THE SALVATION ARMY—A STUDY IN COMPLIANCE

by

Peter Jacob Letkemann
B.A., Bethel College, Kansas, 1961

A Thesis Submitted In Partial Fulfilment of

The Requirements For The Degree of
Master of Arts
in the department of
Anthropology and Sociology

We accept this Thesis as conforming to
the required standard:

The University of British Columbia
September 1965
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Sociology

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date Sept. 15, 1965
ABSTRACT

The compliance relationship between The Salvation Army Corps Officer and his superiors is analysed with reference to appointments, transfers and promotions. Structural aspects of power-positions, the reciprocal response of the Corps Officer and the elite to power, and the orientation of the Corps Officer to the power of the elite are studied. An attempt is made to understand the compliance of the Corps Officer by reviewing various aspects of the Officer's socialization process, such as recruitment selectivity, training program and the manipulation of prestige and ritualistic symbols. Additional material on The Salvation Army history, ethnography and organizational structure is included.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Dr. Martin Meissner, Dr. R. K. Crook and Dr. Werner Cohn, for help and valuable suggestions;

To my wife, Katie, for typing and much encouragement;

To the Officers and other members of The Salvation Army, for making available their time and sharing their experiences.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE OF CONTENTS</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I: ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II: HIERARCHY AND SOURCES OF POWER</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positions of Power</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of Power</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Leaders</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal Leaders</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Elites</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III: THE COMPLIANCE RELATIONSHIP OF THE CORPS OFFICER</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scope of Subordination</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appointments</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Transfer</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secrecy</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotions, Demotions and Appeals</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate of Defection</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctions</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER IV: THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officers' Training Program</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER V: THE MANIPULATION OF PRESTIGE AND RITUALISTIC SYMBOLS</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Uniform</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Flag</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacraments and Ideology</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Organizational Structure</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. General Duties of Officers</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ranks and Positions</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Source of Power</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Authority Structure of The Local Corps</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Effect of Socialization and Selectivity on Quality</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Salvation Army Population in Canada</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The Salvation Army Distribution in Canada and British Columbia by sex, rural farm, rural non-farm, and urban size groups</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Provincial Distribution of Salvation Army Membership</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Salvation Army Membership in Vancouver</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Organizational Chart</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Questionnaire for Officers</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>The Salvation Army Articles of War</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The trinitarian formula of "Soup, Soap and Salvation" is familiar to many, and readily identified with blue-uniformed officers, mission halls on Skid Row and the ring of bells encouraging contributions to the kettle on the street-corner. The Salvation Army, circulating over five million copies of its periodicals in Canada each year, has become a household term in Canada. Although its Canadian membership of 92,054 comprises only one-half of one per cent of the population, its presence is more noticeable than many larger denominations. Since its entrance into Canada in 1882, it continues to be largely an urban movement. More than two-thirds of its Canadian membership is urban; almost half of these live in centers with populations over 100,000. Provincial distribution is highly unequal, with Newfoundland (36,258) and Ontario (31,892 members) having two-thirds of the Canadian membership. This leaves the Prairie provinces with only several thousand each, and British Columbia with 7,229—1,541 of these residing in the city of Vancouver.

Relative to the general Canadian population increase, Salvation Army membership has grown more rapidly since 1941. In 1964 alone, some 5,000 Soldiers were sworn-in.

To the satisfaction of the public and the chagrin of its Officers, The Salvation Army is considered by many as a charity organization. Its

---

1See Table No. 1, Appendix, p. 91.
2See Table No. 2, Appendix, p. 92.
3See Table No. 3, Appendix, p. 93.
4See Table No. 4, Appendix, p. 93.
massive welfare program, heavily dependent on public funds, has furthered this image. What is not as well known is that The Salvation Army is a religious denomination with churches called Corps, preachers called Officers, and members called Soldiers.

While a good deal of academic interest has been shown in its social services, little such attention has been given to its organizational structure. This was not always the case. In its first few decades a good deal of attention, some highly critical, was paid to what was then referred to as "spiritual dictatorship". The Salvation Army is indeed an Army of Soldiers and Officers who have pledged allegiance to God and to their General. It is organized in military fashion—the General being at the top of the hierarchical system of command. Membership itself is divided into three categories—Adherants, Soldiers and Officers. Adherants are those on the outer fringe of the organization who treat The Army as their church home, but who take no vows of allegiance and need not be Christians. Soldiers are those who have pledged allegiance to The Army and are subject to various performance expectations, such as the wearing of uniforms and participation in The Army activities. Officers are Soldiers who are employed by The Army as full-time workers, having passed through various training and commissioning requirements. This writer's survey of Vancouver indicates that adherants comprise about one quarter of total membership and Officers about one tenth. Estimates by Staff Officers are that adherants make up about one half of the total international membership, the latter estimated at two million.


2The abbreviation "The Army" will be used as synonymous with "The Salvation Army" in this paper. This is in keeping with the language of its members.

Purpose

The interest of this paper is not in the battle which The Army fights, whether social or spiritual, but in the social mechanisms through which it operates. More specifically, this is a study of the compliance relationship as manifest in the role of the Salvation Army Officer. Compliance is here defined as "... a relationship consisting of the power employed by superiors to control subordinates and the orientation of the subordinates to this power". This relationship suggests a structural aspect (power of superiors) and a personality aspect (orientation of subordinate). If the meaning is extended to include the orientation of the superior both to his power and to the subordinate, another personality dimension is added. If the patterned behavioral response of the subordinate to this power is included, another structural aspect is added.

In this paper the compliance relationship will be defined as including the structural aspects of the superior's power, the patterned response of the subordinate to this power, and the orientation of the subordinate to this power. Structural aspects of power will include a description of power-positions and an analysis of the sources of power, as well as the allocation of power-means or sanctions. By patterned response of the subordinate we include only such behavior as could be considered a direct response to power, and seek to discover the pattern of such behavior. Our interest in the subordinate's orientation to power is confined, first of all, to the behavioral manifestations of such orientation, in terms of patterns of response; and secondly, to the process of socialization through which this orientation is achieved.

Our definition of power follows the approach of Etzioni. "Power is an actor's ability to induce or influence another actor to carry out his directives or any other norms he supports." Kinds of power are differentiated according to the means used to make the subject comply. These means may be physical (coercive), material (remunerative) or symbolic (normative). In particular, this paper will focus on the compliance relationship between the Corps Officer and his superiors. The role of the Corps Officer is roughly similar to that of a Protestant pastor. By definition a Corps is:

... a company of Salvation Army Soldiers and Recruits who meet and work together under the care and direction of a Commanding Officer. A Corps usually has a building or buildings in which it meets. It operates in a particular district, which may consist of a town, a village or a group of villages. In the last-named case it would be called a Circle Corps.

The position of Corps Officer was selected for several reasons. Most Officers graduating from Training College are assigned to Corps duties. They are usually of the rank of Captain. As commissioned Officers they have expressed a high degree of commitment to the organization. As Officers just beginning their career, they are on the lowest rung of the elite structure. It is at this level that one would expect the various aspects of the compliance relationship to be brought into sharp focus. Since it is during the first few years of service that the defection rate of Officers is highest, it is to be expected that the various elements of previous socialization processes are put to the test at this level. In other words, the Corps Officer finds himself in a situation characterized by a high degree of subordination as well as high performance expectations. As Simon has stated: "... the actual

---

1 Ibid., p. 4.

physical task of carrying out an organization's objectives falls to the persons at the lowest levels of the administrative hierarchy".¹

Preparation for this situation has included both informal and formal socialization processes. The position of Corps Officer would seem to be a strategic site for the study of compliance in the Salvation Army.

This paper is intended as descriptive analysis. It is descriptive in the sense that it attempts to describe a part of the real world; analytic in its efforts to uncover relationships between various aspects of this real world. Research in the sociology of religion has largely been of a descriptive nature. Effort toward cumulative theory has advanced little beyond the well-known and unsatisfactory sect-church classification.² It is also true that some religious groups have received a great deal of attention while others have been ignored.³ One such neglected group has been The Salvation Army. The absence of any substantial description of this organization from a sociological point of view, would alone seem to justify efforts in this direction.

As an analysis, this paper will seek to utilize concepts, propositions and theory developed in the sociology of organizations, particularly the efforts to develop "theories of the middle range" by Etzioni.⁴ The concern with compliance finds its theoretical tradition in the quest for the forces determining social order. Under what conditions do men comply with regulations? What are the factors which induce desired orientation to authority? These and others are the questions asked here.


²For a powerful criticism of this classification see: Peter L. Berger, "Sectarianism and Religious Socialization", American Journal of Sociology, 64 (1958), pp. 41-44.

³This is not to say that theory as such demands scrutiny of every group before it can be considered universally applicable.

⁴Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations.
In addition to being a descriptive analysis, this paper must also be considered exploratory in nature. Hypotheses and measurements tend to be stated in rather general terms. It is hoped that this study was done with some degree of theoretical sensitivity; however, no great effort is made to see if the facts "fit" existing theories. In this sense it is not a verificational study. Theory is applied where its use aids in conceptualization, classification and summarizing. Although this particular study will contribute little, directly, towards developing cumulative theory, it is hoped that by drawing attention to an organization rather exciting in terms of potential for further research, the construction of theory may be indirectly encouraged.

**Method**

The role of the Officer could hardly be discussed without constant reference to the organizational structure in which he finds himself, so a description of the organization as such precedes it. Our study of the compliance relationship involves two aspects. The first is structural—namely the pattern of response characteristic of an Officer. The second is orientation. What are the factors which contribute toward the particular response pattern just described? Several factors in terms of recruitment and socialization are put forward. From the standpoint of sequence, it would be better to think in terms of effect-cause rather than cause-effect.

Library research, observation and interviews were the three primary sources of information. Practically all printed material on The Salvation Army is published by The Army itself. In addition, that which is published elsewhere is mostly written by Salvationists or as a tribute to them by someone outside the group. Most of their literature printed in book form is of historical or biographical nature. Reading of historical material indicates
the central spot held by The Founder, General W. Booth. Most historical accounts end with his death, and subsequent history is offered by only a few. The Army publishes a vast amount of material for purposes of publicity each year. Pamphlets center on two topics—welfare services and statistical data on Army progress. Of greatest help in this study were the manuals of Rules and Regulations, published by The Salvation Army for its various participants. The best sources of printed material, both historical and contemporary, are the libraries of Salvation Army Officers. Correspondence with authorities in the sociology of religion in the U. S. A., Canada and England, indicated that no sociological study of compliance relationships in the Salvation Army has been done.¹

In addition, numerous books and articles on the sociology of religious and other organizations were consulted in preparation for this study. Some will be referred to in the bibliography.

Having read the Salvation Army material available in public libraries, phase two of the study began. This consisted of attendance at various Army functions—special public services, morning holiness meetings and evening evangelistic services. Some twelve services at three Corps (churches) were attended over a period of five months. The nature of this method could be termed "quasi-participant"² observation. No formal membership into the group was entered. Like other strangers attending, I was treated as a welcome guest. No attempt was made to disguise the purpose of attendance. Notes were made during services. I expressed my interest in The Salvation Army to them, stating that I was doing a study of it and would like to learn

¹A three year study by a Leeds University Professor is to be completed this Fall, 1965.

more about it. Attendance at services established a certain rapport with Officers which seemed to facilitate interviews later. A non-participant interviewer might not be considered as genuinely interested. Since the value of method depends not only on its immediate data-productivity, but also on the ease with which it may later be repeated by another researcher, it seems that the quasi-participant method is preferable to either full participation or non-participation.

Phase three was begun before phase two was completed. Through a method of trial and error, several types of interview were tried. The first few interviews were unstructured. I expressed an interest in knowing more about The Salvation Army and then tried to guide the conversation toward the organizational aspect. This method had two disadvantages. One—it was very time-consuming, and two—I was usually given a public-relations "line"—material which could more easily have been learned from pamphlets.

The second approach used was to begin the interview with a stated interest in organization and then proceed from there to the compliance relationship. Although slightly more satisfactory, it had the basic weakness of the above. In addition, both of these approaches lacked standardization.

Unwilling to adopt highly structured schedules, which facilitate comparison but frequently lack depth, an interview guide\(^1\) was adopted. In the form of a questionnaire, it required certain items of information from each respondent. It was never given to the respondent, but filled in by the interviewer. This permitted the re-phrasing of certain questions, if necessary, for the purposes of understanding, and allowed the interviewer to probe more deeply where desired. The interview guide, beginning as it did with questions requiring factual or yes-no answers, seemed to put the respondent

---

\(^1\)See Appendix, pp. 95-96.
at ease. The respondent was told at the beginning that we wished to follow his Officer's career from the time of his training to his present position and rank. Specific questioning on each appointment did several things. It eliminated the sweeping generalizations received previously. It also brought back to the memory of the Officer various details of the situation there. Consequently much more information was offered than was initially asked for. Since this method proved more fruitful than the previous, several Officers were re-interviewed.

The number of respondents is not large. Fourteen Officers were interviewed*, but not all were equally helpful. Staff Officers in particular had little time to offer. They tended to refer me to the Public Relations Branch, and in general operated in perfect bureaucratic fashion. Corps Officers were most cooperative.

There is a reluctance to use phrases like, "six out of fourteen Officers stated . . .". Such statements do not take into consideration such factors as intensity of feeling, ability to answer, or the basis upon which the statement was made. In places quantitative data may be inadequate and contentions rest upon the author's feeling for reality.

*An asterisk will be used to indicate what material used is from personal interviews, thus distinguishing it from written source material.
CHAPTER I

ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

An appreciation of several factors necessary for an adequate historical perspective of The Salvation Army will need to be taken for granted here. The social, economic and ideological climate of nineteenth century England, including the account of the Wesleyan tradition, will not be discussed. In view of the continuing effect of General William Booth's spirit and ideas, a brief review of the man and the movement in which he found his 'immortality' may aid in the understanding of current ideology and practice. Special attention will be given to the development of the present organizational structure, especially to aspects relating to the compliance relationship.

William Booth was born in 1829--into desperate poverty, like the large majority of those who later comprised the membership of the Christian Mission. His early life is characterized by his biographers as a passionate revolt against the situation in which he found himself. Converted at the age of fifteen, he was a lay preacher when still in his teens. While a young apprentice to a pawnbroker in London, he spent his evenings preaching in the streets. The Methodist Reform Movement recognized his abilities and employed him as a circuit minister for twenty one months. Then Booth left the Reformers and joined the Methodist New Connexion. Following "... a few unhappy months as a theological student ... "1 he was appointed assistant pastor in a London circuit. It is noted that, "A special token of appreciation was given him in that he was granted permission to marry at the end of twelve months instead of after the customary four years probation".2

---


Booth was then employed as an evangelist for two years, but the New Connexion, apparently due to divided opinion as to the desirability of Booth's evangelism, again appointed him to a circuit. Desiring to be in evangelism only, Booth and his wife resigned in 1861. From then, until 1865, the Booths conducted evangelistic campaigns independently, by invitation, from place to place. The official break with Methodism seems to have intensified the already strained relations with the church officials. The Salvation Army records that wherever the Booths turned, "... they encountered the opposition of denominational officialism, and were forced more and more to the use of undenominational halls and secular public buildings for religious meetings".1

In 1865 the work began to center in East London. It was here that the organization and the institutionalization process began. Two reasons are given for the choice of location. One—Mrs. Booth found opportunity to work through an existing agency "Midnight Movement", in her preferred field of helping "fallen women". Two—Booth himself found unusual need and response in his tent meetings in this area and was invited to become the leader of the East London Special Services Committee.

Booth stated that:

From the first I was strongly opposed to forming any separate organization ... My first idea was simply to get the people saved and send them to the churches. This proved at the outset impractical. First, they would not go when sent. Second, they were not wanted. And third, we wanted some of them at least ourselves to help us in the business of saving others. We were thus driven to providing for the converts themselves.2

The new agency created was named "The East London Christian Revival Society". The name soon changed to the "East London Christian Mission" and

1Ibid., p. 7.

later, when the movement began to spread beyond London, to "The Christian Mission". The date 1865 is seen as the beginning of the Salvation Army and is the basis for the Centenary Celebration in this year, 1965.

