not to absolute unbelief but rather to the question of consistency of belief: "he must not actually become a believer" (my emphasis). There is no question that this principle must be applied, for a change of perspective during a research project would surely lead to the collapse of any scientific pose. In attempting to discover the precise implication of Wilson's statement I looked further into the text and found what would appear to be his

definitive statement thus:

"For his religious public, the professional sociologist of religion is something of a curiosity. Here is a man seen to be deeply interested in religion and (one may hope) seen to be widely informed about it. And yet he is not, and quite deliberately not, a religiously-committed man - at least, whilst practising his sociology" (Wilson, 143, p.25)

So once again Wilson adds a qualification to his apparently strong conviction that the sociologist should not be religiously committed, and seems forced, although unhappily so, to accept a position of "methodological atheism".

This perspective can be traced a little further by taking up Wilson's claim, made in a footnote, that his position can be supported by reference to Weber. As Weber knew from his own political experience value-freedom involves a deal more subtlety than was suggested in the first quotation from Wilson above. Unfortunately Weber's "The Meaning of Ethical Neutrality in Sociology and Economics" has perhaps been subject to more misrepresentation than any other thesis in the history of the social sciences. 132 It is a common mistake to do as Wilson has done and confuse the idea of a value-free sociology with a conception of innumerable value-free sociologists but this is little more than individual reductionism and was certainly not Weber's intention. For Weber the notion of ethical neutrality, of value-freedom was an analytical tool by which means the researcher could measure his own evaluations and those of others and determine the consequence of such for his research (such values often in fact being the guiding lights

for the project), thus:

"The discussion of value-judgements can have only the following functions: a) The elaboration and explication of the ultimate, internally consistent 'value-axioms', from which the divergent attitudes are derived. People are often in error, not only about their opponents' evaluations, but also about their own. This procedure is essentially an operation which begins with concrete particular evaluations, and analyses their meanings and then moves on to the more general level of irreducible evaluations ... b) the deduction of 'implications' (for those accepting certain value-judgements) which follow from certain irreducible value-axioms ... c) The determination of the factual consequences which the realization of a certain practical evaluation must have."

(Weber, 1933, p.20)

If the theorist is to posit the paradoxical situation of an objective social science but value-bound social scientists then methodology becomes the important issue in resolving this apparent dilemma, as Weber pointed out.

Where does a consideration of methodology lead then? Various theorists have attempted to clarify this situation. All argue that the task of methodology in this respect is to enable value-bound social scientists to leave behind their pre-conceived ideas and commitments and to practise their discipline in a scientific manner. The most influential work specifically related to the sociology of religion is that of Peter L. Berger who proposes a stance of "methodological atheism". He outlines this perspective in The Sacred Canopy

thus:

"Needless to say, it is impossible within the frame of reference of scientific theorizing to make any affirmations, positive or negative, about the ultimate ontological status of this alleged reality. Within this frame of reference, the religious projections can be dealt with only as such, as products of human activity and human consciousness, and rigorous brackets have to be placed around the question as to whether these projections may not also be something else than that (or more accurately, refer to something else than the human world, in which they empirically originate). In other words, every inquiry into religious matters that limits itself to the empirically available must necessarily be based on a 'methodological atheism'." (Berger, 7, p.100)

This has since widely been taken up by researchers and theorists alike as the most practical methodological stance for the sociologist of religion. There have been suggestions made as to the way the concept could be developed, for instance Eileen Barker prefers the term "methodological agnosticism" to "atheism".<sup>83</sup> In general though it is in the acceptance of this methodological perspective, whatever the terminology used, that the value-freedom dilemma is solved; and in fact as Barker points out by an oblique reference to Thomas' dictum, the solution to this issue is at the heart of sociology:

"Whether or not one believes there is a higher level is a theological question. Some will deny its existence altogether, some will believe it exists but depends on a relationship with a lower level to some degree, others

may see it as completely independent. Social science, however, can go little beyond the pragmatic statement that belief in a higher level has an effect - it is a reality that exists and 'works' in that sense"

(Barker, 83, p.20)

If the sociologist is to study social reality he must be able to encompass the social implications of metaphysical belief. Weber himself recognized the importance of the issue and here his conclusions bring the discussion to an end. While Weber's analysis is complicated by his circumstances it is still possible to see clearly his conclusions which all concern methodology: the individual must, indeed it is imperative to do so, make his own value-judgements and then evaluate them and their consequences in the process of self-awareness outlined in the quotation from Weber above. Then, and only then, can a value-aware and subsequently objective discipline emerge. The way in which such methodology solves the paradoxical situation is neatly illustrated by Weber from the world of art:

"The complete distinction between the evaluative sphere and the empirical sphere emerges characterized in the fact that the application of a certain particular 'progressive' technique tells us nothing at all about the aesthetic value of a work of art." (Weber, 132, p.32)

Because an individual is a social scientist the problems he selects will have value-relevance and by applying the analytical tool of value-freedom to them the individual is better able to understand himself and his discipline and thus further his research. The objective scientific stance does not

exist to make sociological research a practical impossibility but rather to extend the range and to improve the quality of the societal analysis possible. Whatever Wilson's own position on the desirability of truly atheist sociologists to study religion it is no wonder that he is constantly forced back to the acceptability of a "methodological atheism" as an adequate scientific pose.

This first chapter will now move on to a discussion of the ability of different sociological theories to maximise an understanding of the empirical material presented in chapters two to eight. The persistence of the sect-church typology from Troeltsch's original conception to the present usage of the ideal-type is outlined and its continued usefulness challenged. 124 A phenomenological model is then set out, based on the theories of Berger and Luckmann which serves to explain more clearly the case of the Salvation Army. 7,8 The final chapter of the thesis then draws together the factual material and this theoretical approach in an attempt to both test the theoretical model and to show the value of an individual phenomenological study by casting light upon the organization and operation of the Salvation Army.

### The Sociology of Sectarianism

It is an unfortunate fact that much of the empirical and theoretical work within the sociology of religion has been bound up in the restricted typological analysis of sects. This term was first brought into sociological use and given its

prominent place in the textbooks by the action of Troeltsch and Weber in bringing it into typological opposition to the term "church". 123, 132 Since that time it has been redefined many times, with the length and verbosity of the concept increasing at every attempt; it has been tampered with to allow the introduction of other types such as the denomination; but throughout it has survived the criticism of the empirical researchers and the theoreticians alike to remain the ideal-type model for any studies of religious expression. This progression will be elucidated below in an attempt to illustrate the problems which have always existed in applying this particular theoretical construction with meaning to any empirical material and to show that the useful life of the concept may now be ending.

It is useful to begin the discussion here by quoting Troeltsch's original definition of the sect. Although this has been subject to much criticism and has been altered in the light of empirical work it still remains the basis of the much longer descriptions of essential sect characteristics offered by more recent theorists:

"Compared with this institutional principle of an objective organism, however, the sect is a voluntary community whose members join it of their own free will. The very life of the sect, therefore depends on actual personal service and co-operation: as an independent member each individual has his part within the fellowship; the bond of union has not been indirectly imported through the common possession of Divine grace, but it is directly

realized in the personal relationships of life. An individual is not born into a sect, he enters it on the basis of conscious conversion; infant baptism, which, indeed, was only introduced at a later date, is almost always a stumbling-block. In the sect spiritual progress does not depend upon the objective importation of Grace through the Sacrament, but upon individual personal effort; sooner or later, therefore, the sect always criticizes the sacramental idea. This does not mean that the spirit of fellowship is weakened by individualism; indeed, it is strengthened, since each individual proves that he is entitled to membership by the very fact of his services to the fellowship. It is, however, naturally a somewhat limited form of fellowship, and the expenditure of so much effort in the maintenance and exercise of this particular kind of fellowship produces a certain indifference towards other forms of fellowship which are based upon secular interests; on the other hand, all secular interests are drawn into the narrow framework of the sect and tested by its standards, in so far as the sect is able to assimilate these interests at all. Whatever cannot be related to the group of interests controlled by the sect, and by the Scriptural ideal, is rejected and avoided. The sect, therefore, does not educate nations in a mass, but it gathers a select group of the elect and places it in sharp opposition to the world." (Troeltsch, 123, p.339)

It is Troeltsch also who first attempts to outline the changes taking place in religious communities in terms of a

movement from sect to church. He writes of Methodism thus:

"When this separation and independence had been achieved, Methodism passed through the same experience which had befallen the Baptists, the Moravians, and the Quakers. An inherited position was developing in which the children of members naturally belonged to the community; this fact, coupled with the reception of increased numbers of people, who today (counting all the different branches of Methodism) number about thirty millions, with the increase of the clerical element, which was unavoidable under these circumstances, and with the introduction of scientific theology and general culture, with the many influences which modified the original attitude of opposition to the world, and to civilization, finally led Methodism to become less and less of a sect and more and more of a Church; or, rather, a number of churches."

(Troeltsch, 123, V.1, p.732)

It is of interest to the ensuing discussion to note that Troeltsch hinted at the theme, to be taken up by Niebuhr and others later, of the difficulty of continuing sectarian character through the second generation of sect affiliation. 97,104

Niebuhr's analysis considers the growing need for the absorbing of a new generation into the sect with the necessary education and socialization procedure and it is in this increased formality and organization that he identifies the roots of denominationalism. He characterises the sect as a movement for the poor and disinherited, thus allowing the social mobility inherent in association with a form of religious organization to move the sect into his denominational category

within the timespan of the generation. While Niebuhr's work has since been discounted on the grounds that the sweeping generalizations from which his theories are constructed are derived from empirical material which he has failed to test comparatively, it did establish the idea that there was a definite progression from sect to denomination or church in terms of which religious movements could be classified.

Another American writer, Liston Pope, carried analysis of this transition further based on his observations of Millhands and Preachers in the U.S.A. 104 His emphasis is on social class, not arguing that the religious organization takes on the particular form as a design to attract adherents nor that the class and status ambitions of the members affect the sect, but rather that:

"A sect, as it gains adherents and the promise of success, begins to reach out toward greater influence in society, whatever the roots of its ambition may be - evangelistic fervour, denominational rivalry, ministerial desire for greater income and influence, the cultural vindication of its peculiar faith or what not. In the process it accommodates gradually to the culture it is attempting to conquer, and thereby loses influence over those relatively estranged from that culture. It counts this loss a gain as its own standards shift and it attracts an increased number of persons who enjoy the cultural and economic privileges of the society. Though at any given moment of transition the rising sect is associated especially with one economic group, it does not necessarily carry that group as it moves on." (Pope, 104, p.118)

The traces of Niebuhr's definition of the sect are obvious here. Pope views the sect as a religious movement for the working class which then, in pursuance of generally non-personal goals, changes its orientation and standards and no longer is attractive to its original public. To elucidate this theory Pope sets out twenty-one specific changes which would indicate progression towards definition as a church rather than a sect including movements towards property-owning membership, cultural acceptance, institutionalization, co-operation with rather than ridicule of established churches, and so on. He then presents his examples on the scale ranging from "Free-Will Baptist Holiness" his sect type, to Roman Catholic, his church type. While clear on the constituent elements of these specific types the processes by which movement is made along the spectrum is not clarified and so Pope's analysis remains merely descriptive of the opposing church and sect concepts.

Recent years have seen many theorists preoccupied with questions arising out of considerations of this typology, and to this extent it has been a worthwhile model. Pfautz particularly wished to add another dimension to the typology and combined a range of types of religious organization from cult, through sect, institutionalized sect, and denomination to church with the level of secularization of the institution. 102 There was also a movement to alter the typology in terms of definitions to fit the American and Canadian religious climate, for example a study of the "Sectarian Tradition in Canada". 87,97 Moir, in this work, stressed the totalitarian nature of the sect in its

exclusiveness and intolerance of the world. As regards the aims of such movements however his statement seems far from the mark:

"The aim of the sect is to restore the original purity of the true faith by returning to the source of the movement, ignoring and rejecting all that has happened in the meantime, namely the accumulation of tradition."  
(Moir, 87, p.119)

But, surely it is more relevant to ask what happens when the sect itself accumulates tradition and the functions or dysfunctions of such an accumulation for the sect, since recent empirical research has shown the existence of such a body of knowledge and practice in sectarian movements.

British sociological interest has been expressed most strongly by Bryan Wilson who has repeatedly published on the relationship between Sects and Society and has encouraged case studies to further comparative analysis. 140,141  
Introducing his study in 1961 he notes that he is aware of the confusion of definitions and proposes a return to common-sense usage thus:

"The use of the word sect in the title of this study does not follow strictly the usage evolved by Troeltsch, and continued by Niebuhr and others, whereby the sect is necessarily depicted as opposed to the state and the social order and as emerging necessarily from the religious poor. My use of the term follows more general usage, and designates simply the small religious group in which membership is voluntary and conditional upon some mark of merit - understanding the group's teachings,

or experience of some personal religious ecstasy - upon the basis of which association can arise."

(Wilson, 140, p.3)

However having presented his three case studies and having offered a much longer definition of the sect in his concluding comments he still feels that the term is inadequately explained, and eventually concludes:

"all three sects conform to the above construct in some particulars and did so at the time of origin, but all three, even at the beginning, differed from this

'ideal-pattern' in some respect." (Wilson, 140, p.327)

By now it is impossible to avoid questioning the usefulness of the term for if all of Wilson's examples fit the framework in only some aspects and each has particular characteristics which would set it apart from sects other than permitting a classificatory system for similar associations what can the typology offer? Is Wilson not simply saying that these movements are unique and obviously incomparable but by virtue of this mode of analysis sociologists can classify them all as sects and thus tidy up the religious scene?

Wilson's Religion in Sociological Perspective, published in 1982, offers yet another theoretical reappraisal of the sect and appears to answer the types of question posed above. 143 In this instance he again rejects Troeltsch's definition since sects are no longer only deliberate breakaways from no longer established churches, but wishes to retain certain established characteristics of the general definitions. Moreover Wilson wishes to argue for the use of the sect-church typology as a formal ideal-type within the sociology of

religion thus excusing the anomalies:

"For specific historical reasons, and because of arbitrary or adventitious circumstances, a movement that we generally acknowledge as a sect may depart in various particulars from this ideal-typical representation of 'the sect'. The ideal-type is constructed in the full knowledge that actual cases diverge from it, and indeed it is precisely such a discrepancy between the ideal-type and empirical cases which is useful, since it indicates just what it is that the sociologist should now seek to explain in a given empirical case ... Reality does not conform to ideal-typical patterns, and the value of constructed ideal-types is to provide a stable definition: the type is a measuring rod against which to examine actual empirical cases. It is a 'sensitizing' instrument; alerting us to the distinctive features of particular sects that stand in need of social and historical investigation." (Wilson, 1953, p.95)

Wilson goes on to point out that in proposing the recognition of this typology as an ideal-type he is stressing that the typology should not simply be a classificatory schema, as used by some to slot in their empirical research, but rather an analytical tool as outlined in his final sentence above.

A reading of Weber, who addressed this specific issue, would at first sight appear to substantiate Wilson's most recent proposal for the well-known typology:

"the ideal-type is an attempt to analyse historically unique configurations or their individual components by means of genetic concepts. Let us take for instance the

concepts 'church' and 'sect'. They may be broken down purely classificatorily into complexes of characteristics whereby not only the distinction between them but also the content of the concept must constantly remain fluid. If however I wish to formulate the concept of 'sect' genetically, for example with reference to certain important cultural significances which the sectarian spirit has had for modern culture, certain characteristics of both become essential because they stand in an adequate causal relationship to those influences. However, the concepts thereupon become ideal-typical in the sense that they appear in full conceptual integrity either not at all or only in individual instances. Here as elsewhere every concept which is not purely classificatory diverges from reality." (Weber, 132, p.94)

So far so good but, perhaps prophetically, Weber adds a warning:

"Nothing however, is more dangerous than the confusion of theory and history stemming from naturalistic prejudices. This confusion expresses itself firstly in the belief that the 'true' content and the essence of historical reality is portrayed in such theoretical constructs or secondly, in the use of these constructs as a procrustean bed into which history is to be forced or thirdly, in the hypostatization of such 'ideas' as real 'forces' and as a 'true' reality which operates behind the passage of events and which works itself out in history." (Weber, 132, p.94)

It is a brave and perhaps potentially worthwhile gesture of Wilson's to reiterate eighty years later the overlooked

premise of Weber, and to recognize such an ideal-type as a measuring rod and a sensitizing device can only enrich the sociology of religion. It will be argued here however that while this should be done by using reference to Weber's original ideal-type as an analytical tool, Wilson is offering only a red herring in his attempt to explain away the growing catalogue of anomalies. The sociologists of religion have worked in practice not with an ideal-type but rather within a paradigm taking for granted a theoretical framework based upon this sect-church typology.

Consider this situation:

"Scientists work from models acquired through education and through subsequent exposure to the literature, often without quite knowing or needing to know what characteristics have given those models the status of community paradigms. And because they do so, they need no full set of rules. The coherence displayed by the research tradition in which they participate may not imply even the existence of an underlying body of rules and assumptions that additional historical or philosophical investigation might uncover. That scientists do not usually ask or debate what makes a particular problem or solution legitimate tempts us to suppose that, at least intuitively, they know the answer. But it may only indicate that neither the question nor the answer is felt to be relevant to their research. Paradigms may be prior to, more binding, and more complete than any set of rules for research that could be unequivocally abstracted from them."

(Kuhn, 77, p.46)

Sociologists of religion, failing to use the church - sect typology as a Weberian ideal-type instead worked with the schema as a classificatory framework within a paradigm of research, as defined by Kuhn, based upon the same typology. It has been and remains the solitary perspective utilized by sociologists in their study of religious groups.

Accepting the Kuhnian paradigm opens the way to some real investigation of the anomalies which empirical research has thrown up but which have previously been viewed as peripheral characteristics and subsumed to the categorization. Before moving on to look at the anomalies found in some recent empirical studies and at those of the Salvation Army in particular permit a recapitulation of the argument. Moving from an introduction into the theory of the sociology of religion by Weber and Troeltsch, the sect-church typology has continued to predominate the sociology of religion. The definition and redefinition of sect and church, as well as denomination, cult, established sect and so on has been the only fruitful result of much potentially exciting research. Theorists have tampered with but not questioned the validity of working with this particular typology. And in particular the classificatory exercises undertaken by most researchers illustrate the failure to use the ideal-type as an analytical tool. It is suggested then that the sociology of religion has been caught up in the paradigm of "the sociology of sectarianism" and that it has perpetuated empirical classificatory research. While the recent restatement of the purpose of ideal-types in this context by Wilson is valuable the damage has already been done. The way

forward lies in stepping out of this paradigmatic perspective and freeing the way for new empirical and comparative work to be done, and the previously subsumed anomalies to be reevaluated from other theoretical standpoints.

As was noted above Wilson himself attempted in his Sects and Society to develop some definition into which he could fit his examples, and had to admit that this was impractical. The fact that attempts at classificatory analysis were made makes it possible to push one step further here beyond the identification of a paradigmatic situation to evaluate the possibility of that paradigm being feasible as a framework for meaningful research into religious expression. Here some of the recent work done within this framework is considered.

Beckford, in introducing a study of the Jehovah's Witnesses in 1975 writes thus:

"One of the reasons for the undeveloped state of a comparative sociology of religious groups is that the analytical distinctions between the concepts of 'church', 'denomination', 'sect' and 'cult' have encouraged hermetic cloistering of groups of specialist scholars who may be unaware of the work done in other groups. Nor is the situation made easier by typologies or classifications of sects because while they may serve an important function in stimulating comparison between sects, they reinforce the tendency to keep this type of group analytically distinct from the others. It may be that the large scale changes that have taken place in modern society in recent decades have called into question

the usefulness of maintaining the conceptual distinctions in their original sharpness." (Beckford, 5, Intro.)

Having made this critique he then notes that his empirical material would not fit the typology in any case and so:

"The anomalous status of the Watch Tower Movement in relation to the concepts 'church' and 'sect' or in the context of schemes for classifying different types of sects obliged us to amend current usages and to shift the emphasis of our analysis on to theoretical explanation rather than classification." (Beckford, 5, Intro.)

Similarly Roy Wallis finds reason to question the adequacy of the theoretical model in his presentation of data related to Scientology:

"Sects have been the focus of considerable research enterprise in the sociology of religion, and much of this endeavour has been directed to the issue of whether, or under what conditions, sects become transformed into denominations. This dominating area of concern has distracted attention from other types of ideological collectivity and other social processes. An analogous but different process to which little attention has been paid is that of the transformation of cults into sects." (Wallis, 127, p.11)

Wallis then attempts to fill this gap in the classificatory schema with his work on the modern cult of Scientology.

Wilson highlights his empirical difficulties, making comparable references to modern culture but within his restatement of the ideal-type:

"The implications of the culture-bounded character of the ideal-type construct of the sect was borne in upon me when I attempted to use this mode of analysis (an analysis which I had had some part in developing ) in a study of movements outside the Christian context and outside western culture. (in Magic and the Millennium, 143) ... These discoveries - and social science is often a matter of discovering the limitations of analysis as well as discovering its further application - have acquired a new significance even for the study of sectarianism in contemporary advanced industrial societies, however. In recent years, the area of religious choice has broadened very considerably in the West, since the early 1960s western countries have experienced the dramatic impact of movements that are loosely called 'sects', even though what is meant by the word is nothing more specific than that these religious movements obviously differ in a fundamental way from the indigenous Christian tradition of western society .."

(Wilson, 143, p.103)

It is upon modern society that Beckford rests his case for the inadequacy of the established typology while Wallis finds, in a complementary way, that the fitting of the theoretical model to empirical material breaks down with the modern religious groupings. Modernity has taken its toll on this schema, and so has pluralism. It is indeed in these large areas of concern that the anomalous nature of the typology becomes apparent. Discourse with those involved in the study of missionary endeavour would long ago have raised

questions as to the suitability of this typology, for example if the Salvation Army could be characterised as a 'sect' within its home setting of Victorian England was it still a 'sect' when advancing out of its cultural context? The importation of Eastern mystical cult-type configurations to the West has made necessary consideration of this question. The conceptual giants of pluralism and modernity have stalked up on this typology and present insurmountable anomalies. It is time that, instead of being content to argue that if movements displayed sectarian characteristics at the time of origin this is sufficient, sociologists faced up to the changing cultural and social context within which religious expression takes place. 140 It is time that, full of respect for the historical value of this research paradigm, researchers moved on to the analysis of individual religious movements from varied theoretical perspectives, in this way gathering the raw material for new comparative work and potentially new theoretical constructs. The theoretical perspective which has been applied in this case study of the Salvation Army is a development of the phenomenological theory outlined by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann in The Social Construction of Reality and the religious implications of the same further developed in Berger's later work. 8,7 It is significant that this not only allows a new angle to be taken on the empirical material but that it also involves the empirical testing of the theoretical construct. Before outlining this perspective in more detail a brief overview is offered of previous sociological interest in the Salvation Army, from which the first inklings of the inadequate and anomalous character of the typology presented themselves.

Troeltsch addressed himself to categorizing the Salvation Army and described it as a 'modern sect':

"From the point of view of social doctrine they all bear the same characteristics - a society founded on a voluntary basis apart from the State, Perfectionism, asceticism expressed in hard work, a conservative middle class outlook, even where their political attitude is theoretically one of bourgeois Liberalism."

(Troeltsch, 123, p.725)

The general consensus of opinion has been to classify the Salvation Army as some sort of 'sect' up till the present time. Wilson in his 1959 article calls it a 'conversionist sect', while Robertson prefers 'established sect'. 139,113 These theoretical classifications however are based upon concise opinions of the Salvation Army and often veil the anomalies which would deny the suitability of the category. In addition the very restrictive nature of the classificatory process serves to obscure important elements of the analysis. Take for example Wilson's 'conversionist sect', a classification within a typology based upon "types of mission which might be discerned among sects". This would appear to be a fairly haphazard choice of criteria since other typologies could be based on structural or organizational types. In addition to the 'conversionist' Wilson identifies three other types of sects "Adventist, Introversionists, and Gnostic". In classifying sects thus Wilson attempts to relate their type of Christian mission to a particular response to the world. This relationship is of importance but, I would argue, the theoretical value is again unfortunately sublimated to a

classificatory desire.

Wilson outlines the identifiable characteristics of his classification thus:

"The conversionist sect is one whose teaching and activity centres on evangelism; in contemporary Christianity it is typically the orthodox fundamental or pentacostal sect. It is typified by extreme bibliolatry: the Bible is taken as the only guide to salvation, and is accepted as literally true. Conversion experience and the acceptance of Jesus as a personal saviour is the test of admission to the fellowship; extreme emphasis is given to individual guilt for sin and the need to obtain redemption through Christ. Despite the theoretical limitation on the number who can gain salvation, the sect precludes no-one and revivalist techniques are employed in evangelism. It is distrustful of, or indifferent towards, the denominations and churches ..." (Wilson, 141, p.27)

It would appear from Wilson's usage in the quotation that he is attributing these characteristics to the institution as a whole. It is of interest however, in looking at the 'sectarian' response to the world to identify the type of relationship to the world outlined for the individual member and to examine this in the light of the relationship of the movement as a whole. For example, as will be seen in the following chapters, the Salvation Army prescribes a role for the individual Salvationist in terms of unworldliness, while at an institutional level accepting State subsidies for its work. This theme will be considered again in chapter nine. Here it is intended merely to illustrate that alternative

lines of analysis to the classificatory do exist, and can be followed profitably.

Troeltsch's particular description of the movement, as "apart from the State", was true at the time but it could hardly be so now when the Salvation Army's social work is financially supported by the State to such an extent as to be an integral part of its welfare system. Similarly if we are to accept Martin's characterization of the sect we also lose all sense of the spirit of tolerance, as revealed in the Army's use of money from secular sources, and State co-operation, as seen in its social work, in the Salvation Army for he writes:

"Typically the sect regards the whole of mankind outside the boundaries as a massa damnata. Within its fold are the sheep, while outside are the goats."

(Martin, 82, p.4)

The lone dissenting voice in the attempts to classify the Salvation Army is that of Moyles, a Canadian academic. 90 His criticism of Robertson and his own conclusions are summarized by a reviewer thus:

"Professor Moyles is concerned primarily with the Army's transition from an evangelical sect into whatever it has become. Roland Robertson's conclusion that in England the Army evolved into an 'established sect' could be applied to the Canadian Army if attention was focused on 'formalized beliefs, doctrines, regulations and official pronouncements' (p.244). However, his examination of actual practices, rather than the leaders' intentions, prompt Moyles to draw a different conclusion - 'An analysis of

the profound changes which have taken place in the Army's methods, evangelical outreach, form of worship, economic status of memberships, emphasis on doctrine and the obvious wide discrepancy between official expectations (as set forth in the Orders and Regulations) and lay commitment, make quite clear that the Army in Canada has become what sociologists would call a 'churchly centre group'. (p.244)" (Hutchinson, 63, p.489)

It is from outside the discipline of sociology, precisely from an English Department, that this redefinition comes and while it is certain that the precise form taken by the Salvation Army in Canada is different from that of the home movement it does recognize that the Salvation Army is no longer sectarian in character.

There are also valuable points raised in Weber's short passage on the Salvation Army in his Sociology of Religion. Here again there is less concern to classify the movement than to understand it as a phenomenon and in relation to the social order. Weber writes:

"The lowest and most economically unstable strata of the proletariat for whom rational conceptions are the least congenial, and also the proletaroid or permanently impoverished lower middle class groups who are in constant danger of sinking into the proletarian class, are nevertheless readily susceptible to being influenced by religious missionary enterprise. But this religious propaganda has in such cases a distinctly magical form or, where real magic has been eliminated, it has certain characteristics which are substitutes for the magical

orgiastic supervision of grace. Examples of these are the soteriological orgies of the Methodist type such as are engaged in by the Salvation Army. Undoubtedly, it is far easier for emotional rather than rational elements of a religious ethic to flourish in such circumstances. In any case ethical religion scarcely ever arises primarily in this group." (Weber, 134, p.101)

While one must agree with Weber that the Salvation Army exhibited some spectacular displays of emotional religion this quotation raises some interesting questions in relation to the movement. From the beginning the Salvation Army was disciplined and ordered by a plethora of Orders and Regulations and a very authoritarian structure built onto the basis of charisma and emotion. The way in which these two elements, the emotional and the rational have co-existed within the institution and the relationship between them is of relevance to this thesis and is an area of importance. These elements are traced through the empirical chapters, two to eight, and are considered at greater depth in chapter nine. Weber's insight here is of importance; by way of contrast there is now a consideration of the empirical classificatory study of the Salvation Army presented by Robertson.

Roland Robertson's presentation arguing that in the Salvation Army can be seen an example of the 'persistence of sectarianism' included in Wilson's 1967 reader on sects is the most explicit consideration both of the empirical reality of the Salvation Army and of its place in the typology. A careful critique of Robertson's approach is presented in Coutts' Bread for My Neighbour and this will be our starting point. 45 Coutts is

generally critical of sociologists' evaluations of the Salvation Army and beginning with Engels he elucidates their misrepresentations and the cases in which reference to the movement has been unjustly omitted. He is of course sceptical that a study which does not take into account the metaphysical aspect of the Salvation Army can present a true picture, as is illustrated nicely by this quotation:

"one feels a good deal of sympathy for the writer who, in his final sentence, confesses to 'the complexities involved in any sociological analysis of the Salvation Army'. But might his real difficulty not be that he is using the wrong set of tools? Does it lighten anyone's darkness to quote Weber's dictum that 'the Salvation Army was an important example of that type of religious orientation which is characterized by 'soteriological orgies or other such phenomena - these constituting functional equivalents of magical rituals for the alleviation of suffering and deprivation'? Or earlier to declare that the Army bore 'some manifestations of a value-oriented movement - in its concern with the reconstruction of older societal values, such as a patriarchal family system, behaviour patterns congruent with a rural way of life, and most comprehensively, what was in effect a feudal conception of the social structure'? But surely the compass is well and truly boxed when the last line but one of this scholarly study deems it 'appropriate to regard the movement ... in some respects (as) an order within Anglicanism'?" (Coutts, 45, p.16)

It is sometimes good to see ourselves as others see us and the sociologist, armed with his 'scientific' vocabulary, must

beware lest he rival the theologian in his mystification of social reality. Empirically, there is no evidence presented by Robertson in support of his conclusion that the Salvation Army is an "order within Anglicanism".

Coutts is also concerned with the accuracy of Robertson's researches though and confining his corrections to the errors of the footnotes he nevertheless finds this lengthy paragraph necessary:

"the first footnote on the first page of this study (p.49) reveals a confusion between Booth father and Booth eldest son. Bramwell attended the coronation of Edward VII in 1902; it was William who was received at Buckingham Palace in 1904. Nor did (as the same footnote states) the St. Paul's service in 1944 mark the centenary of William Booth's birth - which was in 1829 - but of his conversion. Nor was George Scott Railton 'the (Army's) first Chief of Staff' (p.75). Railson was General Secretary of the Christian Mission from 1873 until, at his own request, he led the pioneer party of Salvationists to the United States in 1890. The title 'Chief of Staff' was first applied to Bramwell Booth in January 1881" (Coutts, 45, p.15)

The corrections are correct, and the dates verifiable from most pamphlets on the Salvation Army's history.

It is more important though to note the consequences for his empirical work of Robertson's attempt to classify the Salvation Army within the typology. In common with other

empirical observers of religious movements he has worked within the "sociology of sectarianism" paradigm and thus played down (or seen as less significant within the parameters of the research) important aspects of the movement with relation to questions of its relationship to the State. One example of this will suffice here, while writing a piece to commemorate 'Salvationism's Centenary' in 1965 Robertson alludes to the significance of the Salvation Army's welfare work:

"the Army is specially significant in its emphasis on the relation between religiosity and socio-economic conditions. Social reform was considered a prerequisite of both increased religiosity and the elemental Christian social values which Salvationists propagated. Thus, unlike many other sects, the Salvation Army has never conceived of itself as being uninvolved with the mainstream of British social life, nor has it more than ephemerally rejected the dominant values of British society. What it has consistently tried to maintain is a modus vivendi with the wider society, by which it is free to be both criticized and yet regarded as indispensable to the social order." (Robertson, 112, p.12)

Hardly the picture of a sect in accordance with any definition. In his introduction to the 1967 chapter he has devalued these elements thus:

"Superficially this transition appears to represent a frequently discussed change in religious movements from sect to denomination - from a position of separateness from the secular society to one of accommodation to it.

However, whilst the Salvation Army has indeed become more tolerant of worldly affairs and has slowly responded to many aspects of change in British society, there are basic features of Salvationism which, paradoxically, at one and the same time involve the Army in 'the world' and also accommodation to 'the world'. Among the most important of these attributes which have helped to avert both dissolution and integration into another movement are the institutionalized pragmatic interpretation of doctrine and teaching, the 'military' form of government and the social welfare systems of the Salvation Army."

(Robertson, 112, p.49)

The movement's involvement with society has now become one half of a paradox and its social welfare systems only mechanisms to avert dissolution or absorption. What was a central feature has been reinterpreted as a peripheral tension since its actual importance poses an anomaly for the typology and therefore is outside the paradigm.

Robertson's diagnosis is that the Salvation Army has experienced 'terminal institutionalization' and thus has become an 'established sect'. His argument for the sectarian character rests upon the identification of 'pristine sectarian characteristics' such as the ethical code, the distinctiveness of uniform and so on, but he does not consider the importance of these undergoing institutionalization, of gradually becoming established as sub-cultural tradition and thus changing their role from evangelism and discipline to that of aiding in the perpetuation of the movement. The characteristics remain, and thus the movement superficially appears unchanged, but the

very institutionalization process which Robertson identifies has robbed them of 'sectarian' functions. Much more discussion could be developed along these lines but since the object here is not to reclassify the movement but rather to show the problems of classification, this would not bear much more fruit. It is more useful to adopt a framework which will allow consideration of the important processes of institutionalization and of the tensions, both societal and internal, involved in the marriage of an evangelical mission and a welfare organization.

#### A Phenomenological Approach

It is the intention here to outline, as concisely as possible, the main theoretical elements of the phenomenological theory which is to be adopted. The presentation of empirical material on the Salvation Army provides the subject matter for the following seven chapters and then in the final chapter an application of the theory to the empirical fact is attempted in which central questions are raised and answered.

First of all though the importance of one other theoretical construct should be stressed, that of Weber's 'routinization of charisma'.<sup>133</sup> The identification of the forms of charismatic appeal, by virtue of heroism, sanctity and so on, and of the role of the charismatic figure in the founding and continuation of a religious grouping are valuable. While it is certain that charisma is an element in the founding of a new religious movement however it must be recognized that

not all charismatic personalities gathered together a band of followers and that other societal influences are also important. Orr illustrates this well in the case of the Salvation Army:

"The Salvation Army arose as a permanent expression of the 1859 Revival in its double ministry of evangelism and social uplift. Most of its activities today are those which were already begun by other workers of the Awakening - evangelism, indoor and outdoor, mission to fallen women, to criminals, social welfare work, missionary enterprise. Whilst the Salvation Army bears the indelible stamp of the personalities of William and Catherine Booth, it was cast by them in the mould of the 1859 Revival." (Orr, 98, p.216)

The real value of Weber's theoretical insight is in his description of the routinization of charisma which highlights the problems of succession in a movement which has depended upon personal charismatic leadership and distinguishes between personal charisma and that dependent upon office. It becomes clear that upon the death of the Salvation Army's charismatic founder, William Booth, there was a period in which hereditary charisma was operational and accepted. With the recognition that this had involved the loss of any personal charismatic quality and had become merely the charisma of office it was not to be long before it was suggested that the potential hereditary nature of the system of succession be called into question and overthrown. The connection between this process and the general institutionalization of the movement will be elucidated further in chapter nine.

There has not been any thorough application of Berger and Luckmann's theoretical construct in empirical research within the sociology of religion but the concepts involved are familiar to sociologists in general and can be traced in theoretical statements, for example:

"Whether the modern sect dominates its members socially or not, its essential totalitarianism consists in the reorganization and reorientation of the ideals, values and sentiments of its members; the dictation of just what are accepted as 'facts', and in the insistence on an ethic divergent from that of wider society - a totalitarianism at the ideological level. The sect seeks the total organization of the lives of its members, at least in the intellectual sphere, but often also in their social activity. It seeks to provide a comprehensive environment for its members, and to be the arbiter of conduct in a way in which the church, in those periods of history in which it possessed its greatest power sought to regulate the life of the whole society."

(Wilson, 140, p.4)

Roy Wallis makes explicit reference to this theoretical perspective in one chapter of his study of Scientology entitled 'Reality Maintenance in a Deviant Belief System' to good effect. 127 There is therefore some precedent for this theoretical approach and its suitability has already been noted.

A statement of the phenomenological approach to be applied in chapter nine is made here by way of direct quotation from The Social Construction of Reality and The Sacred Canopy

(subsequently published in the United Kingdom under the title The Social Reality of Religion) highlighting the way in which this approach facilitates the raising of certain major issues of relevance to the research. 8,7 Berger and Luckmann's main thesis is that society is humanly constructed and that the processes involved in this construction are available to theoretical analysis. The essence of the argument is that while society is humanly constructed this human construction becomes obscured until the social order is apprehended as taken-for-granted reality. They identify a trinity of processes - externalization, objectivation and internalization - which correspond to these reflexive statements about the construction of reality:

"Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product. "

(Berger and Luckmann, 8, p.79)

and to clarify these stages they set up a model of A and B constructing their social world and outline the process of institutionalization which becomes complete only in the transmission by socialization of the 'social world' to a second generation. In this connection, resocialization is also of importance since this is the process which facilitates the individual's move from one universe of meaning to another upon conversion. As is made clear later however the Salvation Army has come to depend upon reinforcements from within and primary socialization has become the major concern. The process of institutionalization occurring along with this primary transmission of the social world will be considered again later for it makes it possible to see the way in which a movement based on charismatic leadership can develop through

the important phase of socializing the second generation to a point where its persistence as an institution becomes one of its main concerns:

"The institutional world, which existed in statu nascendi in the original situation of A and B is now passed on to others. In this process institutionalization perfects itself. The habituations and typifications undertaken in the common life of A and B, formations that until this point still had the quality of ad hoc conceptions of two individuals, now become historic institutions." (Berger and Luckmann, 8, p.76)

It is also important to note that this process is reflexive in that not only is the socialization of the children important for their own social understanding but because they now reflect back a taken-for-granted view of social reality which serves to strengthen the parents' original conception. It can be seen that the very connection of this type of institutionalization with religious ideas poses a threat of 'reification', the ultimate alienating process which Berger and Luckmann identify and by means of which not only is the human construction of social reality obscured but it is denied in favour of an acceptance of the divine ordination of human institutions. In this way a whole religious 'universe of meaning' is made available for the interpretation of the perceived social world.

In the presentation of such a universe of meaning language has an important part to play, as Berger and Luckmann note:

"Language also typifies experiences, allowing me to

subsume them under broad categories in terms of which they have meaning not only for myself but also to my fellowmen." (Berger and Luckmann, 8, p.53)

The development of a specific vocabulary and the exclusivity this involves has significance later in a consideration of the persistence of the religious movement as a subcultural grouping. Language is also the vehicle which conveys a body of traditional lore which, as Berger and Luckmann outline serves to legitimate the reality of the social world and its institutional constructions:

"As we have seen the reality of the social world gains in massivity in the course of its transmission. This reality, however, is a historical one, which comes to the new generation as a tradition rather than as a biographical memory. In our paradigmatic example, A and B, the original creators of the social world, can always reconstruct the circumstances under which their world and any part of it was established. That is, they can arrive at the meaning of an institution by exercising their powers of recollection. A's and B's children are in an altogether different situation. Their knowledge of the institutional history is by way of 'hearsay'. The original meaning of the institutions is inaccessible to them in terms of memory. It, therefore, becomes necessary to interpret this meaning to them in various legitimating formulas. These will have to be consistent and comprehensive in terms of the institutional order, if they are to carry conviction to the new generation. ~~The same story, so to speak,~~ must be told to all the children. It follows that the expanding institutional order develops a corresponding

canopy of legitimations, stretching over it a protective cover of both cognitive and normative interpretation. These legitimations are learned by the new generation during the same process that socializes them into the institutional order." (Berger and Luckmann, 8, p.79)

Concomitant with these internal measures protecting the institutional universe of meaning are measures developed for social control which can be exercised when deviance threatens the interpretation of social reality. The analysis of the institutional response to deviance facilitates the introduction of structural elements into the theory and this is of importance. The occurrence of conflicts of meaning between the individual Salvationist, for example G.S. Railton and the leadership of the Salvation Army shows the operation of authority within the organization. Similarly the mechanisms of change considered in chapter seven allow structural analysis on an institutional level.

Nor does the use of this theoretical perspective merely facilitate a deeper understanding of intra-institutional processes; indeed, the discussion of pluralism and secularization in The Sacred Canopy allows consideration of the societal pressures upon a religious movement. For it must be remembered that in applying this theory empirically here one is not dealing with the entire 'social world' but rather with a 'sub-cultural world' co-existent with other such enclaves. In discussing this Berger gets close to the heart of the sect-church type of analysis:

"A theoretically important variation is between situations in which an entire society serves as the plausibility

structure for a religious world and situations in which only a subsociety serves as such. In other words, the 'social engineering' problem differs as between religious monopolies and religious groups seeking to maintain themselves in a situation of pluralistic competition. It is not difficult to see that the problem of world maintenance is less difficult of solution in the former instance. When an entire society serves as the plausibility structure for a religiously legitimated world all the important social processes within it serve to confirm and reconfirm the reality of this world." (Berger, 8,p.48)

Interesting questions are then raised as to the types of education and legitimation required in small subcultural religious movements, which are establishing a reality at least divergent from that of the dominant social order. The level at which these mechanisms must operate to enable the individual to operate without some cognitive jarring and the compromise of the world view is also significant. The importance of the individual's social world being conterminous with his insitutional nomos can also be evaluated.

The difficulties of a religious movement in the face of a pluralistic and thus competitive situation are further compounded by the secularization of society in general. The way in which these two conceptual giants combine to produce the societal backdrop for religious sociation is described by Berger thus:

~~"One of the most obvious ways in which secularization~~  
 has affected the man in the street is as a 'crisis of  
 credibility' in religion. Put differently, secularization

has resulted in a widespread collapse of the plausibility of traditional religious definitions of reality. This manifestation of secularization on the level of consciousness ('subjective secularization', if one wishes) has its correlate on the social structural level (as 'objective secularization'). Subjectively, the man in the street tends to be uncertain about religious matters. Objectively, the man in the street is confronted with a wide variety of religious and other reality-defining agencies that compete for his allegiance or at least attention, and none of which is in a position to coerce him into allegiance. In other words, the phenomenon called 'pluralism' is a social structural correlate of the secularization of consciousness."

(Berger, 7, p.127)

And finally the relevance of this fact for small religious movements:

"The key characteristics of all pluralistic situations, whatever the details of their historical background is that the religious ex-monopolies can no longer take for granted the allegiance of their client populations. Allegiance is voluntary and thus, by definition, less than certain. As a result, the religious tradition, which previously could be authoritatively imposed, now has to be marketed. It must be 'sold' to a clientele that is no longer constrained to 'buy'. The pluralistic situation is, above all, a market situation. In it, the religious institutions become marketing agencies and the religious traditions become consumer commodities. And at any rate a good deal of religious activity in this

situation comes to be dominated by the logic of market economics." (Berger, 7, p.138)

It should be possible then to identify the behavioural reactions of the movement to this type of situation and to assess whether this makes even more important the efforts of the Salvation Army to ensure its own persistence.

It has been argued in this chapter that the Salvation Army is available for sociological analysis and that sociology can demystify the workings of the movement and thus enable a better understanding of it.

The persistence of the "sociology of sectarianism" as a paradigm within which research within the sociology of religion has taken place as a matter of course is questioned and the anomalies which make its inappropriateness as a framework for empirical research clear have been elucidated. It is proposed that studies undertaken on an individual basis from varying theoretical perspectives would open the way for further comparative and theoretical work to be developed.

Finally the phenomenological perspective of Berger and Luckmann has been outlined and the main areas which it opens up to sociological analysis made clear. The discussion now proceeds with a presentation of the research findings in chapters two to eight, with a return to an application and evaluation of this theoretical approach being reserved for the final chapter.

## Chapter Two

### GENERAL BOOTH, HIS FAMILY AND HIS ARMY

When 'The Salvation Army' was born, in name, in 1878, William Booth was almost fifty years of age. With the low life-expectancy of the time in mind, one could assume that with a half-century's innings complete a man would have finished the most important work of his life. Booth had certainly reached maturity and had fathered eight children but his greatest offspring had yet to appear. For the Salvation Army was not for Booth a life's work, so much as the outcome, the fruition of his life's work. In the final stages of his mission's emergence as a salvation army Booth became more certain than ever that his work was destined for greater success than he had imagined. And, it is in this metamorphosis from mission to advancing Army that Booth, 'The General' was born. Booth the preacher became Booth, autocratic head of a new religious organization. Booth mission man turned Booth - General. Now, from the birth of the Salvation Army onwards it is this Generalship, this Army command which motivates Booth and in the final thirty-three years of his life, those years touched by the moment of being a General, those by all human estimates bonus years; it is through those years that Booth models his Army. He stamps it with such individuality that although starting his working life humbly as a pawnbroker's apprentice he should end it revered, even to this day remembered, as a patriarch.

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Where then lie the roots of the Salvation Army? It is undeniable that they spring from within the Booth household,

given that this household had as its main concern the religious and social movements prevalent in its day. There are those who contend that it was in the young William Booth's total dedication to the purposes of God, 'God shall have all there is of William Booth' and in his resulting evangelistic fervour that the spirit of the Army was born. 35 Others are more willing to give place to Catherine Booth, nee Mumford, as jointly conceiving the movement. 30 Whatever the case it is to those two remarkable individuals that we must look for clues to the Army's embryonic origins.

#### William Booth: From Pawnbroking to Patriarchy

Even today William Booth is the Salvation Army's figurehead. Far from a forgotten founder, he lives on. But the questions must be asked, who was William Booth, what were his character, his motivation, his actions in his lifetime? And, is he remembered as such or is his status as figurehead bolstered by pillows of romantic propaganda?

Born on the 10th of April 1829 to Samuel and Mary Booth, William Booth's life was to stretch until 20 August 1912, over eighty-three years. The failure of his father's small-time building business effectively put an end to any education either Booth or his sisters might have expected. The subsequent death of his father, while Booth was in his teenage years and recently apprenticed to a local Nottingham pawnbroker, gave a seriousness to his life that only one left so young to support a family could really understand. If

materially his heritage was meagre, his religious heritage was no greater. His mother, it is said, was of Jewish lineage, his father a nominal church member for the sake of business respectability. It was not from his parents that Booth inherited the religious fervour he soon began to display.

Booth's religious interest in fact sprang from a friendship with Will Samson, described by one of Booth's biographers as 'a godly lad'. 35 It was through Samson's association with the Methodist church, which Booth began to attend, that Booth came to testify that he had experienced religious conversion. During his teenage years his religious conviction seemed to grow but his interest also ranged to a knowledgeable flirtation with Chartism. William Booth's life though was not to be one through which he followed the ideological fashions of the day. An idealistic youth he saw right and wrong very clearly defined and he soon came to renounce the 'good' which he saw in left-wing political affiliation in favour of the 'best' which was for him dictated by his religious belief.

On the eve of the year in which he would come of age Booth recorded his resolutions. Although the actual date may be of no significance as far as his life's history is concerned, the ideals summed up show the focus Booth's life was assuming:

"I do promise, my God helping,

First. That I will rise every morning sufficiently early (say twenty minutes before seven o'clock) to wash, dress, and have a few minutes, not less than five, in private prayer.

Secondly. That I will as much as possible avoid all that babble and idle talking in which I have lately so sinfully indulged.

Third. That I will endeavour in my conduct and deportment before the world and my fellow servants especially to conduct myself as a humble, meek and zealous follower of the bleeding Lamb, and by serious conversation and warning endeavour to lead them to think of their immortal souls.

Fourthly. That I will read no less than four chapters of God's word every day.

Fifthly. That I will strive to live closer to God, and to seek after holiness of heart, and leave providential events with God.

Sixthly. That I will read this over every day or at least twice a week.

God help me, enable me to cultivate a spirit of self-denial and to yield myself a prisoner of love to the Redeemer of the world.

Amen and Amen." (quoted in Bishop, 10, p.17)

That some biographers ascribe the entire success of the Salvation Army to such youthful resolution and to the oft-quoted promise 'God shall have all there is of William Booth' would seem to exaggerate the point. Earnestness and idealism are too often replaced by disillusionment.

In these statements of the young Booth there is a stronger image suggested, ~~that of the struggling youth.~~ Certainly there are seeds of later dogmatism even in the quotation but there is also evident his consciousness of failing to reach his

own standards, his determination to do better and to become more spiritually trusting. Indeed the sting in the tail comes in the last promise, "Sixthly, that I will read this over every day or at least twice a week" (my emphasis) - the sincere Booth doubted, even as he wrote, his ability to reach his aspiration.

By this time though, spurred on by the zeal of his friend Samson when his own enthusiasm would have flagged, the two boys were set aflame by the revivalist preachers of the day. They began their own services, preaching and singing in the street. These attracted an audience of the street youths their own age, a gang of whom at one point were shepherded along to the local chapel by the eager young evangelists. Booth and Samson were soon to learn that such enthusiasm was misdirected, for the respectable churchgoers made strong objection to such a dirty invasion. In recounting this incident in full Carpenter concludes:

"Already there was in the boy's soul the compassion from which sprang the Salvation Army. He was surprised and pained to discover that people preferred fine folds to lost sheep, but he was not discouraged. He yielded more and more to the call of the unloved and wretched."

(Carpenter, 35, p.13)

Perhaps such experiences were formative. Booth did indeed exhibit a Christian compassion together with concern for the material state of the lower classes, but it was the cruel ~~fact of extended unemployment at the end of his apprenticeship~~ which turned Booth's feet towards London.

Booth's prospective lodgings in London with his married sister Ann were a disappointment to him since both his sister and her husband had adopted a drunken way of life. Still feeling responsibility for his mother and home Booth returned to his pawnbroking trade; all the while continuing, again with the encouragement of Methodist friends, to preach. Pawnbroking had never been an attractive employ for Booth and his break came when a Mr. Rabbitts guaranteed material support for a preaching career. With his material needs met William Booth embarked upon evangelistic preaching. He soon progressed from individual sponsorship to a Methodist position, but not before Rabbitts had done him another invaluable service in introducing Catherine Mumford, an ailing but passionately religious young woman later to become Booth's wife.

William Booth's sojourn as a Methodist preacher has been well-documented. The Methodist Church of the mid-nineteenth century was in internal tumult and it was with the radical movements, firstly the Reformers and in turn the New Connection that Booth cast in his lot. 35, 52 He was ever dissatisfied with the respectability of church life and became increasingly convinced of his vocation as an evangelist. There is little doubt he was caught up in the Revival atmosphere of his day and his resolute will would not be bound by convention nor Conference. Despite earnest entreaties to tact and caution and despite his responsibility for provision as husband and father Booth finally severed himself from the Methodist cause.

There is scant documentation of Booth's life to this point although his biographers revel in noting at earlier and earlier stages his 'spirit of Salvationism'. Indeed what can usefully be learned of the lives of any of the Booths is limited by constraints imposed by the nature of the available literature. Much of the early biography of the Booth family, and that which draws most heavily on contemporary documentary evidence has been written either by other Booths, a tradition carried on through the succeeding generation, or by Salvation Army Officers within a trusted circle. Indeed no official censorship would have been necessary at this stage within the movement for be it due to romance or to reverence, little other than hagiography was produced. For example, the lengthy life of Catherine Booth written by her son-in-law, Booth-Tucker, begins in a most unpromising manner thus:

"I have not criticised. No! I could not for I loved. With the love of a son - the respect, the admiration, the enthusiasm of a disciple. For critical biography I have neither time nor taste."

