**Make love not war:
The impact of the 1960s on the Salvation Army in the UK**

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Introduction

This paper reports work in progress from a research project in Practical
Theology. The aim of the project is to show how more recent historical
material can be used in theological reflection to challenge current thinking and
practice within a particular tradition of Christianity (Williams 2005). This paper
presents some of the historical data I have assembled which I hope will be of
interest to scholars of the history of voluntary action.

The project does not aim to be a work of historical scholarship but rather an
assembling and reading of the materials to hand. Having said that, there is no
academic history of The Salvation Army in the 1960s and so I have made use
of auto/biographies, internal histories and periodicals, archival sources and
lyrics, supplemented by interviews with contemporary participants. I am
interested in feedback on any resonances with other voluntary organisations
in the 1960s that the data evokes.

The approach of the project is deliberately thematic – seeking to make links
with issues of importance to practical theologians today. In this paper, I will
address the themes of organisation, gender and youth culture.

The paper assumes that although Christianity refers to a transcendent reality
and seeks to transmit revealed truths, the way this is done is inescapably
cultural. New religious movements, as The Salvation Army was in the second
half of the nineteenth century, are shaped by the culture into which they are
born and as they endure, they change in sympathy with or in resistance to
their surrounding culture. A period of rapid social change, such as the 1960s,
is therefore likely to have left its mark.

Context

The 1960s witnessed a number of social changes relevant to the themes I
have chosen. The confidence in planning and bureaucratically structured
organisations such as those of the welfare state was shaken with the
'rediscovery of poverty' (Trench 1970). The rise of satire as popular
entertainment triggered a 'death of deference' in public life which pushed
formal organisations towards greater informality. The ending of rationing and
in 1961, of national service, meant that the shadow of the Second World War
on everyday lives was starting to lengthen. As those who had fought in the
war grew older the military life was regarded with nostalgia. In parallel with
this was a new suspicion of contemporary military action and a reawakening

of the horrors and moral ambiguities of war through Biafra and Vietnam. The new wave of youth culture, epitomised by the Beatles, built upon the new freedoms of young people in the 1950s in a way that focused on individual freedom and the consumption of cultural goods such as fashion and music. Women and young adults started to move out of subordinate positions in an accepted social hierarchy to express concerns of their own and consume goods targeted at them though which they could construct identities.

The 1960s, encompassed some significant developments in Christianity. The Second Vatican Council (1962-65), radically overhauled the self-understanding of Catholics, making them more ready to engage outside the Catholic community and giving lay Catholics a greater sense of responsibility for the church (Wilde 2004) . In the UK, the publication of Honest to God by Bishop John Robinson, brought discussion of theology into public debate as some of the less hierarchical understandings of God, common in liberal theology, were made public. (Brown 2001) has argued that the 1960s marked a decisive turning point in disaffiliation from formal organised Christianity in the UK.

For those unfamiliar with TSA, let me give a brief introduction. Today TSA is an international evangelical denomination and social welfare agency operating in over 100 countries and with an international membership of over 1 million. It is growing most rapidly in Africa and the Asian sub-continent and declining sharply in Europe. In North America, its social welfare work is much more prominent than its church work. The origins of this organisation lie in mid-nineteenth century evangelical revivalism which drew its founders, William and Catherine Booth, out of Methodism, into non-denominational revivalist work before they founded their own Mission in 1865 which became known as TSA in 1878. The aim of the non-denominational mission work was to pass on converts to existing churches and chapels. In practice, the cultural gap between working class converts and the churches they approached proved too great and so the Booths set up a 'permanent mission' which embraced much of the popular culture of its day whist retaining an orthodoxy of belief and a rejection of popular practices (such as drinking alcohol and gambling) which were seen as injurious. This level of engagement with popular culture was seen as scandalous and it was really the end of the 19th Century before the organisation gained acceptance with polite society – symbolised by the award of an honorary doctorate to William Booth by Oxford University in 1902.

Having introduced the purpose of the paper, given a little context of the period and briefly introduced TSA, I will now turn to the first of the three themes I wish to address, namely, organisation.

Theme 1 – Organisation

Literature
The amount of literature on the impact of militarism on organisational theory and lives is limited. It gets a passing reference in Morgan (1997) who looks at the military reforms of Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740-1786) and

concludes that he wanted to make the army more machine-like by introducing the following features:

- ➢ Ranks and uniforms
- ➢ Extension and standardisation of regulations
- ➢ Specialisation of tasks with a distinction between advisory and command roles
- ➢ Standardisation of equipment
- ➢ A language of command understood by all
- ➢ Systematic training involving drills.

This level of uniformity meant that a defeated part of the army could be replaced more easily. Conformity of the soldier was maintained by the coercive power available to officers. He argues that these ideas were influential on the way in which the factories of the industrial revolution were organised when humans had to conform their working practices to those of machines. William Booth was certainly aware of the parallels between TSA and organisations such as the railways and post office with their need for standardised practices, a disciplined workforce and their ability expand both numerically and territorially (Booth 1890).

Sennett (2004:162f) asserts that in the late nineteenth century, corporations started to behave more like armies with a rigid bureaucracy. Features included:

- ➢ a clear chain of command
- ➢ the ability of orders to be transmitted from a few people at the top of the organisation to the mass at the bottom.
- ➢ paying attention to the detail of what frontline workers did with their time.