In 1866, one year after "The Christian Revival Union" was established, the membership was only sixty. A good number of original followers had left the movement. Some objected to the teaching of sanctification, some did not like Booth's emphasis on repentance and good works, some did not like the "Penitent-Form" ¹, and others could not tolerate the abuse. The result of this, says Sandall, was to free the Mission from:

... the incubus of preconceived notions and procedure that had outlived effect ... Booth's insistence upon definite decision for Christ and out and out consecration to His Service, as being essential, was happily so strong that no one could be comfortable under his leadership who was not prepared to go all the way with him in applying these principles. ... The process is referred to as '... sifting out of objectors and faint-hearted ...'.

Despite strong opposition from the established churches, the movement grew rapidly. It soon became evident that Booth himself could not visit all the outposts and that the time for the delegation of responsibility and authority had come. In 1870, a self governing organization was set up, with a representative Conference as the controlling body. Booth himself was named General Superintendent.

He was to possess the power of confirming or setting aside the decisions and resolutions of any of the official, society or other meetings held throughout the Mission which in his judgement may be in any way prejudicial to the object for which the Mission was first established.²

¹ This is the practice of having the penitent who respond to the speaker's appeal to come and kneel at the bench placed near the pulpit. It is still observed today.


³ Ibid., pp. 180-181.
This power, however, did not include that of over-riding Conference. In 1876 several of Booth's most ardent supporters, including his son, Bramwell, became impatient of government by Conference and urged Booth to assume complete command. In 1877 Booth called a meeting of the Conference Committee, plus all the superintendents and evangelists of the Mission. Sandall, the official Salvation Army historian, states:

The conclusions reached, without a dissenting voice were that government by committees was too slow and roundabout; that decisions were continually required upon important matters, that theirs was a war anyway; that the annual Conference should be continued but as a Council of War and not as a legislative assembly.\(^1\)

Nevertheless, this decision had yet to be ratified by the Conference itself. At its meeting in 1877, Booth made a forceful speech prior to the recommendation being adopted. He said:

... Much dissatisfaction has been felt, ... and expressed that so large a portion of time is being consumed in discussion on comparatively trifling matters, while the mightier questions ... were left partially neglected. It became evident to me we were drifting in the wrong direction. I confess I have been much to blame in this matter. Under the idea that teaching my brethren management and law-making would increase their sense of responsibility and unite us more fully together, I launched the Conference on a sea of legislation which all came to nothing ... And yet here we were, with new men coming in thick and fast, leaving the most essential principles and practices to be mangled about and decided by mere majorities ... This is a question of confidence as between you and me, and if you can't trust me it is of no use for us to attempt to work together. Confidence in God and in me are absolutely indispensable both now and ever afterwards.\(^2\)

This confidence remains of crucial importance in the compliance relationship today. Its behavioral manifestations form part of the consequent studies.

In 1878 the Deed Poll gave the General, in theory, absolute power, even to the point of nominating his successor. The supplemental Polls of 1904 and

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 198.

\(^2\)Ibid., pp. 206-207.
1930 provided that the High Council be empowered to remove from office any General declared by them to be unfit for office. The first High Council met in 1929, at which time it exercised its power and removed from office General Bramwell Booth, the second Salvation Army General. Although he was aged and ill at the time of his removal, it is felt by historians that the primary reason for this action was the fear that he might appoint an undesired successor. The Council pled with him to relinquish his right to appoint his successor, but with no avail. The last major change of constitution occurred in 1931, at which time:

... it was enacted that Generals should henceforth not be nominated but should be elected by the High Council, and that the properties and funds of the Salvation Army hitherto held by the General for the time being as the Army's sole trustee, should henceforth be vested in and held by a Custodian Trustee Company ...

The division of the field into sections followed in 1879. The appointment of Officers, to share responsibility and authority, was done with some hesitation. In 1881, Commissioner Railton, Booth's right-hand man, wrote from the United States:

I well remember our doubts and fears as to the effect of creating a superior rank in the system of district divisions. We said it must be done no matter at what risk, and even at this distance I can discern the great increase of regularity and discipline which the majors are promoting. Not, thank God, that there is any loss of spiritual liberty, for every report is full of the free air of heaven, and the continual raids and interest in new directions display a spirit of anything rather than routine ... your 'machine' works perfectly and is arousing everywhere a uniform enthusiasm ... the Officers and people evidently love and delight in their majors and will become duly more thoroughly soldiers efficient in little as well as great things.

The first Council of War, acting in advisory capacity, was described by The War Cry in this way:

---

3. The official, weekly publication of The Salvation Army.
Nothing has spoken so loudly as to the growing efficiency of the majors than the almost complete absence of speech-making at this Council. Incessantly taking notes of all the General's counsels and of every hint, given by anyone, ready instantly with information as to their divisions, corrections as to any mistakes made, promptly speaking to every point on which they had anything to say, the majors with one or two exceptions, have shown the greatest skill in holding their tongues from useless words and in stating in half a dozen pithy sayings what needed to be said.

With an emphasis on efficiency, skill and dispatch, the movement has grown within one Century to the proportions given earlier. The process of change which has taken place in the years between the 1930 Deed Poll and the present will need to be inferred from a comparison of the past with the present. Wisbey ties in the relation of the man to the movement when he says:

Conscious of having a divine mission and convinced that he was under the direct command of his Lord and Master, W. Booth was impatient of any human restraint and resentful of any criticism or opposition. He demanded implicit, unquestioning obedience of his subordinates. It was his boast that with a telegram he could send any of his Officers to the uttermost part of the earth.

Anyone reading Salvation Army literature, especially the writings intended for its own participants, will be impressed by the strong and ever recurring emphasis on compliance. Authority is ordained of God and obedience is blessed of God. Authority plus obedience equals victory. This is the formula of The Salvation Army and its theme runs throughout its literature, sermons and songs.

In view of the continued use of General Booth's writings, and thinking, particularly as found in the various Orders and Regulations, some statements of his may suggest the orientation referred to above. The changes which have occurred in the Salvation Army have been by way of implementation of ideology rather than the ideology itself.

2Wisbey, Soldiers Without Swords, p. 18.
Already in its beginning, Booth objected to his movement being referred to as "The Volunteer Army", saying, "we are not volunteers, for we feel we will, we must do what we do and we are always on duty".  

Booth had little faith in the efforts of socialistic movements to remedy the social distress of his day. He objected to these 'socialistic panaceas', saying that man must be changed within, otherwise environmental improvements would not be sustained. "Why do cooperative firms, cooperative factories and cooperative utopias so very often come to grief?" His answer:

The success of industrial concerns is largely a question of management. Management signifies government, and government implies authority, and authority is the last thing which cooperators of the Utopian order are willing to recognize as an element essential to the success of their schemes. The cooperative right of debate and right of obstruction, will never be able to compete successfully with institutions which are directed by a single brain wielding the united resources of a disciplined and obedient army of workers. Hence, to make cooperation a success you must superadd to the principle of consent the principle of authority ... .

There cannot be a greater mistake in this world than to imagine that men object to be governed. They like to be governed, provided that the governor has his 'head screwed on right' and that he is prompt to hear and ready to see and recognize all that is vital to the interests of the commonwealth. So far from there being animaté objection on the part of mankind to being governed, the instinct to obey is so universal that even when governments have gone blind, and deaf, and parlytic, rotten with corruption and hopelessly behind the times, they still contrive to live on.  

Not only did Booth feel that men wish to be governed, but he viewed men, especially the poor, as being already subject to the severest tyranny and that the authority of The Army was relative freedom. In his classic "In Darkest England and The Way Out", Booth has described the Colonies he will build to be inhabited by former slum-dwellers. The Colonies are to be directed by

---

3Ibid., p. 240.
4In every way, the best of Booth's writings. Although nowhere stated in the book, the actual writing was done by a journalist friend, Mr. W.T. Stead. This may account for the fine literary quality of this book on Social remedies.
Salvation Army Officer, using strict discipline. Objectors had stated that these people would not be amenable to discipline. "You can do that with your Salvationists because they are saved, as you call it. When men are born again you can do anything with them . . . but what about the un-saved?" Booth's reply may be seen as an expression of the orientation both of the elite and of the subordinates:

Discipline, and that of the most merciless description, is enforced upon multitudes of these people even now. Nothing that the most authoritative organization of industry could devise in the excess of absolute power, could for a moment compare with the slavery enforced today in the dens of the sweater. It is not a choice between liberty and discipline that confronts these un-fortunates, but between discipline mercilessly enforced by starvation and inspired by futile greed, and discipline accompanied with regular rations and administered solely for their own benef- fit . . . Compared with their normal condition of existence, the most rigorous discipline which would be needed to secure the complete success of any new individual organization would be an escape from slavery into freedom.¹

These quotations may offer some clues to the basic question of this paper, namely—what is the nature of, and what are the factors contributing toward, the compliance relationship in The Salvation Army? How does one explain the social order of this organization? It is clear from Booth's writings that he saw the basis for social order in terms of the general agreement of values. Hence the need for conversion from an old order based on force and restraint to a new order based on common allegiance to God and His Will as interpreted by The Salvation Army. Booth was also keenly aware of the distribution of property as a source for order or disorder. As quoted above, he feels that non-Christians, provided with economic assets, will willingly comply with required discipline.

To ascertain the relative weight given to each of the variables in the well-known cliche, "soup, soap and salvation" is another way of expressing the search for the basis of social order within this organization. Is it a utilitarian organization with economic sanctions, a normative one with normative sanctions, a dual type—if so, in what proportions?

Answers to the above questions would require more insight into the organization than is claimed here. Little is known of the orientation of formal leaders to the authority they possess aside from the writings of Booth, which they presumably accept. Only three Officers above position of Corps Officer were interviewed. It may be presumed that the attitudes of Corps Officers towards authority may be somewhat similar to that of those in positions of greater authority, since it is the goal of many of these Officers to move upward into higher positions. On the other hand, the transition may also result in a change of orientation.

The structural aspect of power, its kinds and distribution is outlined below. Further study of this area would need to include greater detail in terms of decision-making, succession, promotion, etc.

Our primary concern is with the response of the subordinate to this power. The pattern of this response is its structural aspect. The orientation leading to such manifestation of commitment will be analysed in terms of the socialization process leading towards it. This is also the outline of the following materials:

- Structural aspects of power;
- Pattern of response of subordinate;
- Factors leading to desired orientation.
CHAPTER II

HIERARCHY AND SOURCES OF POWER

Positions of Power

"Power positions are positions whose incumbents regularly have access to means of power."¹ It is contended here that power, as earlier defined, is not the exclusive monopoly of any one person or position, but, in varying degrees and through different means, a characteristic of all members of the organization, and indeed, of those outside its membership. Despite constitutional articles to the contrary, no simple dichotomy between the rulers and the ruled can be useful in any study of the compliance relationship in The Army. Both the General and the Soldier have power, but this power differs in degree, in scope, in source and in the means to which it has access. With this in mind we may make what would otherwise be precarious distinctions. We shall refer to those in positions higher than Corps Officers as "elites", and to soldiers and adherants as "lower participants". The vertical reference is simply to the hierarchical chain of command illustrated below, on page 20.

Anyone familiar with the structure and language of the English military system will readily understand the formal organizational structure of The Salvation Army. William Booth himself stated that he had learned more from the English Military Manuals than from the church books, when setting up the structure of The Army. The Corps Cadet lesson on "Structure of The Army refers to "... the chain of command which helps keep The Army machine running smoothly and effectively".²

¹Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations, p. 5.
²From mimeographed Lessons for Corps Cadets, Vancouver Temple Corps, Lesson No. 1.
Illustration No. 1

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

GENERAL

Chief of Staff

International Secretary

International Secretary

International Secretary

Territorial Commander

Staff Secretary

Chief Secretary

Financial Secretary

Field Secretary

Social Secretary

Divisional Commander

Chancellor

Divisional Youth Secretary

Corps Officer

Census Board

Corps Membership

For a more detailed chart on Territorial Organization, see Table No. 5, p. 94, Appendix.
Although the functions of some of these Offices will be treated in greater detail, the preceding diagram can be interpreted as follows:

### Illustration No. 2

**GENERAL DUTIES OF OFFICES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Duties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>International Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief of Staff</td>
<td>Chief Administrative Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Secretaries</td>
<td>Six in number, they have certain administrative responsibilities for groups of territories, placed under the Secretaries' jurisdiction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territorial Commander</td>
<td>An Officer, usually with the rank of Commissioner, having responsibility of The Army's operations in a country or territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Secretary</td>
<td>An Officer second in command in a Territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Secretary</td>
<td>An Officer responsible for Corps Officers and their interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff Secretary</td>
<td>Responsible for the welfare of all Officers within the specified Territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divisional Commander</td>
<td>Responsible for the Army's activities in a division. Each Territory is divided into divisions—in Canada there are fourteen divisions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chancellor</td>
<td>Administrative assistant to the Divisional Commander.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corps Officer</td>
<td>In charge of Corps activities. A Corps is similar in function and organization to a Protestant Church, with the role of Corps Officer corresponding with the role of a minister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Census Board</td>
<td>Nine Corps members (soldiers), appointed as Local Officers, with specified duties and power in a local Corps.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These are the major power positions in The Salvation Army structure. Positions, however, must be distinguished from rank. Though a high rank is generally associated with a high position, the relationship is not always direct. Rank terminology is taken directly from military usage. Changes in the British military terminology are usually followed by changes in Salvation Army terminology. Consequently certain ranks now held by Officers are considered obsolete.

Commissioned Officer ranks may be roughly grouped with appropriate positions in this way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration No. 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RANKS AND POSITIONS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cadet</th>
<th>Corps Officer</th>
<th>Field and Social Service Positions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second Lieutenant</td>
<td>District Youth Secretary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Lieutenant</td>
<td>Social Service Officers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brigadier</th>
<th>Chancellor</th>
<th>Staff Positions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Colonel</td>
<td>Divisional Commander</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonel</td>
<td>Department Heads</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Commissioner</td>
<td>Field Secretary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner</td>
<td>Staff Secretary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>Chief Secretary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Territorial Commander</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International Secretaries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chief of Staff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Salvation Army sees its work as being divided into three major areas: Staff, Field and Social Services. Staff work consists of secretarial, financial, public relations and other administrative functions. Persons appointed to Staff work will be either senior Officers in positions such as Divisional Commander; or Junior Officers, many females, employed as secretaries, book-keepers, and so forth. Soldiers, or members of other denominations
may also be employed in clerical work. It is desired that all persons employed by The Salvation Army be of that denomination, but the demand exceeds the supply.

Field work, also called Evangelistic Work, is primarily carried out through the activities of the Corps. Social Service work, the work for which The Salvation Army is perhaps best known, involves the rehabilitation of alcoholics, operation of thrift stores, summer camping programs for the underprivileged, and so on. Several informants pointed out that increasingly heavy emphasis on social service activity has resulted in a discrepancy between the stated purpose of The Army and actual accomplishments.

Field work, once involving an active evangelistic thrust by way of street meetings and rallies designed to make possible the establishing of new Corps, is now primarily the task of ministering to the needs of second and third generation members in a manner similar to most Protestant churches. Social Service work, previously valued as instrumental in aiding the evangelistic thrust of the Field Officers, is today the major source of converts from outside Salvation Army ranks.

Sources of Power

Having briefly sketched the organizational structure with its hierarchy of power, from the Census Board to the General, an examination of the sources of power may be helpful prior to a discussion of the nature of the Corps Officer's compliance.

For purpose of clarity, it is useful to classify the various actors in this system according to Etzioni's "Paradigm for the Comparative Study of Lower Elites"\textsuperscript{1}. Since this study is concerned more with the nature of

\textsuperscript{1}Etzioni, A Compararive Analysis of Complex Organizations, pp. 89 ff.
compliance than it is with power, Etzioni's rather general categories may be adequate here. He distinguishes between actors according to source of power. The two primary sources are seen as: Personal Power (Weber's 'charisma') and/or Power derived from office (rational-legal).