(Booth-Tucker, 26, Preface)

The very titles often give clues to the contents; William Booth is portrayed as 'Rescuer of Ruined Lives' or the lesser known Maud, Ballington's wife, as 'Heroine of Modern Religion'. 56,115: Some tales, repeatedly told in the literature, take on mythical status as part of the established lore of the movement. There have been few alternative approaches suggested, and as time passes this is more likely to remain so. Criticism of the existing literature is also rare, since the

readership of the biographies are generally already convinced of the sterling and heroic quality of the Booths' lives. Whether such material was ever deliberately produced to create an image is an interesting question but on balance it is unlikely to be conscious propaganda. Who needs conscious propaganda when the affiliation of the authors is so strong that it lends an infallibility to the official line? The excesses to which the biographers go is demonstrated by Henson who discusses the official, posthumous, and double-volumed life of William Booth by Ervine. He writes:

"In plain truth Mr. St. John Ervine has drawn the picture of a religious megalomaniac, who forges forward on his course by the twofold power of absolute self-confidence and complete concentration on a closely formulated objective." (Henson, 60, p.191)

If the facts alone are taken there is no doubt that Booth was anything but a religious megalomaniac with a clearly formulated objective. It has already been shown that his disenchantment with all the manifestations of Methodism led him to rebel and seemingly squander the family livelihood over the principle of his right to evangelize. If there were any plans in his mind at this moment, overcome as he was with a desire for freedom to preach to the unchurched masses, he expresses it thus when writing at a later date:

"My first thought was to constitute an evangelical agency, the converts going to the Churches" -

~~the impracticability of which quickly becoming apparent he~~  
notes:

"But to this there were three main obstacles 1. They

would not go where they were sent. 2. They were not wanted where they would go. 3. I soon found that I wanted them myself." (quoted in Railton, 108, p.64)

The Booth family, dependent again on generous philanthropists, struggled on. William went back to preaching in the streets, where his charisma once again served to attract. It is while thus engaged that Booth meets up with a group calling themselves 'The Christian Community' and is invited by them to preach in their meeting-tent set up on Mile End Waste in London's East End. Before long Booth takes charge of their endeavours. Here is one final quotation of romantic insight retold in a recent publication:

"One summer evening he was found supervising preparations for his first evangelistic service in London's Mile End Road. As a boy was attaching to a length of rope the naphtha lamps that would illumine the big tent, William Booth murmured 'One of these days they will be stringing lights like that around the world'." (Douglas, 49, p.28)

And perhaps he did murmur thus, but at that stage any world-wide notoriety for Booth was far ahead. Indeed although ever expanding and growing, with successive names and forms of organization, his work was always small-scale. From the Christian Community, Booth's workers became first the Christian Revival Association, then the East London Christian Revival Union, the East London Christian Revival Society and finally, when they made their first moves out of the poor areas of London in the 1860s, the Christian Mission. The story of the development of these movements is not exclusively that of William Booth and a closer consideration of them and

the transformation into a militant form of organization follows below.

To continue with Booth's life however note here that he is entering his fiftieth year, with not only his early Methodist experience but also thirteen years of mission work in London slums to his credit. Sustained spiritually by Catherine's idealism and his own fervour, and bodily by beliefs they shared in the value of temperance and hydropathy (1) Booth was by no means ready to sit back. The emerging Army caught and fired his imagination. If he had 'found his destiny' amongst the poor of London when he embarked on mission work in 1865, he had now made a far more precious discovery. In the military idiom he saw the model which would enable him to organize and lead his converts and to make a resounding impact upon society. Whatever the implications for the movement those for Booth personally were tremendous. Although at first taken aback by the enthusiasm of his 'soldiers' for a military form of organization he felt equipped now as never before to do battle for God. His task became obvious, military terminology and uniform set exciting new ideas alive, the militant Christianity of the early Church could now return. Gradually Booth accepted that he was 'General!'. The role was his for in part it was his

(1) Explained in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (eleventh edition) as being "the 'water-cure' or the treatment of disease by water, used outwardly and inwardly." This form of medical ~~treatment was fashionable throughout Europe during the~~ nineteenth century and depended upon the application of heat or cold to areas of the body, the water merely being the vehicle for the thermal therapy.

aggressive personality and unending warfare against the spiritual ills of the poor which had set the Army marching. In part, for as well there is the symbolic incident when, while correcting proofs with Bramwell his son and G.S. Railton his right-hand-man, Booth objects to the phrase which reads 'The Christian Mission is a Volunteer Army' and replaces the word 'Volunteer', suggestive of weekend soldiery, with 'Salvation'.

Booth then both in character and in deed was responsible for his mission becoming an Army and by the time he thought it correct to alter the legal title of the movement he was entirely committed to its perseverance. If anything Booth reserved for it in his own estimation a supreme position in the battle against wrong.

"Habitually he spoke of the Salvation Army as if the whole spiritual fortunes of mankind depended on its triumph."  
(Henson, 60, p.191)

In his role as General, Booth's idealistic dogmatism and his tendency to exercise his strong will flourished. That he was autocratic is not in doubt and for this he paid dearly on many counts but there were advantages too. Bramwell reflects on the importance of his father's wilful purpose:

"He was immovable, and therefore in the passive sense, invincible. Anything like slackness or wobbling or unsteadiness in purpose was abhorred. When he had considered a matter, and made up his mind about it, not ~~all the angels in heaven could have shaken his~~ determination. This led him at times upon a line of

conduct which may have appeared pedantic to those who did not understand; yet one could never forget that it was this strength which enabled him to achieve so much. His determined and steadfast will was really the driving force of his other qualities." (Booth, 24, p.16)

William Booth's leadership of the Salvation Army was charismatic and personal. Yet more than that it was the stamping of his personality upon a movement through its legal constitution, through its method of organization, through ethical regulation and while alive through his own overawing presence - it was these modes of identifying the Army with himself which makes it unique as a movement. However such total identification and unbending commitment to a cause do demand sacrifice, and for Booth it was not of himself that he had to let go; he had given all that he was to God years before and seemingly had not grasped it back - but what he was to lose was even more precious.

From the time of their marriage in 1855 Catherine had been totally united to William in his every endeavour. Their joint devotion to God and the extending of religious work was total, and their training of their large family was devoted to one end only - that they should be workers for God. W.T. Stead says of Booth:

"There have been great men and famous men who have founded worldwide organizations but General Booth is the first who has at the same time reared a family for the express purpose of carrying on and perfecting the work which he had begun. Perhaps the secret is to be found in the fact

that the Salvation Army is quite as much the work of Mrs. Booth as it is of himself. The Salvation Army believes in heredity; it believes in training; and both beliefs find strongest confirmation in the extraordinary capacity of the whole family." (Stead, 121, p.124)

This unique family merit deeper discussion below but let it be noted now that Booth's greatest pride became also his greatest sacrifice. The turn of the century found Booth lonely following the death of his wife and the defection from the Salvation Army of three of his children together with their spouses. That these splits were the outcome of the General's insistence upon Army principles and discipline gives a glimmer of the uneasy tension that a man of such strong will and principle and yet with a passionate concern for the individual, and especially for his own children, must have experienced.

The General's concern for mankind, typified by the political conviction that was sublimated to religious belief in his teens never left him. He had a burning desire to achieve something for the poor and in 1890, shortly after the death of Catherine, he published In Darkest England and the Way Out - a sell-out of the printing runs again and again. 21 Within this work he launched what grew to be the social work of the Salvation Army. The plan Booth outlined and the work of the contemporary Army are far from similar, but Booth's principle remains. It is maintained that 'you cannot convert a man with no food in his stomach, no shoes on his feet etc.'; or in other words human dignity and comfort are to some extent connected with the measure of the Gospel. Booth's decision to

publish, difficult at the time because of pressure from those within the movement and without not to detract from evangelical endeavour, was vindicated. Not only because of the many millions for whom any contact with the Salvation Army at all has been through its practical caring, but also because his emergence as a social reformer gave notoriety to the movement and saved it from becoming a quaint historical phenomenon.

But William Booth, old and saddened man that he was, became revered as a thinker, was welcomed by royalty, the famous and the wealthy as a successful man, a General whose command of the Salvation Army was lauded as if he had built an empire. William Booth, in reality, was no saint nor a megalomaniac. His early spiritual struggles to reach high standards were ever with him. The expression of his dogmatic will brought him enemies who considered him less than Christian in his tempers. In his lonely last years he knew regret and questioned his own wisdom in his direction of both the Army and his children. Booth could never have doubted though that the path his life had taken was directed from above. As a youth he had had no grand scheme laid out, no career plan and his adherence to principle seemed at times suicidal; and yet his work, both the practical and the spiritual, eventually prospered beyond comprehension. William Booth was the Army's Founder and more than part of the Army's success story. 'William Booth' has been made the Army's figurehead, a mythical figure familiar to Salvationists, some of the youngest of whom have been guilty of confusing him with God due to the prominence of his portrait in certain 'citadels' as a bearded patriarch carrying the weight of the

sins of the world and so heavily laden that his head must be supported by the aid of his hand. He appears a tired and dignified old man, but one whose commanding spirit lives on and confronts the Salvationist every day of his life.

#### Mrs. Booth and the Training of the Children

Catherine Mumford was born, several months before William Booth, on 17 January 1829. Her parents, John and Sarah Mumford, were religious people and Catherine turned her keen intelligence from childhood to the great debates of Christian theology and ethics. Never in good health, and confined to a prone position for months at a time due to a spinal complaint Catherine devoured the writings of the thinkers of the day and became knowledgeable not only on Biblical matters (she is said to have read the Bible from cover to cover eight times by the age of twelve) but on political and ethical issues also. In her early teens she is claimed to have been a match in logical debate for her father's mind and to have already begun contributing anonymous articles to temperance magazines. By her twentieth year she also claimed a personal spiritual experience and had decided that her vocation lay in being a good wife and mother. Mr. Rabbitts, patron of William's preaching, knew Catherine as a keen Methodist and a shrewd judge of sermons, and acted as matchmaker in what was to become a famous marriage.

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Catherine Mumford was a highly principled woman and an able match for the dogmatism of Booth. In other ways they

were different: his lack of education was in stark contrast to Catherine's vast book knowledge. Her easier home life and middle class values belonged to a different world from that of the impecunious pawnbroker's assistant. These differences in experience however were complementary to each other and very quickly William and Catherine were professing love for one another. Their love letters, quoted at length in Catherine Bramwell-Booth's life story of her grandmother serve to highlight even more the gulf between them. 30 William's letters are short, sincere if somewhat inarticulate and express both love for Catherine and continual pleas for her advice on the preparation of sermons and such matters. Catherine's letters frequently run to several thousand words and although expressing love for William, they read more as moral epistles. It is through this correspondence that she convinces William of the rectitude of her feelings on many matters, including the virtues of total abstinence from alcohol and the medical value of hydropathy.

Catherine's ideas held great sway in her lifetime when she was respected as a writer and later as a public speaker. It is to her that the Army principles of temperance and the right of women to preach the Gospel can be traced. 14 In addition it was her influence which gained the Army many of its most influential friends, and with them increased financial support and eventual respectability. 23 She never shared William's mistrust of people on a class basis.

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The outstanding quality of Catherine Booth's life however was her humanity, the subtitle of the most recent biography

of her is 'The Story of Her Loves'. 30 Catherine loved life, she loved her religion, she loved people, she even loved all animals, and this to an almost obsessive level. Catherine Bramwell-Booth commenting on the fact that Catherine's inordinate love for animals resulted in a Salvation Army regulation against their maltreatment writes:

"No other religious association to this day has, so far as I know, given kindness for the creatures' sake, for for sweet pity's sake a definite place in its ordinances, teaching and practice." (Bramwell-Booth, 30, p.22)

Important as Catherine's role in her day as a religious activist was, her girlhood aspiration to be a home-builder also held elements of truth. Her real work began when on the sixteenth of June 1855, at the age of twenty-six, she became Mrs. William Booth and subsequently bore eight children over a period of thirteen years. William Bramwell, the firstborn in heritage as in fact, arrived on 8 March 1856, followed by a brother Ballington on the 28 July of the next year, and a sister Catherine on 18 September 1858. A second girl Emma Moss was born on 8 January 1860, and Herbert Henry Booth, the third son came into the world August 26 1862. The only unhealthy child of the eight Marie Billups arrived on 19 May 1864. If Marie was not to be fit for Army service though then her sister, named Eveline Cory at birth on Christmas Day 1865, but who changed her name for dramatic effect to Evangeline and became the Army's fourth General, made up for Marie's limitations. The family was completed with the birth on April 28 1868 of another daughter, Lucy Milward.

Catherine was a sympathetic and supportive wife to the turbulent William during the difficult days as an itinerant preacher. 24 She was willing to trust with him in God for provision as they gave up their Methodist livelihood. But her most earnest endeavour was in rearing and training their eight children with the single-minded principle of eventual devotion to the service of God. William and Catherine published individually manuals on The Training of Children. 14,18 Both praise the patriarchal family system and advocate strict disciplining of offspring but Catherine's lends practical tips to the theory whereas William's could only have been compiled by an often absent father. Bramwell remembers his mother thus:

"Before everything she was a mother, and a mother in the most domestic and practical sense. For example, she made our clothes until we were ten or twelve. She would not only sew, but cut out and plan with anyone, the only drawback being her health. She was a most economical woman. She not only patched our clothes but made us proud of our patches! She used to patch my knickerbockers until I was almost an exhibition and when I remonstrated 'The boys will laugh at me' she would reply, 'Never mind, Willie, it will be good for your soul.' Thus early were we taught to swim against the stream of outside opinion, custom and respectability. We were in every practical way that was available, taught to despise the world." (Booth, 24, p.91)

Bramwell was a child in the mission days, when money was

scarce. Circumstances were not always to be such and as the Christian Mission became established and as the Army took shape the Booths moved into larger property and employed at various times cooks, house-maids and servants, together with a succession of nannies, tutors and governesses for the children. 29 For 'Mother Catherine' too lessons were there to be learned:

"Another disastrous experiment in fine raiment carried with it a religious commentary. Mrs. Booth bought some beautiful silk for the girls' dresses, and gave it to one of the women converted in the Mission for making up, the material being too splendid for home manufacture.

Unfortunately the temptation of this silk was too much for the Whitechapel woman, who disappeared with the material and was never heard of again. Mrs. Booth regarded this disaster as a lesson." (Begbie, 6, p.352)

Whatever training Catherine did give her family it was a success from her point of view for her seven able-bodied children became officers in the Salvation Army and even Marie was religiously inclined. The story of the second generation is told as the Army's history unfolds and each plays his role therein. In this connection though there is more to be said here, for the 'Booth family' became more than a mere domestic unit and took up a unique place within the movement. Foster hints at this when he says:

"The General and Mrs. Booth had eight children, who, as fast as they grew up, were created officers of the Army, most of them were like the parents, pure spirits, stern yet happy in self-requirement; their life objects seeming

to be just two - the service of their Redeemer and the bringing of others to that Master for their saving. The Booths must be characterised as the hierarchy of their sect, for they are no less." (Foster, 56, p.228)

But even Foster does not go quite far enough. William and Catherine Booth, as was the custom of the time, stressed again and again correct family relations as being the beginning of a new moral order for society. They followed a strict code of parenthood, with father as head of the household and having the final say on all matters. They demanded respect and utter obedience from each child and this they received. They created a sense of responsibility in each one for family members and their concerns and a unique bond of loyalty developed.

Nor did it stop there, Booth, perhaps impressed by the results of their training of the children, perhaps acting only on a strong principle extended the 'Family Idea' to include his converts, his soldiers, his entire Army. As General he saw himself at the head of one huge patriarchal family, one that he desired to train, discipline and organize as he had his own children. 18 Thus it is important to understand the Booth family with their disciplines and loyalties to be able to understand the order Booth attempted to impose in military guise on his followers. Josephine Butler, a nineteenth century thinker and activist undoubtedly in sympathy with many of the Booths' aims early recognizes the potential of such an ideal. Although penned in 1890 her insight into this aspect of the movement has not

been surpassed and so deserves to be quoted at length. She begins:

"The Family - the foundation stone of society, the most sacred of human institutions ... to which Jehovah has given the sanction of his own name, calling himself 'The God of the families of the whole earth' - this ideal constantly needs to be revived and fortified. In order to revive and consecrate in an especial manner before the whole world the idea of the Family, Mrs. Booth must have been specially fitted, and was so by her own singular felicity and distinguished success as a wife and mother. It would be seen that this marriage was made, and family planned in Heaven for the carrying out of a great work ..."

She continues to praise Mrs. Booth's training skills and then:

"The family is remarkable for the united intensity of purpose gathered up in, and flowing forth from it; for its oneness of heart and judgement in the pursuit of a single great object.

"But while the Booth family owes incalculably to its maternal head on the other hand it probably owes something to the very existence and influence of the Army which it itself has formed."

A section follows pointing out the truth that without the notoriety attached to the emergence and advance of the Salvation Army the Booth family would have been little known.

She continues:

"As we all know, a most helpful element in family life is created, and a great incentive is given to brotherly affection and unity when the entire family answers a"

call to some useful and great work which claims its whole energies. The strengthening and extension of the family idea in and by the Salvation Army itself presents a unique picture in the history of the world. Great religious societies and movements have generally till now been formed on the denial more or less of the ties of natural affection... The family life of the Salvation Army has struck me greatly and affected me deeply ... Their officers and soldiers exercise strict and sometimes bitter self-denial, they have many hardships and trials; nevertheless they have the great joy and comfort of forming one vast family. The whole huge organization beats with one great pulse of warm family life, of brotherhood and sisterhood. As it has been remarked, marriage is encouraged, rather than the reverse, among them; there is a beautiful frankness about their courtships and betrothals; their weddings are public solemnities and their happiness in these family unions for salvation work is in a pleasant manner even paraded in public. Family life is certainly made attractive to the masses by their means ..." (Butler, 33, p.639)

The Army may be a military organization but at its heart lie the ethics and standards of the strict patriarchal family. Again, this principle was absorbed into Army morality as a promise to care for women and children. Even in the liberated language of this day the Salvationists must surely understand its family roots when he promises:

"I do here declare that I will never treat any person whose life, comfort or happiness may be placed within

my power, in an oppressive, cruel or cowardly manner, but that I will protect such from evil and danger so far as I can, and promote to the utmost of my ability, his present welfare and eternal salvation."

(Salvation Army Articles of War)

For the Booths, family and Army almost became the one unit headed by the General, a confusion demonstrated by Bramwell when he tells of his romantic attraction to a certain Captain Florence Soper. He had considered for some six months whether a proposition of marriage would be in order. Unsure as to what he should do for the best he continues:

"I decided to consult the Founder and to accept his view as probably the right one. I told him the exact situation. He asked me if the Captain knew anything of the matter. I answered 'No she could not do so.' Then he helped me test my own feelings, and spoke strong, wise words of counsel and warning. We had prayer and he finished our interview by approving of my desire and remarking in his direct if whimsical fashion, that the question now was, 'Will she have you?'. While half preparing me for a refusal, he gave me his blessing in either event."

(Booth, 25, p.91)

If that confusion could exist for the Booths though, it could not do so in reverse for officers or soldiers. The Booths as a family were loyal to each other but aloof from the rank and file solely by virtue of their name. The preservation of the family as a breed apart was encouraged by William Booth who had decided on Bramwell to succeed him as the Army leader

after his death and who perhaps saw leadership as a hereditary privilege. Certainly it was a brave step to move towards a Booth. Each approved suitor of the Booth girls was informed that 'Booth' would need to be used by him and his wife in a hyphenated fashion, preceding his own surname. Thus we have Booth-Tucker, Booth-Clibborn and Booth-Hellberg. Ostensibly a provision to allow the girls to continue to use their maiden name it was more a badge of identity and approval. This is illustrated by the fact that when daughter Catherine and her husband Booth-Clibborn seceded from the ranks in 1902 she was thereafter referred to by the General not as a daughter, nor even Booth-Clibborn but simply as Mrs. Clibborn.

An even greater distress was to be the lot of an unfortunate young officer Lampard, who having become engaged to Lucy Booth soon 'felt himself unfit to be the husband of so excellent and noble a lady' and so intimated in a letter to General Booth. 52 The General published the same in the War Cry and expressed the family's dismay that the chap should not be immensely proud to marry a Booth. He then initiated an inquiry into Lampard's behaviour. It was later stated that medical opinion found Colonel Lampard 'so far mentally deranged as not to be responsible for his action'. Ervine in retelling the occurrence concludes that Lampard having genuinely changed his mind about his feelings for Lucy Booth allowed himself to be stigmatized as a lunatic to save the face of the Booth family. The General apparently concurred ~~imagining that a man must be mad indeed not to marry his~~ daughter! Lucy, although said to be deeply distressed by the affair had within two years married Emanuel Hellberg. 52

The Booth family held a position of unassailable power at the head of the Army and were revered as a model of family life.

The first crack in Booth's own self-satisfaction and contentment came when the autocrat was reduced to inserting a pathetic appeal in the War Cry of the 8 September 1888 to this effect:

"CANCER CURE

The General invited communication, describing any real cures of the above named disease, by any readers of the War Cry ..."

That Catherine's life was to end tragically in 1890 after two years of pain and suffering was a source of sadness to the family and the entire Salvation Army. It also probably accounts for her rise along with William to legendary status. It can readily be seen though that Catherine Booth, a woman of passion and principle, was an essentially practical person. Her constant support for William and her own public notoriety mark her out not as a superhuman saint but rather as an intelligent and dedicated worker for the cause in which she believed.

Booth's Army

"While General Booth was doing all in his power to overcome the torpor and apathy of the world by an excess of religious fervour, he was also at the same time organizing and controlling the enthusiasm which resulted. From the very first with more than one shrewd mind

helping him, the General set about organizing the zeal and fervour of his followers. He called men and women by the most violent means to his side, but once at his side he disciplined them into orderly legions."

(Begbie, 6, p.457)

Therein lies the secret of the success of the military model of organization as applied to a religious movement such as the Salvation Army. Therein is the appeal that such a form of organization had for William Booth. The Salvation Army was a fighting force, on the attack, at war with Satan - and allowed to use quite outrageous means to overcome the enemy - and yet to be an Army it must have discipline, a commander whose orders would be obeyed and regulations which would set standards of conduct. The twofold nature of military organization was recognized in all its potential by the veteran Mission Superintendent. Here consideration will be give first of all to the transformation from Mission into Army, then to the opportunities of an Army for attack, and finally to the opportunities of the General to exercise his control. A summary of the legal foundation of the movement concludes the account.

As was noted earlier in this chapter the meeting, acclaimed in Salvation Army lore as Booth's lone stand on Mile End Waste, was not nearly so melodramatic. A correct interpretation of the historical fact is provided by Rader thus:

"When Booth began this ministry it must be recalled that he joined a meeting in progress. He did not begin it.

Nor did he stand alone after he had been given charge. From the first there stood with him French Protestants of the Huguenot 'community' and Quaker Christians who had preceded him there and continued to support him in the uncertain beginnings of the Christian Mission. Through his contact with the East London Special Services Committee and the constituency of The Revival which reported his meetings, Booth eventually gained the support of the Evangelization Society, another fruit of the Revival. It was founded in 1859 and is still functioning today. The Society generously supported the work of Booth's East London Christian Mission during its first three years of existence. It is doubtful that the work could have survived without the support of this agency. By 1868, the year in which the Society terminated its support, Booth was able to organize a Council of ten well-known philanthropists and religious workers and an additional Committee of nine.

"It becomes increasingly apparent that the Salvation Army was born out of the co-operative effort of a whole series of societies, groups and individuals, who sharing William Booth's concern for the salvation of the teeming masses of East London came to his aid and supported him in the critical early stages of the Mission."

(Rader, 105, p.41)

And as the sources of financial support changed so did ~~the character of the organization. Previously each change of~~ name had signified Mission advancement with the Christian Community becoming an Association, then a Union, then a

Society - all based in East London. The Christian Mission as a title was never liked but was condensed from the East London Christian Mission when the work spread around the country. It seemed at the time to suggest that all other Missions were not Christian and cast aspersions as to the truth they proclaimed. Nevertheless this Mission work occupied Booth for thirteen years and was in 1875 founded in law by Deed Poll.

By this time though the ever-changing Mission organization was beginning to change again and Booth was eager to take the control which had been vested in Conference entirely into his own hands. This he did in the decisive War Conference of 1878. His charismatic leadership had attracted several colourful leaders: one of whom, Elijah Cadman, was first to adopt the military metaphor by addressing Booth not as General Superintendent but simply as 'General', and styling himself a 'Lieutenant'. He developed this theme in his own successful advertising of the Mission as an attacking Hallelujah Army. Thus the foundation of the organization was there, the innovative enthusiasm present too and the official nod of approval was delivered in Booth's alteration to the proof of the Annual Report. This was an opportune moment for a military launch for the population was gripped by tales of the American Civil and Russo-Turkish wars. The fact that Baring-Gould had penned the battle hymn 'Onward Christian Soldiers' in 1865, and that it had become by the late 1870s a favourite evangelical hymn seemed like a bugle call to advance. 41 Thus in abolishing the democratic system of organizing the Mission and in setting up a system governed by one man Booth perhaps unwittingly at first but increasingly happily made it possible for his

followers to accept the idea of being an Army, and gradually to become just that. Innovations such as the flag, the uniform and the renaming of the Christian Mission Magazine as The Salvationist and then as the War Cry, all occurring in 1879, served to confirm in the minds of the new soldiers that the Army was marching and that the General was in charge.

Doctrinally there were no changes made, stress still being placed firmly on the evangelical principle of personal salvation. The effect that conversion should have on behaviour was also covered and the doctrine of holiness keenly adopted. On a more basic level Collier recounts the instance of:

"the degraded sneak thief who had tattooed the Devil over his heart; after a harrowing session at the Penitent Form, a skilled tattooist was brought in to transform it into an angel." (Collier, 41, p.176)

Booth had developed the idea of salvation and encouraged each convert to be a saviour bearing the Gospel message to others of his own class. The Salvation Army continued to have as its main concern those of the lower classes who equated church membership with middle class respectability. It welcomed the worst of all descriptions and it had some success in attracting them due to its lively meetings. 107 What it did attract though were explosive religious enthusiasts, personalities who could not have been accommodated in institutionalized religion. It also served to provide them with an outlet for demonstrative religion. By its new freedom of worship the Salvation Army made it easier for sinners to confess and emotional outbursts were common in early day meetings. It was still a decade before

social service was adopted and evangelism was the theme. Thus while later conversion statistics can be questioned on the grounds of the percentage who were seeking salvation only to be rewarded, they hoped, with soup, those of the early days are not attributable to this incentive. Indeed the statistics of the early Army show phenomenal growth and although there was undoubtedly success it cannot have been on the scale claimed at the time. The Army was spreading and lasting converts were many but the statistics probably record no more than a head count of those kneeling at the Salvation Army Mercy Seats, and many of that number no doubt lapsed or sought numerous times encouraged by the revival atmosphere.

That the Army's campaigns were making an impact is witnessed by the rise of imitation armies - Hallelujah Armies, Christian Armies, Gospel Armies, Blue Ribbon Armies, Holiness Armies and so on- the success of such bodies was minimal though lacking as they did the background organization which the Salvation Army inherited from the Christian Mission and also the legal foundation which the Army had. Even the Church of England suitably, if quietly, impressed with the Army's evangelical fervour proposed an alliance in 1882, but eventually set up their own Church Army, in existence to the present day. The illustration below shows early Church Army evangelism, and captures the combination of uniform and clerical garb. The cornet shows that their imitation of the Salvation Army extended to music-making also.



Spurred by enthusiasm and vivid imaginations the early Salvationists launched many manners of attack upon the enemy. One would assume they almost exhausted the military metaphor in their endeavour. Some of these innovations, like the marching brass bands, became so characteristic that they barely seem ingenious today. 'Methods of attack' were much discussed and freedom often came close to license. Foolishness of any description was commended provided it attracted a sufficiently large crowd which could then be stunned by the seeming madman excusing his odd behaviour and going on to testify to his Christian experience. Bramwell admitted believing that the stirring of emotional fervour was laudable provided the results were converts. That conversion as an end in itself makes the means seem insignificant is illustrated by Bramwell Booth, in this tale:

"One night after a meeting I had been holding in the West End of London several members of the Army were personally introduced to me. Among them was a man of perhaps forty-eight or fifty, one, I think, of our local officers. I asked him how he came into the Army. 'I was in a miserable state', he told me, 'I had wasted a great part of my life. And then a very unusual, even remarkable thing happened, which led to my conversion. One evening I was wandering aimlessly across Hyde Park when I was attracted by a crowd in the middle of which was a man shouting out something. It proved to be an openair meeting of the Salvation Army. I waited on the edge of the crowd for a little while, not paying much attention, and presently I turned away. As I did so, the speaker shouted out, 'Now, remember what I said,' quoting a passage and then crying out, very loudly and emphatically, 'JOHN, THREE AND SIXTEEN!' Those words 'JOHN, THREE AND SIXTEEN' electrified me. I went home, but not to rest. In fact, I knew no rest until I had come to God, and by His grace was a new man'. But, I said, somewhat puzzled, 'What was there about the words 'John, Three and Sixteen' which had this effect on you? Did you turn to the passage?' 'Well you see, Chief' was his reply, 'my name is John, I have been married three times and I have had sixteen children.'"

(Booth, 24, p.104)

All such demonstrations were justified as the attack of God's Army. ~~It can be shown then that the military model lent~~ itself to inventiveness and effect in the achieving of the Army's aim - spiritual transformation. It also proved itself

as a regulatory force and gradually the Army was disciplined and brought into line and some of the excesses ceased.

To be effective as a manner of ordering men and women militarism requires strong, confident leadership. This was provided for the Salvation Army in William Booth. Booth as a person has been discussed above, but his role as General can be outlined further. Reference has already been made to Booth's conviction that the Salvation Army was a work of God and had an important role to play in the salvation of the world. This was his belief and it is one which is still contained in the Articles of War as a conviction required of the Salvation soldier today. In fact this belief forms the first and last promises made in this undertaking, after the declaration of personal salvation by the soldier. It is between these declarations that the doctrine of the Christian Church and the discipline of the Salvation Army is sandwiched:

"Believing that the Salvation Army has been raised up by God and is sustained and directed by him, I do here declare that I am thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Army's teaching that is to say ...

"And I do here and now call upon all present to witness that I have entered into this undertaking and sign these Articles of War of my own free will, feeling that the love of Christ who died to save me requires from me this devotion of my life to His service for the salvation of the world, and therefore do here declare my full determination, by God's help, to be a true soldier of the Salvation Army till I die."

(Salvation Army Articles of War)

Booth's work was of course by no means the only Christian evangelism, even in the slums of Victorian England but this sense of being especially raised up for a work undoubtedly bound the forces together. It also served to inflate the egos of some of the workers and to create the impression that it was the only worthwhile endeavour.

General Booth took complete control of this movement. He expected complete obedience from those under his command. He wrote Orders and Regulations for Soldiers and for Officers, the details of which are discussed in the following chapter, and which outlined the ethical and moral standards of behaviour for the Salvationists and laid down rules as to their conduct in all areas of their lives. Booth's authority was absolute and was administered autocratically. Having said this however it must be remembered that Salvation Army service is voluntary. The standards of separation from the world are high, each convert is expected to publicly testify to personal salvation, he must acknowledge his belief in the Doctrines taught by the Salvation Army and promise to adhere to the ethical regulations. These require a severing of worldly companionships, an adoption of simple dress, always wearing some sign of identification with the Salvation Army, and an unassuming standard of living. He must promise to abstain from the use of tobacco, alcohol and drugs. For an officer extra rules were made restricting his choice of marriage partner, his income (until the turn of the century an officer was not guaranteed an allowance but had to take the funds remaining when weekly maintenance expenses for the Corps were covered), and his relationship with the soldiery.

Officers are also required to move from appointment to appointment as instructed by the General. Adherence to the movement then was and is voluntary, and the demands great but these developed gradually and were utilized to discipline and make useful early-day converts. 109 As the leadership of the movement began to concentrate on the regulation and discipline of the forces and as innovative methods of attack were discouraged, it became obvious that there were to be long-term consequences for the structure of the Salvation Army. Commenting on the continuance of the military paternalism Rader writes:

"Military structure however, tends to foster paternalism and dependency. Whatever its strengths may be, this is one of its serious weaknesses. All instructions come down from above. All authority is derived from superiors ... Strong administrative control is often falsely believed to require such dependency on the organization. The chain of command in such instances may become a weight about the neck of self-reliance and initiative. The ideal in the Army is to raise everyone in the organization to the level of participant 'staff'. The effect may be to reduce everyone to the level of dependent clients." (Rader, 105, p.124)

In addition to the role of General being legally defined, the Articles of War were also made part of the constitution. Thus although innovation was characteristic of the early Army there soon developed a body of principle and practice which seemed unalterable. Therefore, although not intending finality in many things and indeed making some change

constitutionally desirable, the whole movement became preserved in one form. Take for example the familiar uniform, an obvious Victorian style of dress: although suiting the military image of the Salvation Army particularly well the adoption of uniforms to attract attention and to act as a distinguishing characteristic was common in the Victorian period, for example postmen, railway employees etc. Mrs. Booth intended more than this however, she wanted Salvation Army uniform to imply a religious distinction. In their day the plain navy suit and the Princess line dresses were indicative of simplicity and withdrawal from the world as were the barely trimmed coal scuttle bonnet and military cap. Today, they remain, for no constitutional reason, little altered in style and yet conveying little meaning other than a symbolic one, and perhaps some amusement. Thus much of what was designed to pull into moral and spiritual shape converted slum dwellers has remained to this day, and its original purpose has been lost as it has become Salvationist tradition.

Not that there have never been moves for change or critical opinions expressed from without and within the movement! A treatment of the major example of these constitutes a separate chapter; but even as the General was trying to establish his control there were objectors. Henry Edmonds, the General's first aide-de-camp was a member of an early reform group and left the Salvation Army's ranks on the failure of the movement to change the direction in which the Salvation Army was heading. He expresses his opinion on the role of the General thus:

"Autocracy is a convenient and useful principle of Government by which to build up to early maturity a primitive nation, or a young family, but for an enlightened and educated nation, or for a grown-up family, it must lead to discontent. While it was very suited for the early days of the Christian Mission, and the first years of the Salvation Army, it was quite unsuitable as the main plank in the constitution of a world-wide organization such as the Army has become, with a host of able and experienced leaders in every country who know their own minds and want liberty, equality and fraternity in the spirit of dealing with them." (Edmonds, 51, p.35)

And it was this issue that concerned the Reformers in 1889. One particularly pertinent expression of the General's authority was his power to move his officers from place to place as he desired. That they only stayed in a town for months before moving to somewhere else was a source of frustration for many whose efforts had only just begun to show fruit as they had to move and commence again. Insistence upon this principle resulted in many officers leaving the ranks. 119 It was this issue which led to the defection of two of the General's own family and it will arise again in that context in a later chapter. There is a point to be made here though and it is this - that even after Reform movements, after loss of many from the ranks, even after the defection of his sisters and brother Bremwell Booth, as the Army's second General still insists:

"The frequency of the changes and the uncertainty to the

movements of every Field Officer are important reasons why he should leave his appointments unreservedly in the hands of his superior officers, trusting God will guide them in sending him where he can most effectually advance the Kingdom of God. His committal of himself to the leadership of those who are over him, together with a full reliance upon God for direction will save him from much disturbing care, and make it quite a joy for him to go anywhere and do anything most calculated to save the largest number of souls." (Booth, 25, p.144)

At the time of writing General Jarl Wahlstrom can in theory direct any Officer to any location at any moment in time. In practice consultation is taken with those being posted overseas, and while it has been known for Officers at all levels to refuse an appointment this remains a relatively rare occurrence. Has such principle then a life of its own as dogma? And is it true that the twofold value of the military model, the spirit of attack and the internal discipline, has been gradually reduced to the point where the second of these only is fully utilized? The following chapter will look at the Salvation Army and will seek to discover to what extent the Army is still on the attack, or if it continues as a tired institutionalized body of tradition.

The first General was to establish two more areas of Salvation Army life though whose beginnings cannot be ignored, and these are linked together to some extent. Firstly, William Booth recognized the importance of raising money to extend his religious work. This had always been necessary but the rapid advance of the Army made this a matter of considerable urgency.

With contacts he had already made with philanthropists eager to support evangelical work and with the increased attraction of influential people through the efforts of Catherine Booth, this task was made simpler. Booth was also particularly skilled in raising money from the poor, for he believed that those who wanted religion should be willing to pay for it and was not averse to 'getting supplies from the enemy' (a phrase adopted to describe money-raising among the irreligious). 23 Schemes dependent on this philosophy, such as Self Denial week (now referred to as the Annual Appeal) are still a major source of Army income. And yet in this context again the different audiences to which the Salvation Army has appealed must be remembered. It took many farthing donations from Booth's drunken poor to fill the Salvation Army's coffers and here again Catherine Booth's altogether different attitude to class paid off:

"In her own modest way Catherine Mumford Booth was equally formidable, as quiet and clever as her husband was stentorian and courageous. While her fiery William tilled the wide but fertile vineyards of the almshouse poor and roadhouse rowdy, his sedate wife cultivated a profitable harvest of guilt from the drawing rooms of the wealthy, collecting most of the funds that fuelled the Army's purpose." (Fincher, 54, p.82)

However important it had been to raise money for evangelical outreach from every source it soon became ~~more necessary than ever to have funds to launch the Darkest~~ England scheme, the second issue to be discussed here. The initial success of Booth's 1890 publication was phenomenal

and the £100,000 to launch the scheme was quickly subscribed. The £30,000 annual sum which Booth had estimated as necessary for the continuing of the scheme once begun was never forthcoming and his general money-raising skills were needed to support this side of the work also. The importance of this social work in the history and continuing success story of the Salvation Army is immeasurable. It was this work which lent the Army notoriety, respectability and esteem. Although Booth was ever careful to distinguish between the spiritual and the welfare work they are and always have been linked in organization, in the sources of financial backing and by the portrayal of practical as well as theoretical Christianity. For Booth the religious work was still of paramount importance and he considered his religious endeavour to be the best kind of social work. He felt that in lifting men morally he also began to lift them materially. Of course to establish a balance between the two spheres was treacherous with some critics complaining of the abandonment of the real mission in favour of semi-political reforming. Others, with louder voices, attacked Booth for financing his religious work from the money raised to support the Darkest England Scheme. Professor T.H. Huxley was the earliest critic in this vein, they continue to the present day, and he was successful in having an investigation sponsored by the London Times into the Salvation Army finances. In 1892 after some eighteen meetings the committee headed by the Earl of Onslow, former Governor of New Zealand completely exonerated ~~Booth from any mismanagement of funds.~~ 74 ~~The social work~~ preyed on Booth's mind and raised many doubts in his thoughts but nearing the end of his life in an address to social

officers of the Salvation Army he gives his final word on the matter:

"Truly our future chroniclers will have to record the fact that our Social operations added a celestial lustre and imparted a divine dignity to the struggles of the early years of the Salvation Army." (Railton, 108, p.200)

In concluding the account of the development of Booth's Army to the end of the nineteenth century it is necessary to sum-up the main legal documentation which supported the Salvation Army. Booth first registered a Deed Poll in 1875 when the Christian Mission was registered, its rule by democratic Conference was established and the role of the General Superintendent set out. At this stage a set of eleven doctrines first appear and these are to remain almost unchanged. The restriction that Booth felt Conference placed upon him has been mentioned and he carried the necessary three-quarters majority of the Conference of 1878 to make it possible to wholly annul the deed of 1875; as the annulment states 'in order to secure greater freedom for effectuating and furthering the principles of the Christian Mission'.

It was obviously vital to put something in the annulled deed's place and this was achieved but not without some legal questioning. Bramwell Booth later recalls:

"One incident I remember had to do with Mr. Cozens-Hardy, afterwards Master of the Rolls. In his gloomy candle-lit chambers in the Temple one dismal afternoon, after the Courts had risen, we assembled for a consultation. Mr.

Cozens-Hardy, as I remember him, was a small man physically, sitting with his wig at the back of his head (he had just come out of Court), and looking up from his piles of documents on the table before him to scrutinize the faces of the visitors. After a long discussion, Cozens-Hardy said, with a touch of acerbity, 'Mr. Booth, you want me to make you into a Pope. I do not think it can be done.' 'Well, Mr. Cozens-Hardy', replied the Founder in a flash, responding with humour, as he always did when anyone adopted that tone to him, 'I am sure you will get as near to it as you suitably can'." (Booth, 24, p.183)

Cozens-Hardy must have succeeded in framing such a proposition in acceptable legal language for the 1878 Deed Poll repeats the doctrines and history of the Christian Mission from the earlier deed verbatim but goes on to establish the General Superintendent in sole charge of all property, monies and organization of the Mission. In addition it gives him the right to hold office till death and to appoint his own successor. The deed changing the name from the Christian Mission to the Salvation Army is passed in 1880 and concludes the transition from democratic mission to autocratic army. The likening of the system to Popery was to be repeated though, even by Gladstone in 1897 who declares:

"Even the Pope is elected by a Conclave of Cardinals and I think we must go back to the sixteenth century to find an example of a system of personal nomination by the person occupying the post of authority, similar to the one you have chosen." (Booth, 22, p.33)

In 1891 a Deed set up the Darkest England Trust again under

the Directorship and entire control of William Booth.

To conclude then William and Catherine Booth have been described as individuals. An assessment of their character and motivation and the main actions of their lives has been presented. It has been impossible in a short space to tell their life stories but it has been sufficient to highlight their personalities and their ideals, for these are what came to be stamped on the Salvation Army.

The training which they gave their remarkable family, who all but one rose to positions of authority within the movement, has been examined and this too casts light not only on the later training pattern of Army leadership to be examined below, but also on the imbuing of the Salvation Army with a dependence on a patriarchal family structure and its concomitant disciplines.

The metamorphosis of the slum mission to the world-wide Salvation Army is linked to all these factors and to the deliberation with which William Booth prepared and made constitutional doctrinal and ethical statements, so leaving a body of traditional principles and practices referred to today as 'Salvationism'.

The history of Salvationism then has been outlined. By the turn of the century the Salvation Army itself had come of age, and in the following chapter the persistence of the forms of Salvationism from then to the present day is investigated.

### Chapter Three

"KEEP IN STEP ALL THE TIME"

"Keep in step all the time,  
Keep in step all the time;  
Don't fall out and rest for a while,  
Follow Jesus all the way and smile.  
Keep in step all the time,  
Keep in step all the time;  
You will find each day your pathway easy  
If you keep in step all the time."

(Chorus of Song 92, Salvation Army Keep Singing book)

'Keep in step all the time' is a popular Salvation Army song of this century. It does not belong with the doggerel verse which characterised much of the early Salvation Army hymnary, and which was to some extent to be expected as the new movement developed its own heritage of war songs. With the Army's growth the literary merit of such work generally improved as did the theological knowledge of the song-writers. And yet, here is 'Keep in Step All the Time', obviously out of step with its time. Whatever the merits of such verse as part of the body of Protestant hymns it lends itself well to the discussion of this chapter. It serves to show that despite major changes in the early part of the century including the death of William Booth and constitutional changes with regard to the General's position the Army spirit survived the Spirit of Salvationism. The chorus also gives a hint as to the reasons for this survival - 'Don't fall out and rest

for a while, Follow Jesus all the way and smile ... You will find each day your pathway easy If you keep in step all the time'. (my emphasis) First of all the continuation and development of the Salvation Army from the turn of the century is detailed. Attention will then turn to a brief resume of the ethical and doctrinal teaching of the Salvation Army and finally build upon this basis an understanding of what is meant when this 'Spirit of Salvationism' is referred to; and to assess the significance of this 'Spirit' for the persistence of the Salvation Army in its original and distinctive form.

#### The Military Idea Comes of Age

By the turn of the century Booth's Salvation Army has come of age. It has learned the lessons of the hard times; has had adverse publicity and has suffered loss of members through defections and splits in allegiance. All these it survived, almost unscathed. It even more quickly learned to make the most of its opportunities, it rose to notoriety and even respectability at the expense of its critics' most hardened attacks. The Salvation Army gave little attention to wordy intellectual attacks upon its method and doctrine; wordy intellectuals were not those it sought to save. When any such debate was entered into it was ably handled by Mrs. Booth. 12,13 William Booth's concern was for the working ~~classes and opposition from that quarter came mainly in the~~ form of the physical onslaughts of the Skeleton Armies who sought to break up open-air meetings. The apparent results of

such street battles may have been bruised and bespattered Salvationists but a far more significant battle was won in the establishment, through many minor court cases, of the right of the Salvation Army to march freely through the streets of Britain. The media also aided the work, if unintentionally; the Salvation Army's involvement in W.T. Stead's Maiden Tribute campaign gained for it public notoriety, 126,103 and the detracting comments of T.H. Huxley in the Times, taken with the ensuing investigation, merely served to absolve Booth from further criticisms of the Army's financial management. 64,74

If all this resulted from the Salvation Army's 'bad press' then its good fortune came as a bonus. The military idea had not been a passing whim but had become increasingly popular. A whole vocabulary had grown up which included 'firing' both 'cartridges' and 'volleys', respectively the regular giving of a donation to the work and the shouting of 'Hallelujah, Amen' etc. The Salvation Army substituted its own terms for ordinary religious practices: for example early morning prayers became 'Knee Drill', devotional reading 'Rations' and of course Church halls were not Church halls but 'Corps. barracks' with the Officer's accommodation being the 'Quarters'. 54 All these terms survive and are in use, with many others, to the present day. More existed but have fallen from frequent use. Despite this lingering terminology however it can be seen that the use of the ~~military idea as a launching pad for innovative methods of~~ attack ceased and there came to be regular and established methods of conducting Salvationist gatherings both indoors and

out. These were set out by Booth along with the ethical and behavioural standards for the Army in the form of Orders and Regulations. Thus although the military idea was continued it became institutionalized. Fincher in recording impressions of the development of the Salvation war notes:

"Absolute top-down control of the rank-and-file, that was what was wanted, and before long the elder Booth was further moved to codify these martial sentiments with what he called Orders and Regulations... The General would interpret what God wanted, the troops, bless 'em, would obey like the stout soldiers in Christ they were. It was in this spirit that the Salvation Army entered into social service." (Fincher, 54, p.81)

Booth's decision to ignore those who were in favour of an exclusively evangelical agency and to go ahead with the development of business interests was vindicated by passing time. Not only the Social Scheme but also the Assurance Society, Trade departments and printing press were financially profitable by the dawning of the twentieth century and such varied endeavour was a source of attraction to the working man.

Although the Salvation Army has never been willing to mobilize politically on behalf of the lower classes its gospel is not without relevance for the study of social mobility. While Booth saw his religious work as a separate endeavour from the work of social welfare, the distinction was ~~not so clear in the minds of the children of early converts~~ who testified to the conversion of a father thus:

"We once lived on dry bread,  
 And what we could get,  
 And when we had nothing  
 We hardly dared fret.  
 But now we have bread  
 And nice treacle each day!  
 Salvation for ever!  
 Salvation hooray!"

(Orsborn, 99, p.11)

When G.S. Railton wrote his book, Heathen England - and What To Do for It, in 1877 he had subtitled it 'being a description of the utterly godless condition of the vast majority of the English nation, and of the establishment, growth, system and success of an organization for its regeneration consisting of working people under the superintendence of William Booth'. 106 Railton shared Booth's aim of evangelizing the unchurched masses. And so did Catherine but she saw no reason to exclude from their evangelism the more educated and wealthier middle class. It was also Mrs. Booth who recognized early the effect that conversion would have upon those it rescued from their impoverished situation. Indeed, she argues for the Army in The Salvation Army in Relation to Church and State by setting out eight ways in which the Salvation Army was of benefit to the State. 13 These included claims that respect for the law and improved morality resulted from the Army's teaching and that individual self-improvement extended to a desire to ~~improve one's work and home situation.~~ The Salvation Army, Catherine claimed, increased the number of good and reliable labourers in this generation and the next (through the effect

upon children of reformed parents). No less important is the claim to reduce the necessary workhouse accommodation as a result of this upward social movement by those rescued from drink and the gutter. Moral restitution then led, according to Mrs. Booth, to improvement in social position. Joined with the improvement in the social situation of the original converts and Mrs. Booth's gradual attraction of the middle class through her own lectures and influence, was the support of philanthropists for Booth's social scheme. All these resulted in the Army of the first decade of the twentieth century being a very different movement in terms of the class base of its membership from that of the 1880s. This trend continues to this day when there still appears to be a gradual increase in the number of Salvationists achieving white collar employment and higher education. There are few of their own kind to attract those bound by poverty or drink to the evangelical services the Salvation Army holds nowadays.

To return to the first decade of the century though it has been noted that the Army's membership had changed and that its method had been bound, in both senses of the term, in a literary form. It was not the case though that all innovative enthusiasm had disappeared. The Officers at grassroots level, faced with the task of attracting the crowds rather than counting the money, still exercised some initiative. One example of this, though lengthy, serves to illustrate well the pioneering spirit, its temporary ~~success and eventual downfall:~~

"The cinema was of course not known: not until the turn of the century did I see a moving picture. Then my

progressive pater, in charge of our large corps at Clapton, ran a cine show every Saturday night. The films were hired from 'Walturdaw' (Walter, Turner, and Dawson). It was my duty to turn the handle by which the machine was operated. We used limelight. Occasionally we had to stop the show to change the candle.

"As Dean Inge remarked 'Don't be a pioneer! It is the early Christian that is got by the lion!' So it happened with my father's enterprise. From the standpoint of attendances, the venture was a startling success. We regularly drew more than 3,000 people. We had no competition. Cine palaces were then very few in London suburbs. There was not one in Clapton. It was difficult to select programmes to please our excited crowds and simultaneously to keep in harmony with our spiritual purposes. Loud and vociferous were the critics within our ranks. My father countered by pointing, quite justifiably, to his greatly increased Sunday night congregations. Without a doubt a great many who came for fun on Saturday night returned to pray on Sunday. Hundreds of converts were made from those whose prejudice against religion was first tempered by a visit to the bright happy Saturday night cine. Moreover, my father was extremely selective in building his programmes. He had a weekly preview of films. The roughest and noisiest moments in the show were caused by sudden blackouts of sections of film which were deemed unsuitable to our purposes! ~~Father had made notes of these at his~~ preview. When the objectionable section arrived down went the shutter over the lens. Up rose a chorus of

protests from the inky-blackness of the hall! The zealous, progressive, but highly-principled Major was finding it difficult to handle his East-end crowd. He always had a lantern, with Scripture slides and popular hymns as a standby, but the public interest in such substitutes was not exactly wholehearted. No smoking was permitted. Sweets and fruit were sold in the interval. The young ladies on sales duty were all Salvationists - usherettes had not been heard of. "It is understandable that as the cinema industry developed and 'Palaces' created a public taste and demand, travelogues, documentaries and innocently amusing films were in short supply - the Salvation Army field of choice became narrower. The successors to my father, striving to hold the crowds, displayed rumbustuous pictures and thrillers. They were definitely unsuitable, and it was no wonder that the entertainment degenerated. It became disreputable. The final closure was sealed by a leading officer, in a dramatic intervention in a particularly noisy Saturday night performance, calling the whole thing 'a trapdoor to hell!' Since 1906 there has been a certain coolness towards the use of films in Army halls in Britain."

(Orsborn, 99, p.13)

Perhaps it was because Orsborn wrote as the Army's seventh General writing his memoirs that he draws the story to a conclusion by denouncing the poor standards of the Officers succeeding his 'progressive pater'. It seems to this writer that the entire enterprise was early doomed to the eventual closure which took place, and not because it displayed any

sinful tendencies. Indeed, the spirit of evangelism one gets from the story is reminiscent of the Founder in his street preaching days. One feels that the young William Booth would have approved. However by the turn of the century inventiveness was no longer so welcome; the plan of weekly meetings was ordered centrally and set out in the Orders and Regulations, even down to what had to be included in each meeting. When this and similar departures threatened to challenge the newly established order of things the Founder's cry of 'Go for the Worst' was to be drowned out by another theme - 'Keep in Step All the Time'.

There had been other changes in the Salvation Army too. By this time it was well established overseas and could truly claim to be international. There had been defections of high-ranking officers, others had been demoted or exiled for failure to toe the Army line. Several of these were Booths. This was not disastrous but it did have effects, one of which was that it became necessary to spread the adulation till then reserved for the Booth family. This resulted in an even greater number of hagiographies being produced and other stars shining along with the leading lights. When William Booth 'laid down his sword' (it is interesting that this is a euphemism used uniquely for the death of William Booth, all other Salvationists before and since being 'Promoted to Glory') in 1912 however the sealed envelope held no surprise and his chosen successor was named as Bramwell Booth. Having considered William Booth's views on his family as allied to his Army this was to be expected. Booth saw them as one. Indeed one wonders if he forgot that there were days before

the Salvation Army; he is quoted by Railton as saying 'At Halifax, the Chief of Staff was born'. To William and Catherine, itinerant preachers, a bouncing Chief of Staff - hardly and yet William Booth was so convinced of his Army's role that he would perhaps see it so. Booth's funeral was by no means a modest affair with tens of thousands allegedly coming to view his 'lying in state' and to line the streets as a huge march followed the family carriages to the cemetery.