He sees such bureaucratic pyramids offering a particular type of social relations in which senior people can control rewards and crush any individual initiative of which they disapprove. They have a tendency to expand as those in them seek to extend the span of their control as a measure of status and success. Bureaucracies may be an iron cage but they have many willing prisoners who find in them a compelling and all embracing life narrative and derive esteem and status from serving the organisation.

Foucault in Discipline and Punish, emphasises the way in which military detail controls power relations:

> 'For the disciplined man, as for the true believer, no detail is unimportant, but not so much for the meaning that it conceals within it as for the hold it provides for the power that wishes to seize it…The meticulousness of the regulations, the fussiness of the inspections, the supervision the smallest fragment of life and of the body will soon provide, in the context of the school, the barracks, the hospital, or the workshop a laicized content, an economic or technical rationality for this mystical calculus of the infinitesimal and the infinite.' (Rabinow 1984)p184

As the data will show, attention to detail was an important part of TSA culture, and shifts in that culture are often observed in details that can be interpreted as either a shift or stability in power relations.

Early History
As well as being a cultural innovation in evangelical Christianity, the early Salvation Army was a significant organisational innovation. The Booths' innate autocratic tendencies led to their impatience with the associational and democratic workings of Methodism. The early days of the Christian Mission were organised along these lines with an annual conference making policy, but soon some of their evangelists were urging William to take more direct control of the organisation. He was attracted by the rapid growth and efficiency of organisations such as the railways and so readily agreed to the suggestion that a military model of organisation be adopted.

Two conferences in 1877 agreed to this and the following year the constitution was changed making William Booth the General Superintendent of the Christian Mission and giving him direct control of its property, staff and finances. Addressing the conference in June 1877, he said:
> 'This is a question of confidence in between you and me, and if you can't trust me it is no use for us to attempt to work together. Confidence in God and in me are absolutely indispensable both now and ever afterwards.' (Horridge 1993:32)

In a document explaining the change of constitution, the subtitle, 'The Salvation Army' was used to explain the purpose of the Christian Mission. By the end of the year, Booth had accepted that 'The Salvation Army' would become the dominant name. The Mission's magazine became The War Cry. In rapid succession flags, a crest, uniforms and brass bands were introduced and mission stations renamed 'corps'. Posters announcing Army events would pick up the metaphor by announcing 'invasions' and 'attacks'.

This vivid employment of the military metaphor aroused hostility and opposition. Over 60 towns experienced riots between 1878 and 1891. In 1882, the worst year, 669 soldiers were assaulted and 56 buildings damaged. In seeking legal rights to meet and hold processions, the hierarchical structure of TSA enabled it undertake legal action that challenged local magistrates. Officers were taught how to send telegrams reporting legal rulings to HQ, who in turn would take action to challenge bye-laws and Local Acts. As Bailey (1977) argues:
> 'The Salvation Army must have appeared an awesome organisation: a body with effective national co-ordination, dispatching, replacing and rearing disciplined cadres who spoke directly to the poor, who were unnameable to local patterns of social discipline' p247

By 1885, Orders and Regulations for Field Officers ran to 600 pages. Bramwell Booth, eldest son and by then second in command, said of his father:
> 'My father was really less an organizer than a legislator; he was a whole legislature in himself. He laid down the law in every detail, thinking of everything, and left others to organise the machine. I think he gave more attention to Orders and Regulations for Field Officers than to anything else he wrote. His anxiety was to complete in that

book a set of regulations which would perpetuate the Salvation Army, and preserve it from the mistakes and confusions which had befallen so many other societies in the religious sphere.' (Horridge 1993:55)

By 1885, it was evident that the organisation was developing beyond the immediate day to day control of its General. He saw the promulgation of rules as a way of retaining control and ensuring a consistency of approach during rapid expansion. To use a Weberian concept, this seems a clear example of the routinization of charisma, where the founder seeks to encode his inspiration and approach and entrust a successor, in this case his oldest son, to ensure its implementation.

Looking back over 25 years in 1891, WT Stead, a leading journalist and supporter of The Salvation Army said,
> 'From the moment that the Army received its title, its destiny was fixed. The whole organisation was dominated by the name.' (Quoted in Sandall (1950) vol2, p1)

1960s data
Since the 1870s, the UK had experienced two World Wars and had lost most of its Empire. The true horror of war was evident to the adult population and reinforced by the conscription of adult males. The ending of National Service in 1961 marked a decisive inter-generational divide, enabling the 'baby boomer' generation to develop popular culture in new directions. There was a broad nostalgia for the comradeship of war time and widespread affection for TSA because of the role it has played in the wars, serving refreshments to troops.

The purpose of the military had changed from Victorian times, far from securing an expanding empire, the military now engaged in the stalemate of the Cold War where technological progress in armaments seemed more important than the skill of human soldiers. The fear of mutually assured destruction had led to the rise of CND in the 1950s, and although in the 1960s its influence waned, it had raised questions about the role of the military.