Actors whose power is derived mainly from their position in the organization are referred to as Officers. Actors whose power is derived from their personal characteristics are referred to as leaders as long as the kind of power involved is normative . . . Actors who occupy organizational offices which entail power, and who also have personal power over their subordinates, are referred to as formal leaders . . . Actors within the organization who have personal but not official power over lower participants are referred to as informal leaders.¹

When classified according to definition, we have the following typology:

**Illustration No. 4**

**SOURCE OF POWER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Power:</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power derived from office:</td>
<td>Formal Leaders</td>
<td>Informal Leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>(Staff: from Divisional Commander to General)</td>
<td>(Census Board: Local Officers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>Non-Elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Field and Social Services: Corps Officers, social workers, some administrative and Advisory Board Members)</td>
<td>(Soldiers and Adherants)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**²**Advisory Board Members, not mentioned earlier, are persons from outside the Salvation Army organization, who advise The Army on its administration of Community Welfare Projects. Members are usually prominent businessmen, asked to serve by The Salvation Army. They are what Etzioni would call 'external elites' who have power over the participants but do not constitute part of the organization. Their function would be significant in any study of the relationship of the organization to its environment.

¹Ibid., p. 90.
This typology is indeed a rough approximation of The Salvation Army hierarchy, as indicated in Illustration No. 4. Using this classification as a general framework, the four groups will be discussed in terms of source of power.

**Formal Leaders.**—By definition, a formal leader is one who occupies an office which entails power and who also has personal power over his subordinates. What is meant by "personal power"? As indicated earlier, it is intended as the equivalent to Weber's 'charisma'. "Charisma", too, has been defined and re-defined until the reuse of the term demands re-definition.

Weber stated that:

> ... The term 'charisma' shall be understood to refer to an extraordinary quality of a person, regardless of whether this quality is actual, alleged or presumed. 'Charismatic' authority, hence, shall refer to rule over men ... to which the governed submit because of their belief in the extraordinary quality of the specific person.

The essential difference between charismatic and rational legal power is that the former is derived from the person while the latter is derived from office. Etzioni has re-specified charisma as: "the ability of an actor to exercise diffuse and intense influence over the normative orientation of other actors"^2, to which we would add, "by virtue of his person".

This distinguishes the term from authority, which implies that "... the subject holds in abeyance his own criteria for decision and action and accepts as legitimate the directives of his superiors".^3

---


^3 Ibid.
In contrast, ". . . charisma implies that the subjects have been influenced to modify some of their own criteria".\(^1\)

This is a significant distinction, especially for the study of a religious organization. Charisma, a Greek term meaning "gift of grace", is part of Biblical terminology. The Biblical account describes Christ as "Full of grace". To use the above definition, it follows that Christ's disciples followed, not because they held their own criteria for decision in abeyance, but rather that they were influenced to modify these criteria in the direction of obedience to Christ. There is also in Christian teaching the belief that the Christian convert partakes of the nature of Christ. In a sense then, every Christian could be seen as one who is endowed with at least some charisma, due to the relationship with Christ. At this point, however, the theological and sociological conceptions of charisma diverge, since it is obvious that, for example Weber's description of charisma would not apply to everyone who called himself a Christian (and does indeed apply to some who are not Christians). Within The Salvation Army, however, this personal power is considered a gift of grace in the Biblical sense and those who possess much of it are referred to as "saintly", "great men of God". The two groups of persons to whom I heard reference made in such terms were either older, retired Officers, or senior members of the Staff, such as the General, or a Commissioner. Charisma is an important source of power in The Salvation Army and needs consideration here in terms of the compliance it evokes.

It is obvious from the literature, that already, in less that a century since his death, Booth has become somewhat of a legend. Biographical discrepancies, slight though they are, seem to reveal a tendency for historians to dramatize and to see the extra-ordinary in the ordinary.

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 204.
On the first page on one biography, the author states: "Nine months before the birth of William Booth, the town was swept and flooded by the most angry tempest within living memory; three days after his birth immense masses of rock gave way . . . .\(^1\) It is, however, not necessary to make subtle inferences of miraculous conception, to show that Booth was possessed of extraordinary strength, vision and ability. Already as a teenager he, "... startled most of his listeners by the strength and fire of his rugged religious energy"\(^2\).

When first appointed pastor of the Bethesda Chapel, attendance averaged 120. "Before many weeks it was not uncommon for 2,000 people to crowd into the chapel, in which conversions were so numerous that it became known as 'the converting ship'."\(^3\)

Another writer describes him in 1908: "The central figure in the Mission was, of course, the General. Tall and dark, with one corner of his Inverness cape flung back over his shoulder, he presented a striking picture. I never knew him to fail in gathering and holding an East End crowd."\(^4\)

His son, Bramwell, whose bias if such there be would be quite understandable, wrote of his father:

Men who came into contact with him, even when they could not speak his language, nor he theirs, were conscious of his authority. Thousands could have echoed the remark of the old Irish prizefighter in the East End, when explaining how he came to surrender to William Booth at the first encounter, 'Sure, there was something strange about him that laid hold of a man', and later, after he had been brought down before God, 'I got up from my knees ready to die for that man'.\(^5\)

\(^2\)The Salvation Army, Its Origin and Development, p. 3.
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 5.
\(^5\)Bramwell Booth, Echoes and Memories (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1925), p. 49.
Even the name of "Booth" carried with it a charismatic quality. Wilson notes that each of Booth's sons-in-law added "Booth" to his surname. Emma became a Booth-Tucher, Lucy a Booth Hellburg, and Kate a Booth-Clibborn. Wilson adds, "This must not be regarded as domestic glorification. The public wanted it. The Army wanted it. For the name Booth was magic . . .".

The process by which the source of power shifted from that of person to office began with Booth's first successor, his son Bramwell. He was known as a good businessman, a hard, devoted worker, with little personal charm. He was the organization man behind the scenes during his father's tenure. Weber has suggested in outlining the stages in the development of Bureaucracy, "... the specialized knowledge of the expert became the foundation for the power-position of the office-holder".

The routinization of charisma was seen by many Salvationists as a threat to the continuity of The Army. They were afraid, as William Booth had earlier complained, that the Army would be run by "dried-up theoretical legislators". Senior Officers, on the other hand, were more amenable to the change and concerned that Generals be nominated on the basis of technical ability rather than charismatic qualities. Those in positions most readily affected by the General, were interested in the regularity and predictability characteristic of a rational-legal approach. Consequently, one of the most severe crises to threaten the continuity of The Salvation Army occurred near the end of Bramwell Booth's term when the constitution was amended so that no General would be able to appoint his own successor but rather that each General be elected by the High Council.


The position of General is thus the only elected position in The Salvation Army today. The person most likely to succeed the General is the Chief of Staff. Some of the controversy which raged during the amendment of the constitution is interesting and relevant here. Ervine saw nothing commendable in the change. He wrote:

Time will strengthen the tendency, now that the General's nomination has been ended, which is a pity, for it will result in the appointment of a General who is a legalist and an administrator rather than one who is a prophet and seer. The possibility that a William Booth would ever again become a General of The Salvation Army was almost certainly prevented when election by High Council was substituted for nomination by the General. Bureaucratic businessmen will henceforth rule The Army, men of high spiritual perception are now, humanly speaking, barred from the Generalship, and perhaps from all great authority . . . the prospect is dismal, and may justly cause those who admire The Army to fear that its life will be short and spiritually barren.¹

. . . (W. Booth) . . . was primarily a prophet. But a General who is primarily a businessman will soon cease to be more than a nominal leader if he is compelled to spend long periods of each year in campaigns. And if the General is to become a figurehead, then the principle of heredity had better have been retained; for a Booth, because he is a Booth, has claims on the attention of the world not possessed by any other person.²

A review of the seven men and one woman who have held the position of General would seem to indicate that although the tendency has been in the direction of the bureaucratic businessman, personal power has played its part. An example was the election of General Evangeline Booth, in 1934. She is described as possessing extraordinary qualities of person. Although very near retirement, her election at a time of some international dissention within the Salvation Army appears to have contributed much towards unification.

²Ibid.
Impressions received from attendance at one service at which General Coutts was welcomed to Vancouver, are that the prestige of the office far exceeds the charisma of the incumbent at this time.

The Vancouver Corps had certainly gone all-out for the above occasion. The entrance of the General was preceded by some forty standard-bearers, carrying flags of as many countries. Long sheets of paper draped over the lights were opened simultaneously at the pull of strings, resulting in thousands of small colored leaflets fluttering down upon the entire audience. Each leaflet contained words of welcome for the General. All this to the marching tempo of the fully-uniformed Band. The General was clearly the center of attraction. In various imaginative ways he was assured, in word, skit and song, of the whole-hearted support of his people. A young girl, representing the youth groups of this area, made a short speech pledging the obedience, respect, and support of the youth of B. C. "... to you, our General".

The General's message could hardly be described with the adjectives once used to describe the sermons of The Founder. The carefully prepared and organized text, delivered with enthusiasm yet dignity, ended promptly and decisively as planned. There were few "asides", and if the distinction can be made, it was directed to the mind rather than the emotions. Anyone looking for the Blood and Fire type of approach would have been disappointed.

The formal power of the office of the General is indeed extensive. Aside from the right of nominating his successor, the authority of the General has changed little since the first General. The constitutional authority of the General is such that all offices are his to assign. "He can appoint, promote, degrade or remove any person he pleases, and, if he
has the wish, can arrange a High Council entirely composed of persons conformable to his will.\textsuperscript{1}

This arrangement is in contrast to the position of General in The Order of Jesuits. The Jesuit hierarchy consists of the individual Jesuit—Superior—Rector—Provincial—General—Pope—God. Mooney feels that here, if anywhere, one would find the elimination of the "Staff Principle". By Staff Principle he refers to the right of subordinates to be heard. This right means that although superiors must make decisions, they are guilty of breaking the rules if they refuse to listen to subordinates. Mooney states that closer examination reveals the "Staff Principle" at work here as well:

The General is surrounded by a Council to whose advice in important matters he must listen before his decisions are made... These counselors are chosen by the general congregation. They are not appointed by the General and are not removeable by him.\textsuperscript{2}

Mooney refers to this latter aspect as "Staff independence". The Counselor is not dependent on the man whom he counsels—hence the danger of "yes men" is eliminated.

The Officer's Handbook, in describing the extent of The Salvation Army General's authority, states:\textsuperscript{3}

In particular, the General:
(a) directs all existing work;
(b) orders or approves all extensions both in regard to work in new countries and new kinds of work in countries already occupied;
(c) appoints the Territorial Commander and other leading Officers in the various Territories;
(d) exercises control over the Officers of The Army in that all Commissions are issued by his authority and in the case of higher ranks, either directly by him or with his approval;
(e) regulates all the literature, music and songs of The Army;
(f) arranges all titles and uniforms.

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid.


\textsuperscript{3}The Salvation Army, Orders and Regulations for Officers, pp. 11-12.
The chief function of the General today appears to be the delegation of authority to lower elites. Contact with lower participants is distant and impersonal, despite efforts to communicate via extensive travels and frequent articles in "The War Cry". As in the military the chief unit is the Division. Lower elites and lower participants speak often of the Divisional Commander, but little of the General. Few informants knew anything about the General's duties aside from generalizations. It may well be that sheer size has been the most important variable in determining the role of the General today. Despite constitutional authority there is little possibility of today's General receiving the accusations of "dictator", "autocrat", as did the first General. In his annual report in the Salvation Army Yearbook, 1965, General Coutts said:

What future changes may take place in its domestic structure is as God may guide. Certainly no Harold Begbie of the future in any biography of a General still to be will have cause to head one of his chapters, 'The troubles of an overworked and suffering Autocrat'.

Little information is available regarding the reciprocal relationship existing between the General and the High Council. Although members of The Salvation Army High Council may be removed from office by the General, there are several reasons why they need not merely act as "yes-men". For one thing, they may remove a General from office. Secondly, the General is dependent on them to transmit and execute orders. He is also dependent on them for information regarding the various Territories. He himself cannot, without their help, remain adequately informed for purposes of decision-making. It is the specialized knowledge of these experts which is the foundation of their power.

---


2The High Council consists of The Chief of Staff, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, all Commissioners not on the retired list, and all Officers holding Territorial Commands regardless of rank. The number of members is about fifty.
positions. Weber has suggested that this need for knowledge plus the extension of administration typically results in the lord no longer being satisfied:

... by occasional consultation with individuals and proved confidents or even with an assembly of such men called together intermittently... the lord begins to surround himself with collegiate bodies who deliberate and resolve in continuous session.¹

It has been suggested that The Salvation Army General work closely with such collegiate bodies, but the political consideration that this would result in a British rather than an international body has restrained its formation. Aside from meeting once every four years at the call of the General, the High Council does not formally exist. It may be that the personnel at International Headquarters in London act as a type of Council in their relation to the General throughout the year.

Although it is obvious that a General is not elected by any officials whom he has appointed, it is conceivable, under the present arrangements, that a Chief of Staff might influence an incumbent General to appoint such Commissioners as are favorably disposed to the Chief of Staff, and might support his election when the time comes.

We have said then that the General's power lies in his position, but that charismatic qualities will enhance his ability to influence people, and as such is considered a desireable trait. For other elites personal power does not seem to be as important. The power of Commissioners and Territorial Commanders resides in their offices and its concomitant expertise. This writer's impressions are that the General and the Divisional Commander rely more on personal power than do the other elites. The divisional unit is in itself a miniature Salvation Army, with the Divisional Commander's role similar to that of General. Both are symbols of The Army.

¹Gerth and Mills, From Max Weber, p. 236.
**Officers.**—The typology defines Officers as those whose power resides in their office rather than in personal charismatic qualities. While generally true regarding Corps and Social Service Officers of The Army, this must be considered an analytical distinction, rather than as a precise description of the Officers mentioned. In a hierarchical system, such as The Salvation Army, charismatic persons are detected and directed towards appropriate positions, usually those called "formal leaders", as in the preceding section. The system of seniority and promotion, however, demands that the person with charismatic qualities move through the appropriate positions and ranks before becoming a formal leader. Charisma, being a quality of a person, is not suddenly acquired upon promotion to leadership positions. For this reason it is to be found among the ranks of the Corps Officers, Census Board members and also lower participants.

A 600 page manual prescribes in detail the duties of the Corps Officer. The Manual* stresses both instrumental and expressive functions, but it is probably accurate, in keeping with Fichter's studies on clergymen and priests, that more time is spent on instrumental rather than expressive activities. The numerous Corps activities would seem to demand a high degree of organizational efficiency.

From one winter's attendance at three local Corps one cannot help but be impressed at the number of "special services", with "special" itinerating Salvation Army speakers. The ordinary Salvation Army service is quite routine, with little attempt to demonstrate charismatic qualities. The special services are, on the contrary, highly emotional, with displays of musical and vocal eloquence. The ordinary participant does not seem to look to his Corps Officer for charismatic qualities, desirable though they may be. He

---

1The Salvation Army, Orders and Regulations for Officers.  
anticipates such inspiration from special services and expects his own Corps Officer to see to it that these services are held and coordinated into the local program. The practice seems to be that such Officers as display charismatic qualities, be put in such positions as will enable them to itinerate and share this quality with others. Of the six graduating cadets from the Toronto College, who visited Vancouver this Spring, one young man showed particular "speaking ability". Later, several participants remarked: "He'll really go places with The Army". They did not expect him to remain a Corps Officer.

It would seem that the Officer's power lies in the indispensability of his office. He is directly involved in the achievements of the goals of The Army. The source of power rests in the possibility of non-participation.

Informal leaders.—Those participants who have personal but not formal power pose a particular problem for any organization. The possibilities of rebellion or secession must be averted and the potential contribution of such persons capitalized upon. It may not be possible to absorb these potential leaders into full-time organization positions without training. This in turn depends on the individual's willingness to move in this direction. An untrained, informal leader may pose a threat to the stability of an organization.