In 1904, eight years prior to the death of the Founder and the rise of Bramwell as the Army's second General, there had been a significant change made in the Salvation Army constitution. Perhaps in response to the pressure from Gladstone and others, Booth set down in law that a General who was considered unfit for office by virtue of lunacy; or 'in consequence of bankruptcy or insolvency, dereliction of duty, notorious misconduct or other circumstances unfit to continue to perform the duties of his office'; or by a decision of three-quarters of the voting members of the High Council considering him simply 'unfit for office' - such a General should be removed and replaced by a General nominated and elected by the votes of a High Council of Commissioners, any 'sealed envelope' being in this case disregarded. 147 Arrangements were also made for a General to be so elected if his predecessor should fail to nominate a successor for any reason. It is interesting to note that similar provisions ~~to these had been made in the original 1875 Christian~~ Mission Deed Poll with reference to the office of General Superintendent, these being annulled with the rest of the

Deed in 1878. The full significance of the 1904 legislation does not become apparent for twenty-five years, when in 1929 Bramwell is ousted from office and the regime is seemingly overturned. This incident is of historical importance as a major crisis in the Salvation Army and as such will be considered in a later chapter.

General Bramwell Booth continued from 1912 in much the same vein as the Founder. He lacked the charismatic personality of his father and this led many to find autocratic rule less bearable than they had previously. Bramwell was an excellent businessman and administrator though and contributed much to the development of social service and the Salvation Army Assurance Society. He married a Salvation Army Captain, Florence Soper, and produced an 'Army family' much as his parents had before him. His respect for the Founder's regime, as set forth in Orders and Regulations, was unswerving, and he also expected unwavering obedience from all ranks. There were no remarkable changes made during his Generalship - other than that which brought it to an end - but he served to perpetuate the system. Thus it is to his period of rule that the real institutionalization of the 'Spirit of Salvationism' which had been handed down from his parents can be traced. The discussion will now proceed to an outline of the Orders and Regulations together with a resume of the Doctrines of the Salvation Army.

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## Salvation Army Belief and Ethics

Like the Army itself, the Salvation Army book of Orders and Regulations is a child of its times. Booth modelled his first Orders and Regulations for Soldiers upon the rule and regulation manual of the British Army. 65 Booth's first volume and later editions of it also resemble Field's Student's Handbook of Christian Theology which uses a similar style of presentation, that is using headings with subordinate numbered paragraphs. 53 The difference however is that Field's Handbook set out the doctrines of Calvinist theology in this form whereas Booth, far from setting out any such faith, uses this literary style to mimic the military order book of Victoria's British Army. The Salvation Army's present Handbook of Doctrine is a product of more recent times, being first published in 1969. 69 Doctrinal exposition in the early years of the Army's existence was confined to articles and pamphlets by the Booths and later to teaching manuals for Training Colleges and Sundayschools; it was 1923 before the first Handbook was produced. 14,19 To comment that in this situation Booth was putting the cart before the horse would not be quite true in the sense that the Doctrines themselves were written and legally established in their present form in Christian Mission days, but this imbalance of exposition does highlight the importance placed upon practice rather than a deep knowledge of the faith for many years within the ranks of the Salvation Army. Here the Army's doctrines will be considered first.

Since the eleven Doctrines have remained unchanged over the length of the Army's history, and since they are phrased in relatively straightforward English it is simplest for purposes of reference to set them out in full:

"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 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 toward 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. (1 Thessalonians 5, v.23)

"11. We believe in the immortality of the soul, in the resurrection of the body; in the general judgement at the end of the world; in the eternal happiness of the righteous; and in the endless punishment of the wicked."

This constitutes a longer statement of faith than for example, the Apostles' or Nicene Creeds but remains somewhat shorter than many others. It is not written in particularly mystical language and includes a Biblical quotation and reference. These eleven Articles of Faith appear at the back of every Salvation Army Song Book, as a personal declaration in the Articles of War and in teaching manuals like the Handbook of Doctrine. These Doctrines are not used widely in Salvation Army services and although most Salvationists retain familiarity with them it is the officers who are expected to have some expert knowledge of their significance. This is reflected in the 'General Order' which prefaces the 1969 Handbook and declares:

"This volume contains an exposition of the principal ~~Doctrines of the Salvation Army as set forth in its~~ Deed Poll of 1878.

"These doctrines are to be taught in connection with all

Salvation Army officer's training operations, both preparatory and institutional.

"It is required of officers of all ranks that their teaching in public and private, shall conform to these eleven Articles of Faith."

While it has been noted then that the main interest in the doctrinal statement is expected to come from the professionals of the movement, the Officers, it has occurred in my own experience that a prize be offered to the first member of the Primary class of the Sundayschool who is able to recite all eleven Doctrines by heart. Since the Primary section caters for those below the age of seven this would appear to be rote learning taken to absurdity.

What form then did official exposition of the Doctrine take before the present volume was published in 1969? The answer to this is that any exposition at all was very haphazard. In the early days of the Army the lectures, letters and writings of both William and Catherine Booth were the main source of any theological teaching. Letters and pamphlets were then collected into volumes and published as, for example, The General's Letters or Papers on Practical Religion. 18,14 Although obviously concerned with Salvation Army teaching in the broadest sense these were not, nor were they claimed to be, direct doctrinal exposition. The teaching manuals prepared over the years for Sundayschool classes, study groups and Cadets for Officership all included some ~~doctrinal study but not exclusively~~ - the current manual for Sunday morning teaching of Army young people is entitled Army Beliefs and Characteristics.

The first Handbook of Doctrine, the work of Commissioner A.G. Cunningham was published in 1923. This readable publication made some room for evolutionary theory and critical approaches to Scripture. Its 1969 replacement represents the climax of a reaction against the climate of modernism. In the 1960s it was obviously felt that a reiteration of the Biblical foundation of the Doctrines was necessary and the present volume is the work of a nominated Doctrine Council. The resulting Handbook goes through each article of faith individually, taking each phrase, often each word, explaining its importance to the overall teaching and then backing up the thought with a host of Biblical references. This makes the book rather heavy to digest and definitely for the serious student rather than the Salvationist casually interested in building a greater knowledge of his beliefs. While it may be the case that doctrinal matters are of limited interest to the ordinary Salvationist, there is still seen to be a need for dictation from above in some cases. For example Pentecostalism is not a major issue in the Salvation Army, as it is at present in most other churches - the reason for this :

"there was never any chance that the Army would move into Pentecostalism or make the gift of tongues a required or even a desirable sign of a saint. 'Although some of our people have received what is spoken of as a gift of tongues, we have almost invariably found that one of the consequences has been a disposition to withdraw from hard work for the blessing of others and from fearless testimony to the Saviour'. Bramwell was

General when he wrote that in 1925. The General had spoken, the case was finished." (Coutts, 46, p.55)

The Salvation Army has several doctrines which are controversial in terms of general Christian theology. It rejects Calvinist teaching believing that any person and not only 'the elect' may experience personal conversion (doctrine 6), and thereby guarantee their eternal salvation. But so guarantee only if they maintain a life of holiness (doctrine 10), for the Salvation Army does not accept the associated Calvinist theory of the perseverance of all saints, and teaches that 'backsliding' is possible whereby any saved person may revert to a hell-bound condition (doctrine 9). The Salvation Army's first doctrine should place it in the ranks of the Fundamentalists, that is believing that the Bible is totally reliable in the sense of freedom from textual error. This is undoubtedly the forthright and traditional position which the early day Salvation Army leaders intended to convey. As John Coutts points out however the fact that strict Fundamentalism is more implied than detailed in the text of the Doctrine has left room for those of more recent 'liberal' persuasion to argue their case while still able to assert their belief in the letter of the first Doctrine. Coutts concludes:

"Thus the Salvation Army, like many other Christian bodies, is deeply divided over its attitude to Scripture.

Yet there has never been an open schism on the issue,

~~and Salvation Army unity and comradeship have not been~~

affected. This could be in part because every territory has its quota of liberals and conservatives and partly

because the movement's military constitution keeps the fires of controversy well and truly damped."

(Coutts, 46, p.14)

There is one more Salvation Army belief and practice which separates it from other Christian communities and this is doctrinally significant although not made explicit within the Articles of Faith. This is the issue of sacramental means of grace, commonly baptism and the celebratory partaking of bread and wine, variously known as Communion, the Eucharist and the Lord's Supper. It is interesting to note that although no additional comment is made at all within the Handbook on the controversial issues of faith described above; indeed there is no recognition given that they are controversial the issue merely being 'proven' by the quoting of texts as are the other doctrines; there is appended an entire chapter setting forth the Salvation Army's position on the Sacraments. Thus the imbalance of the importance attached to issues of faith and those of practice is highlighted again. The question of the Sacraments arises again within the discussion of the 'Spirit of Salvationism'. Doctrinal debate is uncommon in Salvation Army circles, an aura of absolute truth seeming to shine from any official statement. However should any eager or enlightened convert seek to challenge, for example the Army's position on the perseverance of the saints he would be more likely to be met with an argument along the lines of 'Of course people backslide, you may be backsliding in entertaining these doubts' rather than with informed Biblical knowledge. Thus theoretical questioning is countered again and again by pointers to present experience

and practice.

The passion of Booth for practicality and immediacy is further illustrated when one recognizes the paradox arising when some of his ideals are apparently sacrificed to expediency. His Arminian beliefs and strong opposition to the exclusivity of Calvinism should have issued in a democratically organized religious movement for such was the history of the Arminian philosophy. Semmel traces the social consequences of this alternative theology from its initial opposition to Calvinism:

"Could such views of universal redemption, free will, and tolerance fail to make a decided impact upon Wesley's political ideas, leading him, even as it had the Arminian Grotius, to the political theory of the Enlightenment - with its liberal individualism, its view of free contract, and of national rights - which seemed so much a translation of Arminian theological doctrine?..

"The interaction, each upon the other, of a 'democratic' Arminian theology and a 'democratic' political theory in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had helped, in the context of a changing social structure, to give a death blow to Calvinism. Calvin's God was an astonishing despot, the master of every event who ruled through special favourites. Calvinism had prepared men who, fortified by their conviction that they were the 'elect' of the Lord had possessed the confidence and courage - pride and presumption, if you will - to resist the will of tyrants and to behead a King. The Arminian God, not unlike the God of the Deists (which the

Calvinists, with some justice, accused Arminianism of being the source), was a benign God who countenanced considerable freedom of action, called all to serve him and offered his blessings to all, equally, who would avail themselves of them." (Semmel, 117, p.93)

- Booth's autocratic rule is by no means in accordance with the 'democratic' tradition of Arminianism: the reason for this being that Booth adopted the military model not as the outcome of philosophical pondering but rather since it offered the most expedient and practical solution to his longing to reach and make an impact upon the masses.

To illustrate the links between doctrine and ethics, policy and practice, - and sharing again the use of the criterion of practicality - permit an examination of the Salvation Army practice of 'Self-Denial'. The very name, Self-Denial, is suggestive of age-old religious disciplines as practised by hermits, monks and nuns and involving withdrawal from society, silence, chastity and fasting. It can be said that the denial of self is a principle constant throughout both time and all of the world's major religions. One might expect then that Self-Denial would be connected in some way to the Army's Holiness teaching but not so. It was not even in a religious service that the idea was born. As Williams relates:

"In the year 1886 William Booth conducted a number of meetings in the Exeter Hall, London, for the purpose of ~~explaining new Army enterprises and to solicit financial~~ assistance from his congregations, which included not a few well-to-do personages. Yellow slips of paper,

humorously referred to as 'canaries' were distributed. Those who wished to contribute stated the amount of their gift on the 'canary', details being announced subsequently from the platform.

"It was during one of these gatherings that Commissioner Carleton - deeply moved by his Leader's appeal, but also conscious of the limitations of his financial resources - hit upon the plan which inspired him to write his historical 'canary' - 'By going without my pudding every day for a year, I calculate I shall save fifty shillings. This I will do, and will remit the amount named as quickly as possible'...

"The Founder was impressed by it even more than by the larger donations promised and he read it out to the assembly. While he admired the spirit of the offer he said 'I do not think that any of my officers ought to go without their pudding for a whole year. They need all the food they get, and probably more, in order to perform the duties which devolve upon them.'

"A letter received at I.H.Q. soon afterward stated 'I was at your meeting at Exeter Hall and agree with you that your officers should not be asked to go without their pudding for a year. In order that the Officer who filled in that interesting 'canary' may not have to do thus I enclose you a cheque for fifty shillings. Please let him have his pudding.' When the Chief of Staff showed this letter to the General Carleton was in the office '~~There's an idea here,~~' said William Booth, 'and while it is quite true we ought not to ask our people to go without anything for a whole year, I can see

no reason why we should not ask them to unite in going without something every day for a week, and to give the proceeds to help on the work we have on hand.'

"Soon afterwards, in the autumn of 1886, the first Self-Denial week was held, and nearly £5,000 was raised."

(Williams, 138, p.185)

So the erstwhile religious principle of self-denial was utilized by the Salvation Army as a method of raising money by appealing to the members of the movement to give up something and donate the money saved to the cause. Booth not being one to undervalue an idea it was not long before as Williams put it 'It was decided to extend the privilege to the public' who were also asked to contribute in the same way. It is not recorded whether at any time the public did deny themselves anything to make up their donation but give they certainly did, and Self-Denial week became the most profitable money-raising venture undertaken by the Salvation Army. By the mid-1970s it was realized that most Salvationists made their own donation without recourse to the denial of dessert, and that their main sacrifice had come to be the sparing of several hours on cold wet February evenings to collect the donations of the public. Thus the Self-Denial week became the Annual Appeal, which continues raising over a million pounds annually for Salvation Army work. Such financial success raises other important questions considered separately in a later chapter but for the moment it is sufficient to notice the tension here between a religious tag and a very practical end.

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In 1878 the very first edition of Orders and Regulations for Soldiers of the Salvation Army appeared, a small red paperback outlining basic principles for leading life as a

Salvationist. 65 There arose an interesting question in relation to this publication for criticisms were made at the time of a cover-up involving the total confiscation and destruction of Parts Two to Six of the first edition of the Orders and Regulations which contained, it is alleged, claims by William Booth of absolute authority under God and what amounted to practical instruction on idolatry. This was allegedly to have been kept a secret document among members of the Salvation Army. Such claims are unsubstantiated by any remaining documentation but it must be noted that the copies of the original Orders and Regulations still in existence do appear to have been Part 1 (clearly labelled as such) of a series, the other five parts being referred to throughout. In addition when compared to the next publication of this ilk, Orders and Regulations for Field Officers, 1886, both the physical size and the teaching of the 1878 edition seem a little thin. The mystery remains.

Subsequent issues were forthcoming and saw little change until 1977 when a completely new format was introduced. In outlining the contents of the Orders and Regulations reference will be made here to the 1972 and 1977 editions. 70,71 First of all in looking at the 1972 edition it is obvious that little change in either format or in principle has been made since Booth's original; and authorship is thus declared 'By the Founder. Revised by the direction of the General.' The first three chapters deal with spiritual matters, on 'Salvation', the second on 'Holiness' and the third on 'How to Keep Religion'. The fourth chapter deals with 'Character'. Chapters five, six

seven and eight concern social ethics and have the titles 'Care of the Body', 'Improvement of the Mind', 'Home Life' and 'In the World'. Chapter nine deals specifically with 'The Army' and is followed by 'Fighting', 'Giving and Collecting Money' and 'Personal Dealing'; with the thirteenth chapter 'Sickness and Bereavement' bringing the book to a close. The only way to appreciate the nature of the Orders and Regulations is by direct quotation and so the discussion now proceeds with the presentation of a selection of orders and regulations. While endeavouring to offer typical material for consideration it is also intended to cite examples which illustrate points made elsewhere in this thesis.

From 'How To Keep Religion', p.17:

#### "C. COMPANIONSHIPS

1. God's word commands that ungodly and worldly friendships be avoided and fellowship with God's true people cultivated. 'Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not in the way of evil men' (Proverbs, 4, v.14). Therefore if the salvation soldier is to prosper in his soul and in his warfare, he must heed God's commands regarding his companionships ...
4. A Salvation Army soldier will have neither time nor inclination to join in the so-called amusements, and pastimes of unsaved and worldly people. He will feel that to do so would spoil his influence, hinder his testimony, and be the first step toward his becoming a backslider...
6. In view of this, a salvation soldier, as he values

his soul and influence on his fellow man, must not associate with unsaved people for other than the following or similar purposes:

- a) To save their souls
- b) To do good to their bodies
- c) For that intercourse which is rendered necessary in connection with daily employment and other human relationships.

In other respects a salvation soldier must be separate."

From 'Care of the Body', p.39

#### "Section 3: CLOTHING

6. A soldier will not go far wrong if he keeps his head cool, his feet warm, and his heart on fire with the love of God."

From 'Improvement of the Mind', p.44: Here suggestions are made as to suitable reading matter for the Salvationist, which consists of the Bible, Army newspapers, all Army publications, 'biographies of holy and useful men and women', histories, travels and geographies, and 'instructive portions of the newspaper'. The regulations outline:

"4. A salvation soldier must be very careful of all literature not mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, and especially of all religious and controversial reading which tends to puzzle and confuse the mind."

From 'Home Life', p.51:

#### "Section 5: COURTSHIP

4. No soldier should commence courting with anyone who

is not either already a soldier or willing to become one immediately ...

6. Marriages contracted in violation of a soldier's pledges cannot be expected to receive the divine blessing, or to prove truly happy."

At his point it can be commented that the Orders and Regulations do at times become rather threatening propositions.

From 'Home Life', p.58

"Section 8: HUSBAND AND WIFE

The family - consisting of husband, wife and (wherever possible) children - is thus the divinely ordained unit of human society ..."

From 'The Army', p.77:

"Section 2: GOVERNMENT

6. The government of the Army resembles that of the family, of which the father is the head. This plan is not only of God's own making, but has His special blessing.

7. The government of the Army was not fashioned after any prepared plan, or copied from any other organization. The Founder was guided from time to time by such light as he could obtain from

- a) The direct leading of the Holy Spirit
- b) The principles and practices laid down in the Bible
- c) The methods adopted by religious leaders in the past
- d) The daily teachings of Providence.

8. Without any intention of imitation on the part of its leaders in the first instance, the Army's government has

come to resemble that form of human government which has been proved to be best adopted for preserving order and ensuring aggression. All who have any practical acquaintance with the management of men know that a military form of government is a prompt and forcible means of command.

9. The Army form of government is also compatible with the largest amount of personal freedom, in combination with the greatest measure of strength. There is in the Army the fullest liberty to be good and to do good."

From 'Fighting', p.88

"Section 4: CONSTITUTION AND WORK OF A CORPS

11. A soldiers' meeting should be held every week, only soldiers, recruits and converts being admitted. The Commanding Officer at this meeting, seeks especially to bless, inspire and instruct his own people. He may also explain corps business, but no discussion is permitted, nor may anyone speak without his permission. There is no room in the Army for people who want to vote and argue to get their own way."

Hardly the Army of the 'whosoever will may come' but then the setting down of rules is a tricky business and common sense when written down often appears quite absurd. There is little doubt though that the persistence of the Salvation Army is the crucial aim behind all of the Orders and Regulations and this survival theme recurs again and again.

~~The 1977 edition of the Orders and Regulations goes under the title Chosen to Be A Soldier and the text has been completely revamped. 71~~ The authorship this time is attributed rather

differently 'Originally prepared by the Founder. Revised and issued by authority of the General'. An introduction expresses dissatisfaction with the 1972 edition:

"The Salvation Soldier of today is thus confronted by new circumstances and may himself at times feel bewildered by the widespread rejection of Christian standards. It is therefore necessary to write with reference to a greatly changed world rather than to endeavour merely to revise the text approved by the Founder for his generation." (71, p.6)

The world may be greatly changed but the Orders and Regulations, other than superficially, remain much the same. The text has been completely rearranged and rewritten but there is heavy reliance upon and often oblique references to the old version, for example:

"And the salvation soldier will wish to lift up his heart to Him—at noon, joining comrades all over the world in invocation for the salvation of the people and for God's blessing upon the Army." (71, p.13)

This refers to a former regulation about dropping to one's knees at 12.30pm. each day for the salvation of the world, wherever one was; but to those unfamiliar with the former command the suggestion here is somewhat obscure.

Of course there are not only Orders and Regulations for Soldiers, but for Field Officers, Staff Officers, Headquarters, Bands and Songsters, Young Peoples Work, and so much more.

~~Those for soldiers are the only ones so far radically revised,~~ the others remaining much as they were originally penned. The importance of these for a study of the Army is great for they

pervade all spheres of Salvation Army organization and activity. The official attention given to them far supercedes that given to the Articles of Faith, as indicated by the fact that one must have read a copy of the Orders and Regulations in order to be enrolled a soldier while a mere acknowledgement of belief in the doctrines as they stand is taken as satisfactory, no intensive doctrinal study being required. It is unclear whether the lay attention to the Orders and Regulations matches official enthusiasm, but adherence to at least the spirit of the regulation is generally considered important. Chosen To Be A Soldier ends not with 'Sickness and Bereavement' but with a chapter entitled 'The Army Spirit', which is characterized thus:

"Section 1: A SIGNIFICANT EXPRESSION

1. From the early days of the Salvation Army 'The Army Spirit' has been a characteristic expression in the vocabulary of the Movement. It has been a way of indicating that certain qualities, convictions and principles have always been accepted as desirable and necessary. Moreover, whatever success has attended the work of the Movement must, under God, to a large extent be explained by the soldiers having been animated and possessed by them.

2. Important as it is to be acquainted with the Army's rules and regulations, it is still more important to understand and be possessed by the Army Spirit ..."

(71, p.86)

## The Spirit of Salvationism

To define the 'Spirit of Salvationism' is not easy, it can indeed be better 'felt than told'. It is to a certain extent the character which emerges when the Orders and Regulations are put into practice, but it is more than that. Harris, an American Salvation Army Officer attempted a definition thus:

"The spirit of the Salvation Army may be epitomized 'Salvationism'. It is no mere distinguishing word for a sect, but rather a spirit born of God in Heaven and first imparted in Christian experience in the compassionate hearts of the Army's Founders, William and Catherine Booth, which has been jealously fostered, guarded and stimulated by their successors down through the years.

"In the code of the Salvationist he may contribute to the spirit of the Army and never detract from it. He magnifies it and dare not dissipate it. It is a heritage of which he desires to prove himself a worthy heir.

"It is the dynamic of this spirit of purity, camaraderie, daring, selflessness, internationalism, honesty, love, holiness of living, friendship, service and sacrifice in Jesus Christ, which grows in the hearts of men with a holy spontaneity, enabling ordinary men and women to achieve extraordinary things."

(Harris, 58, p.33)

What is Harris really suggesting here? First of all he

declares that Salvationism is of no human manufacture, this point being made both in his first paragraph and when he concludes 'which grows in the hearts of men with a holy spontaneity'. Secondly he notes the reverence members of the Salvation Army have for this Spirit, it is 'jealously fostered, guarded and stimulated by their successors down through the years' with the result that it is above any critical attacks. And thirdly he identifies certain traits which the Spirit of Salvationism produces.

The reasons why Harris makes his first point, the origin of the spirit being God Himself, should be clear upon consideration of the claims made about the establishment of the Salvation Army. The evolution of the military model from Mission work, the Booths' conviction that this form of organization was divinely blessed and the way these convictions have been used in Army literature attaining mythical stature, have all been pointed out. This is not to call into question the religious base of the Salvation Army, it is a religious movement and must be recognized as such, but the military structure and code, together with the elements making up the Spirit of Salvationism which are built upon that religious foundation can be subjected to sociological analysis. In the rest of this chapter the handing down of the heritage of Salvationism to succeeding generations and the forms of worship and character which this produces are considered.

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It is a truism, whether religiously phrased or not, that 'God does not deal in cut flowers; He gives us seed to sow',

and the processes of socialization can be clearly identified within the Salvation Army. Although conversion can occur at any time of life and therefore people of all ages become babes to be instructed in Salvationism, the case of 'reconversion' or 'alternation' stressed by Berger, it will be simpler here to take as a model the child born to Salvationist parents and to follow his socialization into the movement. This is indeed the most accurate picture today for the Salvation Army in the Western world is heavily dependent upon its powers of self-perpetuation with third, fourth and even fifth generation Salvationists increasingly common.

Mr. and Mrs. A. Soldier, loyal Salvationists, bring into the world a baby boy. The Salvation Army has no christening service as such, having instead a 'service of dedication'. Although voluntary this is expected to be joyfully entered into and that is most often the case, but conformity would be encouraged anyway for the Orders and Regulations for Work Among Young People state:

"The Commanding Officer and the Young People's Sergeant-Major are jointly responsible for seeing that as far as possible every child of Salvation Army parents is publicly dedicated to the service of God and the Army as soon after birth as convenient." (67, Ch.5, Sect.2, Par. 1.)

The dedication service involves giving back to God for His use the life He has given. The parents will publicly promise to bring up their child in accordance with the Salvation Army principles they themselves practise, to keep from him all

harmful influence including intoxicating liquor and harmful reading, and never to prevent their child from undertaking service for God even if this should involve hardship, poverty or danger. Their child is then registered as dedicated and will progress through the Primary and Junior sections of the Sundayschool. At the age of seven he will be encouraged to accept salvation for himself. A public decision at the Salvation Army Mercy Seat is then followed by enrolment as a Junior Soldier when a 'Promise' is made. This Junior Soldier's Promise is again a recent adjustment. Salvation Army children for the first ninety years made not a 'Promise' but a 'Pledge' which read:

"Having forsaken my sins I am now trusting the Lord Jesus as my own Saviour.

"I will, by His help, live as His loving and obedient child and be His faithful soldier, striving to help others to follow Him.

"I promise to pray, to read my Bible and to abstain from all intoxicating liquor."

The present-day Promise retains the same essence expressed in slightly different language. At seven then the child enters into not only a Christian experience but one of the largest temperance associations in the world. From the age of seven the Junior Soldier attends two Sundayschools each week, one in the afternoon, almost indistinguishable from any other Church Sundayschool, and one in the morning which provides instruction concerning Army Beliefs and Characteristics. It is of relevance here that William Booth subtitled his manual on The Training of Children 'or how to make the children into saints and soldiers of Jesus Christ', and alleged that this

could be done with certainty! That has become the aim of all those engaged in children's work in the Salvation Army. 18

It is at this point, already familiar with the noisy, spirited pattern of worship in the Salvation Army that the child has his first opportunity to enter into the world of Salvation Army music-making. At the age of eight, provided he has sought salvation at the Mercy Seat, he may begin to attend practices for a Band or junior choir, known as the Singing Company. It is recognized within the Salvation Army that the desire to take part in musical sections could make a child willing to go through the motions of kneeling at an Army Mercy Seat and 'being saved' simply to gain admission to musical practices. Despite this recognition of the possibility of ulterior motivation the conditions remain. There are some who in later years admit that salvation at seven was merely undergone to become a Band member, others fall away and lose interest altogether, but still others, as mature adults, trace their religious conversion to this Sundayschool experience. As soon as the child is saved and becomes a Junior Soldier he is encouraged and led by his parents to live according to Salvationist principles. By the time the age of fourteen is reached his familiarity with the free forms of worship, his attendance at Sundayschool teaching and the influence of his parents already make him identifiable as a Salvationist, one instilled with the Spirit of Salvationism. He will probably be willing to acknowledge freely his religious experience and his belief in the Army's teaching as portrayed in the Articles of War, and, as a result eligible to be sworn-in a Senior Soldier. Not all

reach this stage, others do and leave the ranks in late teenage years or later, but all such desertion is put down to the handy concept of backsliding. Therefore there is little institutional reaction to internal criticism even that of those who choose to shake off the Spirit of Salvationism by leaving the movement.

Socialization into the Spirit of Salvationism does not end there. The young Salvationist will be further encouraged to discover if he is 'called by God' to be a Salvation Army Officer. For earnest teenagers this can become a real dilemma; should they even once - perhaps during an emotional Holiness meeting - admit to feeling so 'called' they will be registered as prospective Officers and guided along a route heading for a Salvation Army Training College. Once again any failure to conform to expected practice can be dealt with by reference to doctrine. If 'continuance in a state of salvation' is dependent upon 'continued obedient faith' in Christ (Doctrine 9, my emphasis) then the sincere teenager who doubts his calling and thus is not prepared to leave everything and go to the Training College must confront doubts as to the foundation of his religious experience. For others, perhaps the more totally socialized, the way is clear and at Training College they will experience more of the same. An American Salvation Army publication on Officership is amazingly frank:

"In the School for Officer's Training every cadet takes the designated course of study. This training is designed to make specialists in Christian soldiery, in personal evangelism, in Salvationism. It is basic training,

indoctrination, and orientation for life as an Army Officer, as a Christian leader.

"The main value of training school experience lies not only in intensive study, but also in the development of an esprit de corps; the building of a sense of community with the world-wide Salvation Army; and a sense of complete commitment to the organization as a proven medium for vital and constructive Christian work." (92, p.22)

Any institution which can claim such a programme is a magnet for study, and Raymond Dexter presented an institutional analysis of the Suffern Training School of the Eastern Territory, U.S.A as a doctoral thesis in 1962. 48 Here he distinguishes between the School and other theological seminaries in so far as the Salvation Army School recognizes a need for teaching more than theoretical religion. To prove this precedent there are cited examples of the pitfalls of religion without ethics, such as the girl who upon conversion in a Salvation Army Rescue Home got a decent job in a cafe but brought to the Home the cafe's silver spoons to help further the work; or the convert who wished to thank the officers for their spiritual counsel by rewiring their gas and electricity meters so that the bills would be smaller. 'Salvationism' concludes Dexter, 'embraces far more than religious values'. 48 Once again, although proven within a different framework the importance attached to the practical ethics of religion is highlighted.

In addition to an appreciation of the importance of Orders and Regulations, Dexter identifies certain 'vocational values' which are instilled in Salvation Army Officers and

lists these as sympathy and compassion, industry, self-sacrifice, obedience and loyalty. If sympathy and compassion are of service to those they seek to help, the other four values are of great service to furthering the work of the Army. It is devotion to this aim which above all else embodies the task of the Officer, and it is this which is learned, often through rather odd procedure, at the Army's training institutions. Gladys Taylor has written a short life of an otherwise unknown Cadet Wilkins, who showed absolute devotion to the cause:

"'I want you to do some peddling,' said the Training Chief one day. To which the unsuspecting Cadet answered: 'I can't. I've never been on a bicycle.'

"When she learned that 'peddling' meant selling from door to door the garments made in the Homes by girls the Army tried to help, she exclaimed: 'My mother would never allow me to do that.' But she soon understood that this was an important means of helping to maintain the Home and its inmates. So she 'peddled' - and did well at it."

(Taylor, 122, p.6)

This Spirit of Salvationism then involves acceptance of an internally recognized body of tradition and practice as expressed in official Army history and lore and the Orders and Regulations. It means conforming to a lifestyle in accordance with the principles which these advocate, and displaying qualities of character which mark one out as a devoted Soldier. It has little to do with Christianity or with the faith outlined in the Army's doctrines except of course in so much as these represent the foundation on which this framework has been erected.

If the framework of Salvationism is constructed as outlined above then the bricks and mortar serving to conceal protect and preserve the skeletal structure are the Army's works and its worship. In chapter four the discussion proceeds to consider the Army's social work at length but here a closer examination of its worship is presented. As noted above firm guidelines are set out in the Orders and Regulations for the meeting which shall be held and the constituent parts thereof. 'Holiness' and 'Salvation' meetings should include congregational singing, prayer, Scripture reading, testimony and a Bible address; and of course a collection. These meetings are to be held each Sunday, wherever there is a Salvation Army Corps, in the morning and evening respectively. These, sometimes complemented by an afternoon 'Praise' meeting, constitute the Army's public worship services. In practice, they include all those things outlined in regulations together with contributions from a brass band and choir. In both meetings there is likely to be hand-clapping to the congregational singing and it is unlikely that the Bible address will last much over fifteen minutes.

Music-making will take a major role in the service. The congregational songs themselves will be from the Salvation Army Song Book or the more recent supplement, Keep Singing. These include old established Christian hymns but also the poetic work of generations of Salvationists. It has been noted elsewhere that the quality of such original work in the early days made it little more than doggerel verse but it has gradually grown in sophistication. Today original

Salvation Army songs are mostly either of the 'Joy in the Salvation Army' type, expressing satisfaction in the religious expression of the movement itself, or they are invitations to salvation, mostly on the theme 'O, be washed in the Blood of the Lamb'. This preoccupation within Salvation Army circles with being 'washed in the Blood' is interesting and becomes the more so when it is appreciated that scholarship has established that the verse in Revelation chapter One (King James Version) which first refers to 'washing in the Blood of the Lamb' is in fact an error in the translation of the Greek. The Greek words for 'wash' and 'set free' are apparently very similar and the text indicates 'set free in the Blood of the Lamb'. Still use of this unintentional pun has added dramatic effect to Army gatherings for years now and will no doubt continue apace.

The musical accompaniment too has developed beyond the grasp of the first Army musicians who adapted secular, often music-hall tunes. Nowadays regular hymn tunes or internal Army compositions are more common. If this is true of congregational music it is even more so of the music published by the Salvation Army for Bands and Sonster Brigades. The standards of performance produced by the premier musical sections of the Salvation Army are now equal to those of professional musicians; the questions this fact raises with regard to the audience it hopes to reach and the consequences of this for the movement are considered in a later chapter.

Salvation Army worship then involves more audience-participation, is noisier and generally freer and simpler than

that of many other Churches. There is no liturgy nor the mystery of the Sacraments, the non-observance of which means of grace has always been a live issue in the Salvation Army. The Lord's Supper was in fact administered by certain officers of the Salvation Army, although not on a regular basis, until 1882 when Bramwell Booth, a reluctant convert to the Founder's viewpoint, was the last to preside at a service including the Lord's Supper. Provision was then made for any Salvationist who wished to continue to partake thus to join with the local Church congregation on a suitable occasion. 24 In the appendix to the Handbook of Doctrine dealing with the Sacraments it is explained that the Army's position of non-observance is held in order to testify to the possibility of salvation for every man without recourse to external means of grace. 69 Thus the Army joins the Quakers in dismissing the Sacraments as non-essentials of a Christian life. It is added that this is not intended as a slight upon Churches which practise any Sacrament. This line is developed at further length in a Salvation Army publication, The Sacraments, which is addressed solely to Salvationists, and explains the Army's teaching on the matter. Here reference is also made to Salvation Army ceremonies thus:

"Every Salvationist needs to be instructed in the significance of Salvation Army ceremonies and the meaning behind our methods. The value of a public declaration of surrender to God at the Mercy Seat, the desirability of an open and joyous acceptance of the disciplines and privileges of soldiership in a public swearing-in, the sacred obligations of parenthood faced and accepted in the dedication service are all matters that need defining

from time to time if Salvationists are to avoid making too much or too little of them." (65, Intro.)

In fact an entire chapter is devoted to Salvation Army ceremonies in the book, a considerable section for a book called The Sacraments, but it is made clear that these are not intended as substitute rites. In this publication Biblical evidence is called upon to support the Salvation Army position; a fact which tends to make one wonder why there should be such an obvious difference between Christian communities all presumably proving their points of view from the New Testament. If this position is correct for the Salvationist why not for all other Christians too? - or, vice versa. It should be noted that the tendency is always for one, be it an individual or a Church, who can 'do without' to develop feelings of superiority to those who 'can't or won't' do so, and such feelings are not entirely absent in this instance.

The main intention here though is to show that Salvation Army worship was deliberately constructed by William Booth to enable it to be easily understood by the lower classes. It has since developed an almost liturgical adherence to the form and order of service laid down in the Orders and Regulations, but with increased sophistication in musical contributions, while retaining lay participation, often voluntary, and congregational singing of a lively nature. As such, Salvation Army worship still serves to some extent to attract those bored by traditional forms of Church service, while at the same time ~~itself perpetuating Salvation Army tradition.~~ Both the position of the Salvation Army with regard to the Sacraments and its style of worship generally lend it a distinctiveness,

dare one say an exclusive distinctiveness, which serves to establish in its members the Spirit of Salvationism and to sound out the tune to which they must keep in step.

The Salvation soldier is, according to Orders and Regulations, to be separate from the world. The Salvation Army as a whole separates itself from the world in certain areas where involvement may have been expected. It takes no part in political campaigns of any description although given the standards established in the Orders and Regulations one would have expected public expression of concern as to the level of moral standards in society. This is not so, indeed social ethics in the outside world almost fade into insignificance in comparison with the stress laid upon personal conduct in accordance with Orders and Regulations. The Salvation Army makes few public statements on any aspect of morality, other than the occasional editorial comment in the War Cry, as discussed in chapter five. Its main concern is with the personal standards of the individual thus upholding the belief that:

"The wholesomeness of society depends upon the conversion of men and women everywhere to a spiritual concept of life in which high standards of morality are established." (72, p.12)

This individualistic concern extends past the encouragement of a personal experience of religious conversion though and becomes a means of regulating and controlling large numbers of people, the second use of the military model as outlined in chapter two. Even internal ethics are dealt with on an individual basis, for example, a recent questionnaire was

circulated around selected officers and lay workers in the Salvation Army asking their personal opinions on marriage and sexuality. Similarly during 1980 there was given to each individual soldier a copy of a pamphlet Positional Statements in which the Salvation Army outlined its official line on such varied topics as abortion, addiction, euthanasia, family planning, gambling, homosexuality and pornography, amongst others. So if social ethics, either from an 'opinions sought' or a 'positional statement' angle, are dealt with at all it is to the individual's response that the Salvation Army gives priority. Again this huge concern with Orders and Regulations and individual morality as opposed to public morality serves to illustrate the necessity for the Army of the continued development and persistence of a strong Spirit of Salvationism in its members - thus ensuring the survival of the movement.

In this chapter it has been shown that for the Army there was continued existence even after the death of William Booth. Once over this initial hurdle there were changes to be made, many not occurring until 1929, but more especially wheels to be kept turning. Bramwell Booth takes over as General and for seventeen years keeps the Army on its original course. Although uneventful this period in Salvation Army history is significant as a period of both reappraisal and of substantiating the inherited tradition.

The Handbook of Doctrine has been reviewed and certain differences between mainstream Christian theology and the teaching of the Salvation Army noted. The important links

between the doctrines and the ethics of the Army have been outlined not least of which is the use of the Doctrines as weapons to combat doubting and indeed rationalize any possible questioning of the accepted Army tradition. The interesting and profitable use of the concept of self-denial has been aired. This led to an examination of the Orders and Regulations both according to Booth and as more recently revised. The reliance of the revision upon the former version gave little ground for any hope of real change.

It is in the working out of these Orders and Regulations in daily life that a phenomenon referred to as the Spirit of Salvationism emerges. It is also in the daily working out of this body of tradition and practice that the regulatory potential of the military model can be realized. Thus a cultivation of this Spirit amongst its soldiers is of crucial importance for the continuation of the Army. Since the development of such a Spirit involves a knowledge of Army lore, an acceptance of the basic tenets of Army teaching, and a willingness to be loyal and obedient to the organization this must be instilled by a process of socialization involving the influence either of Salvationist parents, or of Officers, linked together with participation in Salvation Army activity. The distinctiveness of Salvation Army worship when compared with that of all other Christian churches further eases identification with an established body of tradition and helps the soldier 'Keep in Step All the Time'.

Finally the lack of Salvation Army involvement in public morality campaigns was noted, all endeavours to improve ethical

standards in society taking place on the level of the individual. In the following chapter the discussion focuses on a sphere in which the movement has pushed itself forward to champion a cause - that of Salvation Army social work.

## Chapter Four

### SOCIAL WELFARE

It was in 1890 that General William Booth of the Salvation Army published In Darkest England and the Way Out outlining a scheme of social welfare provision for the masses of unemployed Londoners. (21 Sixty-one year old Booth had changed his mind; his teenage dream of improving the social circumstances of those who were regular clients at the pawnbroker's shop had been abandoned in favour of spiritual commitment, now it was to reemerge with vengeance. And yet, the central place normally given to this grand plan in considerations of the social endeavour of the Salvation Army fails to give a true picture. The Salvation Army had embarked upon various uncoordinated social schemes well before 1890, and of course the social work of the movement is well-established and well-known today. 91 Thus the questions to which attention will be directed here are these: To what extent did In Darkest England and the Way Out serve as the blueprint for Salvation Army social work? was this consistently taken up? and has the work been carried out in a manner true to Booth's objectives? First of all the motivation behind the early social work and campaigning of the Salvation Army is considered together with the ways in which this manifested itself in practice. Then an examination of Booth's scheme and the controversy which it raised at the time is presented; finally moving on to discuss the development of the work inaugurated by In Darkest England and the Way Out and the way in which the social work of the Salvation Army has developed since then.

The most comprehensive literary treatment given to the social work of the Salvation Army is that by Frederick Coutts, retired eighth General of the movement, and entitled Bread For My Neighbour. 45 In this work Coutts emphasizes the twofold nature of the Army's social welfare work, this being that it is religiously as well as socially motivated. The quotation with which he prefaces his book 'Bread for myself is a material question: Bread for my neighbour is a spiritual question' makes clear this perspective. It is from this angle then that he presents his study subtitled, 'An Appreciation of the Social Action and Influence of William Booth' and it is to this religious foundation that he attributes the success of Booth's enterprise. Within its pages he deals most effectively with the factual material, showing the progress of the work and the different directions the enterprise took. It is upon this basis that the present discussion builds and although reiterating factual data where necessary this chapter will try to link the concept of the social work to the overall organization of the Salvation Army, noting the links and tensions between the evangelical and welfare work, and seeing in what way the social wing has served to advance the interests of the movement as a whole.

#### Salvation Army Social Work Before 1890

~~In the 1880s there were two sources of relief for the~~  
 poor, hungry and homeless. One was admission to the casual  
 wards by recourse to the Poor Law in operation at the time.

1,21 This involved evening admission offering overnight accommodation and food followed by a day's labour, generally oakum-picking or stone-breaking, in return. To qualify for admission a man had to have absolutely no money or goods at all - a stigmatizing condition of entry. Thus the societal attitude was very different to that of the present day.

Today, complaints are voiced about Salvation Army doss-houses not taking in those without the money to pay for their bed (an issue discussed at greater length in chapter seven), in the late nineteenth century men were turned away from the State casual wards for having money. This resulted in some sad cases, for example:

"that of James Thease, aged sixty-two, journeyman bootmaker, who was found lying in the New Cut on December 28th 1898, at 1.50am. He told a constable that he had sought admission to the local casual ward, but that because he had four pence in his pocket he was not allowed in. He then tried for shelter in a common lodging-house, but it was full. He died in the Lambeth Infirmary at 6am. the same morning. The cause of death was given as acute congestion of the lungs, due to exposure and want."

(Coutts, 45, p.39)

Even if the stigma attached to being destitute in the eyes of the Poor Law administrators was accepted and willingly undergone, absolute pauperism was the rule.

The alternative source of relief for the needy of London was 'charity'. This was founded upon the same laissez-faire principles as the Poor Law: the poor were held to be responsible for their own condition, society accepted no responsibility. 89

The 'survival of the fittest' was the creed of the time and when the weakest reached rock-bottom then, and only then, did either the State or the Christian community feel any compulsion to save them from their near-fatal circumstance. Charity indeed served to preserve distinction between the classes, fulfilling a need for those in privileged positions to express their feelings on the rectitude of the system by providing for those at the other end of the scale. Such philanthropic charity which did exist was not liberally administered lest it encouraged scrounging by the poor. The role of charity then was closely monitored by the Charity Organization Society who maintained that badly organized charity only encouraged poverty and that there should be upheld a distinction between the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving' poor; the help routed through their society only being available to the former. This enabled them to fulfil their aims without their resources being overreached and also to avoid caring for the destitute who came under the jurisdiction of the Poor Law. Thus the paths of State and voluntary care never crossed.

William Booth was one of many left-wing sympathisers in the nineteenth century who:

"never followed the practice of others of his day in accepting the condition of the poor as divinely ordained, from which state they could be no more protected than the East wind." (Coutts, 45, p.19)

Thus he was dramatically out of step with the providers of social welfare relief in the nineteenth century. His sympathy had always been with the poor, it was towards them that his evangelical energy had been directed, and although

his desires to be more politically active on their behalf had been subliminated to his religious passion in his early years they rose at intervals to the surface and emerged as attempts at social service. Booth's religious message was one of salvation for the whosoever; no Calvinist 'elect', no 'deserving', no 'undeserving' - in God's sight all men were equal, if only equally sinful. If they were equal in God's sight as regards their spiritual condition then, reckoned Booth, they deserved to be equal in their temporal condition also. If for Booth some were more equal than others then his 'some' were the poorest, the most needy. Carpenter traces the first rescue work of Booth to his Nottingham days of collaboration with Samson:

"Perhaps his first piece of 'rescue work', for which his Salvation Army has become world renowned, was the befriending of an old beggar woman. This poor soul, the butt of rougħs by day, slept in doorways at night. William and his little band took a room, paid the rent, put in some necessary furniture and brought the outcast to the little home, undertaking to keep her in food."

(Carpenter, 35, p.13)

Welfare work then, on a level of individual caring continued and was always a part of Booth's life. For certain, the Charity Organization Society had no complete monopoly, and others with Christian motivation, no doubt engaged in such small-scale work. It was the step from this to larger scale endeavour which involved complicity in the institutionalized welfare systems of the day.

William Booth was not unaware of the provision made by the Poor Law or the Charity Organization Society for the poor;

he could not be. He has often been criticised for speaking, writing and indeed acting as if the Salvation Army were the only agency for the social and spiritual relief of the poor and often he gives this impression. The religious work amongst the poor in which the Salvation Army initially engaged made it impossible for him to be unaware of the inadequate standards of provision. He was aware of the steep slope, made slippery by flowing alcohol, which led from 'sweating' or unemployment, down through casual labour and family break-up to the indignity of Poor Law pauperism or gaol. He noticed that there were those individuals desperate to hold together some family life who all worked at 'sweated' labour for as long as they could, managing by regular recourse to the pawnshop to meet the demands of the rent-collector; and who eventually were even willing to accept homelessness and wander the streets together rather than to seek refuge individually, and with little chance of seeing each other again, from the existing relief agencies. He was made aware of the influx of girls from the country areas seeking domestic employment in the city who were redirected into the thriving vice industry. His converts came mostly from those just managing to hold some kind of employment and home together but they were able to relate vividly their fears of drifting socially downstream. His Officers came repeatedly into contact with girls seeking to escape the brothels where they had become trapped, with the tired starving children of drunken parents, and with those making their living by criminal means. Booth was definitely aware of the enormity of the need for, and of the paucity of the current provision of social welfare. That he rarely mentions such provision

perhaps reflects his opinion of its inadequacy and ineffectiveness. Again and again though Booth draws back from any real involvement and redirects his energy into renewed evangelical endeavour, believing that the real problem of society could be solved by the conversion of each individual to righteous living. Such conviction was bolstered by the singleminded agreement of both Catherine Booth and the General's 'First Lieutenant' and trusted helper George Scott Railton.

Indeed, it was almost in spite of Booth that the Army's beginnings in the realm of social welfare were made. In 1870, still Christian Mission days, 'Food for the Millions' shops, selling cheap meals to those who could afford them, had been established in London's East End. 91,45 These were a response to the increasing unemployment as the shipbuilding industry failed, and food shortages resulting from poor harvests. They too were operated under the oversight of the Charity Organization Society and when the financial losses became too great in 1877 it was to them that Booth had to present his reasons for closure. Between then and 1884 there was once again no involvement in social relief by Booth of the Salvation Army. This fact has led to differing interpretations by those commenting on this period. Coutts explains this apparent uninterested period by the fact that the newly formed Salvation Army's evangelical work was succeeding and expanding so greatly that the organization of this work and the development of an Army structure took up ~~all of Booth's time and energy~~ leaving<sup>no</sup> room for any concrete expression of an ever-present social concern. Other commentators have suggested that Booth had realized from

the soup kitchens that not only did indiscriminate charity increase the problem of poverty but that any small hand-out venture pauperized the recipients. Therefore, they would argue that the break from welfare work was a deliberate policy leaving Booth free again to concentrate on expanding the evangelical work.

The Salvation Army's rescue work for women was in fact begun unofficially by a Soldier, Mrs. Cottrill, who, distressed at the inevitability of a life of vice for many young women seeking their fortune in London, took some of those eager to reform into her own home. 126 This work was then taken over by the Army and moved into Hanbury Cottage, Whitechapel under the direction of Mrs. Bramwell Booth in 1884. Similar refuges for discharged prisoners were set up in the same year. William Booth's reaction to these moves is not recorded. Although presumably he must have been tolerant of this endeavour, Booth's faithful biographer Begbie feels he must attribute the launching of this work to another instigator thus:

"Nor was there much enthusiasm on the part of William Booth when his son Bramwell, in 1884, almost forced the Salvation Army to take up this difficult work."

(Begbie, 6, p.39)

It was Bramwell and his wife then who pioneered this work for the Army, taking the lead from Mrs. Cottrill. No details exist of the length of stay offered to girls in the ~~Army's establishments~~ but Weddell in a study of prostitution at that time writes:

"An impressive list of rescue societies and missions

existed in London even then, but, as Dickens pointed out, some of the homes had so little imagination that they would send a girl out after twelve months with merely three shillings and a change of clothing 'with no job, no home, no relatives but sisters in service too poor to take her in.'" (Weddell, 135, p.47)

It must have become obvious before long to Bramwell Booth that any such rescue work could barely scratch the surface of the vice and prostitution business and in collaboration with W.T. Stead, editor of the Pall Mall Gazette he stepped out to bring to light the traffic in young girls which existed.

Although Stead was later to act as amanuensis and editor for William Booth's In Darkest England and the Way Out Begbie throws light upon their relationship thus:

"William Booth, in my opinion, was never greatly attracted by Mr. Stead. He was more or less suspicious about this thrusting, eager and headlong journalist, who did much to help the Salvation Army and who was a brave champion from early days of its innovating General. William Booth used Mr. Stead, and was grateful for his assistance, but he never greatly warmed to him, never wholly trusted his judgement, and was sometimes disposed to regard him as one who shilly-shallied with the great decision of Christian life. Mr. Stead was perhaps aware of this for in 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' he speaks of the help he received from the Salvation Army - 'from the Chief of Staff' - that is, Bramwell Booth - 'down to the humblest private'. There is no mention of the General.

"On the other hand, Bramwell Booth - at the time young and ardent - not only admired Mr. Stead as a journalist but felt for him a generous affection. He thought first of all of Mr. Stead when the idea of publicly exposing the traffic in women occurred to his mind, and he never once questioned the wisdom of this inspiration."

(Begbie, 6, p.42)

It is interesting then to have highlighted the contrast at this stage between Booth, father, and Booth, son, both in their central concerns, respectively the building up of the evangelistic Army, and the purity campaign, and in their feelings towards Stead. It is also vital to note the free hand given to Bramwell in this matter by his father. One feels that although William Booth possibly could not, and certainly would not, have become involved in the campaign himself for fear of jeopardizing the Army, he was willing to encourage Bramwell's involvement in this political and moral campaign to see if public support could be awakened to the extent of real change becoming possible. Meanwhile, from the sidelines, General Booth was witnessing this experiment to assess public reaction both to the Army's minimal involvement and to such a concerted move to attack the roots of the 'social problem' by agencies more usually left to catch the bruised fruit it shed.