Writing about the impact of Honest to God (published in 1963), Martyn Percy in (Slee 2004) argues,
> Authority was no longer taken for granted. In order to prove its worth and keep its place, it had to argue and not to assert… Tentatively we might say that Honest to God questioned the right of authority to assert itself; answers now had to be argued for. p27-8

An indication that experimentation with other organisational forms was possible was the growing vitality of the Salvation Army Students' Fellowship. It was formed in 1948 as a means by which those studying in higher education and recent graduates in membership of TSA could associate. From the outset, it had a democratic constitution but was linked to a senior officer at national headquarters. The organisation was founded in response to a concern that young people moving around the country to attend university might lose contact with TSA and would want the fellowship of other students

in what was still predominantly a working class organisation, where entry to higher education was the exception. It published its own magazine, which did not have to be submitted for formal approval in the way all other Salvation Army publications did. The activities of the SASF varied but included the inevitable singing group. However, from the late 1950s it was common for some members to spend part of the summer holiday assisting with work in poor communities. From interviews it appears these summers were influential in radicalising a number of members who went on to pursue careers in social work, community work, education, youth work, social housing and disability rights. This democratic off shoot in a bureaucratic organisations survived until the early 1970s.

Another example of organisational innovation was The Rink Project. London in the early 1960s saw a flowering of youth culture (Leech 1973), a 'youth' scene' of all night coffee bars and clubs. Some young people travelled into central London to enjoy these activities, others became homeless. The Salvation Army corps in Oxford Street in London's West End started to respond to this population, initially by opening a youth club on a Friday night. This developed into employing detached youth workers and collaborating with St Martin-in-the-Fields to provide services to homeless young people. The corps was located on the sight of a former skating rink and so this work became known a The Rink Project. Fred Brown, the Commanding Officer, employed young people some of whom were Salvationists and recent graduates, others of whom came from the youth sub-cultures the project was trying to reach. Brown and his team were inspired by theologians such as John Robinson, Paul Tillich, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Harvey Cox to reflect upon the implications of secularisation for their evangelical work.

The corps at the Rink was seen as an exemplary of traditional SA values and practices with a large band and choir and regular open air evangelical meetings. Interviews with some of those involved indicated a growing sense of parallel realities with the uniform and discipline of traditional TSA activities alongside the more informal, questioning youth sub-cultures. One interviewee describes reaching a point where he stopped wearing uniform, feeling it was a barrier to his work and wanting to reclaim his vision of the founding of TSA as a mission which engaged with people in terms they could relate to. Other interviewees describe maintaining parallel lives and not finding that hugely problematic. All those I have interviewed so far who were involved in the Rink project went on in their later careers to engage with issues of social justice. Some retained their TSA membership, others left. By the early 1970s, the Rink Project had largely come to an end. Its approach was seen as too radical and it lost its sponsorship from senior officers who had moved on.

Both the SASF and the Rink Project can be seen as activities that tested the bureaucratic model and tried to dilute acceptance of hierarchy and the culture of deference that under pinned it. Looking for counter examples, the celebration of the Centenary of the Salvation Army in 1965, can be seen as marking an endorsement of the military features of the organisation and aligning them with the nostalgia attaching itself to the Second World War. The highlight of the Centenary Celebrations was an event at the Royal Albert

Hall attended by the Queen, an endorsement that could be seen as parallel to the patronage of the military by members of the royal family. The Salvation Army was still benefiting from public affection resulting from its service to frontline troops during the Second World War and service to National Service Men through canteens. This was an endorsement of features such as uniforms, bands, flags and regimentation as essential elements of the organisation.

Analysis
In the earlier period, the military metaphor was a conscious attempt to escape the image of the conventional churches and engage with popular culture. In the 1960s TSA was a highly reputable organisation, symbolised by the presence at the Queen at its centenary celebrations. It was regarded with a nostalgic affection by those it had served in the world wars. It was no longer a critique of but a variant of conventional church life.

The metaphor was starting to bifurcate. For older adults it chimed with a growing nostalgia for the Second World War and respect for those who had served in it. For younger adults it was associated with contemporary conflicts whose moral base seemed less secure and with a deference and formality that appeared outdated.

The bureaucratic form allowed responsiveness and innovation but in a way that could be controlled and curtailed if necessary.

Theme 2 – Gender
Literature
In discussions of gender in The Salvation Army, the focus is usually on women because of the early stage (1865) at which they became ministers compared to other Free Church denominations. This paper builds upon Eason's (2003) argument that the movement was soon dominated by traditional gender relations. It also accepts Whitehead's point that masculinities and femininities need to be studied in relation to each other.   In turning the spotlight firmly on masculinities it is in part an attempt to explain the endurance of a traditional gender order in a religious movement known for equal ministry.

(Brown 2001) argues in The Death of Christian Britain, that the 1960s marks a sudden shift in the way in which women construct their identities moving away from piety and respectability endorsed by their participation in organised religion to a self-crafted identity formed by consumption of items such as magazines, fashion and household goods. This aroused my curiosity as to how masculinities could be studied in this period.

First, Morgan's (1987) study of his experience as a national serviceman in the RAF the late 1950s suggested that the transition experienced during national service was made up of a number of inter-related factors.
- the distance between military and civilian life
- the hardships suffered

- the boundaries between work, sleep and leisure being blurred
- living in an all male environment
- the adolescent engagement with youth culture curtailed
- group solidarity built through smoking, drinking, swearing, sport, violence
- fear of exclusion from the group by expressing different views.
He concludes,

> 'If boys became men, then this was not simply as matter of their being injected with certain masculine traits, desires, attributes or whatever, but that they learned to talk about masculinity in a certain way, a way which was persuasive and dominant.' p81

National Service came to an end in 1963 and so the 1960s marks the decade where men ceased to have this experience with its potential for particular discourses of masculinity. It seemed particularly salient to think about how this change might affect men in The Salvation Army.