Selznick has pointed out that normative organizations have developed the mechanism of cooptation. He has defined it as, "the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence".¹

This means that persons who are unwilling or unable to undergo the training required for formal positions, but have leadership abilities, are given positions and tasks especially designed to make it possible for them to contribute and to maintain commitment. In the Salvation Army this would appear to be at least one function of the Census Board. Here local leaders may express themselves. Each member receives a special commission to the Census Board and considerable importance is attached to membership. Each Corps has a Census Board consisting of nine local Officers.

A local Officer is:

... a soldier who is placed in a position of responsibility and authority in his own Corps, and who carries out the work to which he is appointed, without being separated from his regular employment and without receiving any remuneration from The Army.¹

Before appointment, every local Officer is "... required to sign a bond promising to be a model of good conduct and devotion to The Salvation War, to wear uniform when on duty, to abstain from the use of tobacco and to comply with other requirements".² Although they receive their orders from the Corps Officer, they are not appointed by him and "Except in extraordinary circumstances, the Corps Officer cannot remove them from their position without the authority of the Divisional Commander".³ Like Corps Officers, they are appointed by the Divisional Commander under authority of the Territorial Field Secretary.

The more important positions to which local Officers may be appointed are: Corps Sergeant-Major (care of converts and establishing them for soldiership), Corps Secretary, Corps Treasurer, Young Peoples' Sergeant-Major, Corps Cadet Guardian (in charge of Bible class with express purpose

²Ibid.
³Ibid.
of training young people for service), Bandmaster, Songster-leader (The Salvation Army never uses the term "hymns", but rather "songs"), Home League Secretary. These nine Officers comprise the Census Board. This Board meets monthly and is authorized to accept new soldiers as well as to remove such who fail to meet requirements. (The latter, according to informants, is happening less frequently all the time, and is, in fact, quite unusual). In addition this Board is charged with general business matters, such as the care of property. Since all buildings are owned by International Headquarters, any expenses or alterations to the building above a cost of $25.00 must be approved by the Staff Secretary in Toronto.

The authority structure of the local Corps could be illustrated as below, with solid lines indicating the formal flow of power and broken lines indicating informal flow of power.

Illustration No. 5
THE AUTHORITY STRUCTURE OF THE LOCAL CORPS

The formal power of the Divisional Commander lies in his appointment of the Corps Officer and the Census Board. The Corps Officer, placed in command of a Corps, is aware that local officers and any soldiers may appeal directly
to the Divisional Commander against the decision of the Corps Officer.\(^1\) In both the case of the Corps Officer and the local Officer, the price of cooptation is the delegation of some degree of power. Selznick stated the dilemma this way:

Formal cooptation ostensibly shares authority, but in so doing is involved in a dilemma. The real point is the sharing of the public symbols or administrative burdens of authority, and consequently public responsibility; without the transfer of substantive power; it therefore becomes necessary to insure that the coopted elements do not get out of hand, do not take advantage of their formal position to enroach upon the actual arena of decision . . . this paradox is one of the sources of persistent tension between theory and practice in organizational behavior. The leadership, by the very nature of its position, is committed to two conflicting goals: if it ignores the need for participation, the goal of cooperation may be jeopardized; if participation is allowed to go too far, the continuity of leadership and policy may be threatened.\(^2\)

Two other Salvation Army movements offer positions to lower elites. In several of the Vancouver Corps, Young Married Couples Clubs have been organized. This in itself is not unusual—Corps Officers have organized these in Corps for many years. In at least one of the Vancouver groups, the Officers of the Club are elected by the Club participants. This is in direct violation of General Booth's advice, and the Corps Officer said, "They (my superiors) don't like it, but have said nothing". A similar remark was made by another Corps Officer, who stated that his Youth Group elected its own officers.

Another movement, as yet organized only in Eastern Canada is the Salvation Army Layman's Council. This voluntary group, organized outside the constitution of The Army, has as its goals, in the words on one ex-Officer and supporter, "More say-so for the laymen in how The Army is run". The Council is organized on democratic principles and is an outlet for leaders without formal office. The rise and development of this Council will be interesting, but little information is, as yet, available.

\(^1\)The Salvation Army, Orders and Regulations for Officers, p. 87.

Non-elites. — Those who have neither formal nor personal power are not without influence. Without formal vote, they are able to register their opinions via discussion with the Corps Officer or even the Divisional Commander. As with the Corps Officer, their most powerful vote is that of participation or withdrawal. It is interesting that several of the Corps Officers felt that the Salvation Army measured success too much in terms of numbers.* Attendance records are carefully kept and submitted to the Divisional Commander. It may be suggested that in organizations where the expressions of opinions via vote or discussion is limited, greater emphasis will be placed on the significance of numbers alone. In such an organization the measurement of attendance is roughly equivalent to the counting of ballots.
CHAPTER III

THE COMPLIANCE RELATIONSHIP OF THE CORPS OFFICER

In the preceding chapter, the relationships between various power-positions were outlined. It was also shown that in The Salvation Army organization, with the source of power as the distinguishing feature, members of the organization could be grouped into four categories.

In this chapter we move from these general observations to the specific compliance relationship of the Corps Officer. What is the expected and what is the actual response of the Corps Officer to the orders of the elite? What is the power of the elite over the Corps Officer? What are the ways in which the elite recognizes the power of the Corps Officer? What is the constitutional procedure regarding this relationship, and how does this compare with actual behavior? How is the problem of achieving organizational goals and meeting the individual needs of the Officers dealt with? These questions form the basis for the following material. The scope of inquiry is limited to several factors regarding the deployment of Officers. Aspects such as appointments, frequency of transfer, rate of defection, were chosen for several reasons. They are easily amenable to measurement. Intimate knowledge of the day to day working relationship between Corps Officer and Divisional Commander might provide a greater degree of insight, but such knowledge is not available here. On the other hand, it may be suggested that matters of appointments, transfers, and promotions, are strategic sites, where both the order and response may be considered indicative of the day to day relationship. Then too, it is in these areas that the prescribed behavior of both elites and Corps Officers is most clearly
outlined in the Official Rules and Regulations. Deviance is thus more easily detected and effort can be spent on the search for its causes rather than its manifestations.

**Scope of Subordination**

The aspects to be studied are directly related to the role of the Corps Officer, as a Corps Officer. They apply equally to all Corps Officers, whether married or single, parent or non-parent, male or female. They apply to the position of Corps Officer, regardless of the incumbent, though as we shall see, personal considerations play an important part. The subordination of the Corps Officer is not, however, confined to those matters one would ordinarily associate with his role as Corps Officer. Although we are aware of various informal pressures to which a bank manager is subject, his choice of wife is not officially restricted to any specific class or category.

This distinction between private and public roles becomes more difficult when considering the Corps Officer. The commitment of the Officer to the organization is intended to be as all-inclusive as possible. Commitment is measured in terms of compliance with expectations. These expectations make little distinction between private and public roles. "Salvationists will be so tied down they will not be able to make a move or drink a cup of tea without leave from Headquarters . . . the introduction of Jesuitism."\(^1\)

A review of the revisions through which the various orders and regulations have passed, would indicate that the prescriptions relating to the private role of the Officers have become less specified and detailed. Where earlier editions had specifically singled out, by name, several newspapers as prohibited reading, the 1942 edition simply states, "(The Officer) . . . should not waste time over what is only of passing interest; the newspaper for example, being read strictly in moderation".\(^2\)

---

2The Salvation Army, Orders and Regulations for Officers, p. 72.
It is considered to be in the best interests of both the Salvation Army and the individual Officer, that the matters of courtship and marriage and conducted within certain guidelines, set forth in various Orders and Regulations. It is required that an Officer marry an Officer. Permission to enter into correspondence (written or otherwise) with intention of marriage with another Officer may be granted to an Officer, but no engagement can be recognized during the period of a man's Officer's Lieutenancy. Under certain conditions, one of them being successful work in the field for one year (provided the age is over twenty-three years), consent to be engaged before the man becomes a full Officer may be given.

If a man-Officer wishes to enter into correspondence with a lady who is not an Officer, he cannot do so until he is a fully commissioned Officer and his fiance is an accepted candidate for Officership. No engagement can be agreed to until the fiance has been appointed an Officer.

Cadets in training are prohibited from entering into any communications with a view either to engagement or marriage. Further: "Consent will be given to the correspondence or engagement of Officers when the persons concerned appear, in the judgement of their leaders, suited to one another and likely to promote each other's usefulness and happiness in The Army". ¹

This type of concern is summarized in the statement: "The relationship in which Headquarters stands to Officers, numbers of whom are young and inexperienced, involves the responsibility of watching over their personal interests, and especially so to ... (marriage) ...". ²

¹Ibid., p. 113.
²Ibid.
Much scriptural support is rallied to aid the Army's emphasis upon the essential equality of man and woman. Members consider The Army a pioneer in the liberation of womanhood and the raising of female dignity. Both men and women may hold any rank or position in The Army. There has, however, been only one female General and most senior positions are staffed by men. The continued emphasis on equality makes one wonder whether the Salvation Army has been able to combine some of the advantages of celibacy without the rejection of sex.

This emphasis is of significance when one looks at the Officership. As noted earlier, both husband and wife are Officers—both are responsible to Headquarters and both are commissioned. The wife-Officer is not only a housewife—she is also on duty as a Salvation Army Officer. It would be interesting to study the role-strain in this situation.

A Staff Officer*, in relating various aspects of his work, pointed to a letter on his desk and referred to a decision which he had just made. The problem was this: A wife-Officer from an out-of-town Corps was invited by a Vancouver Corps to speak at a ladies' function. She had accepted the invitation. The problem was with her husband. Although he had no official reason to accompany his wife to Vancouver, he would like to do so. Would it be permissible? The Staff Officer said, "We discussed it, remembered that he was a hard worker doing a good job and probably needing a little rest, so we okayed it".

The aspect of marriage is included here as one indication of the scope of subordination. With the awareness that aspects studied below constitute only some areas of subordination, we turn to them now.

**Appointments**

Upon graduation from Training College, each Officer receives his first commission. This commission is one of many appointments in an Officer's
life which are of central importance to this study. An Officer's appointment is an order from Headquarters. As such it expresses the thinking of leadership and offers opportunity to study the response of the subordinate towards both the appointment and towards those who issue it. The frequency of appointment affects the Officer's mobility. Its nature is indicative of Headquarters' evaluation of the Officer's work and an assessment of his capabilities, and thus is also the means whereby an Officer considers himself either promoted or demoted.

Both the Officer's 'contract' and his manual make very clear that the Officer accept all his appointments "as from the Lord". This is further spelled out in that:

The Officer should leave his appointment unreservedly in the hands of his Superior Officer, trusting that God will guide them in sending him where he can most effectually advance the Kingdom of Christ. . . . In view of the frequent changes in the life of an Officer and the uncertainty of his movements, a real committal of himself to the leadership of those over him in the Lord, together with a full reliance upon God for directing them, will save him from much disturbing care and enable him joyfully to go anywhere and do anything calculated to save the largest number of souls, or otherwise to accomplish the greatest good.¹

It is further stated that, "should the appointment, for some reason, appear undesirable, the Officer should avoid being depressed on that account and in no circumstances should he express dissatisfaction."² It is in the area of appointments that we see most clearly the dilema of realizing the goals of the institution and meeting the needs of its individual members.

¹Ibid., p. 454.
²Ibid.
Officers were asked, "What is the primary factor influencing appointments—the need of the Army or the needs of the individual members?" Each one felt that the needs of the Army is the determining factor, but most hastened to add that the individual was also taken into consideration. These also agreed that the individual's needs were now being given much more attention than they were a generation ago. A few, notably senior Officers, emphasized that there need be no conflict and that "what's good for the Army is good for the Officer".

Officially, the tension is recognized:

In arranging appointments Army leaders are governed, above all else, by the needs of the Salvation War; that is, they strive as far as is possible, to place each Officer where he will be most useful. To this end:

(a) Health, capabilities, family, and other of the Officer's personal affairs are taken into consideration as far as circumstances allow.

(b) The principle of advancing to wider opportunities Officers who have proved worthy is acted upon whenever possible. But such advance does not necessarily mean an easier command or a higher position; on the contrary it will often involve greater hardship and more difficult work.

The Salvation Army has developed a rather unique and dramatic method of communicating its appointment-orders. Any Officer, may, at any time, receive a letter containing his "Farewell Orders". This document simply states that the addressed Officer shall prepare to receive his Marching Orders. This is all that is conveyed apart from the printed material emphasizing the good of the Army and the Lord's leading of the Officer's Superiors.

---

1 There seems to be a general tendency on the part of Salvationists to speak about (and, I suspect, exaggerate) the dictatorial aspects of the Salvation Army as it was "years ago". This tendency may serve two functions: one—today's members may vicariously enjoy the heroic glory of the pioneers; two—contrast with the past makes present authority appear more democratic than it really is and gives the sensation of 'progress'.

2 Orders and Regulations for Officers of The Salvation Army, p. 455.
Theoretically, the Officer has been given no advance indication whatsoever that he will soon be transferred. Precisely one week\(^1\) from reception of the "Farewell Orders", the Officer receives his "Marching Orders". This week is a period of anxious expectation on the part of the farewelling Officer. The Marching Orders indicate two things: one—the destination and position of the farewelling Officer; two—the name of the Officer's successor.

In addition, it is usual for the Officer to receive some communication from his Divisional Commander at this time. The Divisional Commander will wish the Officer every blessing and also advise as to how best to leave the Officer's quarters for his successor. The Marching Orders also specify the exact date at which the Officer is to be at his new post. The usual time given is one week. Not knowing the distance of the transfer, the Officer will need to be ready to leave within one week from the first notice of transfer.

Several questions arise. What is the basis for appointments? Are Officers ever consulted or informed prior to the official notification? To what extent are the needs of the individual considered? What is the reaction of the Officer to his orders? What is the possibility and the advisability of an appeal, should the appointment not be satisfactory? These questions were put to the Officers who were interviewed, and their response forms the basis for the material which follows.\(^2\)

Each Officer's career, from cadet to present rank and position was followed, from appointment to appointment. The method of discussing each appointment separately proved much more fruitful than more general questions like, "Were you ever consulted as to the type of appointment you would prefer?".

\(^1\)Officers informed me that every effort is made to ensure that this period is **exactly** one week. *"It might be a day out either way, but that would be very unusual. If it has not arrived within seven days, you have a right to phone the Divisional Commander, who will then verbally inform you of your destination.*

\(^2\)For interview schedule, see Appendix, pp. 95-96.
Frequency of Transfer

The Officers interviewed had spent an average of 2.1 years at each appointment. This figure is meaningful to the extent that it illustrates The Salvation Army policy of brief assignments and frequent transfers. Corps Officers are rotated every two to three years with a four year term being unusual. The mean figure of 2.1 does not indicate the variation in length of assignments. First assignments tend to be brief, many only of one year duration. Corps Officers ministering in larger Corps tend to stay longer than those in smaller Corps. This figure does not include data from foreign missionary service. An Officer cannot be sent outside his Territory unless he volunteers for missionary service. Foreign assignments vary with place of assignment and are longer than Home Corps assignments. There is evidence, said the Officers interviewed, that the length of Corps assignments are tending to be longer. All Corps Officers interviewed viewed this favorably. "There is not enough time, under present arrangements, to really get to know your Corps members and help them"—this comment was made by several.*

There seem to be a good number of stated and unstated reasons for the high mobility required of Officers. There are several stated official reasons. One is that high mobility helps to keep Officers from becoming attached to the things of this world. It is one method of remaining a pilgrim. It is also obvious that Officers find it difficult to become truly attached to their Corps members. Nor is this entirely undesired. Although the manuals exhort Officers to love their Corps members, they are also warned that earthly attachments must not detract from the Salvation War. A certain measure of impersonality is implicitly, if not explicitly, encouraged. As in the case of marriage, human affections must not be allowed to hinder the conquest of souls. In this sense the Salvation Army incorporates the element of impersonality which Weber has related to a rational-legal bureaucracy.
Throughout Salvation Army history, the rapid and sudden transfer of Officers has been a technique of avoiding problems which threatened the total organization. Commissioner Railton explained it well:

We refuse to allow our Officers to stay very long in one place, lest they or the people should sink into the relationship of pastor and flock, and look to their mutual enjoyment and advantage rather than to the Salvation of others.¹

One soldier described the strategy well. He was, he said, not particularly impressed with his present Corps Officer. He had a number of complaints. "However", he said, "I won't say anything or make a fuss about it, because in a short while he will be transferred, and hopefully the new Corps Officer will be a better one". He also stated that there was little opportunity for the Corps members to align themselves with the Corps Officer or against him. "Thus", he said, "our system avoids the major factor in church schisms." If it should occur that he did not like the next Corps Officer any better he said he would "consider joining a different Corps."²

One also receives the impression that it is relatively easy for Salvation Army members to transfer membership from one Corps to another. This means that there are two ways out of an unpleasant situation—either wait and hope that the next Corps Officer will be better, or simply to transfer to another Corps. (Granted, the latter would be more difficult in places where only one Corps was nearby).