One final point can be made with reference to this quotation from Begbie, and it is that Begbie wrongly attributed the idea of publicly exposing the traffic in women to Bramwell himself, who then thought of Stead as a likely friend and collaborator. It is the case that as a result of

his wife, Florence's work amongst prostitutes Bramwell was indignant about the plight of many innocent young girls but in this he was not alone. In her consideration of the Maiden Tribute campaign Alison Plowden quotes Bramwell as saying:

"I resolved that no matter what the consequences might be, I would do all I could to stop these abominations, to rouse public opinion, to agitate for the improvement of the law, to bring to justice the adulterers and murderers of innocence, and to make a way of escape for the victims"

but when she continues in her next paragraph to describe the organization of the campaign she gives a clearer picture of those behind it:

"Florence Booth and Josephine Butler got together, and by the spring of 1885 the whole movement was united, poised and ready for its supreme effort. Stead was prepared to provide the publicity and to organize the demonstration with an actual child - that seems to have been quite his own idea- but obviously he couldn't just go out and buy a girl himself. He wouldn't have known where to start. He needed a trustworthy helper - someone with the right contacts - and this was where Rebecca Jarrett came into the picture."

(Plowden, 103, p.84)

Rebecca was in fact an ex-procuress who had been converted through the work of the Salvation Army and who was engaged in one of Mrs. Butler's rescue homes. 33 It was Bramwell Booth who persuaded her of Stead's good intentions and encouraged her to play a major role in the campaign. Bramwell Booth was

only one among the purity campaigners who conceived of the scheme between them.

The story of the campaign, the difficulties which ensued upon publication and the resulting trial are well documented. In short, relying upon the publicity afforded by Stead's Pall Mall Gazette, this group of campaigners went through the motions of procuring a young girl, Eliza Armstrong, for illicit purposes and shipped her to France - to the care of Salvationists there. Various errors of judgement occurred; there was some question as to whether Eliza's father had been aware of the purpose of his daughter's journey, Eliza had been allowed to communicate with her mother by letter from France, and above all, the level of prurient public interest had been greatly underestimated. This latter point led a competing newspaper to seek to increase its circulation figures by tracking down the girl's origins and subsequently acting for her mother against the campaigners. Due to the weakness of Rebecca Jarrett's testimony at the trial both she and Stead were sentenced to periods in gaol. Bramwell Booth was found not guilty. That the outcome of the trial engendered more public interest than the plight of the victims of vice is a fact which seems to have been ignored. Whatever the results of the campaign on a Parliamentary level though it had a significant effect upon the direction of social concern within the Salvation Army and on the willingness of William Booth to move his Army into battle on the social front.

William Booth is quoted as saying of the Maiden Tribute campaigners:

"They saw beauty when the soul was down in the mire.  
Most of us see the beauty when the soul is emerging."

(Unsworth, 126, Introductory quotation)

General Booth's thoughts were certainly focusing more clearly on the problems of society. Murdoch notes that in January 1886, at the time of the Trafalgar Riots, War Cry articles reflect growing sensitivity to the distress resulting from unemployment. 91 A hostel for men was opened in 1888 and in 1889 strikers during the London Dock Strike were partly sustained by meals provided by a Salvation Army food distribution centres deliberately set up in the West India Dock Road. These developments were not direct results of Booth's approval of the morality campaign, but rather they were symptomatic of a new attitude only in part connected with the Maiden Tribute.

Murdoch in his article on Frank Smith, M.P. sets out four reasons for this changing focus. 91 Firstly he notes that there was a great deal of Trade Union activity taking place as the rates of unemployment increased. The Salvation Army has always been in sympathy with the aims of the Trade Unions and indeed current Orders and Regulations make a clear statement on the matter thus:

"It is in order for the Salvationist to join a Trade Union and to become active in its affairs. Trade Unionism may well be one of the areas in which it is possible for him to make a Christian contribution. The Salvationist will not support decisions which are opposed to the common good and which are dictated by individual, group or political selfishness.

"Differences sometimes occur between employees and employers where mutual agreement is not reached. The use of the strike weapon then comes under consideration. A strike is a trial of strength and resolution between labour and management. In all democracies the right for workers to withdraw their labour is recognized. "It is impossible to give advice covering every eventuality but, generally speaking, a worker is likely to be able to accept the democratic decision of the union."

(71, p.55)

The right to work was of importance in that day as it is in this, and Booth recognized in unemployment a major obstacle to achieving any justice in society or allowing opportunities for the individual.

The second reason Murdoch puts forward for Booth's growing interest in social relief was 'a decline in the Army's appeal in London'. This is strongly refuted by Coutts who writes:

"The one serious misrepresentation which calls for correction is that which presents William Booth as trying to shore up his failing evangelical efforts by what is now called community service"

and he goes on to claim that the Army was in no difficulty nor was this a definite change of strategy. He concludes:

"That he (Booth) suddenly bethought himself of social service as a gimmick wherewith to restore his ineffective evangelical enterprises is a travesty of his thought and action." (Coutts, 45, p.18)

This is somewhat an overreaction though from someone eager to preserve the good character of Booth and to deny that he would

have any ulterior motive for the 'good works' of his social service. What Murdoch says is fair for he continues:

"One historian records, 'It was Booth's anxiety about the Army's lack of penetrating power among slum-dwellers that turned him towards social reform.' For Booth this was not the Social Christianity the Methodist Times wanted to credit him with, since secular utopias were of little interest to him. He had simply altered his 'strategy of salvation'. The target was still the individual soul, only the means changed. The Army's decline in the inner city in the 1880s had already caused Frank Smith to consolidate Corps during his tenure as London's Divisional Commander." (Murdoch, 91, p.3)

Murdoch is not attempting to suggest that Booth neglected the Gospel as the means of reclaiming humanity in his social endeavour, although others may have done so. What he is arguing is that faced with declining attention to its evangelism the Salvation Army reviewed its method of attack, this time beginning where the people were, helping them in that need and thus gaining opportunities to evangelize.

The third cause pinpointed as resulting in a change of focus is a change in leadership. Catherine Booth while sharing William's indignation at the injustice of society maintained a single religious aim:

"She had expressed her views most pointedly in July 1881:

'Oh! how I see the emptiness and vanity of everything compared with the salvation of the soul. What does it matter if a man dies in the workhouse? If he died on a doorstep covered with wounds, like Lazarus - what does

it matter if his soul is saved?' ... While she supported her husband's book in 1890, she may well have shared the grave concerns of others had she lived to witness its application by Frank Smith. Commissioner George Scott Railton in Colonel Watson's words 'felt himself to be the custodian of that strict evangelical tradition handed down by Catherine Booth'. However, Railton had slipped from his place as Booth's first Lieutenant by this time and would soon increase the distance between himself and the Founder by opposing what he termed the 'commercial' enterprises which diverted the Army from its true mission ... It was the removal of Mrs. Booth by death in 1890 and of Railton by exile that opened the way for Frank Smith and the rise of Salvation Army social work." (Murdoch, 91, p.4)

A change of personnel always necessitates changes in policy and this was to be so in the Army. Railton, a keen evangelist and friend of Mrs. Booth had been William's right-hand-man in the Christian Mission days and as the infant Army emerged. 131 He shared with Catherine a strong sense of religious mission and was effective in the early extension of Salvation Army work, most notably to the United States. As Bramwell grew old enough and was given increased responsibility within the Army as Chief of Staff, Railton was to some extent no longer necessary. For some time the three men worked together but differences of opinion occurred and Railton was sent on duty overseas whereas Bramwell remained at home. It was to be through Bramwell that William realized his reforming dreams, first in 1885 and later again for Bramwell was an eager supporter of the social scheme. Catherine's death in 1890 and

a dramatic outburst by Railton in 1894 sealed the issue and Railton was again exiled to overseas commands, while the Army proceeded in the direction to which he was opposed in Britain. 131

Murdoch's final suggestion as to the drift of the Army's endeavour was the influence on William Booth of W.T. Stead and Frank Smith. It was Stead who collaborated with Booth in the production of In Darkest England and the Way Out. Stead is quoted as having written to a friend:

"You will recognize my fine Roman hand in most chapters; ... we have got the Salvation Army not only for Social Reform but also for Imperial Unity. I have written to Rhodes about it and we stand on the eve of great things"

But Murdoch notes wryly that:

"No matter how much friendly direction Stead gave to Booth's thinking the General was as much an imperialist as Stead or Cecil Rhodes, and if there was to be any manipulation it would be mutual, for Booth needed Stead's skills as a publicist and Rhodes financial backing. He got both." (Murdoch, 91, p.5)

Booth and Stead used each other for their own ends. Frank Smith is also mentioned, and was a trusted Salvation Army Officer who had been used as a troubleshooter by the Founder when schism threatened the American Army. He was to become the first officer in charge of the Army's social work. His place in Salvation Army history has been neglected however, possibly due to the fact that his interests in Socialism developed until he left the Salvation Army and moved into Left-wing politics becoming a Member of Parliament in 1929.

Murdoch's valuable and, I would contend, accurate recent analysis of the 1880s period has been used here for two reasons. First of all it offers an interpretation of the Army's development at an important but hitherto undocumented period, and secondly, it affords opportunity to raise the major issues concerning that decade and to discuss more generally the extent of pre-1890 Salvation Army social service. It has been seen that any social relief was by all accounts rather haphazard, individualistic and generally ineffective. The experience which these early efforts afforded William Booth however was crucial when he came to formulate his scheme outlined in In Darkest England and the Way Out.

#### In Darkest England and the Way Out

"In all the long history of social thought few of the makers of reorganization plans were so well equipped with optimism and self-confidence as General Booth. For this there was a good reason. As the general would have put it, he had not only truth, justice, and humanity but God on his side." (Ausubel, 3, p.519)

By 1890 the Salvation Army's religious work was held in high esteem. It had expanded and extended throughout the country and overseas during the previous decade and had come through the period of street persecution literally with flying colours. The early critics from within the Churches of its

extremism and irreverence had grown tired of shouting against such obvious popularity, and had to admit that its evangelism was reaching the unchurched masses. An anonymous reviewer sets the scene in describing the widespread sadness at Mrs. Booth's death thus:

"Mrs. Booth has been laid to rest amid demonstrations of popular reverence almost unparalleled in our time. The business of the City stood still while the Army Mother was borne to her grave. And beneath the cold and yellow fog which blinded and blurred the spectacle, that great procession testified to all who saw it of the reality and power of the new Religious Order that is the latest birth of the enthusiasms, and the faiths, and the sympathies of our time." (146, p.492)

This new focus then was not the outcome of early enthusiasm in a young Army. By now the Army was mature, established and respected, and Booth at its head was confident and eager to accomplish even more in his war against Sin. The manner in which the events of the 1880s led him to launch his practical scheme, feeling that this would contribute to the evangelical success of the movement, has been shown.

The publication itself was well-planned and cleverly constructed. Even before tackling the substance of Booth's proposal his reader could not fail to notice his clever adaptation of Stanley's In Darkest Africa title, implying that the interest of the Victorian readership in poverty and depravity abroad could be both quenched and startled by conditions at home. 120 And of course he not only presented a study of Darkest England but also The Way Out. It is an

interesting sideline to note that when Booth's book became as famous as Stanley's original his title was also exploited, in this case by W.J. Riley in 1891 with a publication entitled In Darkest Egglan and the Way Out; or How to Hatch Chickens and Rear Them. 110 In addition to this imaginative choice of title Booth also sought to catch the attention by enclosing a colourful poster with each copy of the book, as Ausubel comments:

"Nor did he neglect potential contributors who lacked the time to read but had the time to look."

(Ausubel, 3, p.520)

This chart depicted a rainbow archway inscribed SALVATION ARMY SOCIAL CAMPAIGN, the keystone of which bears the central aim of WORK FOR ALL. Beneath this arch at the foot of the poster is a sea whose waves are 'strife', 'slavery', 'want', 'perjury' and so on. Salvationists are depicted as hauling some out of this sea and in the foreground there stands a lighthouse, 'The City Colony'. The Farm Colony is portrayed as a green coastal area whence ships are sailing to the Colony Across the Seas. A reproduction of this chart is provided at the back of this thesis by way of illustration.

Notwithstanding these clever embellishments the text itself is eminently readable. In a critical article entitled 'General Booth's Panacea' Ashley has to admit that:

"The skillful writer or writers who assisted General Booth to put his scheme into an attractive shape has learned this much at any rate - that one single measure could hardly be expected to remove all troubles. They accordingly unroll a long list, a score or more, of plans

and suggestions. This gives an air of completeness and reasonableness to the scheme which probably reassured the author, and has certainly impressed his readers. It seems the fairest thing in the world to say to the charitable public: 'Here is plenty to choose from. If you don't like to subscribe to this, you can subscribe to that. You pay your money and you take your choice.'

(Ashley, 2, p.538)

Ashley concludes that Booth has simplified the complexity of solutions to social problems even past the stage of 'Pass this piece of legislation and it will be alright' to 'Put your money in the Salvation Army slot and it will be alright'. Was Booth so politically unconcerned? It remains to be seen, but it is important to bear in mind as his scheme is discussed below that while recognizing that Booth's intention was not to bring about a Socialist millennium but rather to save men's souls, it becomes obvious that such a wide-ranging plan as Booth's required making essentially political decisions. That Booth was aware of this is demonstrated by his wooing of Stead and Rhodes.

Therefore it is obvious that Booth's scheme has two elements within it, a set of practical proposals and also an expression of Booth's theorizing about society from which his practical suggestions emerge. Booth's explicit social perspective will be outlined first of all below. However it is useful to have set out the briefest of summaries of the scheme in order to relate theory to practice; this is provided by Booth's son-in-law:

"The Salvation Army method of dealing with the question

of the Unemployed is, in brief, to place Waste Labour on Waste Land by means of Waste Capital: thus combining this Trinity of Waste, the separation of which means the destruction of each, the co-operation of which means the prosperity of all." (Booth-Tucker, 27, p.750)

In considering Booth's own opinions, these will be quoted verbatim. Again this leads to lengthy passages of quotation but as well as making the necessary points it serves to illustrate Booth's style of writing in In Darkest England and the Way Out and to give a flavour of the tremendous emotive passion which fires the whole project. William Booth himself links his material concern for the poor to his formative years in Nottingham:

"When but a mere child the degradation and helpless misery of the poor Stockingers of my native town, wandering gaunt and hunger-stricken through the streets droning out their melancholy ditties, crowding the Union or toiling like galley slaves on relief works for a bare subsistence kindled in my heart yearnings to help the poor which have continued to this day and which have had a powerful influence on my whole life. At last I may be going to see my longings to help the workless realized. I think I am." (Booth, 21, Preface)

If such experiences have led others to wallow in emotion or generous philanthropy Booth had enough sense to realize that the answer did not lie there. He hit hard at the established order of things:

"There is hardly any more pathetic figure than that of

the strong able worker crying plaintively in the midst of our palaces and churches, not for charity, but for work, asking only to be allowed the privilege of perpetual hard labour, that thereby he may earn wherewith to fill his empty belly and silence the cry of his children for food. Crying for it and not getting it, seeking for labour as lost treasure and finding it not, until at last, all spirit and vigour worn out in the weary quest, the once willing worker becomes a broken-down drudge, sodden with wretchedness and despairing of all help in this world or in that which is to come. Our organization of industry certainly leaves much to be desired ...

"These men, whose labour is their only capital, are allowed, nay compelled, to waste day after day by the want of any means of employment, and then when they have seen days and weeks roll by during which their capital has been wasted by pounds and pounds, they are lectured for not saving the pence. When a rich man cannot employ his capital he puts it out at interest, but the bank for the labour capital of the poor man has yet to be invented. Yet it might be worthwhile inventing one. A man's labour is not only his capital but his life. When it passes it returns never more. To utilize it, to prevent its wasteful squandering, to enable the poor man to bank it up for use hereafter, this surely is one of the most urgent tasks before civilization."

(Booth, 21, p.32)

-which sounds much like Socialism-made-easy-for-the-plain-man.  
However, given the political situation of the time 'socialism'

was in any case an obscure term. It was often applied to any kind of social welfare work regardless of the political motivation of the benefactors. The Salvation Army called its social work supplement to the War Cry in 1889 'Salvation Socialism'. At the other extreme it was used as a synonym for extreme anarchic endeavour, as indeed it is in this rare politically concerned passage of Catherine Booth's:

"The fact that there is a vast mass of our population entirely untouched by any civilizing or Christianizing influences, left to the mercy of socialist and infidel leaders, daily increasing in numbers and lawlessness, and fast learning the power of combination and organization, is enough to alarm all thoughtful people as to the look-out ahead of us. You know as well as I do that in France and Germany the steady advance of socialist opinions threatens all ordinary government and menaces the existence of any government at all. The discovery of the Black Hand Associations in Spain, which openly avow the most terrible principles of the socialist theory, may be taken as an indication of the extent to which these opinions must be spreading in countries where there is no restriction put on the advocacy of any principles whatsoever ... The wonderful thing is that thoughtful people should not perceive in all this the sapping of society and the prospect of danger to all alike; that they do not see that these influences, which today are brought to bear plainly against the public recognition of God, will pass in a short time (unless met by some strange influence) into open conflict with the existence of any rights

whatsoever which do not suit the convenience of the mob."

(Booth, 13, p.2)

William Booth in fact spells out his own political sympathies most explicitly when he says:

"There is nothing in my scheme which will bring it into collision either with Socialists of the State, or Socialists of the Municipality, with Individualists or Nationalists, or any of the various schools of thought in the great field of social economics - 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 on him." (Booth, 21, p.18)

This is racy writing, directed very pointedly against the laissez-faire politicians of the day, and it had not escaped Booth's notice that the provision of care was run on these same principles.

He criticises the Poor Law for its rules of pauperism and because it makes it practically impossible by its mode of operation for a man ever to leave the Casual Ward once he has entered, concluding:

"The Casual Ward, at the best, is merely a squalid resting place for the casual in his downward career. If anything is to be done for these men, it must be done by other agents than those which prevail in the administration of the Poor Laws." (Booth, 21, p.72)

Nor is the correct policy to be found amongst those who would administer charity. They, he knows from experience now, are ill-equipped to deal with the size of the problem:

"There are many institutions, very excellent in their way without which it is difficult to see how society could get on at all, but when they have done their best there still remains this great and appalling mass of human misery on our hands, a perfect quagmire of Human Sludge. They may ladle out individuals here and there, but to drain the whole bog is an effort which seems to be beyond the imagination of most of those who spend their lives in philanthropic work. It is no doubt better than nothing to take the individual and feed him from day to day, to bandage up his wounds and heal his diseases; but you may go on doing that for ever, if you do not do more than that; and the worst of it is that all the authorities agree that if you only do that you will probably increase the evil with which you are attempting to deal, and that you had much better let the whole thing alone." (Booth, 21, p.73)

For William Booth then, political theory was to be judged by its practical application. He therefore rejects Socialism, although remaining in sympathy with its theories, as a cause feeling that it does nothing for those dying of hunger today and thus is of no immediate practical value.

This being his criterion of judgement it is easy to see that he will rely on what he has proven in practice:

"I have boldly asserted that whatever his peculiar character and circumstances might be, if the prodigal would

come home to his Heavenly Father, he would find enough and to spare in the Father's house to supply all his need both for this world and the next; and I have known thousands, nay, I can say tens of thousands, who have literally proved this to be true, having, with little or temporal assistance, come out of the darkest depths of destitution, vice and crime, to be happy and honest citizens and true sons and servants of God ... It will be seen, therefore, that in this or in any other development that may follow, I have no intention to depart in the smallest degree from the main principles on which I have acted in the past. My only hope for the permanent deliverance of mankind from misery, either in this world or the next, is the regeneration or remaking of the individual by the power of the Holy Ghost through Jesus Christ. But in providing for the relief of temporal misery I reckon that I am only making it easy where it is now difficult, and possible where it is now all but impossible, for men and women to find their way to the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."

(Booth, 21, Preface)

Booth develops this relationship between religion and social salvation further when he writes:

"The difference between the method which seeks to regenerate a man by ameliorating his circumstances and that which ameliorates his circumstances in order to get at the regeneration of his heart, is the difference between the method of a gardener who grafts a Ribstone Pippin on a crab-apple tree and one who merely ties apples with string upon the branches of the crab. To change the

nature of the individual, to get at the heart, to save his soul is the only real, lasting method of doing him any good. In many modern schemes of social regeneration it is forgotten that 'it takes a soul to move a body, e'en to a cleaner sty', and at the risk of being misunderstood or misrepresented 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." (Booth, 21, p.45)

William Booth expresses himself most clearly. He feels that at last he has found the vehicle to express his ever-present social concern. He has formulated a scheme which will really improve the lot of the unemployed and homeless. In so doing he has no political motive but realizes that his plan will bring him into direct opposition with those currently engaged in social welfare work. He criticises both State provision and that of charity, noting that in some cases this is worse than nothing. He makes clear the religious foundation of his work and that this new social scheme has as its central aim the salvation of souls. What Booth does not do is set up another charitable body - he intends his scheme to change society, not merely to act as a nursemaid. The discussion proceeds by looking at the means he proposes to use to accomplish this end.

Booth begins by setting out those whom he wishes to help thus:

"those who, having no capital or income of their own, would in a month be dead from sheer starvation were they exclusively dependent upon the money earned from their

own work; and those who by their utmost exertions are unable to attain the regular allowance of food which the law prescribes as indispensable even for the worst criminals in our gaols." (Booth, 21, p.18)

These he numbers, with statistics taken from Charles Booth's Life and Labour of the People the first volume of which had been published the previous year, at three million over the whole country, or otherwise expressed as one tenth of the population - Booth's 'Submerged Tenth'. 15 The standard of living which he suggests it is reasonable for those so submerged to expect is one equal to that of the London cab horse. His 'Cab Horse Charter' maintains that the individual should have work as long as he is able, while working the necessary food and rest for the task and a hand to lift him up when he falls down; all these being the lot of the aforementioned animal. Thus it is the 'problem of unemployment' which Booth wishes to tackle as a basis for his programme, and this he proposes to solve by a tripartite system of colonies thus:

"The scheme I have to offer consists in the formation of these people into self-helping and self-sustaining communities, each being a kind of co-operative society, or patriarchal family governed and disciplined by the principles which have already proved so effective in the Salvation Army." (Booth, 21, p.91)

These colonies are to be the City Colony, Farm Colony, and Overseas Colony and an individual will progress from one to another by virtue of his behaviour in the previous settlement. This is outlined in detail for each one but taking the City Colony as an example this is what is proposed:

"By the City Colony is meant the establishment; in the centre of the ocean of misery of which we have been speaking, a number of Institutions to act as Harbours of Refuge for all and any who have been shipwrecked in life, character or circumstances. These Harbours will gather up the poor destitute creatures, supply their immediate pressing necessities, furnish temporary employment, inspire them with hope for the future, and commence at once a course of regeneration by moral and religious influences.

"From these Institutions, which are hereafter described, numbers would, after a short time, be floated off to permanent employment, or sent home to friends happy to receive them on hearing of their reformation. All who remain on our hands would, by varied means, be tested as to their sincerity, industry and honesty, and as satisfaction was created, be passed on to the Colony of the Second Class (i.e. the Farm Colony)."

(Booth, 21, p.92)

The institutions Booth refers to as making up the City Colony would include the work already begun like Food and Shelter Depots. These would offer food and shelter overnight together with washing facilities for four pence. Those without the four pence would be given the opportunity to earn it since attached to each of these Depots, as a fundamental feature of the scheme, there would be a Labour Yard. It is by beginning in this way that Booth plans to restore employment and thus working for a bed becomes a principle:

"There is no compulsion upon any one to resort to our shelter, but if a penniless man wants food he must, as

a rule, do work sufficient to pay for what he has of that and other accommodation. I say as a rule because of course, our Officers will be allowed to make exceptions in extreme cases, but the rule will be first work then eat. And that amount of work will be exacted vigorously. It is that which distinguishes this scheme from mere charitable relief." (Booth, 21, p.106)

To be any different from the exacted labour of the casual ward this work had to be able to offer some future and Booth realized this. A Labour Bureau was set up, even before publication, at which employers and prospective employees registered and were matched. As well as relying upon private enterprise the Salvation Army also set up its own Industrial Factories which at one and the same time provided employment for the destitute and were a public example of a profitable enterprise without 'sweating' and hazardous practices. Household Salvage Brigades were also to be set up, a form of refuse collection, and these have a major role to play in the scheme. They provide one link between the City and Farm Colonies for as well as sending men onto the farm Booth had a plan to send all the refuse from the city and to sort and reprocess it into such useful products as fertilizer, soap and tin toys. Thus industry as well as agriculture would take place around the Farm Colony.

In suggesting the establishment of a Farm Colony on 'waste land' around London Booth was again very practical as this quotation demonstrates:

"Every man who goes to our Farm Colony does so, not to

acquire his fortune, but to obtain a knowledge of an occupation and that mastery of tools which will enable him to play his part in the battle of life. He will be provided with a cheap uniform, which we shall have no difficulty in rigging up from the old clothes of London, and it will go hardly with us, and we shall have worse luck than the ordinary market gardener if we do not succeed in making sufficient profit to pay all the expenses of the concern, and leave something over for the maintenance of the hopelessly incompetent, and those who to put it roughly, are not worth their keep."

(Booth, 21, p.134)

Again this settlement was not intended to offer permanent employment, although he does mention the possibility of permanent private holdings for some, but to train those who would emigrate to the Salvation Army's Overseas Colony. This of course was a political and potentially inflammable subject but Booth defended his proposal on the grounds that he was not going to send inadequates and degenerates abroad but rather those trained and reformed in his settlements, and that there would be no compulsory transportation. Indeed those who went could not be anything but hard-working volunteers for they were to form the main part of the Crew of the 'Salvation Ship' en route, it is not made clear how the ship was to return.

As well as these three settlements Booth had many other ~~innovative and imaginative ideas~~ for work in the City, including continuation of the work by Slum Sisters, Prison Gate Brigades and Rescue Homes, and enhanced by the establishment of a

Travelling Hospital, an Enquiry Department for missing persons, lodging houses for married couples, a Matrimonial Bureau, Poor Man's Banks and Lawyers, Advice Bureaux and an Intelligence Department. Outwith the city he proposed suburban villages for industrial workers and 'Whitechapel-by-the-Sea', a seaside resort for working families.

All these were brought together to make up the Social Scheme, the cost of which was estimated by Booth at £100,000 initial investment, with an annual running cost of £30,000. For this financial support Booth was dependent upon public subscription. Booth's two principles of management are all that remain to be reiterated and these he outlines thus, firstly co-operation:

"If anyone asked me to state in one word what seemed likely to be the key of the solution of the Social Problem I should answer unhesitatingly Co-operation. It always being understood that it is co-operation conducted on righteous principles, and for wise and benevolent ends; otherwise association cannot be expected to bear any more profitable fruit than Individualism. Co-operation implies the voluntary combination of individuals to the attaining of an objective by mutual help, mutual counsel and mutual effort. There is a great deal of idle talk in the world just now about capital, as if capital were the enemy of labour. It is quite true that there are capitalists, not a few, who may be regarded as the enemies not only of labour but of the human race; but capital itself, so far from being a natural enemy of labour, is the great object which the labourer has constantly in view. However

much an agitator may denounce capital, his one great grievance is that he has not enough of it for himself. Capital, therefore, is not an evil in itself; on the contrary - it is good - so good that one of the great aims of the social reformer ought to be to facilitate its widest possible distribution among his fellow-men. It is the congestion of capital that is evil, and the labour question will never be finally solved until every labourer is his own capitalist." (Booth, 21, p.229)

Secondly, subordination:

"We have got to introduce discipline into the industrial army, we have to superadd the principle of authority to the principle of co-operation, and so enable the worker to profit to the full by the increased productiveness of the willing labour of men who are employed in their own workshops and on their own property. There is no need to clamour for State Socialism. The whole thing can be done simply, economically and speedily if only the workers will practice as much self-denial for the sake of establishing themselves as capitalists, as the soldiers of the Salvation Army practice every year in Self Denial week." (Booth, 21, p.231)

The main thrust of Booth's proposal has been outlined briefly. The book itself is very detailed containing specific directions upon the establishment of each of the projects and the work to be carried on there. It also includes for example, the Orders and Regulations for Colonists and many testimonies from those converted in Salvation Army institutions, thus one could never be in doubt as to the religious aim of the work.

The discussion will proceed now to an investigation of Salvation Army social work, both the projects arising directly out of this scheme, and the way the movement's social concern has developed in the twentieth century. Questions will be asked with reference to the felicity of the practical work to Booth's theory. As a preamble to this, consider one final assurance from the Founder:

"The Scheme that has been propounded in this volume would, we are quite satisfied, have no chance of success were it not for the fact that we have such a vast supply of men and women who, through the love of Christ ruling in their hearts, are prepared to look upon a life of self-sacrificing effort for the benefit of the vilest and roughest as the highest of privileges. With such a force at command, we dare to say that the accomplishment of this stupendous undertaking is a foregone conclusion, if the material assistance which the Army does not possess is forthcoming." (Booth, 21, Appendix 9)

#### Salvation Army Social Service since 1890

The publication of In Darkest England and the Way Out did not pass without widespread public comment. Most of this was critical. Those who felt qualified to judge not only passed opinion on the scheme's proposals and on the competence of the Salvation Army to carry it through but also on the character of Booth himself. The latter ranged from the oft-repeated criticism that he was unappreciative of any other work being done and generally intended to usurp all welfare

provision, to more serious allegations of mismanagement of funds. 2,3,64 This range of interest is reflected by Ausubel who writes:

"Within a few months of the publication of the general's proposals, England had become divided into Boothites and anti-Boothites, both of whom often resorted to language that hardly jibes with the traditional picture of the reserved English gentleman. The Boothites, determined that the fund drive should succeed, raised scores of arguments in favour of the scheme. The anti-Boothites, highly critical of what Punch called the 'Boothiful Idea', cautioned Englishmen to spend their money on less speculative ventures. Both groups, in stating their view, used arguments that were well grounded and disinterested as well as fanciful and interested."  
(Ausubel, 3, p.521)

In retrospect it can clearly be seen that much of the comment on the scheme was premature, being published in 1891, only months after the book appeared, and certainly prior to the establishment of many of Booth's projects. The comment of the time however does raise some interesting points and it is Allardyce who voices what was in all probability the opinion of the silent, but financially supportive, majority of informed readers thus:

"If contrary to our best wishes, General Booth's schemes should fall short of realization we shall doubtless gather from them experiences not less valuable for use in a context that will go on to the end of time. The Scriptural assurance that we shall have the poor always

with us lies beyond the possibility of scepticism."

(Allardyce, 1, p.124)

The actual proposals were generally supported although Bourne suggests that since provision is in the first instance only for single men and women this may induce some married men to leave their wives and families destitute and feign batchelorhood in the hope of a brighter future in the colonies. 28 This apart though, as has already been considered the scope of Booth's scheme could certainly not be classed as modest.

There were still those in 1891 willing to attack the Salvation Army and especially now that it had left the marginal area of religion to attack established societal conduct in relation to the treatment of the poor. Questions were raised as to the suitability of the movement for the task but since no other body was willing to take up the programme and since Booth was determined to put his theory into practice, the suitability question was somewhat irrelevant. Critics from some religious sources suggested that Booth was discriminating between religion for the rich and religion for the poor, but aside from being a claim to exclusivity the real point of this argument is not clear. 76 Whether or not Booth himself comprehended either the extent of his plan or the organization of manpower which was going to be necessary to put it into effect could be debated. One commentator of the day was almost prophetic in her observation:

~~"the scope of his Labour Bureau, for instance, is so~~  
comprehensive that it would need almost the entire  
personnel and riches of a Government department to carry

out his programme." (Jeune, 75, p.699)

That many aspects of Booth's proposed scheme have been in more recent days implemented under the auspices of the Welfare State is a source of pride to those who, even at this juncture, would wish to vindicate Booth's thought. 45

Protest came not only from outside the movement though, but also from within. Although grassroots opinion on the new departure is not recorded there were doubtless those who saw it as a diversion from the Army's evangelical mission. This internal dissent is most dramatically seen in the one-man protest of George Scott Railton, a singleminded evangelist who saw In Darkest England and the Way Out as only part of a drift towards 'commercialism' by the Army. The breaking-point for Railton came with the acquisition in 1891 of the Charter of the Methodist and General Assurance Society, and when Booth's plans to launch an industrial branch, offering cheap life assurance to all, at the Congress of 1894 were made known Railton marked the occasion by taking his prominent place on the platform barefoot and attired in sackcloth. Watson records that this entrance was at first misinterpreted as a dramatic call to the rigours of holiness and loudly applauded by the congregation including General Booth. 131 It was only when Railton clearly and publicly denounced the Assurance Society later in the gathering that admiration turned to outrage. The details of this protest and the reasons why it was made in this way and not through other channels are discussed in a later chapter, but the incident is related here to demonstrate that Booth's plan and the resulting work was opposed on religious grounds within the

movement. Edmonds, writing a criticism of the Salvation Army at a later date correlates a decrease in holiness teaching to the rise of social service in 1890. 51 He also perceived the new direction as a threat to evangelism.

As this early rebellion would suggest, the evangelical and social 'sides' of the movement have not always fitted easily together and there exists a tension between the two to the present day. While the National Headquarters of the evangelical work of the Salvation Army in Britain are housed, only a block from St. Paul's Cathedral on the banks of the river Thames, in a building shared with International Headquarters, direction of the Social Work of the Salvation Army in Britain comes from their separate Headquarters in Hackney. Officer staff are, from entering the Training College, channelled into either 'Social' or 'Field' (evangelical) work and transfers from one to the other are rare. Field Officers see themselves as community ministers and evangelists; often the Social Officer, although in fact being equally qualified to undertake this role, finds his work consisting of practical caring and administering the business management of a hostel or home. All this is not to deny the fact that the Christian faith demands 'good works' of its adherents, what the Army has done is to raise this from an individual to an institutional level. Its practical service soothes the Army's social conscience and serves to authenticate its Christian claims. A story, related with pride in the Army literature, illustrates this fact:

"It was about this time (1908) that a school inspector was questioning in class a boy who came from a

Salvationist home. Exceeding his brief somewhat the visitor said:

'Your people do not have the Lord's Supper.'

'No, Sir.'

'Then what do they put in its place?'

'Farthing breakfasts for starving children, Sir.'

(Coutts, 45, p.44)

The Salvation Army did engage itself successfully in social work, but how does this measure up to the standards and plans laid out by Booth in 1890? By January 1891 £105,559, one shilling and tuppence had been subscribed to Booth's fund, an excess over what he had asked to get his scheme underway. This was banked in the Trust Fund set up under the 1891 Deed, and all allegations of mismanagement were found to be groundless. 74,49 Booth had the money he had asked for and now he had to convince the public of his ability to deliver the goods and services promised. Hadleigh Estate in Essex, described as being in a derelict condition, was purchased and work began on reclaiming land and working the farm. 111 The land was discovered to have deposits of clay suitable for brick-making and thus the first industry was also established. A sizeable colony was soon evident and continued to operate for some time although not breaking even until the turn of the century. The failure of this and others of his enterprises to be self-sufficient concerned Booth greatly, as did the fact that over the next two years not £30,000 but only £3,000 was donated towards the running costs of the scheme. As a result Booth's more imaginative plans did not come to

fruition. The actual 'City Colony' consisted of expanded slum work, more hostels for men and women, a match factory and industrial 'elevator', together with the development of the earlier investigation and enquiry work. Hadleigh was to be the only farm colony in Britain and is still Army property today although no longer utilized agriculturally. The expected political barriers to overseas colonization did arise and although individual placement was made through the Army's Migration Service no land ever became available to resettle reformed Britons on a large scale. It was a disenchanted Booth who in 1893 penned:

"I cannot go in for any more 'campaigns' against evil. My hands and heart are full enough. And moreover, these.. reformers of Society have no sympathy with the Salvation Army nor with Salvation from worldliness and sin. Our campaign is against Sin."

(quoted in Murdoch, 91, p.10)

William Booth realized that his Scheme could never achieve the aims he had outlined and again he wished to redirect his own energies and the ranks of the Salvation Army into the spiritual fight. Along with his hopes for the transformation of society William Booth apparently put behind him his hard line on piecemeal charitable endeavour, for it is in this form that the work of the Salvation Army continues to date. The rise and fall of the Darkest England Scheme has been traced. The sheer grandeur of its proposals could not be deduced from the Salvation Army's present-day social work, but ~~Booth himself knew that the test of any theory was its practical application and the 1890 publication has long since ceased to be regarded as a viable blueprint for Salvation Army social~~

service.

It was to be Bramwell Booth who took on the major task of overseeing the business administration of social service and who recognized its potential profitability. For example, the Salvation Army Assurance Society was nursed through its formative years by Bramwell and his vision of putting business interests such as this to use to support the rest of the work was to become a main factor in the Army's financial viability:

"It soon became clear that this new brainchild of Bramwell Booth, and the small team of assurance experts about him, would produce profits for the Lord's work, not at once, not in vast amounts, but steadily rising ... The secret, of course, was the existence of hundreds of corps, centres of humanity with insurable interests, and legions of dedicated people willing to be enrolled as agents for the new Society." (Watson, 130, p.23)

As with all the Salvation Army's new ventures this was seized upon with great enthusiasm by the mass of the soldiery and business was eagerly sought after; a particularly 'laudable' incident is related in the first issue of Assurance, the Society's magazine:

"Angus Betts and wife 'specialled' at Port Brook, the outpost from Malvern, last Sunday night, April 3rd. A most blessed meeting resulted. A little girl led the way to the Penitent Form, soon followed by her mother, and then by her father. There was an indescribable prayer meeting and wind-up. They visited the converts next day; results, one shilling and ninepence halfpenny's

worth of good business; again proving that in going for souls, God honours our work."

(quoted in Watson, 130, p.49)

Nor was the value of social work merely to be reckoned in pennies and pounds for Bramwell shared with his father the conviction that the work already underway was worth continuing as an effective means of winning converts. More than this though the public had come to identify the Salvation Army with its social endeavour and to move out of this area completely would have been to jeopardize the Army's survival; as Allardyce pointed out in 1891:

"If the Salvation Army survive in the struggle for existence it will solely be that the public recognizes it to be doing useful work; and when it ceases to do so, it will relapse into the obscurity from which the genius of its leader has lifted it." (Allardyce, 1, p.134)

It was indeed to be as a major social agency that the Salvation Army was to attain widespread respectability, such as it could never have commanded as a Nonconformist evangelical mission. Royal recognition was afforded the movement in 1902 when Bramwell represented the Salvation Army at the Coronation of Edward the Seventh and the Founder was personally received at Buckingham Palace in 1904. William Booth received the homage of municipalities and seats of learning in the form of 'City Freedom' and honorary academic degrees. This acceptance of the Army is shown on other levels:

~~"After the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act in 1919,~~  
the Home Secretary included Mrs. Booth (Florence) among a number of women who were made magistrates; she also

became a member of the Magistrates' Visiting Committee of Holloway Prison. Boards of Guardians began to elect Salvation Army Officers as members. Commissioner Cox had long been an experienced committee woman, sitting with the Hackney Board of Guardians and as Chairman of the Committee of the London County Council Hospital at Mile End." (Unsworth, 126, p.86)

This illustrates also that it was as a religious agency socially engaged that the Salvation Army attained its public acclaim.

Salvation Army social work nowadays provides hostel accommodation for the homeless throughout the country, children's and eventide homes, and a maternity hospital. Salvage work is undertaken and what is donated by the public is then sold at a relatively low cost in 'Family Service Stores'. Both prison chaplaincy and general counselling services are available and the Salvation Army missing persons bureau is uniquely successful. More recent developments include modern rehabilitation centres for alcoholics and co-operation both with other voluntary agencies like Gingerbread, Alcoholics Anonymous and Gamblers Anonymous, and with State schemes like the pre-school playgroups. Although not classified as 'Social' the Salvation Army also oversees the Reliance Trust Ltd., offering banking services with the profits going to the Salvation Army, a Housing Association, a Migration and Travel Service and an Insurance Corporation. The Salvation Army Assurance Society was recently absorbed into the Wesleyan and General business.

To conclude then, In Darkest England and the Way Out is a very different book from what one might expect of the evangelical enthusiast. William Booth was ever wary of political involvement and of his own left-wing inclinations but eventually overcame his religiously justified reticence to make public his social theories. The road to publication had been smoothed by favourable responses to the Maiden Tribute campaign, in which the Salvation Army had played a minor part, and by the readiness of his Officers and Soldierly to involve themselves in practical caring. By publishing Booth dared to oppose the stormtide of opinion in two ways, for he declared a basic human entitlement to work and shelter, and that this should be available to all, 'deserving' or not. The earnest General Booth was perhaps less aware than he should have been that financial and political support involve entanglement with those who are financially and politically motivated; as a result his grand scheme made no impact at all on the problem of unemployment.

Nevertheless, thanks mainly to the foresight of his son Bramwell social work continued, although this had sunk from reforming heights to the level of charitable relief. Whatever his effect on the society he sought to redirect, Booth unwittingly did his movement a great service by establishing an identification of the Salvation Army with social work. That this public image as a social agency has ~~contributed to the survival of the~~ Salvation Army will be shown in the following two chapters.

## Chapter Five

### SALVATION ARMY PUBLICATIONS

"The Salvation Army is at War: its bullets are books. It uses the printed word as its ammunition in the fight against wrong wherever it is found."

(Watson, 129, Preface)

From their earliest attempts at evangelizing William and Catherine Booth recognized the persuasive power of the printed word. Even before her marriage to William Catherine was an effective essayist for the causes she championed. 30 Indeed it was a reprint of her pamphlet on Female Ministry which was the Salvation Army's first publication; each subsequent pronouncement of the Founder and his wife being translated into booklet form to be sold at public meetings. 14 Such material was advertised to a larger public through the pages of the War Cry, - itself a publishing triumph for the Booths. The Army early acquired a printing press for which enthusiasm has never dulled and histories, biographies, Orders and Regulations, teaching manuals, pamphlets, music and periodicals all roll off the presses to this day. This prolific output of material provides the topic for the discussion below.

Since much of the early material is discussed in other chapters the focus here is upon two specific types of ~~publication.~~ Firstly a consideration of the Salvation Army's public relation information and advertising is presented. The development of the Public Relation function and the increasing

sophistication of advertising appeals will be shown. Secondly, the War Cry, representing as it does the point of contact of the Salvation Army with the working class of the country, will be discussed and its importance assessed.

In consideration of these spheres of publication it must be remembered that it is the Salvation Army's interest which all of its publications seek to promote and this affords opportunity to consider how these products of the literary and information departments serve to keep the Salvation Army in existence.

#### Information and Advertising

It is necessary to look over the entire time-span of the existence of the Salvation Army to build up a picture of the aims of its advertising and information services. Here advertising will be understood as the deliberate public self-promotion of the movement and information as the literary response, also of a self-promoting nature, to enquiries about the Salvation Army. Under the latter heading would come schools project material, publications outlining different spheres of Salvation Army activity and responses to media approaches. However since there is an overlap between the material sent out in response to requests for information and that used for explicit advertising purposes distinctions will only be made when there is specific relevance to the discussion.

It is of importance to discover the differing purposes

served at varying times by the Army's flow of published material and it will be suggested here that there are three main purposes to which the Army has addressed itself thus - firstly, a need for credibility and acceptance; secondly, the attraction of recruits, and finally appeals for money.

Efforts to establish credibility for the Salvation Army as a religious movement were of necessity at their peak around 1878. Until that time Booth had been General Superintendent of a Mission, not a singular position for there were a plethora of small evangelical organizations in the cities of Victorian Britain. 37 However when Booth set himself up as an autocratic General in charge of a military force the situation changed radically for societal acceptance was no longer guaranteed, in fact it was endangered. Somehow society had to be brought to terms both with the use of a militarily organized model by a religious movement and with the ensuing premiership of General Booth. To step out from the mission mould and to declare war not only on evil but upon the slumbering Churches was a bold step. As has been shown in the second chapter it is reasonable to suppose that while there was no conscious decision by William Booth to develop the military model, it was grasped ever more eagerly as the twofold opportunities it offered for discipline and attack were appreciated. It is generally agreed that on the whole Booth's Christian Missioners accepted the new development cheerfully but it was nevertheless carefully explained in the first issues of The Salvationist during January and February 1879. The Army's early historian, Sandall, writes of these pieces that they would seem to:

"disclose the arguments by which he (Booth) had been himself convinced that the new way was the right way."

(Sandall, 116, p.21)

and a quotation from "The Salvation Army", published in The Salvationist of February 1879 reads:

"The Salvation Army. What a strange name! What does it mean? Just what it says - a number of people joined together after the fashion of an Army for the purpose of carrying salvation through the land, neither more or less than that. If it be wise and lawful for men to be banded together and organized after the best possible method to liberate an enslaved nation, establish it in liberty and overcome its fears, then surely it must be wise and lawful and desirable for the people of God to join themselves together after the fashion most effective and forcible to liberate a captive world and to overthrow the enemies of God and man."

(quoted in Sandall, 116, p.22)

It was on the basis of practicality then that the establishment of an 'Army' was internally justified, any reference to the reforming of the 'Church Militant' on earth after a New Testament model being an idea superimposed by academics some temporal distance from the events. The task of winning over the public at large was undertaken mainly by the publication of a proliferation of articles from the pens of the Booth family, all entitled 'What Is the ~~Salvation Army?~~' and appearing in the periodicals and reviews of the day. 17,20 Thus, far from there being little concern over public opinion all available copy-space was taken

and the task of promoting the Salvation Army was begun. While it can be argued that as an evangelical Mission all endeavour could be directed to preaching activities with the ultimate aim of converting the infidel to Christianity and with a definite disregard for the public identity of the organizational vehicle used, this could no longer be true of the emerging Salvation Army. Far from being an anonymous Mission, Booth's followers were to be immediately recognizable, the achieving of their religious aim had become bound together with the successful establishing and continuance of the movement. This is further emphasized in two instances: the exertions of the biographers and historians to establish Booth as a 'born General', and in the appeals for soldiers rather than merely converts.

It has been seen in chapter two that the biographers of Booth show a tireless disposition towards seeking in his early life indications of his destiny and these are echoed in the Army's official history thus:

"The movements of God are to be seen clearly in those events in the life of William Booth which prepared him for his destiny. By these, and by his response to them three main ends were secured: his conversion in boyhood; his training and equipment for service by the experiences of early manhood; in maturity, fulfilment of the Divine purpose for his life." (Sandall, 116, p.3)

Whether Booth's own recollection of his boyhood and teenage ~~years revealed as many telling occurrences as those carefully~~ interpreted by writers in retrospect cannot be ascertained, it seems unlikely. There is no doubt however that Booth did

feel that in the establishment of the Salvation Army he had found his destiny. His conviction that in setting up the Army he was under the direct guidance of God was reflected in the opening statements of the Salvation Army Articles of War to which each recruit was, and still is, required to subscribe. Booth's small though honourable ambitions in Mission work were suddenly enlarged out of all proportion by the prospects he saw in an alliance of religious fervour and military organization. One can only wonder that the bold emergence of a religious Army and the arrogance of a mission-man turned General were justified to the satisfaction of Victorian society and became a feature of modern religion. The Army's first advertising campaign then consisted of the spreading of the opinion that this was both a divinely-inspired and a practical method of living out Christianity, and it transpired to be the successful launch of a most unlikely product in an equally unlikely manner.

If the printed word was of use in getting the Salvation Army established it has been developed to even greater effect since the early days. The subtlety of today's reasoned appeals, for both money and manpower, lack some initiative when compared to those of the late nineteenth century:

"Men! Men! Men! Oh, my God, send us men! Never mind, if you do stammer, or if you have a wooden leg or a weak chest, or if you have only one eye or have no platform ability. If you are a Salvation Army soldier, and have got brains, energy, tact and business ability, don't let this appeal haunt you till you die, write the Field Secretary right away." (quoted in Wiggins, 137, p.208)

- so ran an appeal for Candidates for Salvation Army Officership in 1889. Nor were such dramatics reserved for internal matters. Perhaps the novelty for the public of the uniform and the Army had begun to wear off in 1880 when one Officer went to these lengths to advertise a weekend's meetings:

"Grand demonstration at 6.30 (Saturday) against the Amberley Hotel, Attercliffe Common, where the soldiers of the 37th corps will be put through their usual drill. Gospel bombshells will be falling in all directions - look out - and after an hour's skirmishing the corps will be marched through the Enemy's Camp to the Salvation Barracks, where a Hallelujah Free and Easy will commence at 7.30pm. On Sunday at 7am. the soldiers will meet to be supplied with the day's ammunition; after which the first volley will be fired at Penfold Lane at 10am., and at 11 o'clock holiness meeting; open-air meeting at 2 o'clock, Church Street; Hallelujah meeting at 3, Vestry Hall ... at 6, when the converted Cheap Jack and the Hallelujah Pigeon Flyer, and the Devil Driver from Leicester, the Leamington Curate, the Hallelujah Jumper and Happy Hannah the reformed smoker, and the Singing Pilgrim will take part." (quoted in Sandall, 116, p.326)

Such advertising is characteristic of the Salvation Army in the 1880s and seems to have served its purpose well. While not going so far as to suggest that the adoption of social work by the Salvation Army was the next attention-catching gimmick it is important to recognize that in succession to ~~the early establishment of the Army and then the use of~~ innovative methods like these posters to attract its crowds the social work programme did soften public opinion and

gained the Army public acceptance and a source of financial support. From 1890 the Salvation Army's advertising appeals are for money to further its expanding social work. The reproductions of Salvation Army advertising included below show the movement from out-and-out evangelism to monetary appeals.



## His Staff, and Native Regiments.

At 9.30 a.m., all will Muster in the TOWN HALL SQUARE, for a

### TRIUMPHANT MARCH

HEADED BY

### MILITARY BRASS BAND

To the Circus, arriving at 10.30 for Great CONVENTION before the THRONE.

At 1.30 p.m., Troops will assemble in NORTH ST. BARRACKS for another MARCH, arriving at the Circus at 2.30 for an

### EXHIBITION

OF LIVING WONDERS. Men who were once as wild as

### LIONS

SAVAGE AS

### TIGERS

and as stubborn as OLD

### JUMBO !!

Who were found PROWLING through the BLACK JUNGLES of Sin, but CAPTURED by our Troops and TAMED. Now they are on the LAWN of the KING'S PALACE. These will give an account of their Marvellous ADVENTURES and Escape from the

### BLACK MONSTER !

At 6 o'clock, in the Circus,

### MAJOR CADMAN WILL READ THE PROCLAMATION

AND TERMS OF PEACE WILL BE OFFERED

Cockney Jack, the Bradford Express, The Happy Irishman, The Taproom Whistler, Taproom Deserters, Poor Reuben, Army Miriams with their Tambourines, and a host of others will defy the Enemy.

### TRANSFORMATION SCENES

Will take place, and all Leeds will be lighted up, not with Electric Light, but with the FIRES of MOUNT SINAI. MAJOR CADMAN and Commanding Officers will conduct all REBELS into the KING'S PALACE, who will make a FULL SURRENDER! APPLY EARLY.



An interesting topic to consider is the feelings of Railton over this period. 131 It can be seen that he was enthusiastic and at Booth's elbow during the Army's launch and that he revelled in the successes of the most outlandish evangelistic campaigns of the 1880s. His disenchantment began when the Public Relations department was officially set up and interested itself in promoting the Army as a movement, and was further compounded by the necessity of raising money to support the social scheme. Railton was the first to identify and react to a distinction between an emphasis upon pursuing evangelism through the Army organization and an emphasis upon maintaining the Army organization to pursue evangelism. Railton came to recognize that the potential offered by the military model he had encouraged Booth to endorse had brought with it the unintended consequence that its continued existence came to be an end in itself. The early justification of the Army's existence as divinely-inspired brought with it, of necessity, the idea that God's Army should endure and triumph. The seed of organization preservation had been sown in Booth's unalterable and constitutional assertion.

Booth's 1890 launch of the Darkest England scheme has been documented in chapter four and its important consequences for the continuance of the Salvation Army drawn out. Except when acting defensively in response to critical attack, which has been rare since the turn of the century (as considered in chapter seven) the Army's public relations and information services were mainly to involve themselves in promoting fund-raising activity.

The Salvation Army asks no questions about the source of its funds; to get 'supplies from the enemy' was early encouraged and the Army accepts the pounds or pence of the saint and sinner alike. 24 Again the principle is supported by a narrative tale concerning the Founder:

"One time when he was travelling from his home to an adjoining town a country squire got into his compartment. At once the blustery arrival demanded some information. 'General,' he asked, 'Is it true that the Marquis of --- is giving you five thousand pounds? I am surprised that you should take this money from a gambler and a profligate.' 'Of course I'll take it,' retorted my father, 'I'll wash it clean with the tears of widows and orphans and put it on the altar of humanity.'" (Booth, 16, p.85)

Throughout its existence the Salvation Army has appealed for money through the sale of the War Cry, by flag days, envelope and collecting-box rounds and also by distributing explanatory literature. The major recent development and the one which is considered below is the enlistment of a professional advertising agency to launch a three million pound appeal in connection with the Salvation Army's Centenary in 1965.