Claims for a new masculinity were made, for example, by Terry Stamp,

> There's a new kind of Englishman that I think the general public will be interested in. He's very masculine, very swinging, very aware, well-dressed and all that but with great physical and mental strength. He's the working-class boy with a few bob as opposed to the chinless wonder.

Quoted on p 252 of (Sandbrook 2006)

A second study, Roper (1994) examines the transition in British firms between family firms and corporations, (a process which was largely complete by the end of the 1960s), and examines its impact on masculinities. He argues that although there was a shift away from managers as 'the gentleman amateur' to managers as generic professionals, a strong culture of paternalism remained. This was evident in mentoring behaviour where older men took a fatherly interest in younger men, protecting, guiding and finding opportunities for them, whilst recognising that one day they would be supplanted by them. It was also evident in the way in which wives and secretaries gained status by virtue of the rank of the men they served. This led me to consider whether my data on TSA discussed mentoring relationships and contained examples of men describing women.

Finally, Collinson and Hearn (2001) have usefully identified some masculinities and defined them whilst recognising the dangers that flow from offering categories for something that is fluid and changing. Nevertheless, their willingness to 'name men' opens up the possibility of comparing the data with these types. The multiple masculinities they define are: authoritarianism, paternalism, entrepreneurialism, informalism and careerism. The first two of these will be defined for later use:

Authoritarianism

> is characterized by an intolerance of dissent or difference, a rejection of dialogue and debate and a preference for coercive power relations based upon dictatorial control and unquestioning obedience.... Hostility is aimed at those who fail to comply... in dismissing these groups as

'weak', those who invest in authoritarianism try to differentiate and elevate their own masculine identity and power. p156-7

In paternalism
> 'men eschew coercion and seek to exercise power by emphasizing the moral basis of cooperation, the protective nature of their authority, the importance of personal trust relations and the need for employees both to invest voluntarily in their work task and to identify with the company. ... So long as women conform to conventional notions of female identity, they will experience little hostility. Within these protective practices, women are treated as too 'delicate' and 'precious' to be involved in the so-called harsh world of business. p157-8

From Eason's (2003) historical analysis, both these masculinities appear to have been present in the early years, and enacted by William Booth and his son and successor as General, Bramwell Booth. This means these masculine discourses were potentially available to Salvationist men in the 1960s.

Early History
Like other sects that splintered from Methodism, The Salvation Army gave early prominence to 'preaching women' but was unusual in institutionalising the role of women in its ministry, albeit into single and married women having very different experiences of ministry. The result is that the majority of its ministers (called officers) has always been women, although the majority of senior leaders have been married men with occasional single men and single women. This early acceptance of women ministers was largely due to Catherine Booth the wife of the founder William Booth, who feeling the call to preach herself, was active in finding scriptural justifications for this role, a delicate operation when working within evangelicalism as one of her biographers WT Stead (1900) pointed out.
> 'No-one ever asserted more emphatically the equality of men and women, but no one every submitted more uncomplainingly to the doctrine of the headship of the husband. It is a paradox which never afflicted her. She did not worry herself by attempts to reconcile the irreconcilable. She knew that both were true. The practical difficulty of harmonising them she settled in her own way. All she claimed for the wife was a fair field and an even chance. What she protested against was the handicapping of the wife at the start, by the assumption that, right or wrong, she must always give in to her husband. At the last resort it is probably that Mrs Booth would have admitted to the duty of submission. But she resented bitterly the deduction from this doctrine of the duty of ultimate surrender, that wives should always submit to what their husbands ordered in caprice or passion.' p106-7

Following Catherine's death in 1890, the organisation moved forward with a myth about the equality of women's ministry but a practice in which married women would hold appointments alongside and auxiliary to those of their husbands and single women would mostly remain in frontline work, rarely rising to senior levels. Laver (2000) argues that the early encouragement to men to further the ministry of their wives and play an active part in the home,

gave way once TSA was socially acceptable and men could be recognised in society for the role they played. She also feels that William Booth set the pattern in retaining paternalistic as well as military metaphors:

> 'To be obedient to Army commands was to be a good son/soldier, worthy of approval by the father/General. William Booth's appropriation of both identities cemented his authority as the sole head of The Salvation Army and might well have encouraged other Salvationist men to place their faith in the Army's command structure, rather than in a transformed home life, as the key to masculine identity.' p205

This rather strange legacy of espoused equality but traditional reality might be referred to as the 'Catherine myth', a belief about the gender order which as the data will show was remarkably resilient.