Staff Officers are transferred every five years. Experience in the United States especially revealed that when a National Commander was in one area longer than this, a type of loyalty grew up towards the Commander. Major Moore's case illustrated how a leader could secede from The Army and take his flock with him. Commander Evangeline Booth, who was National Commander in

the United States for fifteen years, was then recalled at the expense of intense national opposition which came near to dividing The Army along geographic boundaries. The dilemma here is similar to that discussed in terms of cooptation earlier. When is the Corps Officer's ability to influence his congregation adequate to produce desired cooperation, but not greater than that of the Divisional Commander. Studies of the American soldier have indicated that "Soldiers who said their officers took 'a personal interest' in their men ... felt very much more ready for combat than did soldiers who felt hostile to their officers".¹

The tendency toward longer assignments would seem to indicate greater emphasis on the development of this 'personal interest'. The official literature usually defends the frequent transfers on the basis of Army need. As one Officer put it, "We may have a good organizer in Corps A, but he can't preach well. Before the effect of his poor preaching is visible, he will be succeeded by an Officer who can speak well. The good organizer will be sent to a Corps where organization is needed". Such an Officer may simply go from place to place getting things organized.

A third reason was suggested somewhat reluctantly by one of the more candid as well as thoughtful Officers. He said, "The truth is, after two years we simply run out of preaching material. It's too bad, but we are not known to be students!". One is reminded here of the early Methodist three-year plan of ministerial transfer, and of John Wesley's comment that nobody has more than one hundred and fifty good sermons in him.² Officers do not seem adverse to the frequent transfers. "Where else", said one Officer, "could I meet so many people, see so many places and receive so much satisfaction?"

²Wilson, Evangeline Booth, pp. 115-116.
Secrecy

It is official policy of the Salvation Army that an Officer not be consulted prior to an appointment and that information as to time of farewell and destination follow the strict patterns as outlined earlier. In response to any general question regarding adherence to this practice today, most Officers, especially those in senior positions and other older Officers, will insist that the policy is very much in effect. Specific questioning on each appointment of the Officers interviewed reveals the following:

One-third of all appointments made had been preceded by some informal communication giving information either as to time of farewell or destination or both. The remaining two-thirds had been "complete surprises" except to the extent that Officers expect transfers every two to three years. Two out of twenty-six appointments were preceded by informal consultation by a superior Officer, explaining the reasons for a forthcoming specific appointment. Both of these appointments were considered 'demotions' and in each case the superior Officer assured the Officer that the appointment would be brief. Two out of twenty-six appointments were preceded by the superior Officer directly asking the Officer as to the type of appointment he would prefer. The subsequent appointments were made in accordance with the Officer's wishes.

Secrecy regarding appointments is inversely related to length of time spent in Salvation Army service. Most Officers feel that personal preferences are given more attention now than they were a generation ago*. Despite the relative absence of prior consultation as to appointment preferred, Officers were unanimous in their agreement that The Salvation Army seeks to make appointments favorable to the Officer. "The Army knows", said one Officer, "that a happy Officer is good for everyone. They try to keep us happy".* How does Headquarters know what will make an Officer happy? First, there are many opportunities for discussion and conversation with the Divisional
Commander, during which the Officer's likes and dislikes become known. The relationship is, however, an uneasy one. Officers agreed that they would be very careful not to express a desire for any specific appointment. A few were shocked at the very idea of such audacity. One Officer said, "If you ask for a specific Corps, you likely wouldn't get it. The Army couldn't work that way, if it catered to our wishes. But if you are more general, let's say if you sort of made it known that you'd like to be in the West, you would have a better chance. Even then it wouldn't be sure."*

Officers in Social Services have a better fore-knowledge of their appointments. Their technical skills, plus knowledge of particular vacancies and difficulties of personal replacement result in fairly accurate predictions. One such Officer stated, "I know I'll be here at least another year, because no one with my training is available at this time to replace me."*

The system of grading Corps gives Corps Officers some ability to predict by the process of elimination. All Corps are unofficially rated as small, medium and large. These categories do not indicate size only, but also take into consideration such factors as location, type of membership, past contributions to The Salvation Army in general, and so on. A Corps Officer expects that each new appointment will be a promotion. This is in keeping with policy. He can thus quite safely eliminate as possible appointments all Corps which would not be promotions. Other factors also enter. If his son has just begun attending U. B. C., he can be fairly sure that he will remain within that division. Furthermore, most moves occur during the months of May and June. This for two reasons: One—this is the time when cadets graduate from Training College and are ready for their first assignments. Two—this is also the time when children complete their school year, making a move less disrupting for them. As one Officer said, "During May and June all of us are a bit tense and watch our mail closely."*
A few suggestions can be made as to the function of secrecy in this organization. The withholding of information is one method of maintaining rank distinction. Access to information is, as Feld points out, directly related to rank and position in the military.¹ It is implied that the subordinate simply does not know the needs of the larger system and thus is unable to make choices in its best interests. Such decisions can best be made by those "in the know" and any request for explanation indicates doubt in the superior's ability to interpret, or source of, information. Attempts to give informal explanations of his decisions would indicate some uncertainty on the part of the superior and might, in fact, create anxiety for the subordinate.

Weber observed, "Every bureaucracy seeks to increase the superiority of the professionally informed by keeping their knowledge and intentions secret".² We have seen, however, that despite emphasis on secrecy, the withholding of information by Salvation Army elite is not of an absolute order. Feld has pointed out that:

The classic bureaucratic method for dealing with hostile clients is to do nothing for them, to starve them into submission. Secrecy in this case is a means of maintaining exclusive control over the machinery of administration. In the military sphere, however, the bureaucratic staff exercises its power in the giving of commands to inferiors. Unless the latter are actively engaged in carrying out orders, the staff itself is inert. The situation among the military is thus reversed. It is in the inactivity of inferiors that the veto threat lies. With 'inside' authority thus dependent upon 'outside' compliance, secrecy cannot be of an absolute order.³

Secrecy, combined with the pattern of rapid changeover of personnel, allows little time or opportunity to question the decision made. Within one week all preparations to move must be completed. Furnished quarters await the Officer at this new appointment. His present quarters will be occupied immediately upon his leaving. The appointment can hardly be questioned until the immediate and practical matters of moving are solved. It is not surprising that objections, if any, are usually made after the Officer has begun his new appointment.

Secrecy, rapidity of transfer, plus high mobility would seem an aid in the reduction of the "pastor-flock" relationship referred to earlier. Without prior indication of leave, it would seem that personal relationships would tend to be tenuous and temporary. No study was made on the nature of friendships made between, for example, an Officer and his family with their members and community. Secrecy would also reduce the possibility of Corps membership protesting the leave of a particular Officer.

One cannot discount the element of drama, surprise, and mystery which the policy of secrecy creates. Orders come unexpectedly and directions are precise. There is something here akin to the supernatural—a dazzling revelation before which questions are irreverant and "Here am I, send me", the only proper response. (Why this should be considered the proper response is a result of the socialization process—see Chapter IV.) Several Officers expressed relief at the freedom from decision-making which this pattern offers. "We make only one decision—the decision to join The Army—after that our decisions are made for us."

The farewell order may take the form of a public announcement. At one evening service, the Divisional Commander was called on to make an important announcement from International Headquarters, in London. That
such an announcement would be made was stated several times in the course
of the evening and there was a fair degree of suspense. The announcement
was this—a Senior Staff Officer from Vancouver (seated on the stage that
evening) was appointed to serve at International Headquarters in London,
England. Via telephone next morning, I asked this Staff Officer about the
farewell orders. Had he known about it previously? "Well", he said, "officially
not, but unofficially, yes. When you've been in the Salvation Army as long
as I have, with retirement very near, you may be consulted". He was quick to
point out though, that this was definitely not the case with younger Officers.*

Promotions, Demotions and Appeals

The Officer is subject to two major types of promotion. One is that
of rank and the other of position. Promotion within certain categories of
positions is also possible. Rank promotion follows this pattern:

Cadet—during two years at Training College; Lieutenant—from
graduation through three years of service; Captain—from Lieutenant through
eight years of service; Major—from Captain until seventeen years of service;
Brigadier—from Major until thirty years of service. Following the above
are Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel, Lieutenant Commissioner, Commissioner, and
General. Until recently the ranks of Captain and Major only, were awarded on
the basis of service (provided that certain correspondence Bible courses were
satisfactorily completed). All other ranks were won on the basis of merit.
In the past year, the rank of Brigadier was changed to be awarded on the
basis of seniority as well.

Most of the Officers interviewed had received their present rank on
the basis of seniority. Promotional interest centers around positions rather
than rank. The nature of new appointments in terms of small, medium or large
is a major indication to them of Headquarter's evaluation. It is therefore
possible to receive a rank promotion and a positional demotion at the same
time. Rank promotions based on seniority follow the principle of predictability
characteristic of bureaucracies. Positional promotions are not as predictable—
indeed the nature of the appointment is shrouded in secrecy. Gouldner has
pointed out that just as rules make prediction possible in some areas, cer­
tain things are also rendered non-predictable by rules. Thus a factory
worker's promotion opportunities and conditions for dismissal are not very
predictable. "In matters of most concern to the workers the rules are such
as to minimize their ability to predict."¹

When an Officer does move from small to large Corps it may be sug­
gested that this provides a type of anticipatory socialization into the
norms of elite thinking so that an Officer of a large Corps is prepared for
Staff positions. Out of twenty-eight appointments, five were considered as
undesirable by the individual Officers. Two of these were received by one
Officer. Three other Officers had one undesirable appointment each. Of these
five appointments, three were either preceded or followed by explanation from
superior Officers. The subordinates were assured that they should not con­
sider the appointment a demotion, but that the needs of the Army demanded
such moves. An Officer put it this way:

We, my wife and I, were surprised and disappointed at
our new appointment. We were to go to a much smaller Corps.
However, the Divisional Commander came over and, calling me
by my first name, said, 'Bill, I knew you would be disappointed,
but we need someone in —— for a short while. It won't be
more than a year . . .'

Two undesirable appointments went unexplained. One of these assign­
ments turned out to be very brief. The second was given to an Officer whose
father was ill with cancer. The Officer had been so sure that she would be

¹A. W. Gouldner, "On Weber's Analysis of Bureaucratic Rules" in
Merton, et al, Reader in Bureaucracy, p. 49.
stationed near her father's home, that when she received an appointment some 300 miles distant, she thought it must be a mistake. One year later she was transferred near her father's home.*

Janowitz states that the shift from domination to manipulation involves a change from negative sanctions to positive incentives. He defines domination as "... issuing orders without explaining the goals sought or the purposes involved."¹ and manipulation as "... ordering and influencing human behavior by emphasizing group goals and by using indirect techniques of control".²

Salvation Army orders would appear to be characterized by positive incentives and that where these are not present or perceived as such, explanation of the goals sought is usually given. Only one Officer interviewed had ever made a formal appeal to have his appointment changed. His request had not been granted but certain aspects of his work which had led to his appeal were made more satisfactory.* A former secretary to a Divisional Commander stated that in six years of service, very few appeals had been made to the Divisional Commander. She did not think there had been any direct refusals to accept appointments.

Three reasons may be suggested for the low rate of appeal: One—Officers prefer to leave their Officership rather than appeal appointments. Two—sanctions against appealing appointments prevent such appeals from being made. Three—careful and considerate planning plus a successful socialization process results in satisfactory appointments. Each of these reasons shall be considered separately.

²Ibid.
Rate of Defection

Of very real concern to the Salvation Army today is the high rate of defection of Officers. Exact figures were not available to me, nor are they available to any Corps Officer, though these Officers assured me that such statistics were kept.* It was estimated by several that about forty per cent of Officers leave their Officership before they would be required to retire. The highest rate occurs during the first five years of service with more resigning during the first two years than the following three.* The probability of resigning after five years decreases rapidly. The reasons for resignation tend to be different for the "before five years of service" and "after five years of service" groups.

A few statistics can be given here, though much of this material is simply opinions and estimates of Officer.* The 1951 Session graduated sixty-nine Cadets. Of these twenty-one have now left Officership. Another Officer stated that about ten per cent of the graduates resign within one year of service. The 1957 Session graduated sixty-five Cadets of which twenty-five have now resigned. Of these twenty-five, one half left the Army entirely and the rest have remained as soldiers. In addition, as one Officer said, "Many Officers send in their resignations, then have a good talk with the Divisional Commander and go back to work". To what extent this practice could be seen as an appeal is not known.

Each Officer was asked, "How do you account for the high rate of defection of Officers?".

Marriage of women-Officers was the reason given most often. Officers must marry Officers or lose their Officership. For women this poses a real problem. One unmarried woman Officer said, "Seven out of ten Officers are women. Our chances of meeting an appropriate unmarried male Officer are
small. I wouldn't blame anyone for leaving Officership for this reason.*

A married male Officer referred to this practice as "... done in a weak
moment ... such marriages often end up as utter failures".*

A second reason—Officers are not prepared for the pressures of the
work. Several Officers felt that pre-College and College training tended to
glamourize the Salvation Army's work too much. The young Officer goes forth
as a conquering hero only to find that the work is hard, slow, and sometimes
downright unpleasant.

Third—role strain. This was usually expressed in terms of "not
enough time for the family".

Fourth—Financial difficulties. Although mentioned by several
Officers, none considered this a primary factor.

Fifth—Difficulty in subscribing to authority. One or two Officers
mentioned this as a possible problem-area, but none considered it as more
than a minor factor that could form part of cumulative argument for leaving.

All Officers interviewed agreed that "most", "more than half" of those
who resign as Officers remain in The Army as soldiers. Although exact figures
are not available, respondents were agreed that those who resign from Officer-
ship and join another denomination are primarily single female Officers who
marry outside The Salvation Army. Little in known of the ease (or difficulty)
of leaving Officership. Clearly those who resign are not expelled from the
organization as such. No formal sanctions, other than the loss of position
and rights and privileges pertaining to it, are administered.

Sanctions

What then are the sanctions employed to assure the compliance of the
Salvation Army Officer to the orders of the elite? As suggested earlier, the
means used to make subjects comply may be of three general types: coercive,
remunerative, or normative, or a combination of some or all of these. Coercion may be defined as:

... the application, or the threat of application, of physical sanctions such as infliction of pain, deformity, or death, generation of frustration through restriction of movement, or controlling through force the satisfaction of needs such as those for food, sex, comfort, and the like.¹

There is some evidence that the fear of coercion as defined above affects the behaviour of Salvation Army Officers. This is not to say that Officers remain in the organization for fear of physical punishment should they leave. This is clearly not the case. It is true, however, that Officers may be unwilling to appeal appointments, fearing that to do so may result in physical sanctions such as assignments even less desirable than the one they would like to appeal. Historical illustrations appear to be more numerous than contemporary ones. During the time of General Bramwell Booth's tenure, the word "freezer" was coined in The Salvation Army. "If an Officer criticized the General or his family he was sent to the 'freezer' to cool his tongue".²

Those who criticized the General risked their position in The Salvation Army. Booth's own secretary, in trying to convey to Booth the importance of complaints received, lost his appointment and was sent back to Australia to the same position he had held twenty-two years earlier. Years later this secretary became the fifth General of The Salvation Army.