The use of the KMP Partnership to produce its now famous 'For God's Sake Care' package was an arrangement not entirely free of dilemma. Kingsley writes for the agency:

"Many people were shocked by the appointment of the KMP Partnership by the Salvation Army just a year ago!

"The worlds of God and Mammon, they argued, could not join forces.

"To raise funds the Army should rely on its own resources,

not those of the most controversial advertising agency in London.

"But should it?" (145, Preface)

Kingsley implies that it should not, and if the success of the campaign is anything to go by can the Army afford to rely on its own resources? The appeal featured telling slogans, black and white photographs full of pathos, and direct emotional appeal. It intended to highlight the poverty in Britain in the Sixties and emphasized the Army's work to meet the overwhelming need. In an 'Album of Need' pamphlet featuring Salvation Army social work the promise is made:

"The Salvation Army is pledged to wage war against poverty, homelessness, disease, injustice and degradation wherever they afflict and oppress mankind.

"A war in which a cease-fire can never be declared."

What would Railton have made of such advertising? for the spirit of the Salvation Army has indeed changed. The importance of its social work has been recognized and relied upon now for almost a century, upon it the Army has built its good name and public respect. Advertising such as the 'For God's Sake Care' campaign highlighted that aspect of the work to the relative exclusion of evangelism. With recent appeals to the Advertising Standards Authority resulting in statutory insistence upon a monetary appeal based equally on evangelistic work the days of such advertising are past. The Salvation Army, although never neglecting its evangelistic work internally, has too long relied upon its public face as a social agency; it must now make the funding of evangelism an attractive prospect for public subscription.

In considering the Army's information and advertising publications, it has been seen that there were distinct purposes to which these means have been directed: the justification and rationalization necessary coincidental with the Army's emergence, the attraction of manpower to the movement, an appeal limited mainly to the 1880s, and finally the attraction of public funding for the work. In looking at these uses of publication it has been possible to highlight some of the dilemmas and tensions which have propelled the Salvation Army from one stage of its development to another and this has been brought up to date by noting the renewed need to advertise evangelism. In his appearance on the BBC news of 15 October 1981, the eve of his successor being elected, General Arnold Brown tangled with this problem. The Salvation Army, he said, had persisted because 'its basic aims are fundamental to the betterment of society'. He defined the Army as an evangelical religious movement in the Christian and Protestant tradition and also as the world's largest single social welfare agency. Again the duality of the Army's chosen function in society must be accommodated.

## The War Cry

## THE WAR CRY SELLERS' SONG

by Joseph Parker, Bulwell

(To be sung in the open-air)

Tune - We're bound for the land of the pure and the holy

I hold in my hand a paper that's holy,  
 I am wishful to sell it to all who will buy,  
 It praises true wisdom, condemns sin and folly,  
 Oh, come now and raise The Army "War Cry"

## CHORUS

Will you buy, will you buy, will you buy, will you buy  
 Oh come now and purchase an Army "War Cry"

The Salvation Army devised, schemed and planned it  
 Well aided with wisdom that comes from on high;  
 The sin-loving masses require and demand it,  
 May it lead them to Jesus - The Army "War Cry"

Each week it is bought and perused by the many,  
 And no one can truly its value deny;  
 The cost is but small - 'tis not even a penny,  
 And nobody need be without The Army "War Cry"

You can read grand reports from different stations,  
 Of souls who have been to the Saviour brought nigh,  
 How rebels have bowed to the God of all nations,  
 Oh say, will you read The Army "War Cry"

Through reading its pages by God's diving blessing.  
 Many souls have been saved and made ready to die;  
 Then rejoicing (their thankfulness gladly expressing)  
 Have praised and commended The Army "War Cry"

(War Cry, 3 February 1881, p.3)

In July 1981 the Salvation Army's international War Cry, produced at the Campfield Press, St. Albans, had a weekly circulation figure of 207,415. Although without doubt the most significant this is only one of one hundred and eighteen periodicals published by the Salvation Army worldwide. 73 Established for over a century the War Cry represents the front line of the Army's "artillery of words". General Higgins, third General of the Salvation Army went so far as to say:

"The story of the "War Cry" is in large measure the story of the Salvation Army, whose champion it is in every land in which our flag is flying."

(quoted in Nicholson, 95, Foreword)

This discussion will consider the War Cry, both its content and its distribution, and endeavour to facilitate a better understanding of the Salvation Army through a study of its pages.

The audience to which the War Cry is addressed again presents a duality, for the War Cry serves both as an internal newspaper for the information of Salvationists and as a method of evangelical outreach. It has been sold on street corners, at openair meetings, in public houses, in Salvation Army halls and given away on visitation rounds. It can be found in all kinds of private homes as well as in Salvation Army hostels and institutions. Its dual role, to serve both internally and externally, is unique. A more detailed content analysis follows but the general pattern which has developed over recent years has been to devote the front and back pages

to eye-catching material for the unsaved and to include Corps reports and items of interest to Salvationists within; it is the sales outside the Army which account for most of the War Cry's circulation. Within the Salvation Army the War Cry is not, and never has been, viewed as a method of raising money although it does represent a steady and regular source of income to the Corps. Its distribution has always been viewed as a form of evangelical outreach. The increase of this endeavour was the editor's motive in encouraging early Salvationists thus:

"Push the War Cry in every street;  
 Push the War Cry to all you meet.  
 Push the War Cry both near and far;  
 Push the War Cry to help the war.  
 Push the War Cry in private house;  
 Push the War Cry in public house.  
 Push the War Cry to young and old;  
 Push the War Cry - be soldiers bold!  
 Push the War Cry to those who sneer;  
 Push the War Cry without a fear.  
 Push the War Cry to high and low;  
 Push the War Cry wherever you go.  
 Push the War Cry both day and night;  
 Push the War Cry with all delight.  
 Push the War Cry in every shop;  
 Push the War Cry and do not stop."  
 (quoted in Nicholson, 95, p.29)

Indeed to 'push the War Cry' has historically been regarded as such an important task that it is the only one for which the soldier volunteer receives any material recompense; for the 'Herald' there is a share of commission on sales.

Obviously it is here in a study of the Salvation Army's 'official organ' that censorship or editorial bias will be most

apparent. Sandall reproduces Booth's order on 'The Purpose and Character of Salvation Army Literature' in his history; it begins thus:

"The purpose of every publication in the Army shall be the same as that for which the Army itself exists, namely, the glory of God in the salvation of the people, the sanctification of the soldiers, and the inspiration of each and all, officers and soldiers alike, with the Spirit which brought Jesus Christ from Heaven to live and suffer and die for the salvation of the world.

"This object must be constantly borne in mind by all who have the responsibility and management of our publications.

"All who read the War Cry will naturally conclude that whatever is published therein has the sanction of those in authority, and expresses the feelings and purposes of the General.

"It must therefore be the aim of the conductors of all periodicals to make them the reflection of the spirit,

feelings and work of the Army ..." (Sandall, 116, p.324)

A very cleverly-worded document indeed. In essence it denies freedom of expression in Salvation Army papers, there was to be no disclaimer stating that the views were not those of the Salvation Army leadership; and this policy apparently was based on the contention that the readership in some way lacked the ability to distinguish between official statements and individual comment. Not content with generality the General went on to set out specific rules: the negative side included politics, adverse comment on other Churches, fiction, light-heartedness, flattery, over-lengthy sermonizing, exaggeration and "outside" advertising (that is, not inserted

by Salvation Army departments). On the positive side of the equation the War Cry was to contain records of all Salvation Army work, biographies of Salvation Army personnel, 'expositions and exhortations to holiness and 'red-hot' religion', suitable songs and poems and appeals for recruits, officer candidates and money. In conclusion an appeal is made for plain language.

A much more recent booklet 'Writing for the Press' issued from International Headquarters reiterates much of the above advice, the editor's prerogative is again reserved thus:

"The Corps Press Officer's task has ended when he has despatched his news with utter promptitude."

(68, p.1)

Again positive advice is given on the sort of reporting required:

"Your reports should be miniature pictures of the Salvation Army at work, striving to extend the Kingdom of God. They should include stories of conversions, as these occur; enrolment of soldiers and the stories behind new soldiers; appointment of local officers; dedication of children; transfer of soldiers to and from Corps; use of new methods in Army warfare; information concerning new corps sections, and any other matter which would give to readers who have no knowledge of the Corps an idea of what is taking place in it." (68, p.2)

The task of the local Salvation Army reporter then is restricted to the above events. The letters page of the War Cry is open to Salvationists and non-Salvationists alike but all the other contents including the evangelical appeals are directed from the Salvation Army's literary department. The entire contents are subject to the editor's discretion. This control is

significant since the War Cry together with its sister papers The Musician and The Young Soldier represents the only internal vehicle for comment or discussion. While there have been independent magazines started to provide an open forum these have had only limited circulation. (1)

Is such rigid control necessary? Well, there is the incident concerning Brother George Clutterbuck, editor during the 1890s of the Young Soldier, the Army's newspaper for children. As Watson relates:

"He had been the editor of the Young Soldier but suffered grievous ill health, and had also been the victim of a most unfortunate mishap when, as editor, he had caused the Young Soldier to carry a report of a great March Past at the Crystal Palace in the arena known as the Oval. The paper went to press before the event but, as the founder was to review the parade, and as it concerned young people, editor Clutterbuck inserted a report and an artist's impression of the great occasion.

(1) Of these, the most recent attempts have been Impact (Camberwell, Australia) and Battlepoint (Auckland, New Zealand). Impact outlines its editorial policy thus: 'Impact is an independent publication which has no official connection with the Salvation Army. Its aim is to provide an unprejudiced forum for views to be expressed in relation to the Salvation Army. As such the views expressed are not necessarily held by the Editors.' The problematic facing such magazines however is to make their existence known and this can normally only be done by word of mouth amongst a circuit of those openly dissatisfied with the Salvation Army system. Their limited circulation is usually matched by their short-lived nature. Impact went out of print after a period of six years, others have failed to get beyond several issues.

"But a terrific thunderstorm made the Oval into a lake, washed out the parade and put finish to Staff Captain Clutterbuck's term as Young Soldier editor."

(Watson, 130, p.47)

Inefficiency and ill-health are again combined in a suitable moral illustration. Both editors and reporters must be able to be trusted to toe the Army line and this can be seen more clearly as the discussion proceeds to a consideration of the development of the War Cry as the Salvation Army's newspaper from its commencement in 1879 to the present day.

Two surveys of contents and development are to be presented here. (2) The first is based on a study of all War Cry issues over the first five years of its publication, from 1879 to 1885. This will attempt to give some flavour of the content of the time and also to illustrate much of the development of the early Army. Secondly a study of the development of the War Cry as the Salvation Army's 'official organ' is presented seeking to show any changes over the

(2) The extent of the survey possible has been restricted by the lack of availability of a complete run of the War Cry. Only three complete runs are in existence in hard copy - two are held by the Salvation Army in London and the other by the British Library at Colindale. Since research funding was not available for a long stay in London to consult the entire series an application was made to the Salvation Army International Headquarters for a loan of their microfilm series of the War Cry (this is the only copy in existence in this form). This request was considered for seven months before the material was made available and it was then recalled after eight weeks. The research project has been brought to completion by several short visits to Colindale but this has necessarily limited the nature and extent of the search.

timespan of its publication. This latter study is based upon an examination of a series of issues at the rate of one per year from 1879 to the present day.

"War, Yes, we will have more war. We will seize on the slain of the daughter of our people, and cleaving to pieces with the sword of truth the wretched victims of unbelief, of drink, of lust, of unfaithful ministry, we will send their quivering parts dripping with a soul's blood unto every corner of the world with the cry of 'Woe to him that holdeth back the sword'."

(War Cry, 27 December 1879, p.1)

- so read General William Booth's racy leader for the War Cry's first issue. It was to be typical of his contributions throughout his lifetime, attempting to stir the apathetic with the fire of his religion and the force of his Army. The pattern of contents of the first issue remained little changed over many years, it included the texts of speeches and addresses by the Booths, articles especially written for its pages by the Booth family, Corps reports and Army news, poems and songs compiled for Salvationist warfare and some correspondence.

A search through any early issue of the War Cry reveals a preponderance of writings from the pens of the extended Booth family, and many reports concerning their activities. Booth's leader columns took a news event of the time and spiritualized it for the Army's use, for example obvious analogies were drawn from the Boer war and recurrent elections. One of the longest explicit statements on a real issue, albeit of a negative nature shows the use of this technique:

"We have nothing to say about the rights or wrongs of Ireland. That country at present, at any rate, is the scene of misery, which cannot be exaggerated; and which ought to move the stoutest heart to tenderest pity and sympathy.

"It is not longer disputed that Ireland has been shamefully opposed in the past. But we honestly confess that we take little interest in the proposal of any remedy for the sorrows of the Irish, or of any other nation, other than the grand and perfect redemption from all evil, which our King alone can effect; and with all our souls we cry to heaven 'God save Ireland!'"

(War Cry, 6 March 1880, p.1)

Other than this comment upon public issues was restricted to those in which the Salvation Army had an interest such as the Maiden Tribute campaign in 1885 (as discussed in chapter four), which was given generous coverage over the months of the campaign and ensuing trial. "Hallelujah weddings" were covered with great eagerness, the first being that of Chief of Staff Bramwell Booth to Captain Florence Soper on October 19 1882; the silver wedding anniversary of William and Catherine had already been reported. In addition, the first War Cry issue contained a report on the 'General's Accident', detailing Booth's fall and the resulting bruised kneecap. Each illness of the family was similarly documented. Other Army leaders, for example Railton, are given mention but evidently were not so newsworthy as the Booths.

The large amount of copy space given to the Booths is not challenged by any other type of content. Corps reports in

general account for considerable space though, often filling two full pages of the four page paper. These were compiled in accordance with the General's directive and make monotonous reading: a record of three converts here is followed by that of thirty elsewhere, liberally punctuated by 'Praise the Lord' and 'Hallelujah'. There is the occasional surprise though like that in the first issue from Barnsley which reads simply:

"Dreadfully in debt but hoping to get out by Christmas"

(War Cry, 27 December 1879, p.4)

- it was unclear whether Christmas 1879 or 1880 was intended. If it was the latter it is hoped that Barnsley was spared a visit from Anthony Close, thus described in February of 1880:

"BEWARE - of an old man called Anthony Close, aged 68, belonging to Kirby Steven in Cumberland, who is going about to Salvation Army meetings borrowing money and not paying it again. He has been at Darlington and Newcastle, talks and prays by perpetual motion, stands near 6 feet high and is thin and wiry in build. He has not been long out of prison for borrowing £5 on a half £5 note and then another £5 on the other half from someone else. See Penrith Observer, Oct. 21st 1879. If anyone comes across him tell him the Post Office order for 2s.6d. is wanted, or himself, at Newcastle by the friend he took tea with, in the company of the writer."

(War Cry, 7 February 1880, p.4)

Warnings of swindlers are fairly common in the early War Crys, as are refutations of allegations in the secular press about ~~the involvement of common criminals with the Salvation Army.~~ It is usually stated 'The Salvation Army has never had any connection with ... of... as was alleged this week..etc.'

If the War Cry was used to protect Salvation Army funds by printing warnings of thieves, it is also immediately obvious that its potential for the raising of funds was early realized. The first appeal for money appears in the third issue. By way of contrast the first direct Biblical quotation is reserved until the fourteenth issue, in March of 1880, the second such reference being delayed until some six months later. This is an interesting fact since it shows that the Salvation Army did not see the War Cry as essentially an evangelical weapon. There were numerous Bible addresses included, usually from the pens of the Booths, but the focus of the early War Crys was definitely 'The Salvation Army'. It was a paper about the Salvation Army and its leaders and not a general evangelical tract. Appeals for money were regularly seen in the War Cry's pages, often simply for the extension of the work, at other times for specific purposes. The issue of 6 December 1884 in particular revealed that the Salvation Army was in debt to the tune of £10,000 and an appeal, commandeering half of the front page for some weeks, was launched for that figure. Balance sheets were also published in the War Crys until 1883 when a separate Annual Report was compiled. Most appeals for money were straightforward but a particularly ingenious one follows the printing of the poem entitled 'The Paradise Bank':

"N.B. The Paradise Bank is never closed. Help may always be obtained in time of need. The conditions are that you have an introduction to the Banker through His Son, when an account current is immediately opened. Note, however, that you cannot reasonably expect to be always

drawing out if you never pay anything in; but whatever is deposited obtains compound interest. The steward of the Extension Fund at the branch bank, Major Corbridge, 11, Broom Close, London Road, Sheffield, will be glad to put you in the way of doing good to yourself and others. Send him some stamps or a P.O. order which will be acknowledged in the War Cry, and duly placed to your credit in the Paradise Bank."

(War Cry, 8 May 1880, p.4)

- a roguish advertisement indeed! If the Army was fond of spiritualizing earthly situations here it undertook a 'despiritualization' to attract funds, hardly an encouragement to store treasure in Heaven! Salvation Army advertisements also commence in the third issue of the paper, consisting of 'Trade' department advertisements for books, uniforms etc. and also employment advertisements such as the one for a 'good plain cook.'

Several poems and songs were included in each issue of the War Cry, all of a religious nature. Some of the poetry was of a devotional character but most reflected on the task of the Salvation Army, for example:

"THE SALVATION ARMY PROGRAMME

Salvation.  
 No politics.  
 No drink.  
 No tobacco.  
 No blood-shed.  
 No sin.  
 Perfect love.  
 No fear.  
 Salvation.

Salvation.

Salvation.

Some more salvation.

Eternal salvation.

(War Cry, 25 September 1880, p.3)

Aspiring to the stricter format of limerick, and only succeeding in being even more ludicrous is a set of eleven 'Army Rhymes' published later the same year, one of which reads:

"There was an old drunkard from Glo'ster,  
 Who drank till Society lost her;  
 A brother stood bail  
 And she came out of jail;  
 And was saved through the Army at Glo'ster."  
 (War Cry, 6 November 1880, p.2)

Nor would it be correct to suppose that the general standard of the songs was any higher although some have survived to be included in the Salvation Army Song Book in use today. There was a deliberate movement to write lyrics to already well-known secular tunes. The 'War Cry Seller's Song' which prefaces this section is an example of one such attempt. Others include three early sets of lyrics to The National Anthem. The earliest of these by William Pearson, a prolific Salvation Army songwriter, whose first and third verses read:

"God bless our Army brave,  
 Soon shall our colours wave  
 O'er land and sea,  
 Clothe us with righteousness,  
 Our faithful soldiers bless,  
 And crown with great success  
 Our Army brave ...

Save Scotland, Wales and France,  
 Give Ireland one more chance -  
 God bless that land.  
 Abundant openings make,  
 And every nation shake -  
 The world we mean to take  
 For Christ our King."

(War Cry, 28 February 1880, p.1)

A second attempt was made by S. Martin of Chatham in December of 1880 which was followed by yet another, this time by a Booth, early in 1881. Whatever literary judgement may be brought to bear upon such work in hindsight, it remains the case that these were the songs with which the Salvation Army went to war and the Officers and Soldiers were dependent at that time upon the War Cry for the publication of approved material.

Other less regular features also throw some light upon the Salvation Army of the 1880s. Announcements are made of the formation of 'The Mountaineers' to win Wales for Christ, and later of the 'Cavalry Corps' sent out to rural areas in pursuit of the same aim. The Salvation Army was mindful in its paper of peripheral areas and similarly of minority groups. Often an entire column including testimonies and a song was produced in the Welsh language. There also appeared some songs translated into Irish. Similar motivation was probably behind the editorial decision to publish testimonies from foreign nationals, for example Dutchmen and Africans, which appear in pidgin English and introduce such transcription as 'Fader' for father and 'de' for the.

The movements of officers from appointment to appointment have always been recorded in the War Cry. Farewells of expeditions to overseas territories are especially highlighted and reports of their progress maintained. A salutary note is sounded in the War Cry's first issue though:

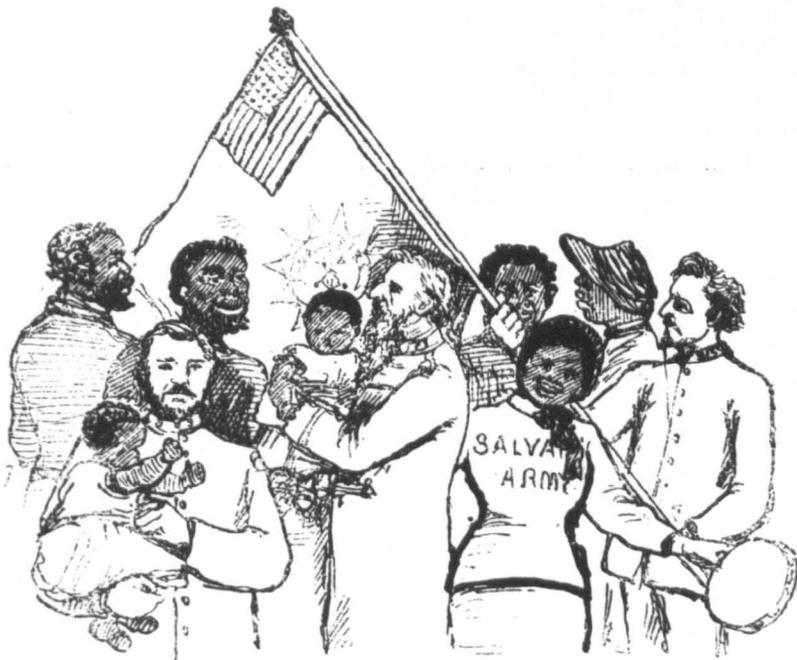
"Four officers were reduced to the ranks in December. Two for light and frivolous conduct and conversation. One for contracting a matrimonial engagement, immediately after appointment and without the consent of Headquarters. One for misbehaviour in the presence of the enemy." (War Cry, 27 December 1879, p.4)

On the other hand Salvation Army heroes - the Booths, Major Corbridge, Commissioners Cadman and Railton - were featured in the first picture series run by the War Cry in 1880. An appreciation of this medium as a selling-point was quickly grasped and issues containing pictorial material were heavily advertised in the preceding weeks. Thus the Salvation Army was quick to pick up and follow modern trends in newspaper publishing which would increase circulation figures.

Before considering the changes which have taken place in the presentation of the War Cry from 1885 to the present day it is interesting to note the constant features. There are still included within the War Cry many Corps reports, Army biographies, Trade advertisements and the publicizing of Army events. A letters page is still in existence. The price of course has risen, from ½d. to 8p; the addition of colour

blocking has become possible with improvements in printing methods as has the satisfactory reproduction of photographs. Songs have occasionally been featured, but both these and any poetic contributions now aspire to much higher standards. Editorial control has not been relaxed.

As the Salvation Army itself expanded overseas its reports came from wider spheres. America was regularly reported as was Europe. The last issue of 1886 features Australia and includes a picture of 'The General Dedicating a Baby Darkie', a fact emphasized by the dark shading of the faces of the 'darkies' on the black and white line drawing. A reproduction of this typically Victorian drawing is included below.



By 1886 the Army is claiming to have increased its size by one third during the previous year. Statistics, both of War Crys sold and of converts gained are recorded each week. Clarification of doctrine is also featured in the late 1880s, the last 1887 issue including a two page account of faith healing and a statement on its position in the Salvation Army.

The death of Catherine Booth is foreshadowed by her articles from 'the death chamber' in the previous years and is followed at each year-end by tributes to her life as the 'ArmyMother'. Around the same time a supplement 'Salvation Socialism' in 1889 but going under varying titles, appears which gives details of the Army's social work. Both this use of Socialism and the technique used in the drawing show that the War Cry was typical in its production techniques of all press output of the time. Other concomitants of the development of social work include the presence of a 'missing persons' column in the War Cry itself, and appeals for financial support of this new field of service. The growing commercialism of the Salvation Army in the 1890s is reflected in a new logo heading the trade advertisements - 'Every penny profit helps to save the world' and in the advertisement of the Salvation Army's Assurance schemes. The final issue of 1905 includes an assurance coupon, a regular feature of the paper at that time; the point being that if twenty-six of these coupons were signed and collected they ~~were redeemable as an assurance policy in the event of the~~ assured's death. Whether this method of selling life assurance sold more life assurance policies or more War Crys

is not recorded but it represents an important joining of the forces of evangelism and commercialism in the War Cry.

The death of William Booth in October 1912 was a significant event for the Army and as such monopolized copy space for a considerable period. The Christmas issue of the War Cry in 1912 replaces its usual front page Christmas scene with a poem and picture entitled 'The General in Heaven' and his Christmas contribution (thoughtfully prepared in advance) is included. Also in this issue are plans for suitable memorials for Booth, advertisements for Trade, assurance and the Reliance Bank; and also news of the campaigning of the Staff Band. By this time the music of the Salvation Army had become of great importance.

The war years of 1914-18 allow much war talk but also necessitate the inclusion of a column naming those 'Promoted to Glory' on National service. 1916 sees the first contribution of one of Bramwell Booth's children to the War Cry columns. As Booth succeeds Booth in affection if not position during the first half of the twentieth century the format of the War Cry changes little. There is the introduction and sporadic appearance of human interest features: problem pages, practical hints for home and garden, recipes, and even entertainment pages including crosswords and quizzes. Regular contributors begin to take over around 1950 and the War Cry takes on its present form. The Booths are still remembered on special occasions as the centenaries of births, conversions etc. all come and go. Reference is also made to them in relation to places and to principles but they no

longer make the bulk of news in the War Cry.

As the 1960s and 1970s arrive there is reflected the Salvation Army's modern forms of outreach, a column advertises the Army 'on the air' and the appeals for money become more sophisticated with the acceptance of commercial advertising. Despite its outer covers purporting to discuss some media or sports personality however the main thrust of the War Cry's material is still of internal Salvation Army interest. There is no attempt to make the reports meaningful to the outsider by the explanation of Army terminology or procedure. It remains an anomaly as to why the paper sells so well in public houses since it contains little of relevance or interest to the non-Salvationist. A more recent feature of the War Cry has been the reporting of important changes to Salvation Army practices and to its legal foundation. The publication of Positional Statements, the withdrawal from the World Council of Churches and the passing of the Salvation Army Act 1980 were all intimated in the War Cry after the event; these significant steps were not at any time raised as issues for discussion in this form.

Throughout the aim of achieving a balance between a paper for evangelism and one stimulating internal interest has made compromise necessary. The earliest War Cry's made few concessions to the world, assuming that Army talk would also interest its secular readership; and while the charismatic and well-known William Booth was still at the head of the Army it seemed to. Today, front page features are likely to be built around a photograph of a sporting

personality or television character, an approach being taken to the subject which allows the inclusion of a Christian message. Such an approach is criticised by some Salvationists who feel that a more straightforward Gospel presentation would be more appropriate. Others find the format acceptable. Many discuss such an issue in the correspondence columns where the reader would also typically find discussion of the colours of uniform trimmings worn in various locations by various ranks, or argument as to the correct angle at which to hold the 'colours' when turning a corner on the openair march. In such columns one will not find discussion of the steady decline in attendance, nor of the issues of censorship in a religious organization, nor of doctrinal questions, not even of the viability of an antiquated military form of Christian evangelism in the twentieth century. Lively discussion is often published, but it is lively discussion of trivia. Similarly there is no exploration of real issues in article form, priority being given to factual reporting.

The appearance of the War Cry in terms of content, distribution and purpose has not been greatly altered from its inception; the publishing wing of the Salvation Army appears to be as traditionally bound as the movement itself. There are however glimmers of hope and with one such example this study of periodical publication in the Salvation Army will conclude.

On 6 March 1982 the Musician (the Salvation Army's in-house newspaper for those involved in its musical activity) published what it classified as 'an allegorical parable' by

Terry Camsey, a composer of Salvation Army music. A clever article entitled 'And you thought 'Hansel and Gretel' was sad ...' Camsey's piece describes the place of 'children' in a future society where they must be examined by the State Director of Human Resources before being 'let out to play', a process which may take some time. If the child is approved the parent is happy for it, but simultaneously sad for 'he must give up the child for adoption, renouncing all rights in its upbringing'. Such a selected child is then processed and conditioned to take its place in society, an experience which often removes from it any resemblance to its natural parents. The horrors for those not selected include being entirely mislaid while being tagged awaiting examination, or being so badly congenitally deformed as to necessitate merciful euthanasia. Camsey's attack is of course directed at the Salvation Army's Music Editorial Board and describes his feelings at their power to take over his copyright or discount his work entirely. It is an allegory also applicable to the equivalent system in the literary department. As such was it hailed with joy by the stifled Salvationists, eager for change? The appropriate letters page was filled in response to the article, all criticisms of the Editor for allowing it room, one correspondent expressed the opinion that if other such articles were printed the paper would go out of production entirely. It is difficult to break from a century-old mould.

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In this chapter an examination of the publishing wing of the Salvation Army in action has been presented. The apparent change in the aims of the Salvation Army Information Service

and its more general advertising was outlined. None of the material issued by the Salvation Army Information Service today contains an evangelical Gospel message, all requested material is accompanied by some form of financial appeal. The Salvation Army's public advertising has also concentrated on the funding of its work, but the movement's recent brush with the Advertising Standards Authority has meant that it must now turn its attention to making the funding of evangelical endeavour an attractive cause.

In looking at the War Cry it has been possible to identify more clearly the Salvation Army's aims, for this publication has long been hailed to be an evangelical weapon as opposed to a means of fund-raising. It can be seen however that despite the apparent duality of the War Cry's role as an internal gazette and external propaganda it really only concerns itself with Salvation Army affairs. Even internally, it fails to provide a forum for open discussion, and in this way it supports the view of the movement as a stale and authoritarian body. In terms of its external circulation it raises some interesting points: as was detailed above its original content centred on the exploits of the Booths, the exposition of their theological position and the antics of Salvationists around the world. The public interest in such matters was great while the Founder was alive and this would seem to account for the public's original circulation. Since then its public house circulation would appear to have become more of a ~~tradition rather than an exercise of practical value.~~ The pub rounds do of course serve to keep the Salvation Army fresh in the minds of the working people and help to maintain the

traditional image of the movement; but in terms of the relevance of the contents of the paper the object of this weekly exercise is doubtful.

The War Cry has also proved a fruitful area for a consideration of the relationship of the Salvation Army to the world. As the contents survey has shown there was sometimes limited use of world events to catch the attention of the reader but these were only used as hanger on which to develop a spiritual point and so the Salvation Army failed in fact to use this opportunity to address major societal issues. The subject matter of the War Cry then has come to be restricted by adherence to this tradition of turning important issues into opportunities to advance the 'Salvation War', as well as by more direct editorial control of the contents. There appears to be no likelihood that the War Cry's role will alter either internally or externally in the near future.

## Chapter Six

### THE NUMBERS GAME

Consideration will be given in this chapter to both the accounts and the statistical material made available by the Salvation Army. Once again not only the material itself but also the obscure way in which the accounts are presented and the lack of availability of membership statistics present topics for discussion. While in general terms the movement's accounts are perhaps beyond the interest or understanding of the layman these raise questions as to the accountability of a charity to its supporting public. Similarly a comparison between the 'guesstimate' offered by the Information Department of the Salvation Army and the unpublished and less readily available membership statistics reveals a large discrepancy and is of importance to the argument here. Careful examination of both the accounts and statistics reveals some interesting facts which are described here both graphically and in written form.

#### Salvation Army Accounts

"The legal privileges of charitable status imply a duty of public accountability even if this does take some effort to fulfil."

(Bird and Morgan-Jones, 9, Preface)

It is intended to present here a brief overview of the accounts of the Salvation Army. It will be argued that

there should be public accountability from the charities and that such information as is made available should be presented in a form which can be understood not only by professional accountants or statisticians but by the typical financial supporter of the charity's public appeals.

Professional help in the interpretation of the published accounts has been available from Mr. Ken Ashford of the Accountancy Department, University of Glasgow, who stressed the difficulties involved in analysing such material. His main concerns with relation to the Salvation Army's accounts were that the Central Fund and Social Work Accounts were rendered incomparable by virtue of having year ends six months apart. In addition he felt that accounting methods made it possible for a charity to reveal only such figures as it wished, or even to alter a surplus or loss. The fact that such freedom of accounting makes it possible for charities to for example, reduce a surplus or even create a deficit to suit their public image and advertising requirements is of importance to this analysis. Mr. Ashford was therefore doubtful whether a study of the accounts would in fact aid a sociological analysis of the Salvation Army. Nevertheless such a study was undertaken and is presented here on the grounds that the average financial supporter of any charity has a right to be able to discover the use which has been made of his contribution. There is no source other than the published accounts, of this information. The study here then is presented from this perspective, that the published accounts, however prepared, offer the layman his only knowledge of the use of his financial support and as such are

of interest to the sociologist concerned with the relationship between the public image and the organization and structure of the Salvation Army. In respect of the limitations of such an analysis however final balances and the question of surplus or deficit have been ignored and the emphasis placed upon the sources of funding and its expenditure over this century. Financial Reporting by Charities has recently come under the scrutiny of Bird and Morgan-Jones who produced a report of that name for the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales. 9 Some of their criticisms of charitable accounting in general and that of the Salvation Army in particular are also reiterated in this discussion.

There are several general points which must be borne in mind when considering the accounts of charities and these include, most importantly, that they prepare their statements on a different basis from profit-making companies in that they record each fund separately. 'Funds' are often distinguished in terms of the uses to which the income can be put since there are restraints made as to the availability of some assets by those donating to the charity. Bird and Morgan-Jones argue however that funds which may be designated for specific purposes should be clearly marked as such since sometimes a reserve is referred to as a 'fund' when it is not in fact operative. They also make two other general points which have relevance for the discussion below. Firstly they suggest that a financial report clearly stating, amongst other things, the areas of work which have benefited from the expenditure should accompany the accounts since this is not often clear from accounts and may be of interest

to those contemplating making a donation. Secondly, they ask that the charitable bodies should make clear whether they have recorded a surplus or a deficit in the year in question. Having made this latter point it must be noted that there are reservations expressed as to the accuracy of the balance anyway, for Bird and Morgan-Jones record several different ways in which a surplus can be reduced to produce a deficit result or a close balance. The motivation for this is revealed when fund management goals are considered:

"In the case of profit orientated companies management naturally wishes to present the results and financial position to its shareholders in the most favourable light. On the other hand some charity managements - happily in a minority - feel that it is better to produce accounts which show a deficiency or only a small surplus on revenue account as otherwise their fund-raising activities may be adversely affected. Yet both types of organization should surely produce accounts which show a true and fair view."

(Bird and Morgan-Jones, 9, p.150)

One final point is of relevance in moving on to consider the case of Salvation Army accounting, that the 'advancement of religion' is defined by the Charity Commissioners as a charitable purpose. Thus those who would argue that it is only the social welfare side of Salvation Army activity which involves charity are mistaken, there is no intrinsic wrong in using money given for charitable purposes for evangelism, it is the misrepresentation by advertisement of the destination of funds rather than actual misdirection which has led to recent

criticism.

In considering the Salvation Army accounts Bird and Morgan-Jones made certain criticisms, the most significant of which is that there is no co-ordination of publication dates which means that the Central Fund Accounts end the year in September while the Social Work Accounts have a year end in March. This makes comparisons or computations between the two sectors impractical. They further note a delay of fifteen to eighteen months from the year end to the publication of the accounts, longer than almost every other charity they consider.

A more detailed analysis of the information available from the Salvation Army's accounts which is directly relevant to this thesis is now presented. First of all, the proportionate distribution of Annual Appeal income between 1899 and 1980 is considered and this discussion is based on the figures in table 6.1 and graphically displayed in figure 6.1. This graph has been prepared from the table of figures which in turn are percentages computed from the Self Denial/Annual Appeal figures recorded in the Salvation Army accounts taken at ten years intervals from the turn of the century to the present day. No pre-1899 accounts are available nor are figures for 1940.

The total income from the Self Denial/Annual Appeal rose steadily from £40,661 in 1899 to £2,331,831 in 1980. As is obvious from the graphical display it has never been the case that the Annual Appeal funds were directed to social

PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF ANNUAL APPEAL INCOME,  
1899-1980

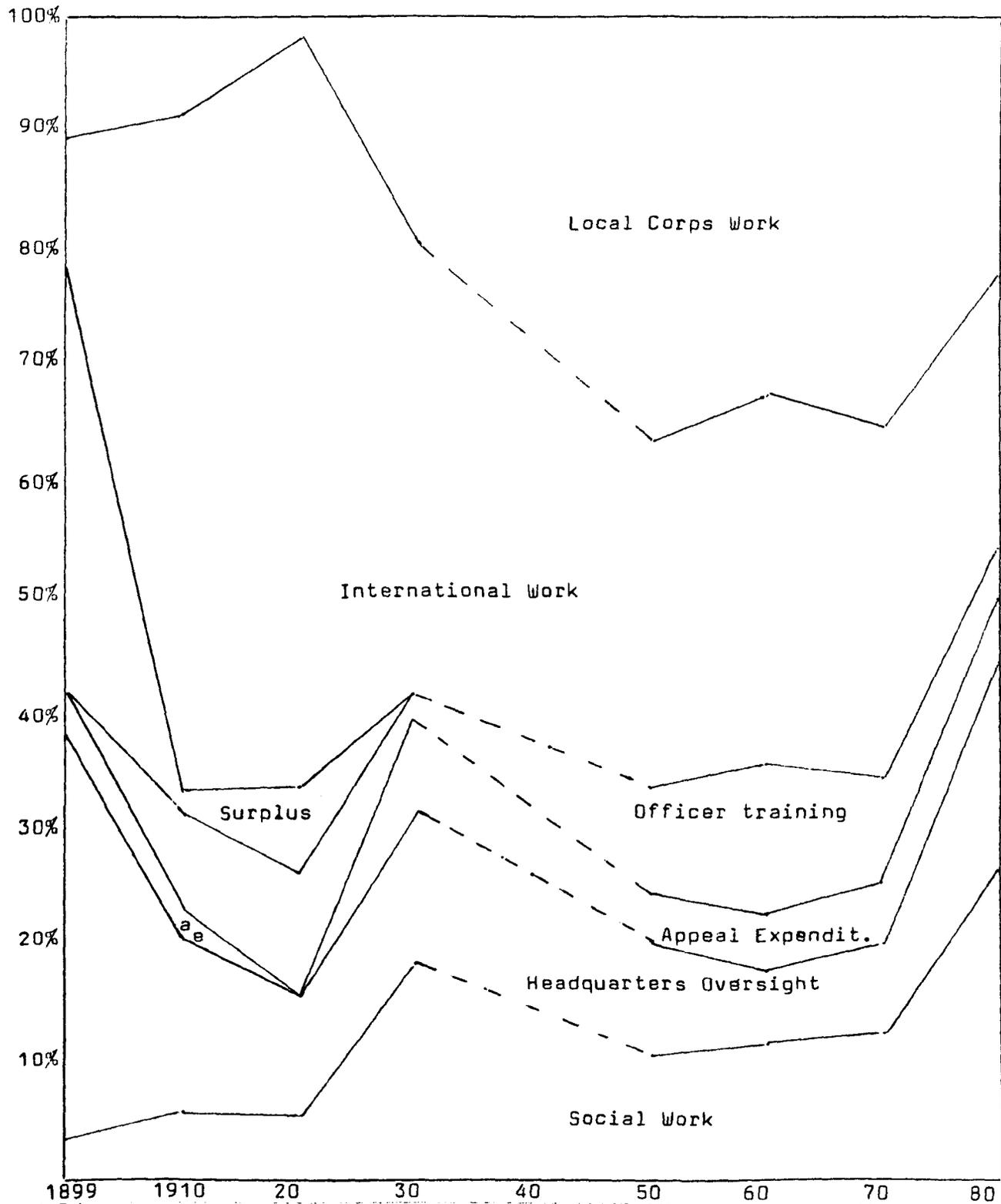


Fig. 6.1.

PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF ANNUAL APPEAL INCOME, AS A PERCENTAGE OF GROSS ANNUAL APPEAL INCOME.									
Area of work supported	1899	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Social Work	3.3	5.8	5.3	18.5	-	10.8	11.9	12.7	26.3
H.Q. Oversight	35.0	14.7	10.5	13.2	-	9.5	6.5	7.4	18.1
Appeal Expenditure	3.7	2.9	-	7.6	-	4.2	5.2	5.5	5.4
Officer Training	-	8.0	10.6	2.4	-	8.8	13.1	8.8	4.2
Surplus	36.2	2.1	7.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
International Work	11.0	57.5	64.3	38.4	-	29.7	31.4	30.4	23.3
Local Corps Work	10.6	8.5	1.7	19.7	-	36.4	31.1	34.9	22.3

Table 6.1

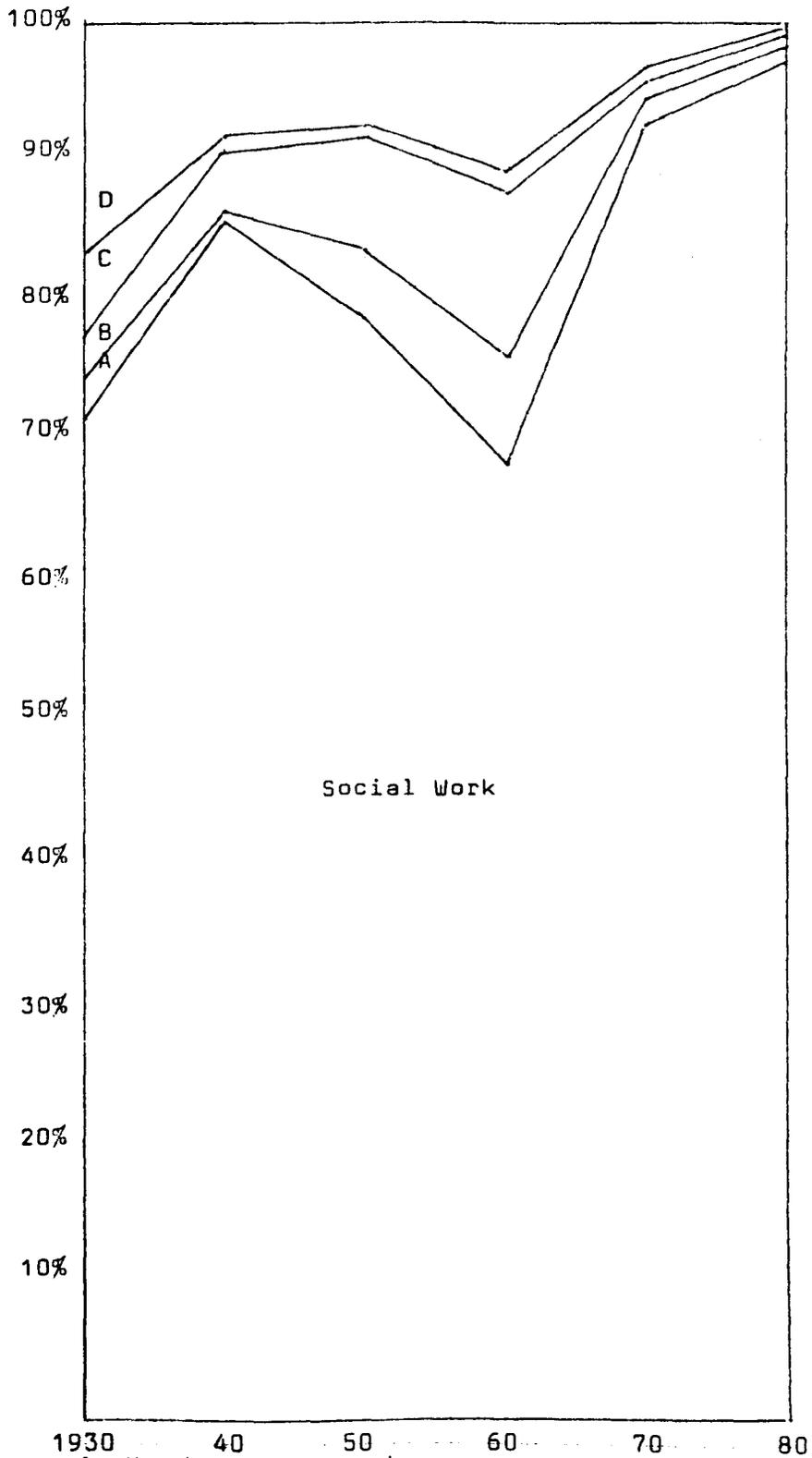
work expenditure, although the proportion spent on this sector has increased considerably during the 1970s. This is in contrast to the popular opinion that the Self Denial Appeal was originally for the social work of the Salvation Army. Even despite recent increases, with social work expenditure only accounting for 26% of the 1980 figure there are obvious grounds for the Advertising Standards Authority's ruling on less emotive advertising. For reasons which will be outlined in more detail in chapter seven, the Salvation Army was concerned that its 1982 appeal income would be reduced as a result of the effect of a critical television documentary on public opinion. For this reason, figures were produced in the form of a pie chart and distributed with the Appeal envelopes in February of 1982. These leaflets claimed that 41.5% of the 1981 Appeal income had been directed to Social Work and Goodwill centres. This was an interesting but unethical move for the figures used for a compilation of these two areas of expense, Social Work and Goodwill, are not available from the published accounts being listed under different headings there. Since any outside analysis can only be based on the published figures this claim must be discounted. From an analysis of the accounts it can be seen that until 1930 the majority of the Self Denial Fund in fact went to international work, but this can be explained by the fact that up until that time the Fund was administered over the whole of the Salvation Army whereas the figures from that date are for British funds only. Even allowing for this change of classification there is still a substantial proportion of the money spent on work overseas. Computing on the gross Appeal figures a surplus is shown over

the first thirty years but this is obviously unacceptable in terms of public awareness and from 1930 onwards all funds are allocated. Expenditure on Headquarters oversight, appeal expenditure and Officer training are not extraordinary.

What is interesting to note, especially in contrast to the social work area is the proportion of money returned to local evangelical work. This proportion increased throughout the century until the 1970s when it shrinks in parallel with the increased allocation to the social work. In this connection it must be remembered that the volunteer collectors for the Appeal are organized from local Corps soldiers and not from social work staff. The expectation of some financial return was presumably to ensure that Corps Officers took on the massive task of organizing this collection throughout their district. In conclusion then figure 6.1 shows the relative neglect of the social work sector in terms of its allocation of funds from this appeal, but reveals a recent response to the growing feeling that the money should be directed to the welfare work. Indeed it is only a myth that the Appeal money was ever for welfare work. The importance of the myth however is that it supported the Army's style of advertising literature for many years and served to foster the image of good works. This image existed in direct opposition to the facts of fund allocation.

Figures 6.2 and 6.3 show the proportionate income and expenditure to the Social Funds of the Salvation Army as computed from their general income and expenditure accounts. These are again supported by the appropriate tables, this time

PROPORTIONATE EXPENDITURE FROM SOCIAL FUNDS,  
1930 - 1980



1930      40      50      60      70      80

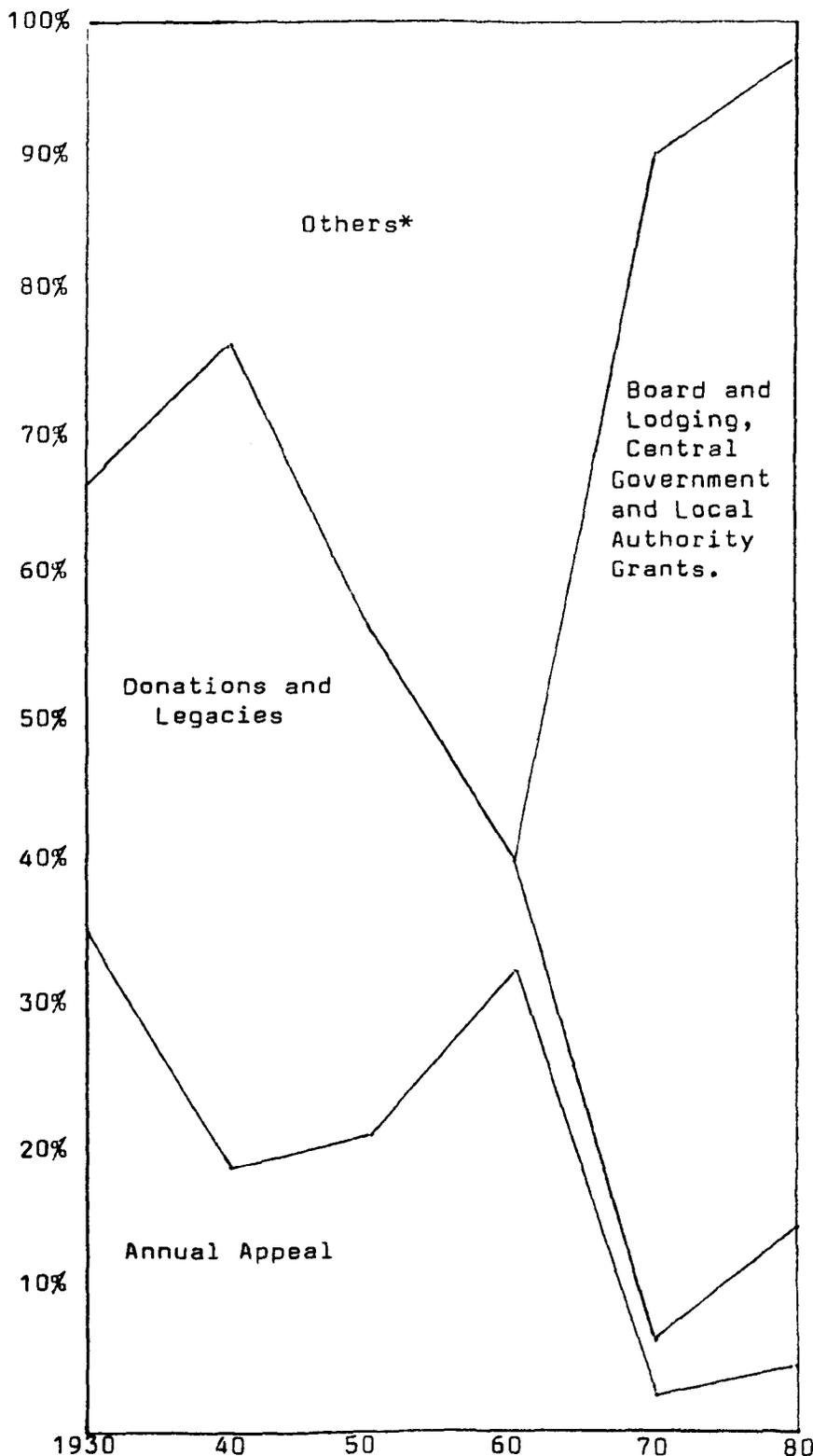
A- Headquarters costs  
 B- Officer training  
 C- Fund raising  
 D- 'Others' including interest on property  
 and allowance for depreciation, sinking funds,  
 contributions to reserves and building schemes.

Fig.6.2.

PROPORTIONATE EXPENDITURE FROM SOCIAL FUNDS, EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF NET EXPENDITURE.						
Area of work supported.	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Social work	71.4	85.1	78.3	68.0	92.9	96.6
H.Q. Oversight	3.1	0.9	5.2	7.8	0.4	0.1
Officer Training	3.0	4.4	7.6	11.9	0.9	0.3
Fund Raising	6.2	1.0	0.5	1.1	0.4	0.3
Interest on property and Depreciation	14.8	7.5	2.9	5.0	-	-
Sinking Fund	1.2	0.7	0.8	5.9	-	-
To Reserves	-	-	4.2	-	-	-
Building Schemes	-	-	-	-	4.2	-
Officers' Pension Fund	-	-	-	-	1.6	1.4

Table 6.2

PROPORTIONATE SOURCES OF INCOME TO SOCIAL FUNDS,  
1930 - 1980



\*'Others' includes, at different times, rents, collecting boxes, investment interest, direct contributions for services, salvage and sundry income. Changes in the categories used in the presentation of accounts make this grouping necessary.