1960s data
Descriptions of mentor relationships
Drawing upon the autobiographies both Gowans and Hunter claim that the older Coutts was a mentor figure for them.
Gowans describes him in these terms

> 'He was well-read and could use what he read adroitly, but there was always something original about what he said and always somewhere his testimony. He spoke of what he knew. His speaking was always relevant, and often painfully so! He was never trying to please or make an impression. The mixture of natural shyness and bulldog-but-dignified courage won the respect of his hearers. There was quickly born in this young heart an ambition to resemble him in his speaking capacity, an ambition that was sadly never achieved.' p29

Hunter adds:

> 'His brilliant mind always hidden from sight, Frederick Coutts was my Salvation Army mentor- as of many another.' p47

Gowans recognises the importance of mentoring relationships:

> 'I have been accompanied by senior friends who have never failed to encourage me and correct me when required.' p62

Interviewee A emphasised the father-son nature of his mentor relationship:

> I've often thought about our relationship because it was a bit father and son-like. I had no father and he fathered me to a certain extent. But it was also a very equal relationship and he had this way of allowing people to really believe that they had something to contribute in thinking and practice.

All the examples of mentoring relationships I have so far come across have been between older and younger men.

Descriptions of National Service or military service
It seems inevitable that some men officer's military service would affect their practice as Salvation Army officers. Hunter describes a senior officer in the 1960s,

'Will Cooper was a rugged, square-jawed man, not so much born as hewn…Ex-navy, he served in minesweepers in World War 1. Some would suggest he followed this profession throughout his officership! There was always a touch of navy swagger about him.' p81

Coutts and Gowans both seem to define a masculinity that is both 'with' and 'other' from that they encountered in the conversation and practices of fellow service men.
Coutts:

Maybe our flight had more than its share of wild boys, but it hardly made for edification when, standing easy during a break in morning drill, the sergeant favoured his captive audience with a blow by blow account of his encounter with an unfortunate Asian girl for whose services he had paid in cash. p20

It is interesting that Gowans devotes a whole chapter to this part of his life.

Quickly I found myself in the home barracks of the Northamptonshire Regiment to undergo six crushing weeks of basic training… I learned to understand a new language, which, mercifully, I never felt I could use myself….The daily washroom became my sanctuary. I discovered that if I got there before reveille, my prayers would go undisturbed, and I gathered the strength I needed for the day…'Lights out' worried me because in the darkness the men would regale the company with their dirty stories and accounts of their sexual adventures. I have no doubt that some of them were true… It seemed longer, but after six weeks, grace and the military machine turned out of the barracks gates a brighter-eyed and stronger man, both physically and emotionally. P16-17

It would be wrong to assume that time spent in the armed forces led to an overly nationalistic attitude, internationalism being a key feature of the movement. Hunter describes befriending a German POW:

'After Sunday morning breakfast with us each week, he attended the worship meeting at the citadel in our company. Wallasey Salvationist 'adopted' him and supported him with goodies. This could not have been easy, for more than one had a husband or sons still in Germany. Karl had been called up into Hitler's army when he was 15 years of age. His 21st birthday was approaching. How splendid it would be if Karl could phone home on his birthday. …the local sub-postmaster, made his sitting room available. Corps comrades [church members] staged a whip round to raise thirty shillings, the cost of a three-minute overseas call. This was a small fortune in those days.' P128

The younger men I have interviewed had mixed views about narrowly missing national service. C felt it led him to think in the 1960s that the military metaphor had become a trap for TSA. D spoke of men not much older than him in years seeming much older and more experienced.

Descriptions of women
The late 1950s started to mark a change in the roles and perceptions of women as the following quotation from the youth magazine Vanguard shows:

> 'At present, I am planning a career as a teacher – should this come off, I definitely would like to carry on working after marriage. However, as a dedicated anti-feminist, I feel sure that my husband-to-be would have the last word on this, and other matters.'
> April 1956 p21 Essay on marriage by Maureen Whitebrook

Note this much less liberated echo of the description of Catherine Booth by Stead.

We have already encountered the description of the ex-naval Will Cooper. Hunter goes on to describe his wife Mildred who, 'contrasted her husband's thrust and vigour with sweetness of spirit and a natural grace.' P181

Gowans describes his mother:

> She was gentle by nature, refined in her speech, dedicated to her work as an officer and made no enemies. Her skill as a peacemaker in the family and the corps had a price above rubies. P8

He goes on to describe the challenges he faced during courtship whilst a student at TSA training college:

> The world of the training college of those days was in fact two worlds. Whilst no Iron Curtain kept these worlds apart, there was nevertheless 'a middle wall of partition', albeit invisible. The terms 'women's side' and 'men's side' were part of our formal and official vocabulary there, In some ways the 'sides' were worlds apart… romance was not encouraged on the grounds that such things distracted the officers-to-be from the serious matter of their vocational training. They probably did! But Cupid has wings, and, mercifully, he has never read the *Orders and Regulations of The Salvation Army*.

Hunter describes his wife:

> 'For forty-seven years, a lively lady has shared my life. She has known when to comfort me and when to scold me, and saved me from vanity and pride.'

He describes the relative impact of their preaching:

> 'Pauline was never over-anxious to preach, more than adequate though she was. Mark, still a small boy, was occupying much of her time. Yes she would preach next Sunday morning. The meeting concluded, we made our way from the platform into the vestibule at the rear of the hall. Positioning ourselves near the twin doors, we greeted our people as they made their exit. There came a lull at my door. A lady was talking with my wife, 'Thank you for your message Mrs Hunter; it was beautiful. We are always very impressed when the Major preaches, but we can understand *you*'.

For Coutts, as General in the 1960s, it was unproblematic for him as a man to explain 'the Army position' on women's ministry:

> Sometimes a call will come asking for an explanation of one of our Salvation Army principles – for example, the place of women in our Movement. By invitation I was able, on two separate occasions, to speak about our practice to the Roman Catholic St. Joan's International Alliance and the Anglican Society for the Ministry of Women in the Church.

However, Gowans contributes a chapter to Hunter's book and describes the changes he tried to make as General in the 1990s.

> P57 'I tried to give more emphasis to the place of women officers in the Army and asked that every officer, male of female, married or single, should have their own rank, their own appointment and their own allowance and retirement pension….I attempted to place women officers with the gift of leadership in command of territories and not confine them to administrative areas. I encouraged the appointment of married women officers to areas which had normally been kept from them.'

Interviewee D describes the frustration of his mother in 1960s when she was left without appointment because his father had a job on headquarters. Interviewee A describes how is mother set aside her officership when his father died but found it difficult to re-establish herself in anything other than junior and auxiliary roles.

Analysis
Throughout the 1960s the leadership of the TSA was in the hands of 'military men' like Cooper, who whilst showing some willingness for younger men to experiment with new forms of masculinity, ensured this was done 'in parallel' with the masculinity in which they had been schooled. However, both masculinities seemed to be operating in a largely paternalistic framework of gendered spheres of activity which created the space within which women could work. The huge success of the James Bond films (such as Thunderball 1965) being one indication of this.

Theme 3 – Youth Culture
The theme of youth culture picks up a current theological interest in whether young people are able to take part in current forms of religious worship, a concern prompted by the huge decline of young people's participation in organised religion since the 1980s. Taking on this theme raises methodological questions as to how culture is to be studied. (Lynch 2005) demonstrates three approaches, taken from cultural studies. The first focuses on the author of the text and its production, the second, the text itself, including its performance, and third, the way in which the audience receives the text. Of these three approaches, the second seemed most accessible given that cultural texts in the form of song lyrics are available from the early Salvation Army and from the 1960s. It is also possible to identify which early Salvation Army lyrics were available for use in the official hymn book of the movement in the 1960s and so were available in parallel with songs that attempted to engage with youth culture.

Early history
The early history of TSA is one of vigorous and experimental engagement with popular culture. By 1883, the organisation had its own music department regularly publishing songs written by members for use in evangelising and worship.

A number of these songs pick up the military metaphor in vivid ways:

Warriors of the risen King, Great Army of salvation,
Spread his fame, his praises sing and conquer every nation.
Raise the glorious standard higher, work for victory never tire;
Forward march with Blood and Fire and win the world for Jesus.

Robert Johnson 1883 to the tune of *Here's to good old whiskey drink it down*.

Such songs would be sung accompanied by brass bands on street corners as well as in Salvation Army meeting halls. They picked up the ballad style and approach of the music hall and many of them could be used as solos whereby the singer communicated his or her experience of conversion to the crowd.

1960s Joystrings and Beatles
The 1960s are famed for their liberalising social legislation, the decrease in social deference and the rise in meritocracy (Marwick 1998; Kurlansky 2004). Awareness of these changes is evident from TSA publications, for example its youth magazine <u>Vanguard</u> June 1962
> 'Yet the Army is also facing up to the questions of youth – these must inevitably arise as the 'do as you are told' tradition gives way to a world-wide disposition to ask 'why?' p7

Well before the 1960s, music had become the Esperanto of TSA, a common language which most could read and at which many, including prominent leaders, excelled. Most of the music used in the movement was composed by Salvationists and new compositions for band and choir were published at regular intervals.

At the beginning of the 1960s, an informal group started to meet at the Officer Training College to explore popular music and its possible relevance to evangelism.
Joy Webb, describes using a skiffle group in open air evangelistic services and drawing the attention of young people more effectively than with a brass band.
> From being amiably ignored by young people, we began to be able to draw and hold a crowd. So, from this time on it began to be clear that a change in the methods we had traditionally used in communicating our message was not only necessary but was, in fact, happening…it had yet to dawn on any of us that there was an enormous language barrier that had grown up between the Church and the ordinary man and woman. It took us a while to realise that we must both understand and overcome this. p7-8 (Webb 2000)

On his election to General in November 1963, Frederick Coutts was asked by the media whether he expected any innovations during his Generalship. Somewhat off the cuff he mentioned that greater use could be made of guitars in TSA music. This remark was followed up by the <u>Tonight</u> TV programme and Joy Webb was given the task of quickly putting together a group and writing a song 'Open Secret'. EMI who had the contract for TSA brass band records, released the song as a single and it went straight into the charts. At this point is was decided to give the group an ongoing life and Joy Webb was asked to take on its leadership, and so the Joystrings was formed.

The appearance of the group on TV and at venues such as night clubs scandalised some Salvationists and a robust defence by General Coutts was required.

> 'I was old enough and tough enough to endure the near abuse of those who declared that the Army uniform was being befouled when the Joystrings played for three consecutive nights at 'The Blue Angel'. In reality all they were doing was to sing their original gospel songs, interspersed with their own personal testimony…General Bramwell Booth once appeared as twelfth on the programme in a Plymouth music hall, the orchestra cueing him on stage with 'For he's a jolly good fellow', and the audience giving him a standing ovation as he left. Between these two he preached the gospel – as did the Joystrings.' (Coutts 1976:109)

In an interview with a member of the group, he attributed their success to the realisation that TV, radio and records were now the way to reach people who had no contact with the church, 'we were using TV as the street corner.' The Joystrings went on to tour extensively and make further records and TV appearances before disbanding in 1966.

They spawned a substantial number of imitators at local level as young people in corps set up their own 'rhythm groups'. These groups relaxed some of the conventions of uniform wearing by not wearing hats and sporting more fashionable hair cuts, skirt lengths and trouser widths. These may seem details but they can be interpreted as representing an edging away from the detailed discipline implied by the military metaphor. However, it is also clear that the participants in local rhythm groups also took part in traditional Salvation Army music activities seeing the use of popular music as an additional mode of evangelism and not a replacement for bands and choirs.

The Beatles are the best known example of the cultural impact of popular music. They were certainly part of the context that led to the formation of the Joystrings.

Sandbrook (2006)p210 comments,

> The Beatles dependence on music-hall traditions is an excellent example of the underlying continuity of British cultural life during the twentieth century. Pop music appealed to exactly the same kind of

people who had patronised the music halls in their late nineteenth century heyday: working-class and lower middle-class youngsters… In the Beatles case there was also a direct link, McCartney's father had once worked as a spotlight operator at the Liverpool Hippodrome and would play the old tunes on the piano when teaching young Paul how to sing.

Callum Brown (2001)p178 has undertaken an analysis of the content of the Beatles lyrics.

> The Beatles reflected the pop world generally in the early 1960s by sustain this [romantic] tradition in popular song (which had stretched from the Victorian music hall to the crooners of the 1950s). The lyrics of all of the 49 songs copyrighted by the Beatles during 1963-4 were about boy-girl romance. Beatles lyrics then changed radically, with romance dropping to.. a mere 5 per cent of 1967 output.

Lennon's infamous remarks about Christianity in 1966, were not far distant from the views expressed in the equally controversial book <u>Honest to God</u> published in 1963. During a tour of the States in the summer of 1966 Lennon tried to put things right in an interview with the Washington Post:

> I'm more of a Christian now that even I was. I don't go along with organised religion and the way that it has come about. I believe in God, but not as an old man in the sky. I believe that what Jesus and Mohammed and Buddha and all the rest said was right. It's just that the translations have gone wrong.
> Quoted in Sandbrook p216

Comparative Analysis
Bearing in mind, Brown's assertion about the continuity of love and romance in popular songs, I have chosen songs that make that an implicit or explicit theme. I have chosen two songs from the early Salvation Army repertoire, two written by Joy Webb to be performed by the Joystrings and two Beatles lyrics from the same years.

Song A
Before I found salvation, I was sunk in degradation,
And from my Saviour wandered far astray;
But I came to Calvary's mountain, and plunged into the fountain,
And from my heart the burden rolled away.

'Twas a happy day and no mistake, when Jesus from my heart did take
The load of sin that made it ache, and filled my soul with joy.

Since I have been converted and the devil's ranks deserted,
I've had such joy and gladness in my soul.
For Jesus I've been fighting, and in the war delighting,
And now I'm pressing on toward the goal.

If faithful to my Saviour, I shall enjoy his favour,

And he will keep me safely to the end;
And when I cross the river, I'll live with him forever,
And one eternal day of glory spend.

W G Collins 1854-1931
Song first published in June 1887 in Musical Salvationist
Collins was a local officer and founding member of Guilford Corps, an ironmonger by trade.

Song B
When my heart was so hard that I ne'er would regard
The salvation held up to my sight,
To the Cross then I came in my darkness and shame,
And 'twas there that I first saw the light.

At the Cross, at the Cross, where I first saw the light,
And the burden of my heart rolled away;
It was there by faith, I received my sight,
And now I am happy all the day.

In my blindness I thought that no power could have wrought
Such a marvel of wonder and might;
But 'twas done, for I felt, at the Cross as I knelt,
That my darkness was turned into light.

Then the gloom had all passed, and rejoicing at last,
I was sure that my soul was made right;
For my Lord I could see, in His love died for me
On the Cross, where I first was the light.

Herbert H Booth 1862-1926
Published a number of times in 1883 but particularly in Salvation Music Volume 2
The tune is adapted from an American secular song.
Fifth child of William and Catherine Booth, he established the Army's first music department in 1883. He held senior positions in TSA in several countries until 1901 when he resigned in Australia and became an itinerant lecturer and advocate of non-denominational Christianity. (Taylor 1989)

In Songs A and B the song is clearly addressed to an audience to whom the singer wishes to relate his/her experience which is a mix of doctrine and emotion. The dominant emotion is happiness resulting from the experience of conversion and so the doctrine of the atonement is emphasised. Conversion is depicted as the entry point to salvation and the implication is that if the listener makes a similar response they will share a similar experience. Song A makes use of the military metaphor. Song B reflects the Methodist doctrine of 'assurance' that is a sense of confidence in the believer of sins forgiven. Both songs have a marching rhythm and could be played by a brass band or sung as a solo. They both follow the ballad format favoured in the music hall

and have a refrain that repeats after each verse which a soloist could invite the audience to join in.

The Joystring lyrics

Song C - OPEN SECRET

It's an open secret that Jesus is mine,
It's an open secret this gladness divine.
It's an open secret I want you to know,
It's an open secret, I love my Saviour so!