It is difficult to assess the degree to which this happens today. One Officer did say: "Not all Cadets are happy with their assignments. Once there you may be able to enter into correspondence which may result in an early transfer. However, none will argue—the best policy is to go to your assignment." He added: "However, I personally, were I for example assigned to

¹Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations, p. 5.
²P. W. Wilson, General Evangeline Booth, p. 204.
Newfoundland, but didn't want to go there, would not appeal—if I did they would likely send me to some isolated spot in Greenland or something."*\[9\]

Remarks such as the above were usually stated in joking manner. One Officer did insist that if two Cadets fell in love while in training, they could be quite sure to be assigned to places distantly separated. Such a couple is not allowed to marry until the two year probationary period is over. Even letter-writing cannot be commenced until permission is granted. To what extent such privileges can be postponed if the Cadets do not tow the line, is not known. Officers were agreed, however, that appeals and requests to Headquarters "are not to the Officer's advantage".*

Remunerative sanctions are those involving "... control over material resources and rewards through allocation of salaries and wages, commissions and contributions, 'fringe benefits', services and commodities". Our question is—do the elite possess remunerative power over the Corps Officer and, if so, to what extent can it be considered influential towards making the Corps Officer comply to their orders?

The Corps Officer is paid through regular channels of the elite administration, rather than by the Corps he commands. A married Officer receives a basic salary of $29.00 per week plus $10.00 per week bonus. For each child under five years of age $3.25 weekly is added. $5.00 per week is paid for each child between ages of five to sixteen. A family of six with one child over five would receive $53.75 weekly. A furnished house is supplied in addition to this and the Officer receives $1.50 per week for utilities. A Corps Officer must receive permission to purchase a car, and will not be permitted to buy one if the payments are in excess of $30.00 per month. The Corps pays for license and insurance plus an additional $7.00 per week for

\[1\]Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations, p. 5.
car expenses. Considering house rent as worth $25.00 per week in Vancouver, and car license and insurance worth $2.12 weekly, the family of six would be receiving remuneration worth $357.48 per month. A single Officer receives $1.00 more than one-half of the basic pay for a married couple. Increments are $1.00 per week after three years. Increments are based solely on years of service, though a Divisional Commander receives $1.00 per month more than someone of equal rank but in another position. Promotion from one rank to another brings an increase of $1.00 per month. The Officer's original contract states clearly that no salaries are guaranteed. Each Corps is responsible to raise its Officer's salary, and all bills must be paid before salary is issued. In this sense, the Officer's salary is dependent upon his ability to "produce". Should he alienate his congregation or fail to instruct them in tithing, his own financial base is in jeopardy. Furthermore, Officers receive commissions on the number of War Cryrs sold each week. At the same time, the Divisional Commander is empowered to share monies within his division, thus acting as a buffer between a Corps Officer's salary and his Corps contributions.

Officers were not agreed as to the adequacy of their incomes. Some complained, (one ex-Officer said its inadequacy was his main reason for resigning), but most considered it adequate. On or two expressed appreciation for the security they enjoyed, and none expressed anxiety as to possible reduction of salary. S. D. Clark feels that financial security was one of the advantages attracting persons to the ranks of Officer in the early days of organization in Canada:

The movement was not only an army, it was also a religious order. The property rights of the worker 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 dependency of the worker assured obedience to Army orders and conformity to Army discipline. On the other hand, the
financial security provided by such an arrangement made enlisting in army ranks highly attractive. The sort of people who were recruited as workers tended to be down-and-outs—the social outcasts of the community—who welcomed the economic as well as emotional security provided by The Army. 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 leader.  

As indicated earlier, the financial arrangements have changed since then. To test today's remunerative power one would need to assess the worth of the Officer on today's labor market. It may be that Clark's suggestion still has some relevance, but it is safe to say that it is less. Today's Officers are seldom recruited from the slums and this is not the depression of the Thirtys. Still, even today, lack of cooperation could result in the loss of a steady income and financial security.

The weight of this factor would vary relative to many economic factors but it could be suggested that compliance to the elite is more probable under the present system than if the Corps Officer were paid directly by his Corps. It might be hypothesized more generally, that Officers of episcopal denominations would be more likely to comply to the directives of its formal leaders than would those of congregational government.

Although no precise measurements of the effectiveness of these sanctions were made, it would seem that the most effective sanctions are normative ones. By this we refer to the manipulation of prestige, esteem, and ritualistic symbols, and the desire to be accepted by those one recognizes as "significant others". Thus, when these "significant others" control the allocation of shared values and symbols, normative control is possible. Normative sanctions (whether positively in terms of acceptance, or negatively as in social rejection by one's peers) are effective only when, for example, the reward is understood as a positive value by the subordinate.

^S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (University of Toronto Press, 1948), p. 420.
CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

We have discussed the pattern which characterizes the compliance of a Salvation Army Officer. We turn now to an analysis of specific factors selected in an attempt to identify factors that motivate actors to act in accordance with role-expectations and to abstain from behavior considered undesirable. The process by which values are shared and rules internalized shall here be referred to as "socialization". To serve as a general outline for this analysis, Etzioni's Flow Model will be utilized:¹

\[
\text{Recruitment} \rightarrow \text{Initial Involvement} \rightarrow \text{Established Involvement} \rightarrow \text{Compliance} \rightarrow \text{Effectiveness}
\]

Criteria of Selection:
Degree of Selectivity.

The Model suggests that the criteria of selection and the degree of selectivity characterizing recruitment will affect the initial involvement of the new member. This initial involvement in turn is modified by the socialization process. The involvement resulting from both the nature of recruitment and the effect of socialization is the established involvement. It is this established involvement within which we have already analysed compliance—the relationship between power and subordination. Compliance thus is directly related to the previous factors of recruitment and socialization, as also is the final effectiveness of the organization. Since our interest is not in the goals of the organization as such, nor in the effectiveness by which these goals are achieved, we shall utilize the model as far as the compliance variable only.

¹Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations, p. 157.
The two independent variables are Recruitment and Socialization. The dependent variables are Compliance and Effectiveness. Socialization and recruitment may substitute for each other. Higher selectivity in recruitment may require less socialization in order to achieve desired effectiveness. Conversely, if the quality of recruits is low, effectiveness will be lower, unless greater socialization efforts are made. A grouping of these variables into their possible combinations results in the following paradigm: 1

**Illustration No. 6**

EFFECT OF SOCIALIZATION AND SELECTIVITY ON QUALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socialization Efforts</th>
<th>Selectivity</th>
<th>Socialization Efforts</th>
<th>Selectivity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High quality**</td>
<td>Medium quality**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium quality**</td>
<td>Low quality**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**"Quality"** may be thought of here as roughly equivalent to "degree of compliance".

**Recruitment**

No one may become a Salvation Army Officer who has not first been a soldier in The Salvation Army for at least six months. One cannot neglect the requirements for soldiership when assessing the requirements for an Officer, since the same simple logic underlying the above paradigm applies here. If most anyone is eligible to be a soldier, one would expect greater caution to be taken in the selection of recruits from among them.

As stated previously, The Army has always considered itself as having a special mission to the "down and out", lower class society. The immediate

1Ibid.
entrance requirement is that a person be "born again", which we here briefly define as an affirmation of belief in Jesus Christ, repentance for sins committed and a desire to live a new life. Having expressed such a desire, the new convert is immediately embraced by the organization. He receives special instruction in the Corps. If there is evidence that the conversion in genuine (this understood primarily as rejection of sinful habits) the convert, if he desires, may be accepted by the Census Board as a recruit and entered on the cartridge book. He must remain a recruit for one month during which time he must read the Orders and Regulations for Soldiers and sign the Articles of War.¹

Upon signing the articles he will be accepted as a Soldier, publicly sworn in and his name entered upon the Soldier's roll of the Corps. If he does not wish to sign the Articles but desires to have the Corps as his church home, he may remain on the membership roll as an adherant. As an adherant he will be encouraged to wear a Salvation Army uniform, as a Soldier he will be expected to do so, as an Officer it is required.

After six months active service as a Soldier, a person may apply to become an Officer. In most cases a prospective candidate will have much more than this required minimum. Further, a Soldier will not usually apply unless encouraged by his Corps Officer to do so. It is the stated task of the Corps Officer to "tap on the shoulder" such Soldiers as appear to him to have good Officer-potential. Already at this stage a good deal of selection takes place. It is considered creditable for a Corps Officer to have some of his own Soldiers accepted for Training College. A Cadet who does not make out well as an Officer, is a discredit to the Corps Officer who

¹See Appendix, p. 97.
first recommends him. The Officer, in giving reasons for Officers' resignations said: "Some young Corps Officers try to make an impression on Headquarters by recommending persons who later turn out not to have had the qualifications.".*

The actual decision to apply for Officers' Training is frequently made at Youth Councils. These are special all-day Youth Rallies. Only those who are invited may attend. (The criteria on which invitations are issued is not known). Messages emphasizing commitment are given by senior Officers. Young people are asked to decide for Officership and publicly declare their intention. No Youth Councils were attended by this writer. Two contrasting views may be given here. One adherant stated: "There is a lot of pressure put on there—if you don't 'go forward' it sort of means you're not really a Christian".* An Officer stated, "No—we don't put on much pressure at all. We can't afford to. We have too many Officers resigning now. If we put on more pressure, we'd have more Officers, but we want only Officers who will stay with it."*

This comment underscores some of our earlier statements regarding the relationship between recruitment and socialization. This Officer was saying, in effect, that Salvation Army socialization was not adequate for a high-pressure, less selective approach to recruitment. This quality-quantity dilemma is a very real one for The Salvation Army at the present time. It is interesting that, only two or three years ago, the Training College program was extended from one to two years. The Advanced Training Correspondence Course required during the probation period has been lengthened and enlarged. Whether this strengthened socialization will make it possible to be less selective in recruitment is not known. Other factors such as the general rise in the educational level of our society, doubtless play a part. But it will be interesting to compare the rate of defection of
those with one and those with two years of training. Selection criteria being equal, our hypothesis here would predict a lower rate for the two year graduate.

Then come the application forms:

A detailed file is compiled for each prospective candidate. In addition to his application he must write a narrative account of his personal religious experience and sense of calling to Officership. Six endorsements are required. Medical forms, health history and dental chart, educational transcript and summary of work experience, citizenship questionnaire, birth certificate and entrance fee complete the file. The candidate's case is presented to the Territorial Candidates' Secretary, who brings it before the Candidates' Board with his recommendations. If accepted, the prospective candidate becomes a candidate until he enters a training college as a Cadet at the beginning of a session.  

(In addition, the prospective applicant probably has completed a six month Corps Cadets course in Bible Study and Salvation Army Doctrine, history and discipline. This is a part of The Salvation Army youth program.)

The trend towards broadening the base of Officer recruitment is paralleled in the military. "Military leadership has been shifting its recruitment from a narrow, relatively high status base to a broader, lower-status and more representative social base."  

It might be suggested that as the Officer-role, both in the military and in The Salvation Army, becomes more specialized, the organizations cannot find recruits with ready-made aptitudes and skills and must increasingly rely on in-group training.

Following the Flow Model, as well as the chronological path of the recruit, we come now to the initial involvement of the recruit and the effect of various socialization mechanisms upon him.

---

1 Wisbey, Soldiers Without Swords, p. 198.

2 Janowitz, Sociology and the Military Establishment, p. 98.
Only a few of The Army's efforts at socialization will be analysed. The total impact of home training and Corps program cannot be weighed here. The factors selected are: Recruitment, Officers' Training Program and the manipulation of ritual and prestige symbols.

**Officers' Training Program**

Already in 1879, W. Booth sent this message to all leaders of The Salvation Army: "Mind the counsel I give and give and give again. Be careful not only to make saints. Enlist. And then DRILL! DRILL! DRILL!"¹

This emphasis was to underlie the total educational program of The Salvation Army Corps, including children, youth and adults. Booth wrote:

> You must make the children understand that God expects them to do their share of the fighting and encourage them to do it. Beget within them the conviction that soul-saving is going to be their life-work, and get them fired with the ambition to go to their post and die there before they are brought into contact with cold, freezing, unbelieving, half-hearted professors."²

It is stated in the Syllabus issued by the Toronto Training College, that the "conviction and ambition" mentioned above is a definite prerequisite for training. We may assume then, that the early socialization process must be considered successful by the Candidates' Board, before admission to training is granted. The reasons why this process induces some to enter training and not others, is not our direct concern here. Several factors do suggest themselves. For one thing, the prospective candidate must have at least a Grade eleven education. This standard has steadily been rising in recent years, and it is expected that Senior Matriculation will soon be a basic prerequisite. Secondly, most Officers are second or third generation Salvationists. No figures are available, but it would be interesting to

correlate Officers' lengths of service with family backgrounds. We do know that a Soldier whose parents are Salvationists will more probably become an Officer than will a Soldier whose parents have other or no religious affiliation. It is still true, as Railton said years ago, "The generals of the future are being reared in the homes of the rank and file of today."

"A survey of the families of some 900 senior Officers of The Army reveals that twenty-four percent have given one or more children to the ranks of Officership."

Each new class of Cadets in training is given its own name, such as Peacemakers, Standard Bearers, Ambassadors. This name is the same at every training College in the world. The preamble to the Syllabus gives several reasons for the change from a one to a two year system.

Changing times, an accelerated way of life, a multiplication of human problems, require an increased body of knowledge. This cannot be imparted to the Cadet in the period that has so far prevailed. All subjects . . . are essential to successful soul-winning. They are also designed to deepen spirituality, add knowledge and instill discipline . . . The revised system of training is intended to develop increasingly the sense of individual responsibility. Many restrictions, formerly a part of training life, have been modified. The Cadet himself will reveal his aptitudes, his sense of personal authority and his spiritual qualifications.

The curriculum has certainly become more sophisticated than in the early days of Officer training, when courses such as Scrubology were listed. The basic course of the first year academic curriculum is Bible study, with homiletics, pastoral work and music next in importance. The subjects make up thirty-one hours of class periods per week. In addition, field training

2The Salvation Army Yearbook, 1965.
3A two-year Training Course for Salvation Army Officership, A Syllabus issued by the Territorial Headquarters, Toronto.
includes: "... visits to city Corps, the conducting of open-air meetings and
the selling of 'The War Cry' ... participation in meetings, under Staff
leadership, and visits to Salvation Army Social Service and Correctional
Institutions."^1

An Easter evangelistic campaign of four days duration is conducted
by Officers and Cadets. This, plus devotional sessions, a social event each
month, and weekly fellowship meetings, held for men and women, keep the
Cadets occupied. The summer recess, from the end of June till September, is
part of the overall training course. All cadets completing their first year
receive summer appointments. The same pattern of secrecy and non-consultation
discussed earlier is followed in these appointments. Cadets may go on evan­
elistic tours, serve in social service institutions or assist a Corps
Officer. Their immediate superiors, while at work, provide reports on apti­
tudes and work to the Training Principal. During the second year, emphasis
is on Field Training. This year is divided into three periods of practical
experience. September to December involves Corps experience and various
kinds of visitation in the city of Toronto. During January to March, Cadets
lead meetings in Corps outside of Toronto, and for a two week period are
given the responsibility of managing a Corps under the supervision of the
Corps Officer. April to June involves youth campaigns in city Corps and a
ten day evangelistic campaign at a specified place.