Fig.6.3

PROPORTIONATE INCOME TO SOCIAL FUNDS, EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF NET INCOME.						
Source of Income	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Annual Appeal	35.0	18.6	21.0	32.2	2.7	4.1
Donations and . Legacies	31.8	57.6	35.3	7.4	3.6	10.1
Board and Lodging, State Grants	-	-	-	-	84.6	80.6
Rents	25.8	12.0	-	-	-	-
Collecting Boxes	6.5	1.7	2.9	2.5	-	-
Investment Interest	-	4.8	21.2	32.8	5.9	3.1
From Reserves	-	4.2	19.2	20.5	-	-
Direct Contribution for Services	-	-	-	-	0.4	0.3
Salvage and Sundry Income	-	-	-	-	2.8	-

Table 6.3

covering the timespan from 1930 to 1980. (1) As figure 6.2 shows there is obviously no question as to the destination of these funds, they are the Social Funds after all, with 96.6% of the most recent year's expenditure going directly to social welfare provision. Figure 6.3 is much more interesting showing as it does the sources of income to the social work funds. Although the social work was dependent upon the Self Denial Appeal for over a third of their funding in 1930, reliance upon this source of income has decreased sharply. Donations and legacies have also become less important. The relative insignificance of these areas of funding nowadays is highlighted when compared to the explosion of State support from the 1960s onwards.

This explosion of State support for the work of the Salvation Army is very significant, and it is worth noting, also surprising since it is masked by the style of presentation of the actual accounts and only becomes obvious when the percentage figures are computed. It is made up of three separate areas of funding: the Board and Lodging section includes the payments made to Salvation Army hostels by the Department of Health and Social Security on behalf of the individual resident. The Local Authority and Central Government grants are subsidies towards property or the provision of services on an institutional level. In an attempt to identify the take-off point of this rise to such a level of State funding more detailed figures were sought from the

(1) No social work accounts were available earlier than 1930.

Salvation Army but were only made available from 1965 onwards, and as such they have been recorded in table 6.4 and figure 6.4. This shows fluctuation over a range from 79.7 to 88.3% of Social Fund income. The State funding of Salvation Army social work raises some pertinent issues. It explains partly why the Salvation Army welfare services still survive in apparent competition with the Welfare State, for they are not in competition but rather heavily subsidized additional provision. The importance of the 'voluntary' sector is an issue in social welfare administration, but how 'voluntary' or autonomous can a charity's provision be when it is 80% dependent upon State support, support which in 1980 carried a price tag of £7,648,853?

This change in the source of financial support is of importance to the discussion here in that it reflects the Salvation Army's rise to respectability. From the situation in William Booth's day when he criticised the State's provision of care, such as it was, and sought to organize a complete welfare system based upon Salvation Army principles, the Salvation Army has now become, in terms of its social service, little more than an adjunct to the State system. If this situation has something to say about the respectability now imputed to the Salvation Army by the State it also is relevant to a consideration of the Salvation Army's relationship to the world. The support of the charitable sector obviously adds flexibility to the State welfare system by providing extra facilities which can be called upon to back up the social services. But for the Salvation Army this government support has been more than an overflow safety-valve allowing flexibility,

PROPORTION OF SOCIAL WORK INCOME FROM: BOARD AND LODGING, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL AUTHORITY GRANTS					
Year	%	Year	%	Year	%
1965	87.6	1971	85.0	1977	88.3
1966	86.2	1972	82.6	1978	86.9
1967	85.7	1973	85.7	1979	81.3
1968	81.7	1974	81.9	1980	80.6
1969	84.9	1975	83.2	1981	79.7
1970	84.3	1976	86.7		

Table 6.4

PROPORTION OF SOCIAL WORK INCOME FROM: 'BOARD AND LODGING,  
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL AUTHORITY GRANTS', 1965 - 1981

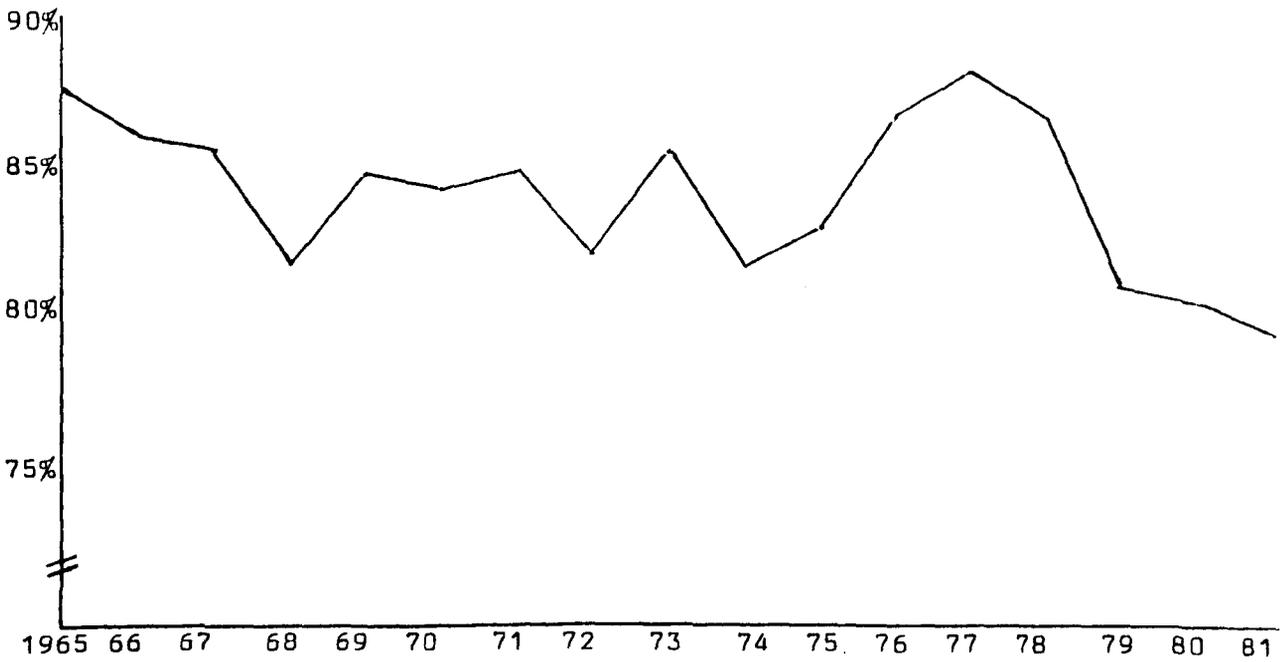


Fig. 6.4.

it has been veritable life-blood. While never being over-particular about its sources of financial support the Salvation Army for many years attached great value to its independence from the State system; apart from anything else this was seen to be necessary to its continued operation as an international organization. The increased acceptance of State support reveals a turn-about of thinking in the 1960s, a realistic enough trend which was prepared to sacrifice some autonomy for financial support, or in other words to sacrifice some principle for its persistence. Perhaps the reason that this massive support has not been publicized, as well as the obvious consequences for its public image, is that the important consequences for its operation as an international welfare agency still loom large. The Salvation Army has sacrificed the independence necessary to continue operating as a plausible international welfare agency, and its accounting style has, fortunately, done nothing to attract attention to the change of financial support.

Finally, to highlight the importance of this support there are two comparisons to be made. Firstly, the situation of the Church Army. Although operating on a much smaller scale than the Salvation Army this branch of the Church of England has the same range of activities as the Salvation Army and also has independent funding as its ideal. In 1981 it was forced to cut back its social welfare work due to a cash crisis coincidental with its centenary. It has now launched an appeal for two and a quarter million pounds to meet its financial problems and secure a sound capital base for its future projects. It has no Government support for its social work. Secondly the situation of the independent

overseas charities such as Oxfam and Christian Aid, as revealed in an article 'Can a good cause be sold just like detergent?' in the Guardian of 17 August 1982. Here Dorothy and Alistair McIntosh reflect upon the problematic for a charity of gaining sufficient support in a situation where it is forced to compete with other charitable bodies, and they reveal the difficulties caused if commercially produced advertising material appears to be either too slick and professional or too tough and emotive. It is undeniable that by accepting and cultivating Government support the Salvation Army has ensured its persistence as a social welfare movement, it is likely however that this should have been made known. In this case the financial report advocated by Bird and Morgan-Jones would have been invaluable for it is not immediately obvious from the layout of the accounts that the income is mostly from one source and it is unlikely that the public in making their donation suspect that their taxes already finance the same work.

To sum up it can be established from the Salvation Army's accounts that over time social work is funded to a lesser degree from Appeal income than either evangelism or overseas expansion. However, in considering the income and expenditure from the social work funds this balance of appeal funding is explained; for if the social work is supported by the State to the degree which it is then evangelism is definitely more in need of the income. Again the question must be asked, if the Salvation Army is to go to the public requesting financial support for Christian evangelism will its credibility and its coffers suffer? or, can the commercial

advertisers persuade a secular society that such a venture is worthy of its continued support?

### Salvation Army Statistics

It is exceedingly difficult to obtain precise soldiery statistics from the Salvation Army. The Salvation Army yearbooks publish the numbers of Salvationists involved in different activities, for example Band, Sunday schools, Home Leagues etc; but not soldiery statistics. There have been moves within the movement to get this peculiar situation altered and a clear statement of the number of committed membership made but this has been resisted. Paul Rader has suggested that the reasoning behind this is that Salvation Army leaders wish to stress not its numerical strength, or the lack of it, but rather the volume of activity of its members. 105 This may be the case but if one adds up all the figures given in the Year Book to get a total figure, as some must do, this is meaningless; Salvationists are likely to appear under more than one heading and thus the only actual effect of the failure to publish meaningful statistics is to give the impression that there are more enlisted in the Salvation Army than there in fact are. This impression is compounded if an approach is made to International Headquarters for figures: an initial telephone enquiry I made to the Salvation Army information service as to the number of soldiers enlisted in the worldwide Salvation Army produced a reply of three million which was claimed to be a reliable estimate. Any written

approach for precise figures must be accompanied by proof of research status, and once this is done the figures presented on table 6.5 and shown on figure 6.5 are released. In fact there are around 650,000 Salvation Army soldiers in the world. From 1966 to the present day, the only figures made available by the Salvation Army Headquarters, (2) the trend shows an increase in world recruitment accompanied by a decline in British support. The decline in Western societies is thus more than balanced by an increase in membership in developing countries. There have been many and differing reasons suggested for this decline of interest in religion in the Western world ranging from social factors, such as television through philosophical factors like the influence of Freud, Marx or historical criticism to the sociological theories of secularization. Whatever the case the Salvation Army's evangelical work is not coming out of the situation favourably. Its persistence in the face of secular society is definitely helped by its public image as a social welfare movement and it is in this respect that it may survive better than the established churches.

In 1966 the percentage of Salvation Army soldiery resident in Britain was 15.9%, in the succeeding twelve years it had fallen to 10.9%. The significance of this change is that the Salvation Army is losing its foothold where it is best established in its traditional form. Whatever the consequences of secularization for the churches in Western society, there are consequences specific to the Salvation Army alone: if the decline continues there may be pressure on a

(2) Since soldiery figures are not published, the Headquarters are the only source, and they would only release this period.

SALVATION ARMY SOLDIERSHIP FIGURES									
Year	G.B.	%	World	%	Year	G.B.	%	World	%
1966	92,665	100	582,838	90.1	1973	78,134	34.3	622,171	96.2
1967	90,252	97.4	587,114	90.7	1974	75,907	32.0	631,008	97.5
1968	87,947	94.9	589,003	91.0	1975	74,600	30.5	634,395	98.0
1969	85,411	92.2	593,289	91.7	1976	72,824	78.6	617,450	95.4
1970	83,852	90.5	595,191	92.0	1977	71,800	77.5	641,252	99.1
1971	81,453	87.9	608,915	94.1	1978	70,317	75.9	647,038	100
1972	80,137	86.5	619,761	95.8	1979	68,995	74.5		

The percentage figures expressed are as a percentage of the maximum figure given.

Fig.6.5

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN SOLDIERSHIP FIGURES, 1966-79,  
Great Britain and the World Compared.

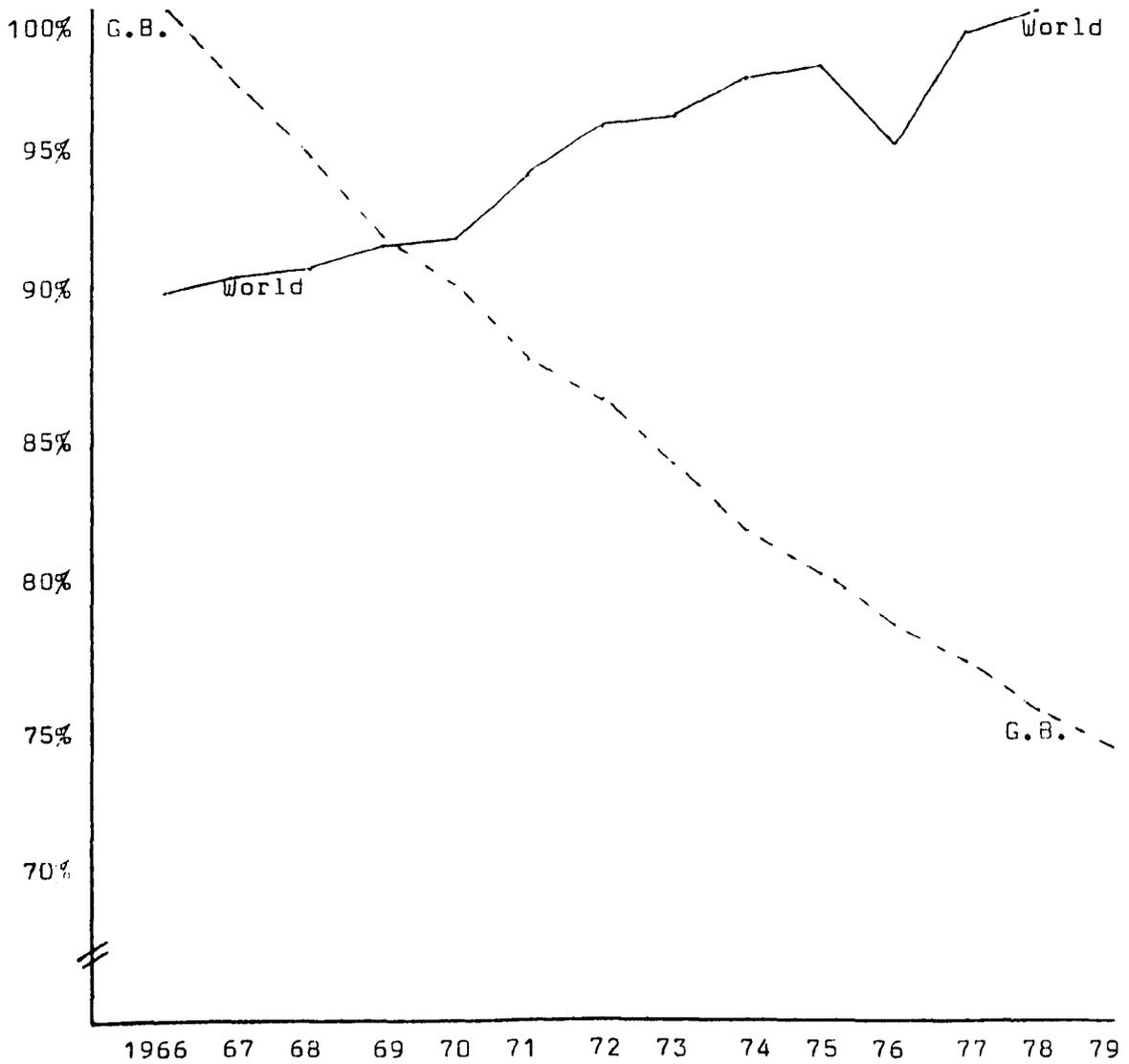


Fig.6.5.

London-based organization to devolve at least some of its authority to territorial leadership and without the tradition of the home movement exercising its colonial example the innovative potential of the military model may again be realized by new soldiers in other lands. It is in consideration of the likely continuance of this trend, and the threats it holds for the London administration that the potential for a situation arising in which the Salvation Army would undergo radical change becomes apparent.

In this chapter examination has been made of the published accounts and less readily available soldiership statistics of the Salvation Army. This type of structural analysis has again revealed elements of importance to the thesis as a whole. Here again pertinent facts were masked, in the first instance by the professional format of accounting presentation and in the second by straightforward non-disclosure. It is only right to stress again the need for understandable accounting by charities and the publication of membership statistics in the Salvation Army Year Book. While recognizing that such disclosure may have consequences for the operation of the Salvation Army abroad or for its public image at home, these consequences must be faced rather than ignored.

Echoing again from these primary sources of data is the social/evangelical tension which has haunted the Salvation Army from its inception. It is in this balancing of functions that its continuance has lain and it is here that its defence in the face of secularization would seem to lie. Again too

there has glimmered the faint hope of salvation for the Salvation Army from fossilization in a bed of tradition to a state of renewed vitality. Too often though in the Army's history such portents of change have triggered a defensive mechanism and the status quo has merely been reinforced. It is such occasions which, together with the maintenance of the public image in the face of various critical attacks, are considered in the following chapter.

## Chapter Seven

### THE SALVATION ARMY'S RESPONSE TO CRITICAL ATTACK

For a movement which is dependent for its continued financial support upon public goodwill it is crucial to maintain a good 'public image'. The maintenance of this depends not only upon deliberate action to foster the image but also upon the organization's ability to defend the same in response to the attacks of critics, both internal and external. Not only can much be learned about the Salvation Army from the divergent opinions of its critics but also many facts can be ascertained from the means by which the Army responds.

This chapter is concerned with the criticism which has been aimed publicly at the Salvation Army, and the ways in which the movement has responded in its own defence. In addition to critical attack from those outside the Army though, discussion will also centre upon differences of opinion within the movement which have been sufficiently important to warrant public comment. Firstly the early criticism which characterised the Army's beginnings and which challenged every aspect of the militarily organized evangelical mission will be dealt with. This was mainly external to the movement. The differing attitudes of William and Catherine Booth to this unfavourable attention and the way the defence was mounted are examined. Secondly, and moving in chronological order, the internal disputes which marked the turn of the century and led up to the 1929 leadership crisis, and the way these threats were handled are outlined. Finally the cases of

the most recent sources of controversy, both internal and external, together with the Army's response to them are discussed.

By looking at the issue in this way it is possible to note not only any similarities in the substance of the criticism from 1878 until the present, but also any consistency in the Army's response to public criticism. A study of the way in which internal disputes are dealt with offers much to an understanding of the organization as a whole. All in all, the importance for such a movement of being able to overcome any challenges to the established image is highlighted.

#### Early Criticism and the Salvation Army's Defence

Criticism of the Salvation Army dates from its earliest days. The very idea of an 'Army of Salvation' sent many to their writing desks to make their lack of sympathy public. There had, of course, been critics in the days of the Christian Mission, but general opposition to unashamedly loud evangelical endeavour focused anew on the enthusiasm of the newly-formed Salvation Army. 31,47,57,61,76 The forms these attacks took ranged from subtle but significant cartoons in Punch (1) to the physical violence dealt Salvationists by the 'Skeleton Armies' sponsored by local publicans and

(1) The one chosen for reproduction here dates from the period shortly after the publication of In Darkest England and the Way Out when Booth was characterised as a power-hungry autocrat.



THE SALVATION HOUSE OF COMMONS. OUR PARLIAMENTARY ARTIST'S DREAM, MARCH 10.

theatre managers. In between these extremes came the main barrage of the opposition - a steady flow of published letters, articles and pamphlets all seeking to cast shadows upon the name of the movement. While recognizing that, apart from the penny pamphlets, much of this written material was not so readily available to the class which the Salvation Army desired to evangelize it cannot be discounted as it was available to the classes providing both financial support and public consent for its slum activities.

The substance of the criticism directed against the Salvation Army was wide-ranging. The military form of organization was often attacked; although royal recognition came much later to the movement it was reported at the time that Queen Victoria was decidedly unamused by the mimicking of her British Army. 24,37 She was not the only one to consider such a mode of organization unsuitable for a religious mission. Nor was the form of leadership the only consideration, personal dislike of the Booths was also voiced, some of this particular form of criticism has already been mentioned in relation to the Darkest England Scheme. 38,107,61 As the extensive use Booth planned to make of the military model became increasingly apparent with the publication of Orders and Regulations and the enforcement of strict discipline critics became more vociferous concerning the power this bestowed upon the incumbent of the despotic role of General, William Booth. 51 Amongst these critics many likened the system of control to the Papacy.

From other sources came murmurs, often indeed a

clamour, of disapproval of the noisy, irreverent nature of the worship and of such unorthodox practices as ignoring any systematic administration of the Sacraments and of admitting women to all the privileges of the ministry. 76 Doubts as to the financial trustworthiness of Booth were most common around the launch of the expensive Darkest England campaign. 64 While some delighted in both forecasting the decline of an obviously unpopular movement and offering 'signs' of an early demise, others, more convinced of the Army's likely perseverance, concerned themselves with the necessity of stopping the work and preventing any spread of the movement. 57

The likely motives of the critics are almost as numerous as their criticisms. No doubt some impartial observers genuinely felt that the Salvation Army was not a desirable force in nineteenth century society, but these were to some extent balanced by those willing to assent to its, albeit fanatical, religious work. Then, there were those representatives of the established churches who viewed this new Nonconformist departure as a step too far and as a threat to the 'Truth' embodied in the Church as an institution; their interests lay in preserving the Protestant ministry as it existed without threat, theological or with regard to membership, from flash-in-the-pan evangelical missions. 76 Often critics had personal motives for their attacks; for example, when his daughter, Maud, left home, infatuated with the Salvation Army, and went with Miss Katie Booth to France to establish the work there the Reverend Samuel Charlesworth launched his pamphlet 'Sensational Religion as Resorted to in

the System called the Salvation Army'. 38 Any hopes he may have entertained that this would serve to combat Maud's allegiance were dashed when she became engaged to the Booth's second son, Ballington. Others with personal motives who were ex-Officers of the Salvation Army also published their hostile criticisms. 109,119

The desire to put their own case seems strong in those who left the Army, most probably because there was no channel through which to express their dissent within the organization. A quotation from Orders and Regulations hints at this difficulty:

"What is the Army system? It is first of all settled, fixed by Act of Parliament and incapable of being changed by generals, any more than by privates, without the consent of the supreme power. Very great changes may be made in the number of Armies kept up, in their management, dress and equipment and a thousand other matters. But the Army has nothing to say about it all. Officers may not even write to the newspapers, petition Headquarters or even write, except through their immediate superior officer, without grave danger of losing their position. The system is settled, and nobody in the Army can alter it. Hence nobody thinks of doing so in any other way than through influencing the authority which controls all. "This gives absolute authority to every officer within the range of his command from top to bottom of Army and Navy." (quoted in de Gasparin, 57, p.4)

For the sake of maintaining a rigid rank hierarchy then it was the rule that all communication on any Army matter was routed

through one's immediate superior who in turn approached his immediate superior, and so on if necessary. The impracticality of such a system for voicing dissent are obvious. This system continues to the present and also works in reverse: if, for example, a National Headquarters wished the services of a specific soldier at a specific corps for service on an advisory committee not only would the soldier be informed of his desired participation but also his Commanding Officer, and his superior, the Divisional Commander. Thus all intermediate stages between the level of the soldier and National Headquarters would also be informed of the activity. It is therefore impossible for any soldier to make a personal appeal to the General on any matter. Reference to the 'Navy' here is in connection with the Salvation Navy, a shortlived but imaginative branch of Salvation Army warfare set up to evangelize those whose lives were spent at sea.

The pamphlet of La Comtesse Agenor de Gasparin to whom the discussion owes the above quotation is also interesting in respect of a review it carries by way of self-congratulation; this is attributed to the Globe:

"Lord Granville has received from the Comtesse de Gasparin her famous pamphlet which is said to logically exterminate the Salvation Army wherever it circulates on the Continent. A movement which can be exterminated by a single pamphlet cannot be worth much, and the sooner the Countess de Gasparin's pamphlet is translated into English the better for the peace of our streets on Sunday."

(de Gasparin, 57, frontispiece)

The Salvation Army has outlived that illustrious pamphlet and

many others but the review reflects the common misconception that if only such material could be circulated the Salvation Army would be doomed to failure.

Before considering the Salvation Army's defence against its critics some typical examples of the attacks are presented. Firstly, from The Churchman, a typical attack from the established Church:

"Every one knows that anything which is unusual will attract a crowd. It did not need the Salvation Army to teach us that.

"But the excitement and stir and fuss produced by the extravagance of the Salvation Army have been defended upon other grounds. 'Was there not excitement on the day of Pentecost?' triumphantly asks the General. 'Is not the story of the early Church filled with scenes of excitement?' Yes, no doubt; but here we have another example of the illogical use of that sacred narrative. When we read of the Apostles marching about Jerusalem with banners and brass bands, and doing all in their power to arouse and to excite, then, it will be allowable to appeal to that excitement encouraged and forced by human extravagance to support a work which claims to be Divine." (Kitto, 76, p.276)

Irreverence was the main point made by churchmen but theological criticism was also levelled claiming that the Gospel preached by Booth and his Salvation Army was incomplete and untrue to the revealed truth of Scripture. 47

Redstone presented An Ex-Captain's Experience of the

Salvation Army in 1885 which was introduced by Geikie thus:

"From first to last this is only a simple and evidently truthful narrative of the daily life of a Salvationist preacher, the reader being left to make his own comment. We hear such extraordinary clapping of hands and self-congratulatory shouts from Mr. Booth and his family, and from his faithful subordinates, that it is well to have incidental criticisms in Mr. Redstone's pages. All religious sects have their seamy side, which is carefully hidden from the public, so that it is well both for themselves and for truth that the world should occasionally see the reverse with its thrum and roughness, instead of having only the showy outside to admire."

(Redstone, 109, Introduction)

It is in these personally-motivated indictments that personal attacks most often occur, and it is in the substance of these that the 'seamy side' appears to consist. Not all go to the lengths of Hodges who doubts if William Booth 'ever had the blessing of a clean heart' and continues:

"Neither does his temper and treatment of those around him lead anybody to suppose him to be a particularly well-saved man"

(Hodges, 61, p.12)

Such judgement is applied to each Booth family member in turn and concerns not only their personal holiness but their action. He alleges that for the Salvation Army the end justifies the means and by way of illustration discusses  
**Emma Booth:**

"Her marriage with Commissioner Tucker was a great surprise to all the army. She had for some time been

engaged to another officer; but the necessity of holding the Commissioner, and through him India, was very great, and so the old engagement was broken off and the new one formed, which soon culminated in marriage" - nor is Hodges content to cast shadows upon the character of one partner, but continues -

"The Commissioner, her husband, was an officer in the Civil Service, and Miss Booth is his second wife. His first wife was the daughter of a clergyman, and much opposed to his entrance into the Salvation Army. In fact Mr. Tucker resigned his position in the Civil Service and entered the Salvation Army without consulting her."

(Hodges, 61, p.23)

Amongst a host of such uncomplimentary material though Hodges does make a valid point with regard to the demands made upon the recent convert to witness immediately for Christ both orally and in his dress:

"While it is quite true that Uniform is a testimony to the EYE as speech is testimony to the EAR, and for this reason is by many worn; it has the distinct advantage in comparison with testimony of speech in this regard, that men and women do not feel just right in their souls, they need not testify by speech, but whether right or wrong they are expected to be in uniform, unless they have utterly gone to the dogs. No doubt many wear it when not spiritually right, and thus further injure their consciences, and damage the cause of God. Once a man begins to wear uniform, should he leave it off, he is considered to be a backslider. There is therefore a constant temptation to wear it, even when backsliding

has taken place, hypocrisy being thereby encouraged."

(Hodges, 61, p.56)

The pressures that a combination of public aspiration to high moral standards and peer group pressure produce can indeed lead to hypocrisy as Hodges outlined, and this point is raised again when we look at the present-day Army in chapter eight.

Personal attacks such as those delivered by Hodges though are relevant only in so far as a critique of the mode of government of the movement is also developed. It is because the Booth family held such a central place in the Salvation Army and because legally there was the possibility of hereditary rule that such attacks on character were justified. Hodges in effect was saying that the Booths were unworthy of their positions. Others, approaching from a different angle, attacked the system which enabled such family dominance, and demanded discipline and loyalty from its adherents. Nicol questions whether Booth's claim to be General by divine appointment carries with it special status for his man-made rules; he suggests that in practice it does and that:

"To violate a rule - whether administrative or fundamental - is to disobey the Army, and to disobey the Army is to disobey God." (Nicol, 96, p.114)

But the central dilemma around which so much of this controversy flowed is most concisely expressed by Cudmore:

"It is plain to see that General Booth must think himself and his successors infallible, otherwise he would never try to make men bind themselves to be true to him and them. Even if the Salvation Army was ever

so right now would it be impossible for it to go astray? Can General Booth give any pledge to the public, that all his successors will be the kind of men they ought to be? Can he see fifty years into the future and discover what the Army will be like then? Decidedly not. Then why does he make men bind themselves to be true to it?" (Cudmore, 47, p.68)

In retrospect it is as well William Booth would make none of those pledges; the defection of some of his offspring, dissatisfied at the administration of the Salvation Army, was to be underway within a decade of Cudmore's publication.

Other criticisms were made also and these related to the availability of information on the Salvation Army. Statistics outlining the exact numbers of Soldiers have never been made publicly available despite early criticism of this policy. 80,36 Accounts, which have been available, have led to debate as to the use to which publicly donated funds are put. As early as 1906 an independent critic Manson expresses his concern thus:

"This work is not opposed to the performance of so-called 'social' work by any religious body, even with the financial help of those who do not belong to it. It is opposed to a system which enables a religious body as such, to derive undue financial advantage from the public interest in its less important 'social' work, and to exist as a religious body mainly by virtue of a ~~misconception in the public mind~~ encouraged by disproportionate combination of its religious and 'social' functions in its appeals.

"It is not maintained that the Salvation Army does not, in the stereotyped phrase 'do good work'. It would be difficult for any organization not wholly maleficent which draws hundreds of thousands of pounds every year from the public to avoid doing some good. It is maintained that the public are not supplied with proper means of judging whether the work, if done at all, is worth the cost, or could not be much more effectively done for its cost; and that they are debarred from applying to that work the tests of success recognized and ostensibly applied to it by the Army itself."

(Manson, 80, Preface)

From a consideration of early Self Denial week advertising Manson concludes that although it is ostensibly for the social work of the Army that money is solicited from the public it is only a small proportion which is directed into social endeavour. This particular argument has been reiterated much more recently in an ATV broadcast to be considered below.

Here, there has been no reference made to the criticism surrounding the Darkest England Scheme discussed at length in chapter four and it is with several points in relation to this that the presentation of the general threads of criticism closes. Carstens makes an interesting point by linking the original motivation of the Social Campaign to one financial result:

"In 'Darkest England', General Booth had among other plans proposed the founding of a poor man's bank, but when the Reliance Bank Ltd. was founded, the original design of lending money to the 'little' man had become

altered to that of borrowing money from him. The Bank lends money to the Army. In its balance sheet for March 31st 1904, one third of its apparent assets consisted of 'loans on mortgage of Salvation Army house, shop and hall property.'" (Carstens, 36, p.119)

In Darkest England and the Way Out also lent the Salvation Army its celebrity critic, Professor T.H.Huxley, whose lengthy and vivid letters to the Times attracted much attention. He quotes from the critical pamphlets of the day and adds his scathing denunciation of everything to do with the movement, for instance:

"Salvationism, the work of 'saving souls' by revivalist methods is one thing; Boothism, the utilization of the workers for the furtherance of Mr. Booth's peculiar projects is another. Mr. Booth has captured, and harnessed with sharp bits and effectual blinkers, a multitude of ultra-Evangelical missionaries of the revivalist school who were wandering at large. It is this skilfully, if somewhat mercilessly, driven team which dragged the 'General's' coach-load of projects into their present position." (The Times, 20 Dec. 1890)

The irony of the situation is that it was Huxley's attacks which prompted the official inquiry into Booth's management of funds. Their report outlined all the areas of social service being undertaken and took evidence from witnesses at all levels. It gave detailed accounts of the Social scheme funds and expressed their main conclusion thus:

"subject to the qualifications expressed in the preceding portions of this Report, arising from the difficulty of forming an opinion at so early a stage in the existence

of some of the institutions, it appears that the methods employed in the expenditure of such monies have been and are of a business-like, economical and prudent character."

(74, p.38)

The findings of this inquiry, that there was no mismanagement and that the movement was trustworthy, eased the way forward for Booth and the Salvation Army for a long time. 74

The final outcome of Huxley's attack is also relevant in moving on to consider the response of the Salvation Army to such criticism for it embodies the key to William Booth's attitude to his denigrators. William and Catherine Booth agreed on many principles which form the foundations whereon the Salvation Army stands. Their attitudes to many things were not identical though nor were their actions always in unison. Recalling their entirely different social backgrounds it has been noted that while William's passion was to evangelize the masses of the London poor, Catherine's concern extends to those living in more fashionable suburbs and she established herself as a public speaker and moral campaigner amongst the middle classes. While William to some extent was prepared to let intellectual discussion on theology or methods of evangelism float over his head Catherine was deeply involved in such debate.

The attitudes which William and Catherine showed in relation to the criticism coming their way reflect again their different backgrounds and concerns. In the 1880s William Booth's concern lay not with any intellectual discourse but rather with the more immediate threat he faced upon the streets -

the Skeleton Armies. The defence of Booth, and that which he urged upon his followers, against such attack was typical of his thinking. Booth, it is claimed, wore the spittle, the squashed and rotten tomatoes and often even the blood which resulted from an encounter with the Skeleton Armies upon his uniform with pride. There was to be no physical defence other than turning the other cheek. Each week there would appear in the War Cry statistics telling how many Salvationists had been injured or gaoled during the week as a result of street skirmishes. Although Booth used these attacks for publicity material he made no verbal defence, his only defence being renewed evangelical attack. Often a story would merit front-page headline status in the War Cry by virtue of its storyline - the conversion of a member of Skeleton Army - great play could then be made upon the worth of the Salvation Army in reclaiming such characters.

Even when the interest of the Skeleton Armies subsided though the publication of criticism did not. William Booth's attitude was to let all such material pass without comment believing that the religious work of the Salvation Army and its evangelical success spoke for itself. He refused to engage in serious debate with his critics; this position being vindicated in the outcome of the Huxley articles. 64,74 Such an outcome was also fortuitous though in that Catherine was now no longer there to proffer written defence! To some extent Booth was always able to rely upon his charismatic personality and 'platform presence' to dismiss any allegations lightly:

"The General, when he is not serious, is always humorous, and his followers prefer to banish the disagreeable and

applaud the old man when he delivers himself of this stock platform reference to the subject: 'They say that the Salvation Army is a despotism and a religious hierarchy, and that I am a despot, who dwells in a lordly mansion, eating his food out of golden vessels and riding about in an expensive motor-car. (Laughter and applause) And they call me a Pope. (Laughter) And so I am! The word Pope means papa (Laughter) - and I am your Papa! ' (Cheers)" (Nicol, 96, p.111)

Public defence in print on behalf of the Salvation Army was mainly undertaken by Catherine Booth. She was not alone in this defence of course, favourable articles being contributed by other family members and sympathetic friends as well. When a critical piece appeared in a particular newspaper or periodical this would be countered by a congratulatory, or even self-congratulatory, article concerning the Salvation Army's work appearing a short time later. This seemed to be their basic tactic and also made it unnecessary to deal specifically with points raised in the original piece relying on the memory of the reader if he could or would recall it but doing nothing to bring any criticism to mind.

As one would expect when a specific issue, rather than the Salvation Army in general, was attacked those who also held the particular partisan belief were also quick to set the record straight. For example, in reply to those who would contend that the Calvinist version of Protestant theology was correct the Reverend Fishbourne leaps to the

Army's defence:

"Thank God that they do not preach anything so unscriptural. No, no; they do not doom nine-tenths of the human race, or of the professing Christian Church, to be damned for being born, and not elected to eternal life." (Fishbourne, 54, p.13)

Catherine Booth's main defence of the Salvation Army, aside from articles, is contained in two volumes, The Salvation Army in Relation to Church and State and Mrs. Booth on Recent Criticisms. 13,12 Both cover the same ground but the former takes a positive approach outlining the practical worth of the movement while the latter defends against criticisms. Her work in general although addressing itself to the critics serves merely to reiterate the main principles upon which the Army is founded and certainly allows no compromise with the critics' points of view. When the military structure is questioned she counters, 'but we are an Army'. 12 Similarly she takes as understood the Booth/Army connection:

"The views herein expressed not only convey the most earnest convictions of my own mind, but also those of my husband and those most closely associated with him in the direction of the Army; and therefore may be taken, as far as they go, as an exemplification of the principles underlying this great movement." (Booth, 13, Preface)  
(my emphasis)

In considering the early critics and the Army's response to their jibes several important points come to light. Firstly, the substance of the criticism, briefly illustrated here by

quotation, covered all aspects of Army organization. Secondly, the military order imposed upon the members of the Salvation Army made it virtually impossible to question any aspect of Army life and certainly impossible to do so within range of ~~thoee~~ with any power. Thus the system has no internal channel for critical response. Thirdly, attempts to answer public criticism were made by Catherine Booth and are significant since, even if only reiterating the official line, they represent the only effort to defend the Army publicly. Fourthly, and finally, William Booth's tactic of ignoring his critics, justified in his opinion by the outcome of the investigation into Salvation Army finance, became the normal practice of the Salvation Army with regard to public criticism after Catherine Booth's death in 1890.

#### Defections and Disputes

If external criticism was characteristic of the early years of the Salvation Army, a much greater threat was to result from the internal disputes which began around the turn of the century and culminated in the ousting of General Bramwell Booth in 1929. The first public departure from the official line came when George Scott Railton dared to condemn the Army's policy with regard to life assurance most dramatically at a Salvation Army Congress in 1894. 131 This was only to herald the dawn of even greater difficulties though for even if Railton could be declared 'mental' and exiled, the same treatment could hardly be afforded the second generation of Booths! Their defections led to personal sadness for the

Founder but administrative repercussions were kept to a minimum. The issues over which they felt so strongly lay not far beneath the surface and between 1925 and 1929 erupted to cause the major crisis which the Army has had to face. The deposing of General Bramwell posed the greatest threat to the Army system in its history and the handling of the situation, in particular the emergence of Evangeline Booth as the Army's saviour, makes an interesting study.

Railton's outburst is a significant incident, not only because of the view he represented but also because the subsequent treatment of him by the Salvation Army sets the pattern for the seemingly ruthless intolerance of the presentation of conflicting opinions by Booth family members. To understand the impact of opposition from Railton upon William and Bramwell Booth one must first of all grasp the importance of Railton to the Salvation Army in its formative years, remembering that for eleven of those years Railton lived as a member of the Booth household. Bernard Watson published an enlightened and informative biography of Railton in 1970 and it is from this source that the factual information here is derived. Watson gives Railton a great deal of credit for the Army's foundation:

"The period up to 1880, when Railton asked to be sent to the United States in charge of the Army's first official overseas invasion, is the apex of his authority and influence. These are the days when he drafted Rules and Regulations, made crucial suggestions regarding the tactical changes which marked the transformation of the Mission into an Army, and compiled for the approval of

Catherine and William Booth the doctrines which were part of the parliamentary Deed Poll and which are substantially unchanged to this day." (Watson, 131, p.37)

Railton, who had been the Secretary of the Christian Mission fell from his influential position simultaneously with the ascendancy of Bramwell Booth:

"The youth who had been in many respects Railton's pupil was now his superior and showing a distinct flair for administration and the exercise of authority."

(Watson, 131, p.80)

Nor was Railton's sudden outburst in 1894 symptomatic of a sudden 'mental' breakdown; his opposition to the Army's 'commercial' enterprise was a steady conviction which can be traced back to the early 1880s:

"His first major clash over Army policy arose from the growth of 'diversionary operations' - as Railton viewed them. At the Army's trade centre there was a boot and shoe department, the sale of tea, toilet requisites, towels, combs for women Salvationists, dressing tables stamped 'Salvation Army', and tablets of 'best ruby glycerine soap' in the centre of which would be placed a photograph of one or other of the following: 'The General, Mrs. Booth, Miss Emma Booth, Miss Eva Booth, Col. Booth, the Chief of Staff, Miss Charlesworth and a number of other Majors'. The photo would remain intact until the soap tablet was washed away.

"One notices that Railton's photograph was not on offer. He would have taken a very poor view of any such idea. It is doubtful even whether Marianne (Railton's wife)

would have been allowed to use these 'worldly' baubles, three for a shilling. Railton was already out of step with this trend in the Army he had helped to make. He did not want soap, tea, cutlery and did not understand the Booth dilemma: if the Army was to do its work, take advantage of the tremendous opportunities now opening up all over the world, it simply must have money. Railton did not approve of the Army's development of social welfare schemes and public relations techniques. His persistent and outspoken objections, both to Bramwell Booth and the Founder, became a strain upon their patience though their affection for Railton withstood all tests." (Watson, 131, p.81)

One final quotation to set the scene:

"Fund-raising as such became an art and a department of Salvation Army operations. It is all very well to send Officers to India and Africa to teach in schools or work among lepers but such officers must be fed. However saintly, they had not wings to fly to their destinations, being as yet mere mortals. Their fares must be paid, basic equipment provided. Bramwell Booth's painful dilemma was that as the Army grew so did his need for funds. The great plans of Darkest England met with vehement opposition in influential quarters and to counter it the Army had to resort more and more to that weapon it had hitherto little needed - public relations. "All this seemed to Railton to be diversionary. He had the faith of the Old Testament Israelite who, when he woke in the morning, expected to find his breakfast waiting for him having fallen, apparently from heaven overnight.

Railton made himself something of a nuisance with his vocal disapproval of 'commercialism', by which he meant the Army's bank, mortgage schemes, trade headquarters, big brass bands, the offering of annuities and the like. He, who had caused William Booth to suffer the indignity of an all-night journey in a crowded smoking compartment, rather than spend sixpence on a new timetable, had a primitive Christian's obsession with poverty. The flood-tide of change and expansion in the Army left him behind." (Watson, 131, p.121)

While within a parallel religious tradition of entirely impractical saintliness Railton's tread had definitely fallen out of step with the Army leadership long before the 1894 incident and although his seeming opposition to every new policy could be seen as the expression of jealousy towards Bramwell, Railton was obviously too great a man for that. His action was a direct outcome of the delicate balance between his hopes for the Army and his religious convictions finally coming under too great a strain. The essential plot of Railton's drama was outlined in the fourth chapter; his Biblical dress, his use of his prominent position on the platform and his critical speech which incidentally was delivered when the normal opportunity for public testimony was given, thus making use of this unique opportunity to speak for the cause of religion to his own ends. In concluding his speech:

~~"he then placed the 'dirty piece of paper' (an assurance handbill) on the floor and trampled upon it. William Booth was embarrassed and many headquarters officers were~~

shocked. It was an unprecedented action. Though some Salvationists agreed with Railton official reaction was that he was 'mental', a condition brought on by overwork and worry. This explanation of any grievously untoward action had been used before... " (Watson, 131, p.129)

Reference is then made to the similar treatment received by Lampard, the former fiance of Lucy Booth. 52 For a long time after this Railton was left without an appointment. In doing this the Salvation Army were using a method of punishment which raises important ethical questions: has any religious body the right to deny its ministers the right to preach? or is this in fact taking from a man the vocation which he feels God has given to him? Far from being simply dismissal this action is a veto on man's obedience to what he perceives as God's will. In fact Railton went abroad for the sake of his health and later returned to the Army ministry but always at a safe distance from General Bramwell and Headquarters in London.

Watson in summing up the issue concludes that Railton was never in danger of nervous breakdown but that his lack of practicality was a problem and in reply to such dogmatism the Salvation Army's attitude was to some extent justified:

"There was no question of his (Railton) changing his principles; everyone else must change theirs. Men who live with their heads in heaven, their minds and hearts possessed with spiritual passions are apt to be alone in the matter-of-fact world, and at forty-six years of age Railton felt himself completely isolated and alone."

(Watson, 131, p.149)

The Army's treatment of Railton's dissent raises some important issues. Firstly, that even in a position such as Railton's where one could make one's opinions known to those in authority there was little tolerance of diversion from the official 'Booth-defined' line. At this point indeed Railton, or any other individual, could always be outvoted by the father and son team running the Salvation Army. Secondly, if dissent were made public certain sanctions could be exercised. Again there was no public defence of the Army's position, that was taken as final and beyond questioning, the issue being the removal by any means of the offender. As in the case of Lampard recourse to diagnosis of mental illness was usually successful combined with enforced exile from both proximity to Headquarters and from the service to which one has been 'called'. Thirdly, the official line, thanks to the above measures being taken, survived the attack and this aspect of the Salvation Army, that is its profiting by business enterprise, has never again been seriously questioned.

The story of George Scott Railton has an interesting postscript. In Railton's will he made known his wishes that his children be raised in accordance with the promises made in the Salvation Army dedication ceremony, be educated under the supervision of the General of the Salvation Army and that all their inherited goods were to be the property of the Salvation Army; but his addendum reads:

"Nevertheless I hereby charge my children and all whom it may concern to read and consider my writing and especially those entitled Heathen England, Twenty-One

Years Salvation Army (the first twenty-one chapters only) and Fight It Out and to devote their lives to the Salvation Army as therein explained. I do not wish my children to remain committed with any organization calling itself the Salvation Army which does not answer the descriptions and carry out the purposes described in those books."

(Watson, 131, p.98)

Neither of Railton's two sons remained in the Salvation Army.

Until 1895 the Booth family had to a great extent been exempt from the frequent upheaval which was the lot of Salvation Army Officers ordered to move from post to post. In 1895 however it was decided that there would be a 'Move-On' including the Territorial Commanders, many of whom were Booths. 136 This shuffle served to confirm in the minds of the younger Booth children that the firstborn, Bramwell, was exercising too much administrative control over the Salvation Army. It was in the United States where Railton had commenced the work in 1880 that the first family defection was to occur.

The history of the Salvation Army in America shows instability in the early years. Major Thomas Moore succeeded Railton in 1881 and became an American citizen; the trend he developed towards nationalism in the movement led to his seceding from the international Army in 1884 and taking with him eighty percent of the Army's support together with the legal rights to all Salvation Army insignia. 39,144 Major Frank Smith, mentioned in connection with Socialism in chapter four was sent as trouble-shooter and build up again a reasonable

force over which Commander Ballington and Maud Booth took charge. Ballington found himself faced with the same circumstances that had caused Major Moore to follow the path he did - anti-British feeling, strong nationalism, dislike of despotic rule from London and legal difficulties involving fights of incorporation. Thus he put into practice a policy of adaptation, a long-established (if not often practised) Army principle. An American War Cry editorial of 1894 reads:

"The Salvation Army is adaptive, and therein lies one of the secrets of its success. Rules for the conducting of its operations remain only hard and fast as long as they are successful; where a change is thought beneficial, said change is tried and tested. No officer will exceed his authority in indulging in an occasional change of tactics; in fact every intelligent man and woman is cognizant of the fact that there is great power in fresh and attractive features, in the Salvation Army or out of it, and it should be imperative to every officer that he endeavour to stir up life and interest in this manner without, of course, going in for anything grotesque or unseemly."

(quoted in Wisbey, 144, p.88)

Ballington, proud of his successful adaptation of the British movement to an American format invited his father, the General, to inspect the work in 1894. The impression given was not quite as intended:

"To the dismay of his son and daughter-in-law, nothing in the United States seemed to please William Booth except the homage he received. The 'adaptability' which he had always preached and which Maud and Ballington had practised so successfully, he now resented. The American

flags which the Salvationists carried beside the Army banners in the processions that welcomed him, the American eagles which replaced the crown on the Salvationist crest, raised him to particular annoyance.

"From his point of view he did right to resent them. He believed that God had called him to save souls and that the wonderful growth of the Salvation Army proved that the divine nature of his call. God had blessed the Army almost beyond belief. What God had blessed must have his approval; therefore it was plain that he, William Booth, was divinely inspired. Naturally he kept the entire control of the Army in his own hands. He knew God's will, and if only other people would bow to his judgement and obey his orders, how easily the divine purpose could be carried out! As the Salvation Army spread out from England he saw it as international. It was God's Army to conquer the world. To carry American flags and display American eagles along with its holy banners was treason to the world-spirit of the organization." (Welty, 136, p.90)

In 1895 then Booth decided that it was time that the leadership of foreign commands was shuffled; and he also set out plans for the mortgaging of some Salvation Army property to support the work in general. From the viewpoint of Ballington and Maud Booth abhorrence of this latter suggestion even exceeded that of the former. They refused to remortgage the property which their soldiers had worked to clear of debt and resigned their commissions to form the 'Volunteers of America'. 136 At one point this move threatened to repeat

history in removing all the Army's forces but dramatic intervention by Evangeline Booth won the loyalty of the ranks for the international Army. Climbing in through a window to a secret meeting of Ballington and the Army membership who supported him she calmed the disquiet of the crowd at her appearance by wrapping the American flag around her body and crying 'Hiss at that if you dare.' 124 They dared not and Evangeline, who alone had inherited the charismatic personality of her father, won renewed allegiance to the Founder.

The feelings of Ballington and Maud over the rise to power of Bramwell were shared all along by Herbert and Cornelia Booth in Australia and Catherine and Arthur Booth-Clibborn in France. The resignation of Herbert followed the publication in 1899 by William Booth of the first edition of Regulations for Territorial Commanders which spelled out new limits to their authority even in their own country. 100, 62 Many departments including all social work, publication and trade were to be directed from International Headquarters in London. Ironically Booth's intention in this publication was to prevent another defection along the lines of Maud and Ballington. Catherine and Arthur's resignation is complicated by their sympathies with a faith-healing sect which they joined on leaving the Salvation Army. Recognizing the place of the Booths in the Salvation Army hierarchy Ottman's verdict on Herbert's resignation is also true for the other family members:

"The Commandant's brilliant promise of preferment in the Army was extinguished in the purging fires of conscience."  
(Ottman, 100, p.15)

The attitude of William Booth and the Salvation Army to these defections was one of sadness but tinged with allegations of disloyalty. The dogmatism of the Founder bolstered by the administrative skills and vision of Bramwell made International Headquarters an unassailable fortress. The banishment of the children who defected from Booth's public affection and recognition has been discussed. It is however an unfortunate fact that this attitude to defectors was taken up by others in positions of Army leadership. In one of the independent magazines mentioned in chapter five the reaction of James Hay, successor to Herbert Booth in Australia, is recorded:

"I suggest Hay was strongly influenced by his own approach to organization, his close relationship with the Booths and his belief in the movement and his desire to remove all traces of the man who had defected from the movement. Booth's name has been obliterated from virtually all the foundation stones of buildings erected during his term in office, and conversations with those active at the time indicate that Hay was responsible for this. A book published by Hay in 1913, Records of the Salvation Army War 1881 - 1913, makes no mention whatsoever of Herbert Booth."

(Impact, 1976, No.3, p.10)

Booth himself considered that he had no children outside the movement, not even those engaged in Christian work of other kinds. Disenchantment was mutual however, Maud's biographer in relating the birth of their son on

December 26th 1887 notes:

"The boy was originally named William after his famous grandfather. His name was legally changed in 1900 to Charles Brandon after that famous Englishman, the Duke of Suffolk, who was in real life one of his maternal ancestors." (Welty, 136, p.72)

Thus the close family unit was broken by the disenchantment and defection of three Booth couples within ten years of Catherine's death.

Despite the obvious autocracy of the Army's government and the disputes which it generated this was tolerated by the rank and file of the Salvation Army during the Founder's life-time:

"Salvationists developed a certain pride in stories of the old General's irascible temper and eccentricities. In his absolutism William Booth resembled a prophet - a man with a noble vision, divinely inspired and so utterly devoted to carrying out his mission that few associates questioned his methods ...