And you can seek Him, find Him, share this secret too
know His loving kindness in everything you do.

It's an open secret I want you to know,
It's an open secret, I love my Saviour so!

Joy Webb 1964
This song was the first song the group released as a record having performed it on television.

Song D - HE IS NEAR

When the light has ceased to shine,
And the darkness is around me,
I shall know His hand in mine
And his lovin' care surround me;
And my heaven, my heaven can be here;
Just to know that He is near.

When my heart is most afraid,
And I cannot see the way,
Every promise He has made,
I shall whisper as I pray;
And my heaven, my heaven will be here;
Just to know that He is near!

Joy Webb 1964
Included in the group's first LP

Song C addresses the audience and like Songs A and B conveys the singer's experience of happiness and love which are located in a relationship with Jesus. However, Song D is more reflexive and the name of Jesus is implied rather than stated. Whilst the emphasis on love continues from the earlier songs it is expressed doctrinally in terms of the incarnation rather than the atonement. No explicit doctrinal language is used and there is no implication that the singer or the audience are sinful, although Song C could be seen as

implying an invitation to conversion. Jesus is depicted as a close and supportive presence at times of difficulty. There are no references to the military metaphor, although it could be argued that these are implied in the performance by the singers' uniforms. The music still has four beats in the bar but this is a pop beat and not suitable for marching. Repetition is used in a much more obvious way.

Song E - Lennon/McCartney 1963

You'll never know how much I really love you
You'll never know how much I really care

Listen
Do you want to know a secret
Do you promise not to tell, whoa oh, oh

Closer
Let me whisper in your ear
Say the words you long to hear
I'm in love with you

Listen
Do you want to know a secret
Do you promise not to tell, whoa oh, oh

Closer
Let me whisper in your ear
Say the words you long to hear
I'm in love with you

I've known the secret for a week or two
Nobody knows, just we two

Listen
Do you want to know a secret
Do you promise not to tell, whoa oh, oh

Closer
Let me whisper in your ear
Say the words you long to hear
I'm in love with you

Song F - Lennon/McCartney 1963

There is a place
Where I can go
When I feel low
When I feel blue
And it's my mind

And there's no time when I'm alone

I think of you
And things you do
Go 'round my head
The things you said
Like "I love only you"

In my mind there's no sorrow
Don't you know that it's so
There'll be no sad tomorrow
Don't you know that it's so

There is a place
Where I can go
When I feel low
When I feel blue
And it's my mind
And there's no time when I'm alone

Song E is addressed to the object of the singer's love and makes use of the metaphor of 'secret' deployed in Song C. The audience for Song F is unclear and it could be a reflexive meditation on the loved person. For both these song, as with songs C and D, the loved person is depicted as close and supportive at times of difficulty. The dominant emotion is love and although not stated the lyrics and certainly the performance indicate that this is love in a girl/boy relationship. By implication, such relationships are being advocated as refuge from unhappiness. Repetition is used and metaphor is largely absent.

Analysis
From these analyses, it is evident that the lyrics of the Joystrings act as a bridge between the early Salvation Army songs which would still have been in use in the 1960s and the lyrics of pop music such as the Beatles. This bridging is also evident in the performances where the Joystrings wore modified Salvation Army uniforms but used the musical instruments, amplification and performance techniques of pop music. Important religious themes of love and happiness are sustained by the Joystring lyrics but there is a clear shift away from the military metaphor and the doctrinal language of the atonement to a one-to-one relationship between the believer and Jesus and an implied immanent incarnated presence. Heaven is not something for the end of life as in Song A but a present experience as in Song D. Ward (2005)p 203 describes late twentieth century charismatic evangelical lyrics as 'individual narratives of encounter' a phrase which could be applied to all six of the songs discussed.

Conclusions
This paper has presented data about The Salvation Army in the 1960s using the themes of organisation, gender and youth culture. All three themes have indicated that the 1960s raised questions about the quasi-military nature of

the organisation. In the organisation of the movement there was room for innovations such as the Students' Fellowship and the Rink Project but they were in parallel with the hierarchy and discipline of the organisation. Faced with a bifurcation between older and younger people's understanding of the military metaphor the centenary celebrations reinforced a nostalgic understanding of the military life drawn from the organisation's reputation in the second world war. In the development of gender identities there was a cultural exploration of new forms of masculinity, setting aside the disciplines of national service. Again there was permission to experiment but the young men that did so seemed to end up performing the parallel masculinities of the pop group and the brass band. Although the response to pop music seemed spontaneous, the discipline of the organisation meant that it had talented musicians who could quickly respond to a new challenge. The tone of some of the songs is still conversionist, implying conversion to Christianity in a denomination that was not itself fundamentally changing.

Theologically speaking this approach was largely applicationist – seeking to translate stable Christian truths into new cultural forms. There is little sense that the organisation was able to listen to the culture and work out the implications of a more incarnational theology for its church life – this is ironic when its continuing social engagement which many poor and excluded groups is taken into account. The military metaphor made it difficult for the movement to re-enculturate the gospel into working class culture in the way in which it had done in its early days. The 1960s offered the opportunity to switch from a metaphor of war to a metaphor of love. But as Stead suggested in 1891, the name had become a fixed destiny rather than a metaphor open to reinterpretation.

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9,600 words