Academic work is also practical in orientation. Courses in elemen­
tary book-keeping, public relations, music, communications and welfare
work are given. Twice a year, in December and May, Cadets are graded both
on their academic assignments and with respect to "... spirituality,
qualities of leadership, personality, field ability, intelligence, ... 
general deportment and health. A grading system of 1 to 4 is used; Mini­
mal requirements are 60% in examination and term results and an average

^1Ibid.
Grade 3 in personality and work assessment.\(^1\)

Thus, as Wisbey puts it, "... deficiencies in scholastic ability may be offset by religious zeal or by some special aptitude. The potential of an individual is weighed heavily; thus usually less than one percent are 'released' or 'flunked out' in a session."\(^2\)

The aspects of the Training Program which seem especially significant in terms of socialization are: development of primary group relations, acceptance and adjustment to discipline, the overcoming of inhibitions toward public display of commitment. These three factors were given most emphasis by the Officers interviewed. Session members are united by strong feelings of friendship and group loyalty. Corps Officers' offices contained, with few exceptions, class pictures of the session in which the Officer graduated. Several Officers brought out other mementos from their school year, such as yearbooks. One Officer took the time to show this writer his bulging Training College File. In each case Officers revealed detailed knowledge of where their colleagues were, positions now held and were able to suggest reasons why one or another had resigned. The alumni spirit of these former students would be desired by any educational institution. Each session develops a group loyalty which is a constant source of moral support for the individual Officers. Studies of the military have revealed the importance of such a reference group in terms of individual motivation and support.\(^3\)

In The Salvation Army all Officers pass through the training college and then move slowly up the line of command, from the rank of Lieutenant (where orders are received more frequently than given), to senior positions

---

\(^1\)Ibid.

\(^2\)Wisbey, **Soldiers without Swords**, p. 200.

\(^3\)Janowitz, **Sociology and Military Establishment**, p. 64.
of decision-making. It would seem likely then that both elite and subordinate share a similar orientation to power relations.

Since the Training College is the one experience most fully shared by all Officers, it is not surprising that it is here that compliance, usually referred to in terms of "discipline", receives major emphasis. Twice each year a Cadet Council, comprised of five Cadets is "... called into being".\(^1\) These Cadets are responsible, among other things, to "preserve a code of honor and self-discipline among the cadets."\(^2\) In addition, two graduates of the preceding year, are commissioned as "cadet sergeants". These two, one a woman and one a man, are responsible in a capacity described by one Officer as "strawboss"\(^3\), for discipline in the ladies and men's dormitories respectively.

Officers view the rules regarding male-female relationships as rather rigid. No dating or written communication is permitted, except to previously engaged couples who are allowed one date per week. Men and women are not permitted to go shopping during the same hour. Women's shopping time coincides with men's music practice and vice versa. According to one former Cadet Sergeant, breaches of discipline are infrequent. "We know what the score is before we get here and are prepared for it."\(^4\)

The opposition to inter-cadet dating is an interesting one, especially since Officers who marry someone not an Officer must resign. Nor is there any encouragement toward celibacy. General Booth, long ago, referred to celibacy as "a fertile source of immorality"\(^5\) and there is no indication that the policy has changed. It may be that our analysis will lead to conclusions similar to those of Janowitz, in his analysis of the hazing of junior cadets by senior cadets in military schools.\(^6\) It is first of all an

---

\(^1\)Syllabus.

\(^2\)Ibid.


exercise in the denial of what might be considered a basic right. The inference is that an Officer really has no rights and that whatever is granted to him is an undeserved privilege. It further implies that the authority of the elite extends into every realm of an Officer's life, including the most intimate. It is also a test of patience and demands a continual review of one's values. It says, in effect, that human affection is subordinate to The Cause—an attitude which later on may lead to fewer Officers complaining that "we have not enough time for our families".

One is reminded here of comments made by a biographer. "It was part of the genius of William Booth that he could remain unmoved by the piteous appeals of a man he dearly loved. Booth knew the needs of the Army better than anyone else, and put its needs before all things."¹

When such discipline is "initiated" and enforced by persons of equal status, obedience may be more difficult. The function of this would be to orient the Cadets to accept as legitimate any power authorized by the elite. Thus a fellow Cadet, when appointed by a superior, has legitimate authority. Authority is thus dependent on the elite, even when executed through a subordinate.

Another factor, remembered by Officers with some amusement, relates to the lessening of inhibitions with regard to such matters as street-corner preaching, public marching, preaching, leading a service, singing, and so forth. In a group setting, under College Staff supervision, embarrassment and awkwardness are overcome and replaced with confidence and skill. Hostility encountered in public preaching is looked upon as persecution. Older and retired Officers, when testifying at services, will frequently recall

¹Wisbey, Soldiers Without Swords, p. 30.
days of persecution—when eggs and tomatoes were thrown at them. This is not
to say that Salvationists seek martyrdom. A slammed door is not considered
a divine sign of approval, but rather poor strategy or tactics on the part
of the visitor. Efforts are made to strike a delicate balance here. Too
much emphasis on tact and psychology will cause the rebuked Cadet to lose
confidence. Too much emphasis on the glory and inevitability of persecution
may encourage confidence but reduce the desire to avoid it through desirable
techniques.

The Salvation Army elite have no desire, and indeed cannot afford to,
antagonize the public. Through widespread social services a good measure
of public approval has been won. The new Cadet must be assured of this
approval. He must wear his uniform on the street corner. He must help in
Red Shield canvassing. He must see the measure of approval towards The Army
by watching them make contributions. If he is rebuked by a drunken person,
he need not be discouraged—such people do not represent the public. He is
assured of the public's full support in the rehabilitation of the alcoholic.
This assurance of public support also creates confidence in the overall policy
of The Army. All Salvationists wearing their uniform are repeatedly reminded
"not to let the Army down". The inference is that The Salvation Army is
considered highly by the public. This is the confidence gained by the Cadet
in his field work. It is of crucial importance in the compliance relationship--
he will not let the Army down.

Benton Johnson has argued that the "other worldliness" by which
holiness sects have frequently been described, is not an accurate description.¹
Although these groups preach against "worldliness", he suggests that they may

actually specialize in the dominant values of the larger society. This, he says can be seen in that "... they do not attempt any organized protest against any important features of the social system". Such a protest could take the form either of "... outright attack on the larger social structure (or) ... a relatively total withdrawal from that society into exclusive religious communities". Holiness sects, he states, take neither form. Their "anti-worldliness" does not consist of the rejection of secular norms but consists of opposition to religious disbelief and gross violation of such normative standards as are shared by the larger society.

"Further evidence of the very restricted nature of the Holiness opposition to the ways of contemporary society is seen in the interest ... in being respected in their own communities." These tendencies are clearly displayed by The Salvation Army. Opposition to this world takes the form of a massive welfare program, but this program is strongly supported by the "world". Concern with public approval and respect is high. Civic officials find a welcome place in The Salvation Army services. Often they are given preferred seats and introduced to the public. Officers will often refer to famous public officials they have met and letters of approval from such persons regarding certain Army projects are read to the Corps members.

The Cadet must live up to the expectations of his superiors, but he is trained to believe that in doing so, he is also fulfilling the expectations of the larger society. This is a key source of power for the elite, a primary factor in the socialization process and subsequent compliance.

1Ibid., p. 312.
2Ibid.
3Ibid., p. 313.
CHAPTER V

THE MANIPULATION OF PRESTIGE AND RITUALISTIC SYMBOLS

In addition to the regard for public approval, there are, within
The Army organization, various patterns by which prestige and positive accep-
tance within the membership, are manipulated.

This writer was particularly impressed with the measure of human
glorification manifest in the services of The Salvation Army. Adjectives
denoting esteem, praise, honor are generously attributed to senior Officers,
guest speakers, bandsmen, songsters, and so forth. With all due respect,
one cannot help but think of the phrase, "mutual admiration society". As
was to be expected, the height of this honor was reached during the welcome
of the General, but the same spirit prevails in many other contexts. Guests,
songs, music—all are introduced with gracious eloquence and rich superlatives,
to which the audience responds with frequent and enthusiastic applause. Ex-
amples of heroism and self-denial are continually presented. It is on the
public platform that the Officer receives recognition for his service. Brief
moments of glory though they be, they could not be more carefully designed
expressions of gratitude and encouragement.

Movement from a lower to a higher rank, as designated by uniform
insignia is also a proud moment. In addition a number of special distinctions
are offered. "The Order of Long Service" is available to those Officers
completing twenty-five years of unbroken service. "The Order of the Founder"
is another merit given to those who in a special way served in the Spirit
of the Founder. Initiated in 1917, some one hundred and fifty such awards
have been made. "The Order of the Silver Star" is given to mothers whose
children are commissioned Officers. The badge given indicates the number

76
of such children. Mothers of Officers who die in service receive a special badge. Should an Officer resign from service, his mother's membership in the Order ceases and the star cannot be worn.

The Uniform

One of the most striking and intriguing aspects of The Salvation Army is that of its uniform. Not only a clerical garb, but worn by elite and lower participants alike, it is one of the Army's distinguishing features. The consensus of the Officers interviewed is that the uniform is here to stay. None were as forceful as the one Officer who said, "If we ever discard the uniforms, The Army will die." Nevertheless, the effect of the uniform in terms of the compliance-structure is of importance here.

The uniform symbolizes a great deal of less conspicuous uniformity in The Army. Salvation Army Corps services follow uniform patterns throughout the world. Training College programs are as alike as cultural and geographic conditions will permit. All music played by Army bands must have the sanction of London Headquarters.

The uniform itself appears to have originated out of several conditions. One was that of practical necessity. Many of the early converts, taken from the slums and ushered into religious service, did not have the means, nor did they know how to dress commensurate with their new role. White ties and the title of "reverend" had been forbidden by General Booth. His own evangelists wore clerical garb with black ties. Descriptions of early converts attempting to look like ministers are both amusing and pathetic. In addition, there was a moral consideration:

Some of Mrs. Booth's most powerful anathemas had been directed against the fashions of the day. Even some of the members of the Mission had dressed in a manner which resembled
the fashions of the world. Others, anxious to avoid this evil, had gone to the other extreme and had adopted costumes that were unsuitable and even ridiculous. Mrs. Booth set to work to devise for the women something that would be plain, distinctive and attractive—a testimony in itself to "separation from the world".¹

These considerations, the practical and moral, will need further attention later. Meanwhile, between 1878-1880 members wore a variety of uniforms. No attempt to standardize was made until 1880 and in 1881 it was made clear that all were to wear standardized uniforms. The standard uniform was preceded by the adoption of military style and language. In 1878, the year that the General was given supreme authority, stations were named Corps, the first flag was presented and military titles adopted.²

Sandall, the official Salvation Army historian, gives an interesting account of the origin of the bonnet. In 1880, Mrs. Booth determined to: "... devise something that would be suitable for uniform wear, cheap, strong and large enough to protect the heads of the wearers from cold as well as from brick brack and other missiles."³ There was a good deal of objection to these 'old fashioned' bonnets by the ladies who were to wear them, but, says Sandall, "... when Mrs. Booth met them and explained how important it was that Salvationists should wear head-gear that was neat, and distinct from mere worldly fashion, they accepted them".⁴ This brief account is interesting for it mingles both practical and moral considerations in a way which shall be useful for further understanding.⁵

¹The Salvation Army—Its Origin and Development, p. 15.
²Ibid.
⁴Ibid., p. 47.
⁵There is evidence that the bonnet was an idea borrowed from the Quakers. The latter supported The Army and lady Salvationists were known to have worn "small Quaker-type bonnets".
Salvation Army literature abounds in the castigation of "worldly fashions". The Soldier's Manual asks: "Do I conform to the fashions and customs of this world or do I show that I despise them?"\(^1\) Under the section, "Separation from the World", the manual states, "A Salvation Soldier renounces the world, with all its fashions, follies, riches and pleasures and separates himself from it, not merely as a duty, but because he has no inclination for it".\(^2\)

Sociologists have commonly treated such remarks by lower income religious groups as an attempt to indicate divine blessing upon their own poverty. As Clark points out in his analysis of the Alberta Horner movement, the converted persons led to the room designated for the removal of all jewelery did not have many jewels to leave.\(^3\)

It may well be that the uniform does aid an already limited budget. It does eliminate the competition of "Sunday morning fashion parades". Though cheaper, no doubt, than a new dress each week, the uniform is not cheap itself. The bonnet costs $25.00 and a good suit approximately $80.00. Just this year The Salvation Army has come out with a special summer-weight uniform for men. The high collar has been eliminated and a special Salvation Army neck-tie added.\(^4\) The time when it may be worn is specified by official regulations as from May to October.

---


\(^2\)Ibid., p. 38.

\(^3\)Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, p. 418.

\(^4\)The actual design of uniforms is not fixed by general regulation but by instructions issued from time to time by the Chief of Staff by order of the General (Sandall, Vol. II, p. 48). They also vary slightly from country to country according to culture and climate.
The uniform has also been seen as a destroyer of class distinctions between members. "One Captain may have come from a slum, another from a mansion—both are clad alike. The Hallelujah bonnet is a wonderful leveler—upwards."¹ At the same time the insignia distinguishes between various ranks.

It is not our purpose here to list all the functions of the uniform, nor can we measure the relative weight of those already suggested. It is significant that a great deal of pressure is exerted upon Salvationists to wear uniforms. Financial and social advantages alone do not seem to be persuasive enough. Adherants, those who do not wear the uniform, constitute about one-half of membership today. Observations at Salvation Army services indicate that those not in uniform are dressed according to prevailing middle-class standards.

Our interest here lies in the significance of the uniform in terms of the compliance relationship. Why is it important to the elite that members wear the uniform? In response to direct questioning the usual answer is something like this: "We want our people to take a definite stand for Christ—when people see the uniform they think of Christ. It is a public witness."² In addition to this type of witness, it is also a language signifying several things to members of the in-group. The insignia of the uniform are a clear indication of rank. Frequency of wear tends to be correlated with spirituality in the minds of Salvationists, according to several of my informants. Wearing the uniform outside Salvationist activities is seen as a sign of courage. One ex-Officer spoke with disdain of Officers who do not wear their uniform when on business trips, but only when in a Corps. "Some United States Officers," he said, "have their uniforms hanging in their Corps office—they only wear it inside the Corps!"³

No one can hold a commission in a Corps without wearing of the uniform. Thus all Bandsemn, Songsters, Sunday School teachers, must be in uniform. In one Vancouver Corps the shortage of persons willing to wear uniforms is so acute that most of the Sunday School teachers are teaching without formal commission. "Headquarters doesn't like it", said the Corps Officer, "but this is better than no teachers at all".*

The uniform serves as a visible reminder of specific behavioral expectations. Its use implies that certain activities cannot be engaged in and that others are expected. In addition to it serving as a role-symbol, the uniform is a reminder of the collectivity it represents.

... both mass movements and armies are collective bodies; both strip the individual of his separateness and distinctiveness; both demand self-sacrifice, unquestioning obedience and single-hearted allegiance; both make extensive use of make-believe to promote daring and united action; both can serve as a refuge for the frustrated who cannot endure an autonomous existence ... It is also true that the recruiting officer, the Communist agitator and the missionary often fish simultaneously in the cesspools of Skid Row.1

Not all of the above quotation need be directly applied to The Salvation Army. However, the point is well made. The Army places great emphasis on group activities. Bands, choirs, street marching, Boy Scout and Girl Guide programs—all of these depend on individual cooperation, but the individual alone could achieve little. Mooney has made a similar point in his analysis of the military drill:

Outwardly the unity of military doctrine begins with the drill. This is its simplest and, to the layman, most visible expression. The non-military observer who may imagine that the final object of the drill is the attainment of a relative mechanical perfection has missed its real aim and purpose. If this were its object it might as well be abandoned, for formal drill is useless under modern conditions of warfare. The drill survives, however and

always will, for all military experience proves that it is the best school of cooperative discipline, and for each soldier the best training in mental discipline. It is more than this. It is training in objectivity. The spirit of the drill is the same as that of the orchestra, where the purpose is collective harmony. To this end the soldier, like the musician, must become a true objectivist. He must appraise his own efforts only in their relation to the collective result. This is the true value of the drill, and the moment the new recruit catches its spirit the process of military indoctrination has begun.1

The Flag

The Salvation Army flag is one of three symbols officially recognized by the Army. The other two are the Crest and the Salute. Aside from the uniform, which we have treated here as a symbol as well, the Flag is easily the most conspicuous of the Salvation Army symbols. Every Corps sanctuary has at least two flags—the Army flag and the national flag. In addition, paper or cloth flags are to be found in various parts of Salvation Army buildings, such as offices, and Sunday school classrooms. The flag is used extensively in parades and public services. The welcome to General Coutts involved the use of some forty flags. Local Officers include that of Color Sergeant—the person responsible for the care and maintenance of the flag. Officially, "The Flag is emblematical of the aggressiveness of Salvation Warfare and of important spiritual truths which underlie and prompt all Salvation Army effort."2 Each color on the flag has its own significance: Red—the Blood of Jesus Christ; yellow—the fire of the Holy Spirit; blue—the Purity of God.