"Though Bramwell Booth assumed the absolute powers of his father, he was unable to exercise them as the Founder had done without breeding resentment. Bramwell was an administrator who lacked the mystic commanding power of the prophet. Whereas William Booth had drawn his contemporaries to him and dominated them by his personality, Bramwell Booth in controlling his contemporaries alienated their affection. Yet he might have continued in office until his death had not the leader of the opposition against him been another Booth -

his younger sister Evangeline." (Wisbey, 144, p.179)

Booth's biographer Ervine, writing with the benefit of hindsight on both Booth's life and on the 1929 crisis suggests that the Founder had doubts. 52 These concerned not only the system of succession he had set up - surely enough people had hinted at its inadequacies in his presence - but the successors he had envisaged. Therefore he extended legal provision for the appointment of a General in the Supplementary Deed of 1904. Ervine in a manner characteristic of Salvation Army hagiographers adds force to his point by recourse to legend thus:

"In a moment of clairvoyance such as the dying sometimes enjoy, Catherine Booth said to her eldest daughter, 'Katie, why is it that God can't keep a thing pure for more than a generation?'" (Ervine, 52, p.814)

The idea that the system had gone wrong grew within the Army and:

"The main cause of the uprising against General Bramwell Booth was the feeling among many high officials that he had turned a benevolent autocracy into a tyranny." (McKenzie, 84, p.50)

John Coutts suggest that an intelligent study of the War Cry of the 1920s gave indications of the brewing storm by its adulation of General Bramwell, its concentration on evangelical success and the absence of all criticism, but it was on these matters that the War Cry had always concentrated. 45 The seeds of discontent were present though and in March 1925 'an anonymous manifesto' was 'issued to staff

officers only' entitled 'The First Blast of a Trumpet'. This was to be followed by other broadsheets and some open letters from another anonymous dissenter in Wichita, Texas, but this first issue encapsulates the general spirit of the attack:

"This is the first blast of a trumpet to be reiterated if necessary against the assumption of infallibility and the exercise of arbitrary and despotic power by the present General of the Salvation Army. Under the shallow pretence of preserving the military prescript he has arrogated to himself the right to wear the crown and to wield the sceptre of an imperialism that forbids any or all expression of independent opinion, restrains the free action of the Holy Spirit, and subjects our entire staff to mental and moral servitude.

"Such autocratic rule, inhibiting as it does the freedom of speech, leaves us without option to disburden our mind or to give expression to our discontent in a form other than that set forth in this manifesto.

"We love the Army. To its merciful and all-embracing mission we have dedicated our lives in full surrender; and for that reason alone, we are sounding the alarm against what threatens our organization with an approaching disaster.

"We believe that rules and regulations, prohibiting those to be governed by them even the expression of their personal opinion, safeguard no constitutional authority. Silence so enforced only serves to feed and fan the minor fires that are certain to break forth in flames of rebellion ...

"The marvellous success vouchsafed of God under the plan

followed by the founder is no proof that continued concentration of power in a single individual could or would be of permanent blessing. The history of the movement, its world-wide ramifications, its personnel, distinguished alike by keen intelligence and wide vision, prove without peradventure that the perpetuation of power in one man, or in a family, cannot continue without instigating a revolt that will end either in the dissolution of the Army or in a final paralysis of any initiative on the part of its soldiers. The system is thoroughly and unqualifiedly bad and it must be destroyed." (quoted in Ervine, 52, pp.1100-1)

It was in 1927 after this dissent had gone on for some time that names to be attached to some of those who wished change. In September of that year Evangeline Booth presented her brother, Bramwell, with a document known as 'The Fifteen Points' but which in essence made two demands - that he should refrain from appointing his successor and that a system of election for the position of General should be set up. 124 These proposals Bramwell rejected out of hand. The main constitutional difficulty that those who wished to change the system faced in addition to being in opposition to the wishes of the current General, was that provision was only made in the 1904 Deed for the High Council to remove a General and elect another if the incumbent General could be pronounced 'unfit for office'.

~~When General Bramwell Booth was advised by his doctors in~~ 1928 that prolonged rest would be necessary to prevent a breakdown in his health the reformers grasped their chance and

following a lead from Evangeline Booth sufficient Commissioners were prepared to subscribe to call together a High Council. The High Council of January 1929 found General Booth unfit despite efforts both in the form of personal appeals and of attempts at legal injunction, from the Bramwell Booth family. General Higgins was elected on the first ballot as the third General of the Salvation Army. There were those who took sides and books were published both by McKenzie, upholding the decision of the High Council, and by Frank Smith, M.P., former Salvation Army Officer and staunch ally of Bramwell Booth, whose work was subtitled 'The Truth about the Salvation Army Revolt and a Defence of General Bramwell Booth against the unwarrantable and un-Christian attack made upon him by the High Council of the Salvation Army'. 84,118 In these allegations were made, some of a personal nature but all this was too late.

Bramwell Booth died within six months of his deposition and without living to see the establishment of a Trustee Company to hold the property of the Salvation Army by Act of Parliament in 1931. Provision was made under the same Act of Parliament for the election of subsequent generals. The issues decided as a result of the 1929 crisis then were wider than any personal indictment of Bramwell Booth reflected in the literature, or of the election of another General. The 'new Army' system is discussed in the following chapter. Suffice to note here that although public interest in the ~~internal affairs was never stronger and predictions of the~~ Army's 'Waterloo' rife the Salvation Army clambered over yet another hurdle to continue both its religious and social work.

With the help of the 'Booth personality', evident in both William and Evangeline, and recourse to allegations of lunacy or disloyalty the Army had managed to purge itself of those who circumvented the system and made their dissenting views public. When the crisis over leadership came the role played by Evangeline Booth is significant, for she, by virtue of her charisma and dogmatism, had come to epitomize the spirit of the Founder. It was to her, rather than to the autocratic administration that Bramwell had represented, that the Army looked for direction and, once General Higgins had piloted the Army through its stormy first few years under its altered constitution, it was in her as the fourth General that the Army placed its hopes of advancement. 59

#### Recent Public Controversy

Between 1930 and the present day the Salvation Army has hit the headlines on very few occasions. The election of a new General is always cause for press comment but little discussion arises beyond statement of the facts. In the 1970s and 1980s though there have occurred two incidents which have sparked off public debate, firstly the publication by Major Fred Brown, Commanding Officer of the Salvation Army's showpiece Corps, Regent Hall, in Oxford Street, London and writer of Salvation Army devotional literature, of a book, Secular Evangelism which was considered a grievous enough ~~action to warrant dismissal.~~ 32 And secondly, the presentation in 1981 on independent television of a critical documentary focusing on Salvation Army social work. Both of

these matters served to focus public attention upon Salvation Army organization and practice and for this reason are considered here.

Before looking at those two occasions though mention must be made of the Salvation Army's relationship to the World Council of Churches, which has also been commented upon in the media. A member of the World Council from its founding the Salvation Army has used its status here to make comment on political issues. This is despite its most constant complaint against the W.C.C being that the latter body is 'politically motivated'. Affiliation to such a body has presented constant dilemmas for those concerned with the Salvation Army's public and self-images. One significant point of definition is described for us thus:

"Just before the Evanston Assembly, Albert Orsborn, then nearing retirement as the General of the Salvation Army, published a pamphlet clarifying its relation to the Council. After discussing the Army's traditional attitude of friendliness toward all Christians, he acknowledged that some would deny the claim of the Army as to the adequacy of its pastoral function. However, he noted that the Army enjoyed almost universal recognition as a religious denomination by governments, usually being grouped with the Churches as a matter of convenience: 'This is as far as we wish to go in being known as a Church. We are, and wish to remain, a movement for the revival of religion, ~~a permanent mission to the unconverted,~~ one of the world's greatest missionary societies; but not an establishment, not a sect, not a Church, except that we are a part of

that body of Christ called 'The Church Militant' and we shall be there, by His grace, with 'The Church Triumphant'. It therefore follows that we are friendly with all whom Christ has named his own, and for that primary reason we do not refuse fellowship with the World Council."

(Rader, 105, p.53)

General Orsborn's concern here was theological in the sense that he wanted the Salvation Army as a movement to retain its separate identity and not merely to become one of the churches. Thus in defining the nature of the Salvation Army's relationship to the World Council he performs a very neat balancing act indeed.

It was not to be long however before political, as well as religious balancing was attempted. The Salvation Army first withdrew from membership of the Central Committee of this body for a short period in the 1950s and then again as a result of disagreement over the Fund set up to combat racism at the time when insurgency threatened South Africa. 46 In 1978 the Salvation Army while retaining associate membership of the W.C.C. distanced itself from Council policy concerning support for liberation movements. Subtlety was again the key to this situation; for an outright resignation of membership would have upset many Salvation Army leaders and the ecumenical image - by leaving the Central Committee as a protest but retaining an interest the Salvation Army could, apparently, keep both sides content. After three years of discussion and consultation the Salvation Army finally brought this situation to an end by resigning its membership entirely in 1981. Their eventual resignation was related back to the

1978 grants to liberation movements by the W.C.C. Although the Salvation Army still lays stress on the retention of 'fraternal relationships' with the Council, this move in effect ended their long-term balancing act. It should be noted that all such ecumenical and political manoeuvring takes place without the cognizance of most Salvationists, being the prerogative of the General, and his Commissioners' Conference.

The internal furore in 1970 centred on two major issues related to the Salvation Army's position on censorship. The official line has always been that Salvation Army Officers should first submit any material being considered for publication to the editorial scrutiny of Headquarters where suggestions would be made as to the 'corrections' necessary. Salvation Army Officers promise upon being commissioned to submit to this censorship. In the case of Fred Brown though two issues become somewhat confused, that of his right to publish and the question of the 'heresy' which his book was said to contain. The discussion which follows relies upon documentary evidence of the time in the form of a substantial file of clippings supplied by Dr. John Coutts, at the time a Salvation Army Officer not unconnected with the affair.

Major Fred Brown had been in command of the Salvation Army's work at Regent Hall for five years when he published in October 1970. 32 While there he had extended the work considerably beyond the narrow demands of Orders and Regulations. As well as holding all the prescribed meetings and Salvation Army activities he had established contacts with Flower People

and other groups typical of the hippie youth culture of the 1960s. His practical experience with them in ministering to what he saw as their needs convinced him of the wisdom of the theological position held by Robinson et al. that a demystification of Christianity was overdue. 114 Brown expressed in his book sadness at the irrelevance of religious language and Salvation Army evangelical practice to the modern man and expresses his opinion that practical caring is the most feasible method of communicating the Gospel. He is willing to accept that some who would consider themselves atheist and 'secular' in having no connection to any established religious activity in fact know 'God' by some other name or by no name at all - but have an equally viable, if secular, metaphysical experience.

Although not deliberately setting out to offer a critical examination of Salvation Army methods of evangelism Brown naturally draws on his own experience in writing. Often this is without reference to any particular religious body, for example:

"We are in danger of being unfaithful to our spiritual forebears, but for reasons opposite to the ones we imagine. We are allowing the fruits of their organizational skill to evolve into institutions which restrict rather than expand our evangelical enterprise. We are relegating God to a mausoleum, fearful that he will make the theological scene untidy by breaking free of our verbal embalming. We are giving our traditional way of doing ~~things a divine mandate, and shouting futile protests at~~ the rapidly changing ways of society."

(Brown, 32, p.13)

In other places Brown makes explicit use of Salvation Army examples, and perhaps this more than anything else caused official disapproval. In making this point he refers to the Salvation Army's setting-up of Over Sixties Clubs:

"This development was not, however, universally popular with Salvation Army officers. Some of them argued that it represented yet another unfortunate diversion from their main task of evangelism. Others justified the vast expenditure of strength, time and money involved in running the clubs with the comforting thought that converts might result. One fiery evangelist, sincere, dedicated and industrious, summed up the attitude of a small minority when he refused a club on the grounds that God had called him to build an army, not act as nursemaid to people with one foot in the grave. He was not callous or insensitive. His friends described him as a man with a 'passion for souls'. He was single-minded in seeking to fulfil his vocation, particularly in organizing events to fill his pews. But he turned from a ministry to human need in the name of building first the kingdom of God. He put converts before people. He thought more of saving souls than serving sinners.

"The basic trouble was that, like the evangelical zealots who still think like him, he was not committed to people for their own intrinsic value. He was committed to them as a means to an end; the end was ~~laudable enough, but when it made the means little more~~ than an exercise in pious self-interest, there was something drastically wrong." (Brown, 32, p.30)

Such is the subject matter of Brown's book. The storm broke even before it was published. Major Brown refused to submit his work for censorship, although allowing the Salvation Army's British Commissioner, Commissioner Mingay, to read it as a courtesy. When further pressed to submit the work and refusing he was asked for his resignation. On refusing to resign he was dismissed from the Salvation Army. Throughout the extended period of dispute Major Brown had been refused an appointment by the Salvation Army, although he continued to be supported by his officer's allowance. The workings of this particular sanction were not new, dating from early Army days and referred to above in connection with Railton's dissent. Support for Major Brown, especially from his congregation at the Regent Hall Corps, was strong and relied on the unofficial circulation of broadsheets putting Brown's case to all Salvationists and appealing that the principle of censorship be changed.

Press comment was predictably in support of Brown's right to publish. Typical of this was the Guardian leader from which the following quotation is extracted:

"Fred Brown is fighting one of the oddest freedom campaigns ever. Major Brown, of the Salvation Army, has published today a mild and practical theological tract which he refuses to let the Army censor ... Major Brown, in open revolt for six months, has broken rules and courted dismissal. He has, instead, been discreetly packed off ~~on full pay to an Army cottage in Cornwall ...~~

"The General has attempted to end dissent by pretending it does not exist. He has turned his back and not the

other cheek. This is a poor posture for the Army, the sympathetic, toiling, devoted Army. Fred Brown has probably thrown away a twenty-five-year-career for his beliefs. He at least deserves an answer."

(The Guardian, 22 September 1970)

It was indeed the case that the Salvation Army ignored the dissent in its internal publications and no debate on the matter appeared in official Salvation Army publications. It was however taken up by the Salvation Army Students' Fellowship in their magazine and it was obvious that the great majority of Salvationist students were in support of Brown's right to publish. They even succeeded in getting a letter from the British Commissioner to publish also but this failed to address the issue directly at all, being content to note that the radicalism of youth is mellowed by greater life experience. The British Commissioner did take a more direct approach to the issue when he circulated a letter to all serving Salvation Army officers stating the 'official Salvation Army position', also prior to publication. In this he reiterates the principle William Booth established thus 'All officers will appreciate the security and upholding afforded them by the Army's traditional refusal to make matters of dispute with any officer the subject of public debate.' He later adds 'Army leaders deeply regret that the Major has refused to avail himself of constitutional means to make known his views on the control of Salvation Army literature.' but makes no indication of what he is referring to as constitutional means. In a letter by way of reply to the British Commissioner's correspondence and also published in the Salvation Army

Students' Fellowship Magazine Captain John Coutts writes:

"When a question of principle arises, as in the Fred Brown affair, what can you do? Your letter to the Salvation Army press will not be printed. No regulation gives you the right to table a question at Territorial Congresses or Officers' Councils. You can only write to Territorial or International Leaders who must in turn take a decision on the basis of voluminous and perhaps acrimonious correspondence. They too are prisoners of a system in which the legislative, administrative and judicial functions are combined at the top. They cannot refer the question to the Annual Conference because there isn't one. No procedure exists - so far as I know - for trying Fred Booth's alleged heresy. It is noteworthy that the British Commissioner does not tell us precisely what the objection to Fred Brown's book really is. A man has in fact been sacked for heresy without a public trial."

Or was he sacked for disobedience to regulations? Therein the confusion lay. The public debate on the matter, in the national and religious presses, reflecting the opinions already expressed and siding most vociferously with Fred Brown, continued well into 1971 - indeed until it was obvious that no change was even being considered by Salvation Army leadership.

In this instance then we have someone with views entirely opposed to those of Railton in 1894 but whose treatment by the Salvation Army was similar. Once again the same sanctions were used, saving only lunacy, and purged once

again the Salvation Army avoided any change. The support for Brown although vociferous found that the only course of action open to them was to leave the movement, as many of them in fact did.

The second recent blaze of publicity was ignited by an ATV documentary 'For God's Sake Care' transmitted nationally on May 26 1981 at 10,30pm. It was presented by David Jones who also shared the production of the programme with Claudia Milne. In it they first described the multi-million pound organization that the Salvation Army has become and contrasted this with the extreme poverty and poor living conditions of many Salvation Army hostel residents. Their case rested on establishing that the publicly donated money was not spent as lavishly on social work as the advertising material suggested but rather went to support the religious work of the movement. Contributions were made to the programme by hostel residents, workers and ex-Officers; an interview with the Salvation Army Commissioner in charge of social work, Anna Hannevik, was also screened.

A breakdown of the general criticisms reveals these main points: firstly, that publicity campaigns emphasised the social work of the Salvation Army whereas only fourteen percent of the Annual Appeal money went in this direction, sixty-seven percent going to support evangelical work. It was also pointed out that Christmas carolling and War Cry sales collections went to evangelical centres direct. Secondly, as a result of personal research Jones found that admission was refused in twenty-three out of the twenty-seven hostels to which he sought

admission claiming to have no money to pay for the accommodation. Thirdly, that hostels were run on strict business principles and were expected to be self-supporting; this leading the Officers in charge to sell food and clothing donated to be given away in an attempt to balance their budgets. Finally, in comparison to other provision the hostels were criticised as being archaic, lacking in facilities and 'only a warehouse for unwanted members of society'. The appearance of Commissioner Hannevik on the programme did no favours to the Salvation Army's public image. She pleaded that facts about treatment were unavailable to her and expressed surprise that food and clothing was sold. She even hinted at hostel mismanagement at one point. As regards the public donations she agreed that more money should come into her province, that is, the social work. All in all the impression was unfavourable. An appeal by the producers to the Advertising Standards Authority brought about a ban on the previous Annual Appeal envelopes and these were replaced by some emphasizing to a greater extent the Salvation Army's evangelical work in this country.

The response of the Salvation Army to this barrage of allegations was interesting. Forgetting its previous 'turn the other cheek' attitude the Salvation Army spoke out in its own defence; in the form of a letter to The Times by General Arnold Brown. In this he justified many of the practices criticised, noted that the figures did not tell the whole story and generally stressed the Salvation Army's evangelical aims. ~~The Army's defence centred on the fact that it was not~~ a social agency but a religious movement whose social and evangelical activities were inextricably linked and which both

sought the same end. Therefore in looking purely at the Army's social provision the television researchers had failed to grasp the Salvation Army's real dynamic. Apart from this official defence, hosts of supporters of the movement wrote to newspapers, national and local, to refute the allegations. Public opinion, despite a major onslaught, seemed to remain solidly behind the Salvation Army. A telltale concern on the part of the Salvation Army was betrayed however when its collectors for the 1982 Annual Appeal were armed not only with the revamped envelopes but with leaflets on 'how we spent the money you gave us last year' and reproduced pie charts, using different categories, but offering a very different interpretation of the figures from that of Milne and Jones. The final totals for this Appeal have still to be announced at the time of writing.

In drawing the discussion of this chapter to a conclusion it is important to note in what way the Salvation Army methods of defence against public attack have altered. Many of the criticisms remain substantially the same. In looking at the early criticism, the attempted defence by Mrs. Booth and the lack of effect it had it can be noted that William Booth was probably correct in deciding to ignore it. It had little direct impact on those he sought to convert and often worked to the Army's advantage. The situation had dramatically changed by 1981 and the Army's concern at the effects of a powerful presentation of criticism on television is evident. ~~Television reception is available to all including those who~~ financially support the work and its effects can be telling. General Brown broke with long tradition to pronounce the

allegations ill-founded and to speak in the Army's defence. Direct action in the form of the presentation of statistics with the monetary appeal reflects the Army's concern that the programme may yet hit them where it hurts most - in the pocket.

As William Booth had hoped and predicted the military model proved its worth in effectively dealing with internal dissent. Its rank system forms the basis for channels of communication and questioning at grassroots level can be treated as insignificant and not passed up the hierarchical ladder. Often this works and the lack of a representative body for the laity means that any dissent is localized and kept isolated. The editorial control of the Army press encourages debate on what is in fact trivia, for example, the colour of trimmings on Salvation Army uniform, while filtering out comment upon real issues. If an individual, such as Railton or Fred Brown, should bypass these ineffectual channels of communication and make his feelings known publicly sanctions are enforced which remove him from a position of any influence and may lead to dismissal. A purge can be completed without any effect on the issue at stake since the question of 'disloyalty' is raised to a level of such importance that it is this and not the cause of dissent upon which debate is focused.

When the real threats to its continuation arose with the defection of the Booth children and later with the ousting of Bramwell the system again proved itself. The defections were handled, to William Booth's own personal loss, as desertion

and the defaulters disowned. The dethroning of Bramwell entailed far much more and if it were not for the fact that it was the rising star, the charismatic Evangeline, who led the opposition the system would have remained unaltered. As it was the Commissioners were faced with a choice between the autocratic rule of Bramwell which was no longer mellowed by the prophetic charm of the Founder and the promise of a new regime in which they would have more power, proposed by Evangeline whose likeness to her father undoubtedly swung the balance. The working out of the promise of this new constitution is considered in the next chapter; but the military framework which had proved itself so useful in maintaining the Army's image by handling the threats of critical attack was now valued more than ever.

## Chapter Eight

### TODAY'S ARMY

The beginnings of the Salvation Army were traced in chapter two and its history further developed in the third chapter. While discussing the leadership crisis of 1929 the history of the Army's development was brought up to the introduction of the 1931 Salvation Army Act. This chapter presents a consideration of the Salvation Army from the introduction of that Act, and the constitutional changes it brought about, until the present day. The Acts of 1963, 1968 and 1980 will be outlined and their significance discussed. More importantly though it will be considered to what extent any of the legislative changes in fact altered the government of the Salvation Army. What would the Salvation Army have looked like today if a direct succession of Booths had taken place?

In the later 1950s a definite trend began towards more open literature about the Salvation Army; this study will consider those who have contributed towards this movement and their work and relate this to the Salvation Army's policy on censorship of all but the official line. Have the days of turgid hagiography passed?

Having considered all these matters some questions remain? What is the modern Salvation Army like? Are its uniforms, bands and archaic regulations all that remain to link it with the nineteenth century or does the 'Salvationist Spirit' live on? What place is given to 'William Booth' and

Salvation Army pioneers? What is the status of officers today and is there real equality for the Army's women? Is the Army out to make a profit from social work and business interests to promote its evangelical campaigning? and by way of conclusion how does the 'modern' Army compare with the nineteenth century movement?

#### 1931-1981: The Emergence of a New Army?

To complete the Army's history to date it is necessary to look at the legislation which has been introduced, for therein lie the clues to the changing patterns of leadership and government. The 1931 Act, as has already been detailed, made provision for the constitutional election of a General and did away with the practice of the incumbent General naming his chosen successor. 148 The High Council was set up as the official elective body. Furthermore the Act established a Trustee Company to hold the Army's property, rather than the General being solely responsible: the Trustee Act of 1925 had made it increasingly difficult to administer the funds as the General's personal signature was now necessary for all transactions. Further alterations to make the Army system practicable in line with present legislation were made in 1968, which Act was solely to do with the administering of the Trustee Company. 150

~~The 1963 Salvation Army Act served to establish a~~  
 pension fund for all officers. 149 Prior to this piece of legislation the General's pension had been payable from a

personal trust fund and that of all the officers from various other small funds. By this Act the funds were amalgamated and the pension rights clearly set out. At this point it is relevant to note one question on which Parliament considered the Salvation Army to be the best judge, that of a suitable retirement age for the General. When first fixed this was seventy years but more recently has been reduced to sixty-eight.

The Army's most recent recourse to Parliamentary legislation resulted in the 1980 Salvation Army Act the purpose of which is declared thus:

"An Act to revise and consolidate the constitution of the Salvation Army; to make further provision respecting the Salvation Army Trustee Company and respecting the investment of funds of the Salvation Army; to repeal or amend certain provisions of the Salvation Army Acts 1931 to 1968 and to revoke certain deeds poll related to the Salvation Army; and for other purposes."

This Act then was an attempt to draw together all the major elements of the Salvation Army's constitution in the one piece of legislation and to thus simplify the issue. 151 However, the Act does not repeal and thus supercede all previous legislation but only parts of it and thus reference to the former Acts and deeds poll is still necessary. The 1980 Act is distinguished from all the others by an 'Objects' clause which declares:

"The objects of the Salvation Army shall be the ~~advancement of the Christian religion as promulgated in~~ the religious doctrines set out in Schedule One to this Act which are professed, believed and taught by the Army

and, pursuant thereto the advancement of education, relief of poverty, and other charitable objects beneficial to society or the community of mankind as a whole."

An alteration was also made to the Doctrines in their appearance in Schedule One for the Biblical reference which had formed part of Doctrine Ten was omitted and the quotation marks removed from the text.

This Act outlines the duty of the High Council to remove a General 'unfit for office' and to elect a General either subsequent to such a removal, to death, or to retirement. The General's powers and responsibilities are outlined including one interesting paragraph which reads:

"to appoint or promote any persons to any office and rank in the Army and, subject to the right of a hearing before a commission of inquiry, to remove all officers from office and to reduce any officers in rank."

Provision for such a 'commission of inquiry' has obviously been made since the 1970 Fred Brown incident but is not otherwise referred to or its workings spelled out. Other than these few revisions and alterations the constitution remains as it was in the 1931 Act.

What did the working out of the 1931 Salvation Army Act mean in real terms then? Did the constitutional changes make any real impact upon the distribution of authority in the Army? Two areas are examined here in which this Act should have made a noticeable difference; firstly, the choice of General and secondly, the form of government of the

Salvation Army. When General Bramwell Booth was removed from office and General Higgins elected to serve as the third General of the Salvation Army this was perceived as a very significant change. By virtue of the personality of the Founder and his pronouncements the office of General had come to be regarded as a sacred position; that it, and its incumbent, should be subjected to such rough handling was not popular with many rank and file Salvationists. It has been shown though that this reform was the result of some of the upper echelons of the officer force becoming dissatisfied with the way in which the administration of the Army was being undertaken and at the despotic nature that Bramwell's rule had come to bear. Encouraged by the charismatic Eva they had reason to hope that under a new constitution leadership would be less autocratic and that they would be able to exercise more power. General Higgins who held office from 1929-1934 had been a Salvation Army officer since 1882 and was Bramwell's Chief of Staff at the time of the crisis. 59 Thus he was to some extent an obvious choice for the High Council to make, happily avoiding the increased family conflagration which would have resulted had Evangeline Booth been elected. It was reported that General Bramwell had place in his 'sealed envelope' the name of his daughter Catherine Bramwell-Booth as successor to himself. While this has never been proved it seems his most likely choice and leads one to wonder what sort of Army, if one existed at all, would have been in existence under the leadership of its third ~~General for Commissioner Catherine Bramwell-Booth~~ lives on at the ripe age of ninety-nine years. (1) This was not to be

(1) Two approaches were made for interview with the Commissioner but as she limits the time spent in this way the requests

though, and General Higgins led the Army for five years overseeing the changes of the 1931 Act and retiring shortly before his seventieth birthday in 1934. Evangeline Booth, fourth daughter of the Founder, was sixty-eight when she took office having been elected to serve as the Army's fourth General. It is interesting to note that Eva's hold over brother Bramwell was no new development of the 1920s, on coming to international office in 1934 she had completed thirty years continuous leadership of the Salvation Army in the United States!

Evangeline Booth as well as being the only woman to serve as General of the Salvation Army was the last of the Booths to achieve the position and as such deserves special mention. 124 In seeking election Evangeline had the advantage not only of being a Booth, but of having the charismatic flair of her father. She was the only one of the second generation who had the dramatic turn of character which had made the Founder a figure revered by generations of Salvationists. In the United States especially the name of Evangeline Booth is also highly respected for they feel that she was their Booth having become an American citizen and openly professing preference for that side of the Atlantic.

From birth, a dramatic arrival on Christmas Day 1865, Evangeline held a special place in her father's affection and it was to her that he turned to ease situations which ~~threatened to divide the Army.~~ From childhood many stories have been recorded of all of the Booth's children but none

(1) were not granted.

more dramatic than those of Eva:

"One of Eva's pets, a monkey named Jeannie, irritated visitors by grimacing at them, leaping upon their hats, and snatching at their feather trimmings. With the help of the cook, Eva made a Salvation Army uniform for the monkey, hoping this would improve her pet's behaviour. But when Eva added the red ribbon on which was embroidered The Salvation Army, her mother felt she had gone too far and undressed the monkey, answering her daughter's question with 'Eva, she doesn't live the life'."

(Troutt, 124, p.35)

Evangeline Booth who wrote many songs, poems and pageants never put pen to paper on the subject of her own childhood but she must have reacted against the poverty and austerity for Troutt records:

"The plain clothes Eva had to wear as a child may have been one of the reasons she sent a dress or outfit that was serviceable but attractive to every officer's child for Christmas when she was Commander in the United States." (Troutt, 124, p.27)

Evangeline's commanding and indeed attractive appearance belied the fact that she had to constantly wear a wig having lost her hair as the result of a bout of scarlet fever and this was always a source of concern to her. She never married although it is recorded by her recent biographer that she and a young Officer, Thomas McKie, were mutually in love but their betrothal was refused by General Booth. Feeling maternal ~~instincts and ability~~ though Evangeline adopted and reared four children during her stay in the United States. 124 Her forceful personality was also expressed in sport and she became

a skilful horsewoman and swimmer. While in America she ran a large house and had a large contingent of officers permanently on appointment there performing domestic duties. On her retirement on the eve of war in 1939 it was to the United States that she returned.

Subsequent generals have all been in their sixties on appointment but none have ever died in office, all completing the much shorter terms of elected Generals. General George L. Carpenter, an Australian, saw the Salvation Army through the Second World War and was followed by General Albert Orsborn in 1946. General Orsborn gained renown as a Salvation Army songwriter and had three wives during his period of officership. General Wilfred Kitching served as the Army's seventh General from 1954 to 1963 and was followed in turn by General Frederick Coutts who was in charge over the period when the Salvation Army celebrated its Centenary and also oversaw the launching of the Salvation Army by commercial advertising. General Coutts has since his retirement been a prolific writer of Army history and devotional literature. General Wickberg, a Swiss Salvationist who led the Army from 1969 to 1974 was succeeded by two North American Generals, Clarence Wiseman and then Arnold Brown from 1977 to 1981. The present General is Jarl Wahlstrom a Finnish Officer. Thus the Generalship of the Salvation Army has reflected its internationalism to some extent, although all the Generals have been white English-speakers from developed countries. 46

That the one woman to hold office was also a Booth is significant, but it must be remembered that her natural charisma and the

way in which she proved her authority by ousting Bramwell were recommendations in themselves apart from her name.

It had been the hope in 1931 that the system would become more democratic and provision for the election and retirement of Generals certainly meant shorter terms of office and more Generals. This in itself was not enough though and it was hoped that the General would as a result rule less autocratically and depend more upon consultation with the Commissioners who had elected him. Commenting upon the changing face of Army government John Coutts writes:

"The first tendency of the new system was to restrict the representative principle for whereas the first High Council included Officers Commanding from all parts of the world, and embraced the humble rank - in Army terms - of Brigadier - the later model admitted only Commissioners, Lieutenant-Commissioners and Territorial Commanders who had held the rank of Colonel for at least two years. Not surprisingly therefore, successive High Councils have contained more men than women, more white people than black, more over sixties than under sixties and no 'laity' at all. The Army is in fact ruled by a self-perpetuating oligarchy." (Coutts, 46, p.26)

The grounds upon which he makes his final statement are related to an unconstitutional but no less powerful body whose gathering is known as the Commissioners' Conference. Such a gathering is often simultaneous with a High Council but is not the same as it, and can be called independently to discuss a matter of importance to the Salvation Army, for example, the Commissioners' Conference which took place in Canada in 1979

led to the publication of Positional Statements, issued to each Salvation Army soldier and also presumably discussed proposals for the Salvation Army Act 1980 amongst other things. They are responsible for changes in ethical positions, for example the ban on smoking amongst the soldiery and direct the political manoeuvring of the Salvation Army, that is, they make the decisions on membership of the World Council of Churches. This Conference, like the High Council, is an elective, though not elected, body and no pretence is made that it is democratically representative. The Commissioners are there to represent their own viewpoint not that of those whom they command.

Control of the Salvation Army then did change hands as a result of the Salvation Army Act, 1931. 148 The General's role has been made less autocratic and the Commissioners now have a larger say in the administration of the Army. However, their power is also controlled since nomination for membership of the Commissioners' Conference is purely by virtue of internal promotion - or in other words, by direct action of the General. Nevertheless, it would be difficult for a General to go ahead with a programme which did not carry the approval of a majority of the Commissioners. Thus although the General is still at the head of the Salvation Army it is no longer an autocracy nor is it democratically administered. John Coutts' suggestion of a 'self-perpetuating oligarchy' comes closest to the real situation. 46 The Commissioners' Conference at the head of the Salvation Army today is the seat of the legislative, administrative and judicial functions of the movement. It is this clustering of all spheres of authority within the one

body which is the key to an understanding of the power structure within the movement. The history of the Salvation Army illustrates Robert Michels' point that :

"There is little difference, as far as practical results are concerned, between individual dictatorship and the dictatorship of a group of oligarchs."

(Michels, 86, p.401)

Has a new Army emerged then, different from that of Booth's day? Or are all these constitutional changes attributable only to increased demands necessitating a wider spread of responsibility? Is the reality of the Salvation Army that it is a closed militarily organized movement or that it is becoming a more open but less militant sect? The facts of the case are examined below when a comparison is made between the nineteenth century movement and that of today but first let one important difference in the type of study possible be noted. It was seen in chapter two that the available documentary literature was one-sided and lacking in critical capacity, the biographies being particularly straightlaced. In looking at the modern period a researcher has the benefit of a small number of reflexive studies of the Salvation Army, or of individual officials which are more open and to the point.

The beginning of this trend is not so easy to pinpoint. Frederick Coutts writes of Bramwell Booth's 1929 publication, Echoes and Memories 24 that it:

"contained a studied defence of the place of the Salvation Army in that universal fellowship of

believers known as the Church of Christ; of its officers - both men and women, single and married - as ministers of the Gospel; and of its methods as worthy of its cause. As a basic of an apologia for the Movement which, under God, he had helped his father to raise, this will not be surpassed." (Coutts, 43, p.77)

and it is certainly true that Bramwell wrote with admirable frankness of his clashes with his father over the Sacraments and of the Army's position vis-a-vis the established Church. It is not until the 1950s though that this trend towards 'warts and all' historiography is continued when Wisbey presents a study of the Army in America including frank discussion of the early socialization and later defections of the Booth family. 144 A host of studies appeared around the Salvation Army's centenary in 1965 written both by Salvationists and those outside the movement. 128,41,112 Even the official histories, for example, One Hundred Years War, although still officially censored reveal a more open attitude. 128 Murdoch suggests that this trend is best represented by Watson's excellent pen-portrait of Railton, Soldier Saint 91,131 and that it shows maturity in the century-old Army. General Frederick Coutts has enriched scholarly study presenting clear analytical histories of the movement as a whole and of the social services. There is however still censorship and it is a hurdle with which those who wish to write about the Salvation Army from within must be willing to contend. This is illustrated by the relative effectiveness of two American studies both published in 1980. One is Marching to Glory, a history of the Salvation Army in America, written by Dr. McKinley, a professional historian and

presented in its entirety to his readership; the second, The General Was A Lady, written by Margaret Troutt a retired Salvation Army Officer was subjected to censorship. 85,124 Interesting as this latter finished work is it leaves one wondering if the whole story has been told and those who have read the pre-censorship manuscript pronounce it brutally cut. If the Army's attitude to literary openness is maturing it is doing so very cautiously indeed.

It can safely be assumed however that the Salvation Army was less able to exercise control over external academic studies of its work and organization. Such examination of the movement dates from 1909 when Edwin Lamb, an American political scientist conducted a Positivistic classificatory exercise on the inhabitants of Salvation Army social work institutions in the U.S.A. He sampled hundreds of institutional inmates and questioned them with regard to their nationality, marital status, age and length of unemployment but his conclusions were scant and of no real interest to this analysis.

Other studies are clustered in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Albert Baggs presents a doctoral thesis on the Salvation Army in Japan during the first half of the twentieth century entitled 'Social Evangel as Nationalism' with very geographically specific conclusions. 4 By way of contrast Paul Rader uses his empirical work on the Salvation Army in Korea post-1945 to draw wider conclusions both about the role of the Salvation Army and about the effect of missionary enterprise. Combining these two themes he claims:

"In a very real sense this study marks a new departure in Army self-criticism. This gives it a significance not found in an Army whose literature abounds in moving accounts of missionary heroism. The steady advance of the Army flag into the realms of night is vividly chronicled with breathless enthusiasm. The great bulk of this literature is clearly promotional, calculated to move the saints to prayer and to an enlargement of their stewardship in support of the forward march of the Army's global war. For the most part it is uncritical and adulatory." (Rader, 105, p.14)

Some of Rader's insight has been developed elsewhere in this thesis and his quizzical probing of his material has raised many important issues. The value of his thesis is obvious when one learns that Paul Rader is a Salvation Army Colonel whose family were associated with pioneering the Salvation Army in the United States and whose allegiance to the cause of the Salvation Army is complete. It is from the 'inside' that he seeks to make less obscure the Salvation Army's organization and work. The self-examination involved in this type of study is most apparent when he discusses water baptism thus:

"The fact that the Salvation Army does not practise water baptism is well-known, and it may seem needlessly awkward for a Salvationist to introduce the issue in this context. However, I think we may infer that in speaking of the 'one baptism' Paul is here referring principally to its significance rather than its form. I have no desire to debate the issue of water baptism or to defend the Army's position. I freely admit that like

a great many others my acceptance of this point of view is more the result of my social conditioning than theological reflection. However, I also recognize the cogency of the Army's position and the legitimacy of its testimony to the availability of grace in response to heart faith apart from a reliance on material elements." (Rader, 105, p.65) (my emphasis)

Colonel Rader's thesis is undoubtedly the most revealing internal consideration of the Salvation Army in recent years.

Christine Parkin prepared a Master's thesis looking at the early days of the Salvation Army's development from the perspective of the social historian, which was subsequently published in article form in the Sociological Yearbook of Religion. 101 Two other studies to be mentioned are those by Philip Needham and Leicester Longden, both prepared in America for Divinity and Theology degrees. 93,119 Needham's study 'Redemption and Social Reformation' concerns itself with the Salvation Army, the Church Army and the Labour Church in nineteenth century Britain and with their societal impact. Longden analyses the Salvation Army by comparing the movement with an ideal type, the 'Church Militant' as derived from Biblical sources. The inherently false nature of such an approach is apparent when it is considered that William Booth had no intention of developing such a Biblically inspired 'Church Militant'. However this parallel does allow Longden to highlight the emphasis placed upon the survival of the Army and the confusion of allegiance to the organization with allegiance to Christianity as a whole. This argument is at its strongest when Longden hints at the role of the

system of religious belief in the persistence of the Salvation Army as a movement:

"Even the doctrine of holiness which the Army teaches becomes susceptible to interpretations which stress loyalty to the Army. This tendency is seen in the following description of holiness meetings in the early Army: 'Salvation Army holiness meetings were the medium through which men and women innumerable received the call to leave all and follow Christ. Over and over again in sketches of the careers of officers it is recorded that when attending such a meeting, with nothing in mind further than seeking advance in spiritual life, they found themselves suddenly seized by conviction that they must consecrate their all to the service of God and that Salvation Army officership was for them not only a way to this, but the only way they could take and enjoy the favour of God'. What makes this quotation even more compelling is that its author was an 'official' Army historian and that in this description of Army holiness meetings he was offering praise not criticism."

(Longden, 79, p.54)

Academic treatment has been afforded the Salvation Army by representatives of various disciplines. However, repeatedly the point is reached beyond which the limitations of the discipline prevent further investigation. It is suggested in this thesis that the modes of analysis available to the sociologist allow these further steps to be taken and movement ~~towards a concerted understanding of such a movement as the~~ Salvation Army to be made.

It is most interesting to note while considering the suggested move to more open interpretation of the Salvation Army by its own authors that some of its adherents have found the freedom to voice their concern about and criticisms of the Army system by donning academic gowns over the uniform. Those choosing to publish while under the flag have had a more fierce battle for freedom of expression. It would be an attractive prospect if, before the Salvation Army grew much older, the opinions, for example Paul Rader D.Miss can voice for the restricted audience of an academic thesis could also be received by the wider public of a published volume accrediting the authorship to Colonel Paul Rader. Perhaps the possibility if there, for Watson in writing A Hundred Years War notes that there is a new generation rising, longing to put William Booth in the nineteenth century where he belongs and to modernize. 128 But is the change that radical? Below there is presented an examination of the Army of today and Watson's picture is, in that context, called into question:

"The Army now has new Generals, new frontiers, new failures and successes. What it prays about fervently and strives to preserve is William Booth's original passion to save souls. It is under no illusion that its admired brass bands, social service, street corner preaching, youth work or missionary endeavour are achieving this great objective on a grand scale, although ~~there are successes and trophies won in many lands.~~ The battle is much tougher than before, agonizing reappraisals of methods have been necessary." (Watson, 128, p.24)

## The Conformist Non-Conformists?

Chapter three, 'Keep In Step All The Time', looked at the Salvationist's belief, his ethics, his 'spirit of Salvationism' and described the use of the military mode of organization in holding together the body of Salvationists who make up the Salvation Army. Here the way Salvationists are organized into local church units, called Corps, is outlined together with the way these are run and what they involve by way of service and conformity. The 'Salvationist spirit' naturally serves to continue to motivate the Corps members but the Corps unit is also necessary as a form of local organization for the individual to identify with; thus these two aspects reinforce each other. If the Salvationist must keep in step with certain ethical and behavioural codes he must show this by practical service at his Corps, and it is in his devotion to duty, or lack of it, here that the quality of his Salvationism is judged. The relationship between these two spheres is illustrated in the link John Coutts makes between them thus:

"While ice-cream on Sundays, lipstick with bonnets and pepsicola in pubs may be the small change of moral concern, they are none the less real and painful dilemmas for those who face them. The old idea of separation from the world meant that the believer centred his life totally on the Christian community, and ~~created an entire culture there. Hence the phenomenal~~ growth of Salvation Army music-making." (Coutts, 46, p.46)

So let's look at the 'corps' - this is the Salvation Army term for a Church community and is the spiritual home of those Salvationists living in the area. It can range in terms of soldiery statistics from several members to several hundred and it is under sole charge of its Commanding Officer, or Officers. It is administered by a Census Board - a selection of 'elders' who perform specific roles within the Corps community for example, Treasurer, Bandmaster, Young People's Sergeant-Major and so on. Although they must be consulted on appointments of other such 'local officers' and on the question of removals or additions to the Corps Roll the Commanding Officer has the power of veto over any decision they may make for they are not an official elective body. It is through the Corps Officer that links are made to Divisional, National and International Headquarters. Advisory Councils also operate on all these levels but are again dependent upon the willingness of the Officer in charge to be advised.

The Commanding Officer of a Corps may range in rank from a Lieutenant to a Major, generally depending upon the size of the Corps Roll. Although not officially sanctioned there is recognition amongst Officers of appointments to certain Corps as a step upwards and to others as career stasis. The Officer will be supported by the Corps he commands and will live in accommodation for which the Corps ~~pays both the rent and the maintenance bills.~~ Unlike Church congregations however, a Corps has no power to choose its spiritual leader, but must accept whoever is appointed by

Headquarters. Likewise the Officer promises to serve wherever appointed. In recent years there has been a simplification of the unwieldy and complex rank system for Officers and it is now much more streamlined as can be seen from the chart below:

RANKS OF THE SALVATION ARMY 1890 - 1980

1890	1950	1980
General	General	General
Chief of the Staff	Chief of the Staff	Chief of the Staff
Commissioner	Commissioner	Commissioner
Colonel	Lt.-Commissioner	Colonel
Lt.-Colonel	Colonel	Lt.-Colonel
Brigadier	Lt.-Colonel	Major
Major	Brigadier	Captain
Staff-Captain	Senior-Major	Lieutenant
Adjutant	Major	Cadet
Ensign	Senior-Captain	
Captain	Captain	
Lieutenant	Lieutenant	
Cadet	Second Lieutenant	
	Cadet	

(from Troutt, 124, p.225)

This narrowing of rank titles has the effect of reducing some administrative costs and also cuts down the variety of rank insignia trimmings which have to be supplied. It also reflects organizational change to some extent. Originally part of the military fantasizing of Elijah Cadman who called

Booth General and himself Lieutenant the ranks were part of the Salvation Army from its conception. The Booth family members each had their own distinctive rank, for example, Marshall, Commandant, Commander, which was not used by other Officers. These disappeared from use as the Booths defected or died. Another use of the ranks which continued into the first half of this century was to distinguish between Staff, Field (evangelical) and Social (including assurance) officers. This served to reinforce the split between those channelled into different types of service. Movement up the ranks to the level of Major is generally determined by length of service. Above this level there are no criteria imposed other than some perception of merit and/or preferment on the part of one's superior officers. There is no guaranteed official recognition of academic or professional ability, nor is there any free market system whereby appointments can be chosen according to aptitude: all labour is directed. The exception to this would appear to be an unofficial selection process for International Headquarters staff. The building which International Headquarters shares with the National Headquarters of the British Territory occupies a prestige site in the central commercial district of London. All activity here is under the official direction of the General but is administered by his Chief of Staff. The five major departments below this, each under the charge of a Commissioner, are responsible for Salvation Army work in one sector of the world, for example The Americas. Subsidiary departments govern for example, Public Relations and Information, Literary and Editorial functions, Medical Missionary work. Working in these departments are the high-ranking administrators, the middle-ranking clerks

and the secretarial staff. Within this building are to be found the professional administrators of the Salvation Army, some of whom testify to for example 'Twenty-six years on Headquarters'. What are the qualifications for such a permanent posting then? Officially there are none, for no selection procedure exists. However a close examination of the appointments notices appearing in the War Cry reveals that the majority of those reaching National or International Headquarters senior administrative level were 'Cadet-Sergeants'. From each intake of Officer-Cadets a small percentage are chosen to help in the administration and disciplinary control of the Cadet session. If this is a conscious selection procedure it is also covert. It is unlikely to be the working of serendipity. Despite the existence of this administrative professionalism there would appear to be no theological equivalent. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the Salvation Army lays no stress on academic attainment as a qualification for entrance to its Training Colleges, or perhaps to an emphasis being laid upon action in terms of practical service within the training process. It is a fact however that the Salvation Army has no theological experts such as one finds in the established Churches, and so the Salvation Army would have no potential representative on for example, a board editing a new translation of the Bible. In this respect it remains a babe amongst the Churches.

The Salvation Army was also out of step with the established Churches for many years by virtue of allowing women into the ministry - the line of the other Churches being the one to soften over this issue. 125 The supposed equality

of women Officers in the Army can be debated though for despite the great majority of the Officer force being women, many of them thus remaining single, there are only two women Commissioners in their own right at present, and significantly fewer women than men at all levels of responsible command. Even when married, women are then subject to discrimination as it is their husband who is paid, who is appointed and who has the command. Although retaining her status as an Officer she may find, especially if her husband is in a Headquarters post that she is not required for active service. Married women, whatever their capabilities are never given a personal appointment. History reveals a different use for female talent: allegations concerning the marriage of Emma Booth being engineered to 'hold India' have already been considered. This was not an isolated incident:

"Railton now hit on the idea of offering to make up the American expedition entirely of women, with himself as leader. This would show what women could do, and it would ensure, through the simple fact of the marriages he confidently expected each to arrange for herself on the other shore, that the Army in America would be American."  
(McKinley, 85, p.10)

If these instances, ancient and modern, represent 'equality for women' then the women of the Salvation Army are still far from any real equality.

To return from the vagaries of Salvation Army leadership to our Corps situation, it is here that the vast human resources of the Salvation Army exist - as soldiers - and it

is the acceptance by this mass of their personal responsibility to be active in Salvation Army service that is the secret of the Army's impact. Although perceiving the Salvation Army as their Church, the meetings as their services and to some extent themselves as a congregation, the Salvation Army soldier is not a mere 'Church member'. From the earliest days of the Salvation Army Booth impressed upon his converts that they had to be active in saving others and it is upon this principle of putting the soldiers to work that the organization of the Salvation Army relies. The Salvation Soldier is a volunteer for duty: he will volunteer in the first instance to buy an outfit at a cost of around £200.00 from Salvationist Publishing and Supplies Ltd., he will volunteer perhaps to sell War Crys, to attend openairs, to teach in Sundayschools, to clean the hall, to attend musical practices and to play in a Band or sing in a Songster Brigade, to serve as a Bandmaster, Secretary or Treasurer, to devote weeknight time to Salvation Army activity, - all in all to be available for duty and at the command of his Officers at all times. Most Corps are purely evangelical units but should he be a Soldier at one which is attached to a Goodwill Centre he may also volunteer to make soup for a soup-run, prepare food for a luncheon club, supervise a playgroup and so on. Of a total of nine hundred and forty-two Corps in Britain, as recorded in the Salvation Army Year Book 1981, there were by way of comparison only thirty-six Goodwill Centres and so the number of Salvation Army soldiers actively participating in any kind of social service at all is small indeed. 73 It is here that the void between the social work and the evangelical work of the Salvation Army is seen at its clearest, in terms of statistics

those engaged in both activities is a very small proportion of Salvation Army soldiership. A Corps may support, financially and spiritually, a social work centre, but not usually with manpower.

A typical Salvation Army soldier then is most likely to be involved in evangelical outreach and worship services. The Army's way of worshipping was outlined in chapter three but here the importance of this for a Corps is noted. Salvation Army worship is unlike that of the other Churches and deliberately so, for its aim in the early days was to create an alternative for the poor to middle class churchiness. By ecclesiastics the Salvation Army is classified as Non-Conformist along with Methodism from which Booth broke away. Its worship in Booth's day was certainly 'non-conformist' in many ways, but today Army worship has become the epitome of conformity not to ancient tradition but to new nineteenth century traditions innocently set up by the mission-building Booths as the most successful means of attack for their day and perpetuated by the Salvation Army as immovable tradition, for example:

"For Sacraments are above all drama, and the Army finding little meaning in the old classics has sought to invent new dramas of its own. But like other Christians, Salvationists who find their own symbols profoundly meaningful do not always remember that to the uninitiated they may appear odd, alien and downright daft."

(Coutts, 46, p.74)

In holding to such rites as Dedication ceremonies, Penitent Form seeking, swearing-in of soldiers and so on, the Corps

as a body of Salvationists can reaffirm both their uniqueness and the solidity of their faith. Conformity is the rule and adherence to their tradition is all-important. The institutionalization of these traditional elements, which is verbally expressed as an implicit belief in the 'Army way' of doing things, is of importance. The expedience and sheer practicality of the use of the openair as a venue for preaching, of uniform as a sign of distinction, of brass bands and drums as loud reminders of an evangelical message, and of the Orders and Regulations as training in discipline, has been denied. It has been denied by the Army's failure to adapt its measures to suit its evangelical aim. Instead it has developed a body of tradition embracing both organization and conduct which is guarded and preserved without alteration. In his discussion of Political Parties Michels makes a relevant point about the tendency to lose sight of original aims:

"Thus from a means, organization becomes an end. To the institutions and qualities which at the outset were destined simply to ensure the good working of the party machine (subordination, the harmonious co-operation of individual members, hierarchical relationships, discretion, propriety of conduct) a greater importance comes ultimately to be attached than to the productivity of the machine. Henceforward the sole preoccupation is to avoid anything which may clog the machinery."

(Michels, 86, p.390)

~~Within this body of tradition there have been changes,~~  
 some causing outcry, for example, the revision of the Salvation Army Song Book in 1953 with the excising of some of the old

'Army favourites'. This is overcome though and familiarity with the newly introduced songs creates an affection for them also. By way of contrast more crucial change can sometimes pass unnoticed, for example, long-term decline of attendance at services. The Salvation Army in Britain is reluctant to publish precise attendance and membership statistics but there is a definite trend towards decline. McKinley's American study of the Salvation Army makes use of their more freely available figures:

"If not actually declining membership of the Salvation Army is not keeping pace with the increased population of the country as a whole. There was no intent to deceive when the Army reported a five percent increase in membership in 1975, which caused religious periodicals to hail it as 'the fastest growing U.S. religious body', the Army decided in 1975 to begin recording everyone who makes use of its community centres, youth programmes and corps facilities. The figures for actual members - soldiers, recruits, and adherents - are less encouraging. In 1979 the Army had 78,132 senior soldiers (full adult members) and another nearly 11,000 recruits and adherents ... The totals for 1979 are hardly more - perhaps twelve percent more than in 1936, although the national population has increased by seventy percent. In the Eastern territory membership has actually declined in absolute numbers since 1927, and attendance at Army religious services has been decreasing in the Central territory since 1947. Returns on the national level are even more disquieting: the number of corps has declined steadily since 1950 (1,380 to 1,074), the number of

bandsmen since 1960 (6,097 to 4,419 in 1978), and the number of adult local officers (the most active category of adult member: the sergeants, treasurers, musicians, Sunday school teachers) since 1970 (15,217 to 14,346 in 1978)." (McKinley, 85, p.215)

Such a detailed breakdown of figures is not available for the British Isles but it is likely that the general trend takes much the same form, and there are historical reasons for this.

Ashley writing in 1891 noted the way the Salvation Army was making its spectacular advances and gives us a clue as to the situation today:

"To judge from the evidence of those who have had an opportunity of watching the operations of the Army closely, its history in most localities is something like this. Its arrival creates a great ferment; during the first few months it gains a band of adherents, and there are some wonderful instances, which cannot be gainsaid, of moral reform. But then the progress of the Army in that particular place comes to an end. Its services are still held but adherents are now added one by one at long intervals, and the 'Corps' is as little likely to effect the regeneration of the 'residuum' in that district as any of the surrounding religious bodies. Hence the growth of the Army in numbers has not been a steady and sustained growth in their earlier fields of labour: it is the result of constant establishment of fresh corps in new places. This is a feature not peculiar to the Salvation Army; it has characterised many

similar religious movements." (Ashley, 2, p.550)

Thus significant matters such as an overall decline in membership is not realized for some time. Of course there is periodic concern in Salvation Army Corps that they are failing to bring the people in but this is generally connected to an appeal for spiritual renewal suggesting that this failure in evangelism lies in lack of faith, or alternatively a lack of practical faith as revealed by a decline in attendance at openair meetings. It is in these areas that the fault is diagnosed, the practicality or relevance of traditional Salvation Army methods of evangelism are not questioned. Thus Salvation Soldiers are accustomed to seeing few converts but would possibly be willing to accept that the failure lay with them for being less than faithful to the tradition and would doubly renew their efforts along traditional lines.

The Salvation Army then may be less militant than that of Booth's day, content to wallow in adherence to rules and regulations, and to maintain a Spirit of Salvationism, but it does carry with it certain characteristic elements of the early day Army among them the Orders and Regulations, the uniform and the bands. The Salvation Army today still has its rules and regulations as laid down, with insignificant change until very recently, by General William Booth. They are obeyed and while some would say that it is obedience to ~~the spirit rather than the letter~~ of these orders which is important - such a statement only serves to illustrate the Army's successful total socialization of its members. To

understand what is meant by the 'spirit' of the Orders and Regulations one must be imbued with the spirit of Salvationism and an understanding and acceptance of its basic principles - and thus unlikely to seriously disobey the very letter of the said rules! Whether by literal application or by acceptance as the 'Spirit of Salvationism' the rules rule, and the Salvation Army is preserved.

Similarly the Salvation Army has remained uniformed since 1878 and the uniforms have remained similar in style from that original pattern. An attempt was made in the 1960s to introduce modern suits, a la Hardy Amies-police-outfit-design, but these have had only limited acceptance. Unlike other uniformed groups like the Scouts where the modernization of uniform has been widely welcomed at each change the Salvationists have rejected all such attempts. Thus the traditional Princess line for women with the black straw bonnet, and the stand-up collar military uniform and cap of the men remain the instantly recognized hallmark of the Salvation Army in the twentieth century. The illustrations on the following two pages show the original design, together with the traditional and more modern adaptations. Mrs. Booth's original intention in her designing to avoid ostentation and symbolize austerity and separation from the world, has not been forgotten but an unthinking adherence to this one Victorian pattern almost mocks the original conception. Nevertheless, the value of the Salvation Army uniform as a ~~distinctive mark upon its wearer~~ has never been underestimated by the movement. It is used to symbolize the high ethical standards upheld by the movement and thus to preach a silent





sermon to the watching world. It is no coincidence that of the three colours used in the Salvation Army flag - yellow, red and blue (said to represent respectively the fire of the Holy Spirit, the blood of Christ Jesus, and the purity of God) the blue is used for the uniform, for the aim is to suggest purity of heart and of character. It could be argued of course that the wearing of such obviously antiquated dress must testify to a lack of concern with worldly fashion but this does not reckon with that subgroup of worldly fashion - 'Army fashion'. When the Salvation Army Corps community is recognized as a definite subculture centred on the principle of separation from the world it can be seen that peer group pressure becomes a major force and indeed 'fashion' develops. The neat coiffure especially set to suit the Army bonnet, the fitted tunics and straight skirts, sheer black stockings and sometimes perilously high heels afford sufficient opportunity for the attractive to make the most of themselves and great pride is taken in 'smartness of appearance'. Uniform then can not only mean separation from the world but identification with a specific subculture which can be for the individual his social world. Salvation Army uniform testifies traditionally to a Christian involvement but peer pressure to remain in uniform can lead to hypocrisy; for it is decidedly easier to conform and become uniformed than, for all of conscience's promptings, to desist from wearing it and be subject to negative reaction from one's peers.

If soldiership and uniform-wearing are themselves subcultural the hub of this subcultural activity for many Salvationists is their musical participation. The brass bands

characteristic of Salvation Army activity today began as musical ensembles involving many and varied instruments. The first of these was the Fry family who joined Booth's Army in 1878. Neilson in an article on Salvation Army bands assesses Booth's appreciation of the potential of banding thus:

"Although he sensed the valuable asset that a well-developed band could be as part of the religious services of the Salvation Army, General Booth was soon forced to the conclusion that bands must be organized in a way that would best fit them for the general purposes of these services. Likewise, they would have to be fitted to the general programme of the Army in its approach to the masses. How natural to presume that a 'Brass Band' should become the basic unit of the musical forces of the Army! This type of band with its all-brass instrumentation, is a typically English organization. Further than that, it is now, as it has always been, the musical organization best loved and appreciated by the English workingman. The sociological soundness of this approach to the matter of the Salvation Army Band is realized when one becomes aware of the phenomenal growth of the organization's bands, both in numbers and artistic stature."

(Neilson, 94, p.19)

This quotation contains both aspects of truth and of speculation. Booth would certainly want his bands, as he did everything else, to be organized and subject to rules and regulations. It is also true that the choice of brass bands has been proven a wise selection but it is doubtful that William Booth would have made a deliberate connection

between the popularity of the brass band and the appeal of his organization. For Booth the brass band was the loudest and most practical form of marching band. Nevertheless it is significant that through its bands the Salvation Army has proved singularly successful in holding to organized religion large numbers of working men. There are also interesting links between Salvation Army and municipal banding, if only because they are mutually exclusive from the Salvationist's point of view. Salvation Army band membership is only open to soldiers of the Corps, who are also required to promise that they will not participate in secular music-making. Often a Bandsman will leave to take up a position in a municipal or works band and may subsequently return to the Army band - but this is not approved practice. The only exception to this rule is for professional musicians or those serving in military bands who are all allowed to participate in Salvation Army musical sections.

As Salvationists the Bandsmen are subject not only to regulations relating to their banding but also to all the general rules for soldiership in the Salvation Army. In addition there is an unwritten rule that those involved shall attend all rehearsals and engagements unless previously excused. Thus the individual's commitment to doing his duty by way of musical participation must be great. Standards are often very high, in other places the quality of musical production may be very low - there is a tendency for centres of excellence to develop and to attract the best musicians to themselves. Thus a man may move, together with his family, from one Corps to another to take a seat in

the Band there. As well as excellent Corps Bands however the Salvation Army has always had musical sections attached to its Headquarters, the premier sections amongst these being the International Staff Band and Songster Brigade. It should be noted here that Corps are as likely to have a Songster Brigade, an adult singing group, as a Band but these are not generally expected to develop such standards of professionalism and the level of commitment, due to its female members having family responsibilities, is less. The Headquarters sections however are expected to reach, and have attained, high standards of professionalism and to specialize in compositions beyond the capabilities of the average band. The questions this raises as to the audience they hope to reach are pertinent - certainly their sophistication does not lend appeal to the masses, but rather to the brass band or choral enthusiast. They represent the peak of the Army's glorification in musical attainment. They also undertake the greatest share of that Salvation Army activity known as 'specialling' which involves a musical section leading a weekend's meetings at another Corps some distance away; they will present both devotional meetings and festivals at the other centre at an overall cost of at least several hundred pounds. Most good Corps bands can expect to 'special' twice a year, while the Headquarters and most excellent Corps sections can also anticipate overseas tours at considerably greater expense, which of course raises an important issue - money.

Money is raised by the Salvation Army Band by membership subscription, by special ventures such as coffee mornings, but most successfully by Christmas carolling, which

can raise over a thousand pounds for a good-sized Band. Expenditure consists of 'specialling' expenses, of music and instrument purchase and upkeep; uniform being provided by the individual Bandsmen. The music a Salvation Army Band plays is all approved by the Salvation Army Music Department Editorial Board, set up as early as 1883, and whose responsibility it is to vet all suggested compositions. Here they hold the same rights of censorship as the Literary Department, being able to change a piece once handed over to them by its composer. The Salvation Army also publishes all its own music and for many years made its own brass instruments although this factory has now closed. Like all other Army ventures Salvationist Publishing and Supplies Ltd. which has the monopoly of music and uniform supply is intended to be run as a profit-making business, it is by no means a subsidised source of cheap supply designed to enable Salvationists to make their witness. Historically of course this principle of profitability has been encouraged in the Salvation Army, Catherine Booth, in commending the business-side of the Salvation Army, herself wrote:

"The Salvation Army owes its success, next to the spirit of God, to this spirit of enterprise."

(Booth, 13, p.53)

Money-raising has not, since 1894, presented nail-biting debate for the Salvation Army, nor has the necessity of it threatened the Army's stability because profitability has been built in from the Army's beginnings.

The Salvation Army Corps provides a situation within which the Salvationists can participate in subcultural

activity, they can attend to their religious rites and practice, to their uniform-wearing, their ethical observance and their music-making. They often have little meaningful contact as a Corps with the outside world, but manage to co-exist as individuals with non-Salvationists in a secular world. Such a community has historically provided for the individual not only a social world and a religious faith but other more tangible benefits. During the depression of the 1930s there was movement of Salvationists from an area of mass unemployment in Wales to relative prosperity further south. (2) It was apparently customary for Welsh Bands to 'special' for Easter weekend in the South-West of England. On such a weekend at Dawlish the Bandmaster of the Tredegar Band, Bandmaster Tippin found a job in the psychiatric hospital and settled with his extended family, who also formed most of the Band, and became Bandmaster at Dawlish. Similarly, employment can be found in the Salvation Army press. Also in the 1930s a family garage and taxi firm, Greenslade of Bradninch, Devon was expanding. Mr. Greenslade, a Salvationist, advertised in the Musician for car-drivers who had to be Bandsmen, the result being a migration of Welsh Salvationists from Abercarn and Maesteg in Wales and the development of one of the largest fleets of coaches in South-West England. Thus the Salvationist community can in some instances provide tangible as well as spiritual means of support.

~~The Corps as the smallest organizational unit of the~~

(2) Verbal evidence of this is from Major Trevor Tribble, Provincial Officer for the Salvation Army Social Services in Scotland.

Salvation Army is interesting and provides an insight into what Salvationists actually do, it may surprise some that the majority have no connection at all with social service. To conclude this chapter a summary of the substantive material on the Salvation Army which has made up chapters two to eight is offered, and the main points of relevance for a sociological understanding of the movement's persistence are drawn together.

### What Is The Salvation Army?

In this final section it is intended to draw together the material presented in these seven chapters and to answer the question 'What Is The Salvation Army?' by raising again the most pertinent issues already presented. This entire section is thus used to draw conclusions about the Salvation Army.

Firstly from Frederick Coutts an overview of Salvation Army Soldiership:

"In world terms, of every twenty Salvationists living in centenary year (1965) eight were not white; the native language of twelve was other than English; the nationality of sixteen was not British. Yet although four-fifths of the Army's world strength is now to be found outside Great Britain, the largest single aggregation of Salvation Army activity is still to be found in the United Kingdom, and half the number of Officers serving ~~in lands other than their own are British.~~"

(Coutts, 43, p.236)

From this description the Salvation Army emerges a most

imperialistic organization and to bring these figures up to date would reveal a continuing trend towards an increasing proportion of Salvationists living outside of Britain. Even so it remains true that the Salvation Army is an essentially British organization and it is in the British Isles that its most developed form can be studied. Adaptation has taken place in missionary lands and although it is there, for reasons already outlined, that the Salvation Army continues to make its most spectacular advances it is in Britain that the real face of continuous Salvation Army activity can be seen. In this study however material concerning other parts of the Army world has been used when this offered aids to interpreting the Army's essence; in particular recent American and Canadian scholarship presenting historical interpretation of the Army's development in these lands has been useful in a consideration of the home movement.

Historically, the Salvation Army began in England as William Booth's evangelical mission. The fifty-year old mission-man became aware of the potential of military organization and used it to justify his full control of the mission and to discipline his converts. With the transformation from mission to Army the idea ballooned and the movement was no longer a Christian mission to slum-dwellers but a Salvation Army out to conquer the world. The power of Booth was increased also and the difference between being a General Superintendent of a mission and being the commanding General of an Army allowed the full force of his leadership potential and his dogmatism to emerge. Catherine Booth, already well-known in the middle class suburbs as a public speaker and

preacher, supported her husband in the development of the new Army and it was her careful concern that it envelop all classes of individual which overcame William's working class exclusiveness and saved the Salvation Army, by the resulting financial and political support, from sinking into insignificance. In their own ways both William and Catherine brought to the Salvation Army a blend of passion and practicality, the latter element having been played down in biographies of them. This is of significance because William and Catherine were people of their day and the methods of attack they developed, the rules and regulations and the uniforms were so designed to minister to the needs of the people and of the infant Salvation Army of the nineteenth century. Adaptability and innovation were the keys to the early success of the movement, but as the preserving of the Salvation Army in its Boothian form became an end in itself these principles were neglected. In every Salvation Army Year Book there is to be found a character sketch of William Booth, the Founder: they differ little in content or presentation and they portray the official 'William Booth', the character cherished and revered by thousands of Salvationists around the world. A similar description is repeated in other publications and by officers in their instruction to children and adults alike, to say nothing of the many official biographies. A traditional image then is perpetuated of the figurehead 'William Booth'. This must be true of many religious leaders but in this case it is also true of his thought and his action in setting up the Army. ~~Far from being the adaptive attacking religious movement of~~ his day it has become bound in its original form and preserved by Salvationist tradition. Felicity to this traditional form

is mandatory for Salvationists and any decline in local congregations is diagnosed as failure to be true to the Army tradition. In seeking thus to preserve it, the soldiers are ignorant of the fact that it was not originally intended to be so preserved but to be adapted so that the Salvation Army might continue to be a vital force against evil.

This is not to suggest of course that the Booths had no desire for their Salvation Army to grow and succeed, they did and it was to this end that they set about training their eight children. The Booth family were unusually successful in developing complete commitment to the cause at an early age, that this was later followed by defections to other religious organizations does not gainsay the original success of the socialization. William Booth ruled his family as a patriarch, although Catherine was outspoken in many early feminist debates and advocated the right of woman to preach she had no desire to alter woman's role within the household as subservient wife and dutiful mother. This traditional family idea with its concomitant total socialization was then transferred directly onto the Salvation Army where William Booth ruled as patriarch as well as military General. Military obedience and familial loyalty were intertwined in the early Salvation Army. This blend was made easier by the charismatic personality of William Booth, a charm which Bramwell lacked but which Evangeline, much to the twentieth century Salvation Army's delight, possessed. The value of charisma in making autocratic government palatable is well-illustrated by contrasting the members of the Booth family. It is undeniable the William Booth's desire was for the Booths to remain a

ruling elite in the Army world. His children were immediately put in positions of responsibility without the experience of evangelical work in the provinces, Bramwell in particular never left his father's side in Headquarters and was obviously being trained as the next General. Indeed the system of succession itself lends credence to accepting Booth's early belief in a hereditary Generalship. His change of mind in 1904 must have been in part due to disillusionment on the defection of some family members. In effectively disowning them he broke the Army/Booth family identification which he had until then fostered. Nevertheless socialization into the 'spirit of Salvationism' which had proved so successful with his family continued in his Sundayschools, recruits instruction classes and Officers' training homes.

The problems of guaranteeing worthy succession have been outlined above and it is true to say that change of personnel always bring about changes in organization and administration. In Army terms this was seen with the changing of emphasis onto the social work in the 1890s. The death of Catherine and the exile of G.S. Railton together with the gradual rise to power of Bramwell necessitated adjustment of focus for the Salvation Army, for Bramwell was essentially a skilled administrator and business entrepreneur and saw the development of profit-making enterprise as the surest foundation for the future of the Army as a religious movement. Similarly the influence of behind-the-scenes philanthropists, ~~of publishers like Stead and sympathetic~~ politicians must be taken into account. Nevertheless, the Salvation Army continued to develop unswervingly on the course set by William Booth

despite these forces and managed without great difficulty to persist beyond the death of its Founder; the reason for this being principally that Booth had stamped his personality and his ideals upon the Army not only by his personal appearance and appeal but by his Salvation Army constitution. Booth's Articles of Faith were made constitutionally unalterable, his military system was legally approved, even his Articles of War with their claims to the Army being divinely formed, and his Orders and Regulations were given the constitutional seal of approval. Thus individual incumbents may come and go but the role of General remains sacrosanct, the individual General must act not as an individual but as General of the Salvation Army and for the good of the movement. Similarly at all levels membership status is dependent upon willingness to give credence to doctrinal and ethical belief and to promise obedience and loyalty to all Officers. Individual soldiers may and do come and go but the role of Soldier remains clearly defined. From 1875 to 1980 the Salvation Army has made frequent recourse to Parliament to further establish its system of government and the management of its funds.

The development of business interests preceded the Darkest England Social Scheme, beginning in 1879 when the standardization of a Salvation Army uniform made necessary a constant source of supply. Similarly the publication of approved music and of pamphlets, biographies and so on necessitated the extended operation of a printing press. It ~~was with the launching of the expensive social scheme and the~~ development of Bramwell's interest in life assurance and banking that an accumulation of both land and property began.

Despite the early wrangling over these 'diversions from evangelism' the principle was generally approved when the profits made were used in evangelism. There is apparent irony when the Army's accumulation of farmland and property is contrasted to William Booth's ideal of co-operation as a principle of his social scheme, but the scheme Booth envisaged had very quickly proved impracticable, and other discrepancies also emerge. The most tragic of all of those is the dilution of his scheme for the social salvation of the legions of the unemployed to the administering of piecemeal charity against which he had shouted so loudly. 21 However, the failure of the grand scheme of William Booth, breaking as it did against contemporary political opinion on the status of the poor, is balanced in effect by the importance that social work came to hold as a perceived integral activity of the Salvation Army. The image of practical caring undoubtedly saved the Army from becoming a quaint phenomenon within the history of religion and provided in practice a major source of income for evangelical endeavour. Thus although there are definite tensions between the evangelical and social sides of the Salvation Army there is a mutual awareness that the Salvation Army exists in the public eye as a social welfare agency and that this is the basis upon which its substantial public financing is offered.

It has been made clear in the discussion above that only a very small proportion of rank and file Salvationists have any connection with the Army's social service, most of them being involved in its evangelical activity. They participate in its Corps activity, in its distinctive worship

services and form around their Corps community a complete social world. The noisy and informal services of the nineteenth century were posited as an alternative to conventional middle class churchiness and provided an emotional atmosphere in which spectacular conversions were often witnessed. With the development of mostly middle class Salvation Army Corps resulting from social mobility and a gradual change in the Army's class basis, churchiness is more acceptable and the services have quietened down considerably but retain a distinctiveness which serves to ease identification with a body of Salvationism. It is most unlikely that a Salvation Army service nowadays would be interrupted by the noisy attendance of a drunken person. They have recognised perhaps more quickly than even the Salvationists themselves, the reality of a split between the evangelical and social work of the movement. They know that practical assistance will only be made available at a recognized social work centre and so it is to the hostels or the soup runs that they flock. It is not longer necessary to seek salvation to get a bowl of soup or a bed for a night and the Salvation Army is only one welfare agency amongst many. Were it not for the uniform, the band and the public testimony Salvation Army worship would differ little from the respectable middle class Sunday exercise offered by many of the mainline Churches.

In fact, the Corps is the home base of Salvation Army Soldiers, it is here that they are expected to perform their religious duty, be it playing in the Band or selling War Crys, and it is here that they must keep in step with the Salvationist code of conduct. Mechanisms exist for the

instilling of the Spirit of Salvationism into both children and adults, and although standards of Biblical exposition appear to be improving the emphasis is firmly on practice rather than on knowledge of the faith. A wider knowledge of Orders and Regulations is required than of the Handbook of Doctrine. The pattern of the Army's advance foreseen by Ashley in 1891 has continued, the Army's most spectacular advances today are in new territories while the methods of attack handed down seem singularly ineffective in building up an already established Corps. Thus the Salvationists have settled to their religious community and while welcoming outsiders to their services and paying lip service to the value of open-air meetings they would appear to have lost sight of their intended audience. Fred Brown's book perhaps hit too close to the mark when he highlighted the principle of enslaving adherence to tradition as being ill-founded and advocated radically new means of making contact with a secular world. Certainly the professional musical standards of the International Staff Band and Songsters do not attract the masses nor are many of the Salvation Army rites understood by non-Salvationists.

The picture painted by local Salvation Army activity certainly substantiates the view that the Salvation Army early lost the balance between the use of the military model as a medium of attack and its use as a method of internal regulation. It dispenses not only positive commands but negative sanctions and defines limits as to the individual's involvement in the running of the movement. Salvation Army

press editorial policy encourages debate on trivial issues while refusing to print genuine critical comment. Similarly a continuation of censorship policy in a century-old movement betrays a fear that someone may have something to say which threatens the Army's security. The early blind allegiance to the most flattering angle on the Army has certainly disappeared but open discussion may be the only way the Salvation Army can avoid total stagnation. The leadership of the Army today is by a General elected by a ruling oligarchy of Commissioners. This system may not appear to be as autocratic as that of the Founder's day but it is no more democratic, for the Commissioners are appointed by the General. The preponderance of white, Western, English-speakers at High Council gatherings reinforces the opinion that the Salvation Army is a British imperialistic movement. Is there no way in which the individual Salvationist can express his view? - it would appear that this can only be done by 'voting with one's feet' and leaving the movement amongst the biggest blaze of publicity possible. Or is it, perhaps the individual Salvationist has more power than he realizes for it is true that the reputation of the movement has long been the responsibility of each individual member; if the Salvationist who lives in your street is an outstandingly bad neighbour, keeps a dirty house and an untidy garden, is late for work each day and the centre of neighbourhood gossip then your contribution in the appeal envelope is likely to be less than if you have in your mind smart uniformed individuals uplifting the dregs of society - such is the link between personal ethics and the movement's persistence.

In drawing this chapter to a conclusion permit one final quotation from an American Army-watcher:

"Today with the blood and fire of the last Booth gone from its top leadership, the Salvation Army in America, if it hasn't become a monument to what it once was, at least shows the faint but unmistakable signs of starting to mellow like peacetime armies of every age. The number of corps has declined, its 112,000 soldiers, recruits and adherents have by no means kept pace with population growth, and the street-corner meetings of its open-air ministry have sunk by almost half, while such words as 'teas', 'garden parties' and 'fashion shows' increasingly creep into its formerly fire-breathing literature. The good Salvationist probably would deny it of course, but when one of the characters in a dramatization based on Vachel Lindsey's poem 'General William Booth enters into Heaven' - which was performed at last summer's centennial celebration in Kansas City exclaimed 'When the Army worries about its good name its done for' the cheers that came from the crowd of 12,000 uniformed delegates were more a matter of nostalgia than affirmation. For the Army does worry .."

(Fincher, 54, p.86)

As earlier chapters have shown the Army certainly does manifest concern about its public image. This has been most recently shown in its public defence in response to the 'For God's Sake Care' documentary. ~~If the Army ever considered its ultimate religious ends of more importance than its survival as a movement those days are now gone. It has fallen into~~

the trap of allowing its own persistence, in effect the persistence of William Booth's original 'means', to become an end in itself.

## Chapter Nine

### SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION AND REALITY MAINTENANCE IN THE CASE OF THE SALVATION ARMY

"There is great interest at the present time in the ability of religious movements to win the total dedication of their converts. The Salvation Army provides an excellent case study of the way religious fervour can be kindled, maintained in the face of persecution, and channelled into humanitarian service. It also illustrates the way initial zeal becomes routinized and tamed by the time of the second generation." (Hutchinson, 63, p.489)

In this final chapter consideration will be given to the genesis and development of the Salvation Army in the light of Berger and Luckmann's theoretical perspective, as set out in chapter one. Some attention will be paid to the explanation of the persistence of the Salvation Army as a unique religious movement in terms of the creation of a universe of meaning and entire social world. The value of the addition of some structural analysis to the phenomenological viewpoint is stressed together with other points arising from the application of Berger and Luckmann's theory. Reference will be made not only to the empirical material set out in earlier chapters and to the theory but to some comparable expressions of religion.

First there is discussion of the social construction of the movement known as the Salvation Army and then the

reality maintenance devices operative to keep the movement alive. Finally comment on the Salvation Army's involvement with the world, in the context of pluralism and secularization, will be offered. General conclusions to the thesis are presented.

### The Social Construction of the Salvation Army

In discussing the social construction of the Salvation Army it must be remembered that what is being considered is that military mode of religious organization known as the Salvation Army, and not the missions from which it arose in this particular form. Clearly William and Catherine were not in the same asocial situation as Berger and Luckmann's fictional A and B. 8 As was acknowledged in the main body of the thesis, social conditions were of importance in allowing this movement to arise. The religious context, especially in relation to the Second Evangelical Awakening, was ideal. 98 Here the important consideration is the way in which William and Catherine, having realized the potential of a military model for the organization of their followers and the attraction of converts, set about to build and discipline an Army.

In addition to such a recognition of the twofold attraction of the military model, in terms of its evangelical potential and its internal mechanisms for control, Booth also appreciated the autocracy he could exercise as General. Believing themselves to be inspired of God, this combination

of autocratic leadership and military organization was a deliberate development of the Booths. It is in interaction with others, most notably their own family, that the institutionalization process begins. While, due to personal belief that the Salvation Army was 'of God', the Booths' own commitment to the Army was firm it is nevertheless strengthened as the family develops and is socialized into Army service. The identification of the elite of the Army with the Booth family served to reinforce an interest in the perseverance of the movement.

An awareness of his personal charisma and the use of this to develop an autocratic regime proved a sound leadership base from which William Booth could work; this combination being the seedbed of the success of the infant Army. Growing up out of this fertile base were the Booth family. To all his children Booth became not so much 'Father' as 'The General' and it was in this capacity that he ruled their lives, influencing their decisions and guiding their paths for as long as he was able. It has been shown that during his term as General, Booth gradually transferrad his personal charisma onto the office of General, or in Weber's terms the charisma became routinized. Thus even members of his family today refer to him as 'The General' rather than by any other name, and the incumbent of the office of General has aura for Salvationists beyond the authority he wields. The training in which both William and Catherine ~~believed, and which they advocated for all~~ Salvationists to use upon their children, involved the mastery of the child inducing subservience to both parents and God, and of

course one's superiors in the Salvation Army. The type of socialization practised in the Booth household was to be extended throughout the Salvation Army of those early days, not only in homes but in the 'Training Homes' for Officers, in Sundayschools and Soldiership recruitment classes. Moyles highlights the institutional face of this philosophy:

"In short, Salvation Army training homes were indoctrination schools where the disciplinary codes of the Army were inculcated (in a purely Gagrindian fashion), the implications of its hierarchical system forcefully implanted and 'Salvationism' in all its forms, was the principle matter of study." (Moyles, 90, p.285)

In general though, the importance of the family was early established as the stronghold of religious training and conviction, and the extension of the 'Family Idea' over the whole movement was an important mechanism in the strengthening of the foundations of the Army:

"In the sphere of the family and of social relationships closely linked to it, religion continues to have considerable 'reality' potential, that is, continues to be relevant in terms of the motives and self-interpretations of people in this sphere of everyday social activity. This symbolic liaison between religion and the family is, of course, of ancient lineage indeed, grounded in the very antiquity of kinship institutions as such." (Berger, 7, p.133)

It is also here that there is a glimpse of the social control mechanisms evolved to keep a tight rein on family members and Salvationists alike for the attributing of insanity to

dissenters, together with exile or removal from active service, served to purge the Salvation Army of internal threat.

While socialization is a force of growing importance as the Salvation Army develops, initially 'conversions' into the movement served as justifications of the efficacy of the mode of organization and also bolstered the belief in the divine origins of the movement. Thus conversions were made as spectacular as possible, being public not only by virtue of the use of a Penitent-Form for seekers, but also since an immediate testimony was required of the convert of his changed character. The resocialization necessary in these early cases was accomplished by strict administering of the discipline inherent in the Orders and Regulations and by the support of emotional religion. In some cases, for example that of the tattooing of an angel over the devil on one convert's heart, this change of perspective was dramatized to a great extent; but in every case the wearing of some vestige of uniform at all times made public witness automatic. As more and more were influenced by the Army, hence the importance of conversion statistics, the reality of the 'social world' grew and it very quickly acquired the nature of a reified, as well as objectified, facticity.

The use of its own published literature at an early stage was important for the Salvation Army serving to reiterate over and over again the saintliness of the Founders, such hagiography being continued as part of an established lore until the present day. Whether consciously or subconsciously

propaganda, the flow of hagiography serves to reinforce the 'Army tradition' and is influential in the persistence of the movement. Attempts to maintain charismatic figures and their aura after their death is not restricted to the Salvation Army:

"Since her death Mrs. Eddy has remained, in a sense, the leader of Christian Science. Despite the bureaucratic structure the element of posthumous personal charisma remains. If one of her hymns is sung at a service she is referred to as 'our beloved Leader' and the hymn is read through completely before it is sung. When the textbook is mentioned the author's name is never omitted. There is a by-law which demands that every Christian Science lecturer will include in each lecture facts pertaining to Mrs. Eddy's life. New editions of her works have repeatedly come from the Christian Science Publishing Society, and there have been a steady flow of 'authorised' biographies, memoirs and essays, as well as pictures of her."

(Wilson, 140, p.144)

The importance of William and Catherine in deliberately building up an Army has been shown. The process of incipient socialization within the Booth family has been stressed as has the manner in which it was spread throughout the Army to act as a means by which the social reality of the movement was reaffirmed. Thus the Salvation Army's institutionalization began. The use of literature and uniform to foster further a sense of identity, and the mechanisms of social control begin to be important features and their increasing significance

is shown in a discussion of the development of institutionalization and the mechanisms of reality maintenance in the Salvation Army.

#### Reality Maintenance in the Salvation Army

An examination of the mechanisms for the maintenance of the social reality known as the Salvation Army here centres upon those mechanisms allowing the movement to persist in secular society. It is of significance that the Salvation Army survived its first generation and the death of its Founder and retains a position of influence over sixty years later. An interesting question, in relation to Robertson's work, is whether the 'persistence of sectarianism' means anything more than the identification of movements which persisted and the labelling of them as 'sects', have any 'sects' failed to persist? 113 and, harking back to Niebuhr's thesis, whether those failing to persist beyond the first generation did so because of inadequate mechanisms of socialization and the consequent failure to institutionalize sufficiently? 97

Reality maintenance for the Salvation Army has meant ensuring that each Soldier keeps in step. The mechanisms functioning to facilitate this situation are the development of language, lore and legitimations, the use of these to both define and set the limits of a 'social world' and the development of sub-cultural activity. The development of a Salvation Army vocabulary began early and reached its height

with the evangelical enthusiasm of the 1880s, those terms which were taken into the constitution and ethical codes then lived on to define all the movement's activity. All the important texts for Salvationists are within the same language framework: Orders and Regulations, biographies, periodicals; and the spoken word from the platform was similarly curtailed. In the same way that the Headquarters gradually took control and ordered centrally all the meeting plans and local organization the language served to encompass the sphere of a Salvationist's personal activities and to illustrate the very extent of his 'Salvationism'. A glance at the parallel use of vocabulary in Scientology is useful:

"Scientology displays an acute preoccupation with language. Hubbard has invented several hundred neologisms, for example, 'Randomity', 'itea', 'opterm', 'midruds', 'expanded gita', 'disenturbulate' and 'as-iness'. The net effect of this extensive reorganization of the English language is to render Scientological conversation and critical documentation all but unintelligible to the uninitiated." (Wallis, 127, p.231)

Although Booth did not quite radicalize the English language with his military terminology the parallel is useful and shows the important place of language in the development of a social world.

The exclusivity that this different vocabulary creates is reinforced by the differences of both doctrine and practice from other Christian churches, in terms of its beliefs in the availability of salvation for the 'whosoever' and in its lack of interest in Sacramental expression. Such differences are

legitimated in Salvation Army lore in terms of revelation to, or the direct experience of the Founders. Of particular interest here are the Salvation Army's ceremonies of swearing in soldiers, of the dedication of children, of marriage and so on. Rather than conferring membership in the Church universal, as those of the mainline churches do, there are references to membership of the Salvation Army in particular and to its ethical codes and ideals. Both ceremony and lore exist to develop the Spirit of Salvationism discussed in chapter three.

The Spirit of Salvationism is not only operational on an ideological level, in the sense of providing a 'universe of meaning', for emphasis is placed in Orders and Regulations upon the avoidance of worldly acquaintances and upon the duty of the individual soldier to separate himself from secular society and devote his allegiance to the 'Salvation War'. Thus his 'social world' really becomes definable in terms of his social contacts; from the time of his socialization, be it primary or secondary, the Salvationist forms his most important social relationships within the Corps setting and treats it as the hub of his social activity. He is most likely to court and marry a Salvationist partner and to have his closest friendships within the Corps circle. In terms of role analysis there is no question but that his role as Salvationist is likely to be the central one for the Salvation Army soldier and that others he adopts will merely be subsidiary and involve no compromise to the first. It is possible to identify, as was suggested in chapter three, a code of Salvationist social practice apart from and in scant

relation to the faith proclaimed in the doctrines, involving a life displaying sterling ethical qualities of character and in opposition to secular society. It is of interest in this connection to reconsider Weber's characterization of the Salvation Army as an emotional religious phenomenon with little rational appeal and of relevance only to those sections of society unable or unwilling to rationalize their experiences of life. It is undoubtedly true that the Salvation Army was borne along in its very early years by a wind of excitement and emotion. As the empirical material has shown though Booth's intention was to discipline his rough-and-ready converts into fighting soldiers by means of ethical instruction, a very rational basis for religion. Thus it was that by the second generation his soldiery had commenced to move socially upwards as the pecuniary benefits of a disciplined and restrained life-style manifested themselves. From that time on, while the cry of William Booth to go for the worst still echoes in Salvation Army halls, the attraction of Salvationism has been to those of similar social status to the Salvationists themselves. As was stated above there are no drunkards present in Salvation Army meetings now, nor those bound by poverty, their recourse is to the social work centre and then for material and not spiritual handouts. So while the emotional meetings of the Salvation Army did serve to attract the unemployed or working class in its earliest days these individuals were not immune to the ethical and rational advances of the Orders and Regulations, and the Salvation Army today while retaining some of the emotion in its worship services, stands firm on a dual basis of respectable middle class values and ethical religion. 134

Dependence upon the Salvation Army in combination with the resignation of all things worldly is seen most sharply in the demands made upon Salvation Army Officers; one commentator writes:

"The property rights of the worker (Officer) were surrendered to the organization: he lived in an Army residence, was clothed and fed by the Army, and any earnings were turned over to Army Headquarters. The financial dependence of the worker assured obedience to Army orders and conformity to Army principles. On the other hand, the financial security provided by such an arrangement made enlistment in Army ranks highly attractive ... Their enthusiasm for the Cause substituted for any individual desire for gain or self-aggrandizement. The discipline of the soldier and the devoutness of the ascetic combined to build up among workers a strong feeling of group loyalty and attachment to the leaders."  
(Clark, 40, p.420)

For soldiers the social effects of membership may lie in totally the other direction with upwards social mobility resulting from the values espoused; in either case the social benefits of the situation are sufficient to make allegiance seem socially worthwhile.

Nor is the 'social world' offered by the Salvation Army unattractive from another point of view, that of its ~~subcultural activity.~~ Here the principal concern is with music-making although other subsidiary activities do take place. Originally envisaged as a method of attracting the

crowds in the innovative days of Salvation warfare, the brass bands and singing brigades have become well established within the Corps setting. Although still ostensibly making music with evangelical or devotional purposes in mind the tendency is for the enjoyable social and musical nature of participation in these activities to be paramount. By way of illustration the increased sophistication of the International Staff Band and Songsters with their professional musical ethic and their mastery of difficult compositions belies any pretence of their principle role being that of evangelism to the unconverted masses. Robert Moore presents in his study of Pitmen, Preachers and Politics a useful consideration of the use of hymn-singing in Methodism and it is of interest to this discussion:

"The importance of hymn-singing is not in the ideas expressed, but in the act of singing. Singing a harmony entails practice under a choir-master, it requires collective discipline, the cultivation of an 'ear' for music and the development of accurate voice control."

(Moore, 88, p.116)

Moore goes on to conclude that it is more important that hymn-singing is functional for the group or the individual than that the words be of particular significance. Hymn-singing, or in the case of the Salvation Army brass playing also, then is a cohesive force which serves to unite and to strengthen a more general sense of belonging.

As will be obvious, however well-organized and effective in operation the positive mechanisms for reality maintenance and cohesion are, there will be the occasions upon which the more negative mechanisms of social control must be brought into

operation. As has been shown these were early developed within the Booths' own household and applied to purge the Salvation Army of all internal threat. In addition to the institutional response to threat operating at a lower level, and thus more often, are the organizational procedures like censorship which weed out critical expression and prevent grassroots organization against the establishment. This type of system is also operative in Scientology but here on a legalistic rather than a structural basis:

"Collective discussion and criticism is also inhibited by the Ethics codes which specify as a 'general crime', 'Organizing and allowing a gathering or meeting of staff members or field auditors or the public to protest the orders of a senior.' There is also an absence of established channels for the public expression of criticism and articles from members in the early 1950s."

(Wallis, 127, p.228)

Whatever the way in which these mechanisms operate they serve the same purpose, that of subsuming behaviour and belief under a 'canopy of meaning' which serves to define all aspects of the Salvationist's life.

The Booths proved themselves capable of establishing a reified 'social world' which has become institutionalized. The Salvation Army has proved itself capable, in the interests of self-preservation, of solidly maintaining the reality of that reified 'social world' in the face of criticism and a ~~changing societal context.~~ Below the discussion will examine the consequence of that context for the Salvation Army and its perseverance, but one final thought follows here.

In positing a reified social state for the social world of the Salvation Army Berger and Luckmann's sociology is being stretched to its fullest potential. This perspective enables the sociologist first to recognize and then demystify the social configuration of its metaphysical elements and to note the consequences of such a reification. Wilson outlines the state of a religiously reified institution thus:

"The tendency for styles, techniques and procedures to become sanctified and to become associated with the sacred purposes of a movement, even though they were originally adopted merely as expedient choices, is not simply a consequence of man's conservatism. It is also a clear indication of the pervasiveness of a sense of the sacred and a tendency for religious dispositions to overspill their own specific areas of applicability. The forms become coloured by the content - the organization becomes an end in itself, not easily dissociated from the purposes that it was created to promote. The purely expedient becomes sanctified and legitimated in religious or quasi-religious terms." (Wilson, 143, p.107)

Far from being harmful to the religious aims of the organization sociological analysis can identify the inherent reification and spell out its stagnating consequences for the organization. It would appear that this incidental service to the cause of religion should be seized upon by propagators of the cause rather than vilified for failing to appreciate the spiritual complexities of the 'reality'.

## Salvationism in a Secular Society

Finally comment will be made upon the response of the Salvation Army to a changing societal context with reference to the growth of secularization and pluralism. First of all it is essential to establish that the Salvation Army institutionally has never shirked involvement with the world. Its welfare systems are testimony to a strong worldly concern which originally sought to work out on an individual level Booth's ideas about changing the social order; ideas which encompassed not only religious evangelism but, as was mentioned in chapter four, political affiliation. On the level of the individual Salvationist however it retains ideals of separation from the world. It is interesting to investigate how these two seemingly contradictory elements, the institutional and the individual, are integrated in the Salvation Army.

As is obvious from the financial support they receive from the State the Salvation Army welfare services no longer challenge established political ideas, but have become an integral part of State welfare provision in the last fifteen years. As long ago as 1920 Bland recognized the growing conservatism of the movement:

"The weakest element of the latter (The Salvation Army) is its willingness to accept gifts from even those who have made their wealth out of the degradation of men and women, and its seeming reluctance to engage in any drastic social reforms which might dry up such bounty. It is content with ambulance work, and even the most

devoted and heroic ambulance work will never stop the war." (Bland, 11, p.82)

Whether by virtue of the simple failure of Booth's grand plans or by virtue of an inner conservatism born out of the realization that it was to become dependent on State support the Salvation Army long ago ceased to challenge any aspect of the established social order. By way of contrast it can be argued that it has indeed become nomic for society as a whole.

Even in the late nineteenth century when Booth was arguing against the laissez-faire Victorians and their Poor Law policies he still had no ambition to overturn the social order politically. The poor are encouraged to accept their lot in life in Booth's scheme of things and religion is offered as a route to a more honourable, if still impoverished, life. Indeed the very idea of setting up a church for the masses involved establishing another distinction along the lines of one church for the poor/one church for the rich. This was not to be the case though for, never managing to enlist the very lowest reaches of society, Salvation Army service proved most attractive to the lower middle class.

For those involved in Salvation Army activity respect for the societal order is an integral part of their nomos. Political involvement is not forbidden, nor is any particular political viewpoint prescribed, but it is assumed that this area of life will, like every other, be ruled by Salvationist principles. The Salvationist may be politically active but he must be a Salvationist first and foremost and

so such extra-Salvation Army activity becomes marginal and is thus unlikely to be extremist or compromise his religious commitment. Empirically this perspective shows itself by a dearth of public figures who are also affiliated to the Salvation Army. As always the exception proves the rule and Sir John Boyd, General Secretary of the A.U.E.W. is a lifelong active Salvationist. In general terms however Salvationists are unlikely to be politically active at any level. In terms of learning to live in society Salvation Army vocabulary offers not only descriptions of but interpretations of events and serves to protect in a religious manner against anomic situations; in this way, for example, death becomes, euphemistically, Promotion to Glory. Catherine Booth's early claim that the Salvation Army would benefit the State has been justified but not in terms of the reformation of huge masses of society, rather the Salvation Army has provided for its own members nomic rationalizations which make the social configuration bearable and for British society in general it has served to back up State welfare systems. 13

The welfare side of the Salvation Army is important not only in terms of forging a link between religious enthusiasm and a secular society but also since it is in terms of the 'Army of the helping hand' that its public image has been created. It is significant that the Salvation Army faces secular society not as a religious organization but as a social welfare organization with a religious motivation. Thus the social welfare is an intrinsic part of the Salvation Army and cannot be separated, even heuristically, to allow examination of the religious movement tout seul. When

Robertson peripheralizes this side of Salvation Army activity he is neglecting the fact that this is the central aspect of the Salvation Army as far as its 'public' is concerned. It is, if you like, the 'societal face of the Salvation Army' and it is in terms of this that its persistence in the face of a secular society can be understood. 113-

Faced with secularization the Salvation Army can rightly claim to be of 'earthly use', its central preoccupations and aims may be religious but its societal impact is by virtue of its welfare work. Faced with religious pluralism the Salvation Army can claim to be not only another evangelical mission but something more - an agency for good works. Thus the Salvation Army has a definite social identity which has aided its preservation. In a consideration of Berger's market model of ecumenicity this is significant:

"The religious groups are transformed from monopolies to competitive marketing agencies. Previously, the religious groups were organized as befits an institution exercising exclusive control over a population of retainers. Now the religious groups must organize themselves in such a way as to woo a population of consumers, in competition with other groups having the same purpose. All at once the question of 'results' becomes important." (Berger, 7, p.138)

For the Salvation Army 'results', lacking in terms of evangelical growth, are visible in its ongoing welfare work. ~~There are always 'results' in the field of social welfare and~~ this fact diverts attention which may otherwise be centred on declining membership rates.

In chapters five and six the way in which the public face of the Salvation Army is constructed was examined by looking at its commercial advertising, its War Cry distribution, and then the controlled availability of its accounts and statistical information. The dual role of public relations, that is to develop an image mainly for the attraction of funding while simultaneously controlling the availability of information in general was identified. The seventh chapter offered an appreciation of the ways in which the Salvation Army has protected its good image, and thus ensured its persistence, while under attack. Internal threat was regulated by structural mechanisms and external criticism either by counter-argument or by a reiteration of the status quo as in Catherine Booth's 'but we are an Army'. In terms of its relationship to other religious bodies of modern society the Salvation Army has been fortunate. From being vilified it rose to being flattered by imitation and then wooed to amalgamate. Preferring to brush off all these approaches the Salvation Army has survived as a unique form of religious organization respected by the established churches for its work if not its worship.

In terms of the response of the individual Salvationist to the world there is a different impression. While on an institutional level involvement may be important this is discouraged on an individual level. The classic instance in which the dual nature of the Army's societal response becomes clear is that of Railton versus the Salvation Army in 1894. Railton, an archetypical impractical saint of the Christian

faith had only one aim in his life - evangelism. It was the potential of the infant Salvation Army model for militant evangelism which attracted him initially and he was responsible for much of the movement's foundation. He shared Catherine Booth's ideals of Christian holiness as separateness from sin and from the world, but after her death was left to battle for this principle alone. Railton considered any commercial enterprise or social involvement as wrong on an individual or institutional level. He was unable to make a split between these two realms and to see the institutional involvement of the Salvation Army as any more than the sum of individual worldly entanglement. In the Army world, Railton's adherence to principle is still held up as an example, he has been called a Soldier-Saint. The ideal of individual separation from all things worldly has never been diluted, it continues to be the main theme of the Orders and Regulations. Institutionally however there is no longer any question as to the Salvation Army's involvement in all areas of society, especially that of social welfare. The peculiar structure of the Salvation Army means that these two conflicting principles can be united. For it is here that the real nature of the split between the social and the evangelical wings of the work becomes clear. The evangelist's aim is to offer salvation from sinful life and to encourage the development of a new life based on holiness. In terms of the social repercussions this conversion experience involves a withdrawal from the world. By way of contrast the social ~~Officer must be very much in the world,~~ although personally not 'of' it; his superiors at Social Headquarters have even more concern with 'the world': negotiating State subsidy and

checking on policy. The separation of these two areas of Salvation Army work into two Headquarters buildings only serves to emphasize the dichotomy which is carefully contained in the structure of the Salvation Army.

In practical terms the Army, while in fact becoming increasingly bureaucratized and continuing to develop the business interests adopted by Bramwell, has also maintained contact with the lowest levels of society; while the Commissioners sit in Conference or negotiate with the World Council of Churches the social work Captain is despairing over the lack of provision for the homeless or offering a cup of tea and a measure of hope to the socially inadequate. It is in the careful blending of these elements of bureaucratization and social outreach, of distance from but service to the world that the success of the Salvation Army lies. In a pluralistic society in which it must appeal to a variety of different audiences, the Salvation Army's 'audience management' ability has been second to none. Before too long though it must reexamine the relevance of its methods of evangelical outreach for, despite their lack of emphasis on statistics, enthusiasm cannot compensate endlessly for declining numbers.

#### The Adequacy of the Theoretical Perspective

It is appropriate in drawing the thesis to a conclusion to make brief comment upon the adequacy of the theoretical perspective adopted. The theoretical approach used here was

chosen in order to show that useful sociological analysis was possible other than within the paradigm of 'the sociology of sectarianism'. Berger and Luckmann in particular were chosen because they dealt in a theoretical manner with issues suggested by the empirical material.

Their phenomenological approach, outlined in chapter one and applied to the empirical issues above has been adequate as a theoretical framework for research. It has raised questions as to the process of socialization, and institutionalization, the development of a universe of meaning and the way this is entered upon conversion, and as to the role of religious institutions in the face of secularization and pluralism. The major area which the phenomenological approach failed to cover adequately was that of organization and structure, the treatment of these areas has been presented here both empirically and linked to the theory in an attempt to compensate for this gap.

In terms of shedding light upon the empirical analysis Berger and Luckmann's work on the processes of secularization and institutionalization, and more importantly on the links between these areas was important. Their insight has facilitated an understanding of the role of the Booth family, of the principles of Salvation Army training at all levels and, together with Weber's important work on the routinization of charisma, of the way in which the Salvation Army was institutionalized.

The Social Construction of Reality and the processes

they identified as crucial in the formation of a 'universe of meaning' or 'social world' enlightened the discussion of the Orders and Regulations, and local Corps activity in the Salvation Army. The nomic qualities of religious experience in the presentation of theodicies was useful as were the interesting ideas of Berger and Luckmann on the power of language.

Berger's own development of the theory specific to the sociology of religion in The Sacred Canopy informed the analysis of the Salvation Army's relationship to the world. Here in particular the links Berger draws between pluralism and secularization were of interest. It was felt that his market model of ecumenicity was, like the other more general model-building in The Social Construction of Reality, of limited usefulness in an empirical study. The reasons behind the rejection of this model are linked to its culture-specific nature, for it was based upon the American situation where there is no established Church but many smaller competing denominations as well as a myriad of sectarian activity. This does not transfer well to the United Kingdom where secularization has knocked first at the door of the established church causing theological debate and a crisis of credibility.

It was felt necessary to compensate for the lack of an appreciation of structure and organization in Berger and Luckmann's phenomenological theorizing. Here attention has been given to the statistics and accounts of the Salvation Army, to the leadership pattern and rank structure. However although reference to the social and religious climate of the

late nineteenth century has been made this analysis remains essentially institutional. In this connection it has been useful to consider the ways in which dichotomies like that of the unworldly individual and the socially involved institution can be accommodated satisfactorily.

All in all, the empirical testing of Berger and Luckmann's theoretical construction has proved it to be adequate in the raising of questions and in the suggestion of explanations in this sociological analysis of the Salvation Army. It has proved most useful in understanding the genesis and development of the movement, and the ways in which it avoids and controls internal threat to its persistence. Its inadequacy relates to the lack of a theoretical basis for structural analysis. It represents however one step towards alternative and less typological sociological explanations of religious expression than have been possible within the 'sociology of sectarianism'.

### Conclusion

In conclusion it is necessary to reiterate the main elements of the theoretical argument, of the empirical analysis and the consequences of the meeting of theory and empiricism for the sociology of religion.

The theoretical perspective adopted here was that of phenomenology based upon Berger and Luckmann's The Social Construction of Reality.<sup>8</sup> In using this angle an explicit

challenge was made to the 'sociology of sectarianism' from both theoretical and empirical standpoints. It is contended that it is time to adopt new theoretical constructs and to apply these within the sociology of religion in the interests of raising new and different questions and broadening the range of empirical analysis.

Empirical research addressed itself to the persistence of the Salvation Army as a religious movement and investigated its origins, structure and ethical code from a range of documentary evidence. The significance of the military model and of venturing into social welfare care was stressed. An examination of the accounts and statistics and of the War Cry has made it possible to identify the public face of the Salvation Army. The response of the Salvation Army to criticism was analysed.

Finally, the main elements of theory were brought together with some of the important strands identified by empirical research in an attempt to isolate the mechanisms which enable the Salvation Army to function as a human organization and to maintain religious fervour in the face of secular society. Berger and Luckmann's model raised some interesting questions and generally informed the way in which they were answered. It may not be an appropriate perspective from which to analyse all institutional constructs but it was both applicable and informative in connection with the empirical research of this thesis.

It has been possible to see that the Salvation Army,

constructed for the purposes of religious evangelism by William and Catherine Booth and maintained internally by the disciplines inherent in the military form of organization and externally by its image of good works, rides along on a wave of tradition rather than one of relevance. While it has, by virtue of its bureaucratization and internationalism, become acceptable within the World Council of Churches, and, at the other end of the scale retained real human contact, its weakest area is in the middle ground of evangelism and recruitment. In terms of policy proposals, a sociological analysis of this type would suggest that instead of rationalizing its decline in terms of a lack of revivalistic faith, it should examine the adequacy and relevance of its traditional modes of outreach. In terms of the sociology of religion, this thesis has presented some evidence which demands a questioning of the 'sociology of sectarianism' paradigm which has persisted and thus restricted the discipline long enough.

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