An interesting aside involves the switch from the original yellow sun on the Flag, to the present yellow star. In a public meeting, General W. Booth stated that the yellow star of the Flag signified the Holy Ghost.


2Orders and Regulations for Officers of the Salvation Army, p. 45.
Whether he made a mistake, or whether he was thus ordering a change in the Flag, historians do not tell us. We do know that immediately following this, all flags were changed from a sun to a star.¹ One wonders whether it was considered better to preserve the "infallibility" of the General than the design of the Flag.

The Flag is used at all Dedications, Enrollments, Marriages and Funerals. Further, the Corps Officer is instructed to "... frequently invite his people to reconsecrate themselves to God and The Army, with the right hand placed upon its folds, or extended towards it".²

As a symbol of allegiance (it is specified that no other flag of any kind displayed in a Corps may be larger than The Army flag), it indicates that commitment to The Army must transcend national interests.

**Language**

Sociologists have pointed out that various sub-cultures tend to develop a special language of their own. Such a language tends to solidify the group and demarcate the boundary between those inside and those outside the group. The Salvation Army has also developed various verbal symbols of meaning only to the in-group. The attempt to apply military terminology to religious matters has resulted in a number of interesting concepts. To have one's "bayonets fixed" means to have hands raised. A "cartridge" is the envelope for the weekly contribution—the contribution (money) is referred to as "ammunition". Prayer-meetings are called "knee drills". In addition, the military terms used to designate ranks and positions are frequently incomprehensible to the uninitiated.

Another means of communication, though non-verbal, is the salute. Three types have been used. For a brief period in its early history, the

²Orders and Regulations for Officers of the Salvation Army, p. 46.
deaf sign for the letter "s" was exchanged when Salvationists met. Today two forms are recommended. One form, called the ordinary salute, consists of raising the right hand above the shoulder and pointing upwards with the index finger. It signifies the recognition of a fellow traveller to heaven. The non-ordinary salute consists of the recognized salute of the country. The Officers' Manual states that comrades, whether Officers or Soldiers, should invariably salute upon meeting on the street, or in public places. "The Salute is, in many circumstances, a far easier, readier, and more effective greeting than the handshake. It occupies less time and makes less confusion."¹

Whatever its immediate practical utility, this symbol, as well as the sub-language, would tend to reinforce the in-group feeling and serve to distinguish members from non-members.

Sacraments and Ideology

The Salvation Army neither practices, nor acknowledges the sacraments of Baptism or the Lord's Supper. There is some historical evidence that wine could not be served to early converts, since many of these were ex-alcoholics. The rejection of baptism appears to have arisen out of a desire to avoid the controversial issue of form. Sandall describes Salvation Army theology: "It included the basic principles common to most Protestant evangelical denominations and ignored the controversial issues that have caused factionalism and interdenominational strife."²

It could be assumed, however, and there is evidence to support this, that the rejection of the sacraments might create greater strife than the

¹Ibid., p. 49.
²Wisbury, Soldiers Without Swords, p. 20.
adoption of any particular form. It may be that the Army found in this rejection a unique way of distinguishing itself from the larger church bodies while at the same time clarifying its central concept of conversion. Mrs. Booth herself stated, "another mock salvation is presented in the shape of ceremonies and sacraments . . . men are taught that by going through them or partaking of them, they are to be saved . . . ".1

It may be that the absence of sacraments symbolizes The Army's contention that faith is achieved through obedience rather than through the partaking of sacraments. There is no easy way to attain the favor of God. Faith must be accompanied by vigorous and appropriate action. Mayer states: "Obviously the Salvation Army views faith primarily as obedience, for it teaches that the heathen can be saved without knowledge of, or faith in Christ . . . ".2 He quotes from the Handbook of Doctrine: "Obeying the light is the condition of their (the heathen) salvation just as faith in Jesus is the condition of ours".3

Another related factor is the doctrine of Holiness. This is a central theme of the Salvation Army. Sunday morning services are always called "Holiness Meetings", while the evening service is the "Evangelistic Service". The Army's teaching on Holiness is different from conventional Protestant emphasis on the pure life. The Army teaches that Holiness, including not only the non-commission of sinful acts but also the absence of desire to sin, is possible for Christians. Such Holiness is dependent upon the 'Second Blessing'—an experience subsequent to initial Salvation, if desired. Mayer, quoting from The Handbook of Doctrine, says:

3Ibid., p. 8 (Handbook).
The Handbook declares that the entirely sanctified person's disposition is entirely purified; inborn sin is done away with, or destroyed'. It seems to be self-understood that 'no really efficient (Salvation Army) Officer is without this blessing'. The central theme of The Salvation Army is holiness of life. Its material principle is the rebuilding of character. This is so central that it lists among the joys of heaven the further development of character.¹

Discussion with Officers on this doctrinal issue indicates that it is to them a somewhat frustrating teaching. No-one will claim to have attained sinless perfection, but are at a loss to explain the difference between their position and other churches' emphasis on discipleship. From observations at Holiness Meetings, where members are urged to attain Holiness through "coming forward to indicate a desire for the Blessing of the Holy Spirit", it would seem that the emphasis does succeed in perpetuating a continued feeling of guilt and unworthiness. Whether the function of this is similar to that attributed to the Church by Dostoevsky, namely the manipulation of guilt, in "The Grand Inquisitor", is an interesting conjecture.

For the purposes of understanding the compliance relationship, these factors are important. The interpretation of salvation in terms of obedience, orients the individual to view obedience not only as a virtue, but as the key to the Kingdom, not only in Heaven but to the Kingdom of the elite within The Army itself.

The doctrine of Holiness offers an additional dimension. Paul Harrison, in his analysis of the Baptist Convention says, "In any hierarchical system, the possibilities of a meaningful practice of mutual criticism are attenuated, and the doctrine of original sin is compromised in order to allow for greater authority of the higher levels of the church orders."²

¹Ibid., p. 169 (Handbook).

This raises several questions. Are hierarchical types of church governments directly correlated with Holiness teachings? Is it necessary to imply that those at the top of the hierarchy have achieved holiness in order that their infallibility in matters of decisions be assumed?

The Salvation Army, as we have seen, has various formal mechanisms by which dissent is restrained. It would seem that its particular ideology contributes directly to this end.
SUMMARY

As stated at the outset, we have attempted to analyse various aspects of the compliance relationship between the Corps Officer and his superiors. We began by outlining the structural aspects of power-positions in The Salvation Army, with particular attention to the sources of power. Then by defining power as "... an actor's ability to induce or influence another actor to carry out his directives ..."\(^1\) we proceeded to illustrate how the elite influence the Corps Officer and conversely, how Corps Officers influence the elite. This was done by a close look at one aspect of the Corps Officer's role, namely the matter of appointments and transfers. We noted that despite a constitution which prescribes a rigid authoritarian hierarchical structure with emphasis on unquestioning obedience, the Corps Officer is not without influence. His power appears to lie particularly in the possibility of non-participation. No adequate measure of the degree to which this power is taken into consideration by the elite has been given. Access to the elite was difficult and the few brief interviews were unrewarding. Consequently the power of the Corps Officer is considered in terms of his estimate of his own influence, examination of the desirability of appointments, rate of defection and the reaction of the elite to appeals.

We noted that the sanctions employed by the elite are primarily normative ones, involving the manipulation of prestige and ritualistic symbols. Since normative control depends upon the sharing of values we asked the question, "What are the mechanisms through which the appropriate values are shared by superiors and subordinates?" We referred to the process by which values are shared and rules internalized, as "socialization".

\(^1\)See page 4, Chapter I.
Factors such as selectivity in recruitment, Officers' training program, and the effect of the uniform, as well as prestige symbols and holiness ideology were considered in terms of the compliance expected of the Corps Officer by the elite. It should be added that although these factors may help to understand the compliance of the active Corps Officer, the available data does not account for the resignation of others. To ascertain more precisely the strategic aspects of the socialization process, information from and about ex-Officers would need to be incorporated.

It is suggested that the framework of analysis used here may be found useful in comparative studies of organizations. The focus on compliance would seem to be a rewarding one for the study of religious organizations and could easily be extended to include categories additional to the elite-Corps Officer dichotomy used here.¹

We illustrated the two-way process of formal and informal power which characterizes the compliance relationship between the Corps Officer and the elite. It is hoped that this exploration, together with the ethnographic material may contribute to an understanding of the social mechanisms by which The Salvation Army operates.

¹Some are suggested earlier, on page 24.
Table No. 1
SALVATION ARMY POPULATION IN CANADA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population of Canada in Millions</th>
<th>Salvation Army Membership</th>
<th>Percentage of Salvation Army Membership of Canadian Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>10,360</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18,909</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>24,771</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>30,773</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>33,609</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>70,275</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>92,054</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 2
THE SALVATION ARMY IN CANADA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA
By sex, rural farm, rural non-farm, and urban size groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CANADA</th>
<th>TOTAL MALE</th>
<th>Salvation Army in Canada</th>
<th>Salvation Army in B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18,238,247</td>
<td>92,054</td>
<td>7,229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9,218,893</td>
<td>46,045</td>
<td>3,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9,019,354</td>
<td>46,009</td>
<td>3,753</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RURAL</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>Salvation Army in Canada</th>
<th>Salvation Army in B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Male</td>
<td>5,537,857</td>
<td>29,162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2,927,580</td>
<td>15,327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2,610,277</td>
<td>13,835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARM</td>
<td>Total Male</td>
<td>2,072,785</td>
<td>2,028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1,120,095</td>
<td>1,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>952,690</td>
<td>886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-FARM</td>
<td>Total Male</td>
<td>3,465,072</td>
<td>27,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1,807,485</td>
<td>14,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1,657,587</td>
<td>12,949</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>URBAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>Salvation Army in Canada</th>
<th>Salvation Army in B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Male</td>
<td>12,700,390</td>
<td>62,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>6,291,313</td>
<td>30,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>6,409,077</td>
<td>32,174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 plus</td>
<td>Total Male</td>
<td>25,779</td>
<td>3,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12,292</td>
<td>1,596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>13,487</td>
<td>1,908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000 to 99,999</td>
<td>Total Male</td>
<td>9,601</td>
<td>1,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4,723</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4,878</td>
<td>615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 to 29,000</td>
<td>Total Male</td>
<td>9,878</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4,868</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5,010</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000 to 9,999</td>
<td>Total Male</td>
<td>3,561</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1,762</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1,799</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,500 to 4,999</td>
<td>Total Male</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>8,287</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4,154</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000 to 2,499</td>
<td>Total Male</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2,919</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2,867</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Canada Census, 1961, Table 43.
### Table No. 3
PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SALVATION ARMY MEMBERSHIP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total Salvation Army Membership</th>
<th>Percentage of Salvation Army Membership of total provincial population</th>
<th>Male Salvation Army members</th>
<th>Female Salvation Army members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>92,054</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>46,045</td>
<td>46,009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newfoundland</td>
<td>36,258</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>18,636</td>
<td>17,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. E. I.</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>4,662</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>2,313</td>
<td>2,349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>1,770</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>1,981</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>1,023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>31,892</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>15,652</td>
<td>16,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>2,226</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>1,073</td>
<td>1,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>2,418</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>1,214</td>
<td>1,204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>3,319</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>1,691</td>
<td>1,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>7,229</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>3,476</td>
<td>3,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukon</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. W. T.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table No. 4
SALVATION ARMY MEMBERSHIP IN VANCOUVER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Salvation Army</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>384,522</td>
<td>1,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>189,504</td>
<td>684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>195,018</td>
<td>857</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Administrative Control

Territorial Headquarters

The Salvation Army

This page from The Salvation Army Centennial Brochure, Our Army on the March (Toronto, 1965).
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR OFFICERS OF THE SALVATION ARMY

Present Rank: __________________________ Present Position: __________________________

Parents’ Religious Affiliation: __________________________ If Parents not Salvation
Army members, how did you join the Salvation Army: ________________________________________________________________________

Cadet: Age: ______ Length of Training: _____________ Length of Probation: _____________

Married: If married, state year of marriage: ______________________

Previous Ranks— from Cadet till present:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year:</th>
<th>Time Sequence:</th>
<th>Reasons for Promotion:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cadet</td>
<td>______ to ______</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt.</td>
<td>______ to ______</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>______ to ______</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td>______ to ______</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brig.</td>
<td>______ to ______</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt. Col.</td>
<td>______ to ______</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col.</td>
<td>______ to ______</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt. Comm.</td>
<td>______ to ______</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comm.</td>
<td>______ to ______</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How would you account for the high rate of defection of officers? __________________________

________________________________________________________________________________

If you were interested in obtaining a specific appointment, how would you go about getting it?

________________________________________________________________________________

Every institution faces the tension of trying to meet both the needs of the
institution and the needs of its individual members. What are the primary
tensions for an Officer? __________________________

________________________________________________________________________________
Questionnaire cont.:

*Positions Held -- Since Commissioning:

Position: __________  Place: __________  Duration: __________

Reason for Transfer:

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Reason for choice of new position and/or place:

________________________________________________________________________

Did you consider this a promotion? _____  Demotion? _____  Same? _____

Were you in any way consulted regarding time and place of transfer? __________

If so, in what way? __________

Were you satisfied with the new appointment? __________

If not, did you appeal the decision in any way? __________

If you did appeal, what were the results? (Both immediate and with reference to
future appointments):

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

If you did not appeal, why not? __________

*(This page was completed for each appointment of the Corps Officer.)
HAVING received with all my heart the Salvation offered to me by the tender mercy of God, I do here and now acknowledge God the Father to be my King; God the Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, to be my Saviour; and God the Holy Spirit to be my Guide, Comforter and Strength; and I will, by His help, love, serve, worship and obey this glorious God through time and through eternity.

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:

I 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.

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

I 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.

I 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.

I 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.

I 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.

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

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

I believe that continuance in a state of salvation depends upon continued obedient faith in Christ.

I believe in the immortality of the soul, in the resurrection of the body, in the general judgment at the end of the world, in the eternal happiness of the righteous and in the endless punishment of the wicked.

THEREFORE, I do here and now, and for ever, renounce the world with all its sinful pleasures, companionships, treasures and objects, and declare my full determination boldly to show myself a soldier of Jesus Christ in all places and companies, no matter what I may have to suffer, do or lose by so doing.

I do here and now declare that I will abstain from the use of all intoxicating liquor, and from the use of all baneful drugs, except when such drugs shall be ordered for me by a doctor.

I do here and now declare that I will abstain from the use of all low or profane language and from all impurity, including unclean conversation, the reading of any obscene book or paper at any time, in any company, or in any place.

I do here declare that I will not allow myself in any deceit or dishonesty; nor will I practise any fraudulent conduct in my business, my home or in any other relation in which I may stand to my fellow men; but that I will deal truly, honourably and kindly with all those who may employ me or whom I may myself employ.

I do here declare that I will never treat any woman, child or other 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, their present welfare and eternal salvation.

I do here declare that I will spend all the time, strength, money and influence I can in supporting and carrying on the salvation war, and that I will endeavour to lead my family, friends, neighbours and all others whom I can influence to do the same, believing that the sure and only way to remedy all the evils in the world is by bringing men to submit themselves to the government of the Lord Jesus Christ.

I do here declare that I will always obey the lawful orders of my officers, and that I will carry out to the utmost of my power all the orders and regulations of the Army; and, further, that I will be an example of faithfulness to its principles, advance to the utmost of my ability its operations; and never allow, where I can prevent it, any injury to its interests, or hindrance to its success.

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 whole 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.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Booth, B., Echoes and Memories, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1925.


Clark, S. D., Church and Sect in Canada, University of Toronto Press, 1948.


Bibliography cont.:


