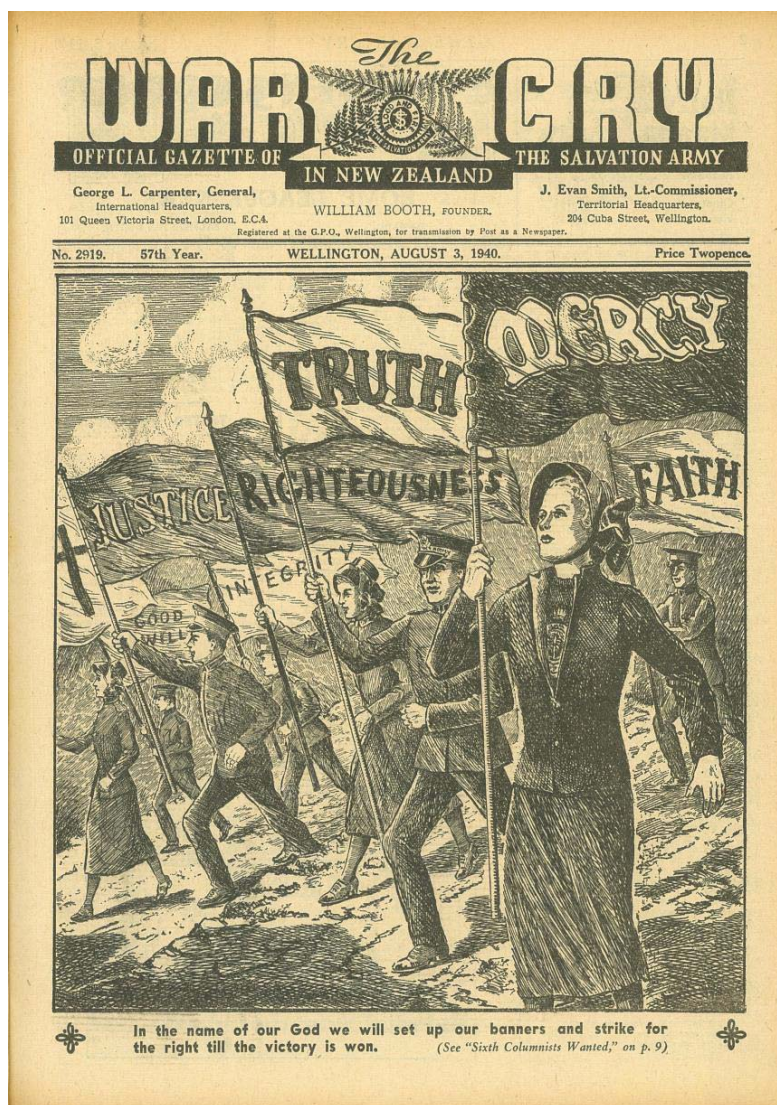


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“LASSES, LIVE UP TO YOUR PRIVILEGES, AND STAND UP FOR YOUR RIGHTS!”¹

Gender Equality in The Salvation Army in New Zealand, 1883-1960



A thesis submitted to Massey University in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in History

Raewyn Hendy

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¹ Thesis title taken from an article by "S.U.B." entitled "Women's Rights" in *The War Cry*, December 26, 1891, 7. Cover illustration is the front cover of *The War Cry* dated August 3, 1940.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis evaluates The Salvation Army's claim that women and men had equal status in the organisation, in the light of research from elsewhere in the world that women did not have genuinely equal opportunities in the organisation. It examines the gender history of The Salvation Army in New Zealand from the time of its arrival in Dunedin in 1883 until 1960 with its primary aim being to determine the nature and extent of gender equality in the organisation during this period. In order to do this, it examines the roles, opportunities and responsibilities offered both to male and female officers; discusses how women and men were portrayed in official publications, primarily the New Zealand edition of *The War Cry*; and looks for both obvious and subtle signs of discrimination against women officers. It also attempts to uncover traces of the voices and stories of the women who served The Salvation Army in New Zealand.

Throughout the period under investigation women officers made up a very high proportion of Salvation Army officers in New Zealand. Prior to World War One, particularly in the period from 1883 to 1900, women officers were able to participate in most aspects of the work of The Salvation Army in New Zealand, with positions appearing to be allocated on merit and availability rather than on gender. Over time however and particularly in the years from 1930 to 1960, women officers were increasingly relegated to positions in smaller corps and into roles involving the care of women and children. Married women officers were often treated as subordinate to their husbands and offered limited opportunities within the organisation. The Salvation Army increasingly conformed to, rather than challenged, the gender mores of other religious denominations and of New Zealand society more generally. Therefore, I conclude, that on balance, although there were occasionally some exceptional women, and at some points, particularly during the years prior to World War One, a degree of equality, that The Salvation Army in New Zealand largely failed to offer equality of opportunity, or equal roles, responsibilities and status to its women officers.

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Thanks are also due to Margaret Hay and Harold Hill, both of whom met with me and shared their extensive knowledge of the history of The Salvation Army in New Zealand.

I would especially like to thank my family-Paul, Glenys, Rebecca, Lizzie and Jess for their support and encouragement during the course of this project. Their proof reading skills have also been much appreciated.

I would like to conclude by acknowledging the life of one of the woman officers mentioned in this thesis, Anne Forsyth. In the late 1920s my father and his siblings went to live at The Salvation Army's Cecilia Whatman Children's Home in Masterton. In the 1990s my father was asked to provide some reminiscences which were to be used in a book about growing up as an orphan in New Zealand. Recently I found the notes he made at this time which he entitled "The Gratitude of an Orphan." He wrote, "I believe now because of their calling to dedicated service most of our officers put their heart into seeing that the best was provided, in the care taken and methods used for our welfare. This service and understanding of us was to make a deep impression on my mind." He wrote specifically about Anne Forsyth who was the Matron during his time at the orphanage, noting "a friendship was established and remained between us to the end of her days." Anne Forsyth maintained regular contact with my father from 1930 until she died aged 94 in 1986.

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INTRODUCTION

On December 8th 1891, the *Bush Advocate* published an account of the arrival of The Salvation Army in Norsewood, a small settlement in Southern Hawkes' Bay.² The article was written by Lieutenant Barriball on behalf of Captain Andrew. It gives virtually no indication that both Barriball and Andrew are female Salvation Army officers. Lieutenant Annie Barriball had recently completed her training to be an officer at the newly opened Lasses' Training Garrison in Newtown, Wellington.³ Captain Emily Andrew had been on the staff of the Training Garrison prior to being appointed to open the Norsewood Corps in November 1891. For the opening meetings Andrew and Barriball were assisted by Mrs Major Robinson. In this article Andrew and Barriball are depicted as trained ministers, who are establishing a church community, preaching and leading worship, and ministering to the needs of their congregation. They are undertaking identical tasks and responsibilities to that of a male Salvation Army officer. This article gives the impression that gender inequality was not an issue in The Salvation Army in New Zealand at this time.



Captain Andrew and Lieutenant Barriball in 1891. Photograph courtesy of

Heritage Centre & Archives for The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga.

² Barriball, "Salvation Army," *Bush Advocate*, December 8, 1891, p. 3. In this thesis female Salvation Army officers will be referred to as they were by The Salvation Army. This was predominately by their rank and surname. If they were unmarried their Christian name was sometimes used, e.g. Lieutenant Annie Barriball. If married, the usual format was the title Mrs followed by rank and surname, e.g. Mrs Major Robinson.

³ An officer is a member of The Salvation Army who has been trained and commissioned to engage in full-time Salvation Army service. He/she is regarded as the equivalent of a minister in other Protestant denominations. Like other ministers of religion, an officer is an individual who has been called to the ministry, and selected and trained to undertake that ministry. Like all ministers, they engage in work for their denomination and receive remuneration for this. They provide pastoral care and leadership to a congregation or community and undertake public preaching and prayer and conduct ceremonies, e.g. enrolment of members, marriages and funerals. Prior to 1978 The Salvation Army commissioned its officers when they commenced their service with the organisation. After 1978 officers are both commissioned and ordained.

The Salvation Army, from the time of its inception in Victorian England had proclaimed as one of its main principles that it allowed women equal status with men, and that a woman may hold any position of power or authority within the organisation, including that of General.⁴ Equal roles and opportunities for men and women are written into the organisations official documents with, for example, the *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of The Salvation Army* published in 1900, stating in clause one of “The Position of Women” section that

One of the leading principles upon which The Army is based is the right of woman to an equal share with man in the great work of publishing Salvation to the world. By an unalterable provision of our Foundation Deed she can hold any position of authority and power in the Army, from that of a Local Officer to that of The General.⁵

Clause two states that “this principle must be recognised and acted on by all Field Officers” and in clause four it reiterates that “women are eligible for the highest commands....[and] no woman is to be kept back from any position of power or influence merely on account of her sex.”⁶ As a consequence of these beliefs, principles and regulations, women officers in The Salvation Army have always been able to preach from the pulpit, conduct marriages and funerals, enrol new members, be the commanding officer of a corps (church), hold leadership positions and have men working under their direction. This was radically different from other Protestant denominations of the period which at this time did not accept women to be ministers or clergy.⁷

⁴ The General is the worldwide leader of The Salvation Army, based at International Headquarters in London. A glossary of Salvation Army terms is included at the conclusion of this thesis.

⁵ The General [William Booth], *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of The Salvation Army* (London: Headquarters of The Salvation Army, 1900), 294. A full transcript of this position of women statement is included as Appendix one. *The Orders and Regulations for Staff Officers of The Salvation Army in the United Kingdom*, published in 1895 included the statement “Women must be treated as equal with men in all the intellectual and social relationships in life.” (Quoted in Janet Munn, *Theory and Practice of Gender Equality in The Salvation Army* (Ashland, Ohio: Gracednotes Ministries, 2015), 6.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ The Society of Friends (Quakers) and some of the sects of the Methodist Church did allow women to preach in public. Wesley had allowed female preaching in exceptional circumstances but women were effectively banned in mainstream Methodism by the early 1800s, however the Primitive Methodist and the Methodist New Connexion did continue to allow women preachers. For further information see Linda

The Salvation Army's stance on women's ministry is primarily due to the beliefs and actions of Catherine Booth who, along with her husband William, founded The Salvation Army.⁸ It was Catherine who "recognized women's powers of intellect and innate equality and elevated them to clerical parity with men" and through her public advocacy for the ministry of women enabled "the introduction of thousands of working-class women into the ranks of ordained clergy."⁹ Catherine Mumford, who would marry William Booth in 1854, came from an evangelical Methodist background and right from childhood had strong views on the participation of women in public ministry.¹⁰ In one

Wilson, "'Constrained by Zeal': Women in Mid-Nineteenth Century Nonconformist Churches," *The Journal of Religious History* 23, no. 2 (June 1999): 185-202; Janice Holmes, "Women Preachers and the New Orders" in *World Christianities, c.1815-c.1914, The Cambridge History of Christianity*; v. 8, eds. Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 84-102 and Pamela J. Walker "'With Fear and Trembling': Women, Preaching and Spiritual Authority," in *Women, Gender, and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, eds. Sue Morgan and Jacqueline deVries (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 94-116. For information on early women preachers and evangelists who were associated with Primitive Methodism in New Zealand see Janet Crawford "Prim Preachers" in *Vashti's Voice*, 14, (2006):13-16.

⁸ William held the position of General, Catherine was known as the 'Army Mother'. Historians writing on The Salvation Army usually refer to William Booth and Catherine Booth as joint founders. See for example, Norman H. Murdoch, "Female Ministry in the Thought and Life of Catherine Booth," *Church History* 53, no. 3 (1984): 348. For further information on the foundation and development of The Salvation Army see, Norman H. Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994); Pamela J. Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) and Robert Sandall, *The History of The Salvation Army* (London: Nelson, 1947). In 1907, a journalist, Hulda Friedrichs published *Romance of The Salvation Army*, which has a preface written by William Booth, and provides an interesting insight on how The Salvation Army was viewed at this time. Much has been written on the life of Catherine Booth. In addition to the general histories listed above, these include Pamela J. Walker's "A Chaste and Fervid Eloquence: Catherine Booth and the Ministry of Women in The Salvation Army" in *Women Preachers and Prophets Through Two Millennia of Christianity*, eds. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 288-302.; Roy Hattersley, *Blood & Fire: William and Catherine Booth and their Salvation Army* (London: Abacus, 1999); John Read, *Catherine Booth: Laying the Theological Foundations of a Radical Movement* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick, 2013); Roger J. Green, "Settled Views: Catherine Booth and Female Ministry," *Methodist History* 31, no. 3 (1993):131-147 and Andrew Mark Eason, *Women in God's Army: Gender and Equality in the Early Salvation Army* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2003). For an early account of Catherine's life, *The Short Life of Catherine Booth: The Mother of The Salvation Army*, written by her son-in-law, F. de L. Booth-Tucker, in 1892 is useful. Although not an academic work, Cathy Le Feuvre's, *William and Catherine*: (Oxford: Monarch Books, 2013) is also useful because of its extensive use of quotations from the letters that William and Catherine Booth wrote to each other.

⁹ Murdoch, "Female Ministry in the Thought and Life of Catherine Booth.": 348.

¹⁰ As mentioned in the above note Methodist tradition accommodated the public participation of women. Evangelicalism, more generally, has been considered as having a profound impact on the position of women. There is a vast amount of literature dealing with the impact of evangelicalism on the development of feminism. Jane Rendall's chapter on "Evangelicalism and the Power of Women" in her book, *The Origins of Modern Feminism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984), 73-107, is a useful starting point, along with Catherine Hall's "The Early Formation of Domestic Ideology" in *Fit Work for Women*, ed. Sandra Burman (London: Croom Helm, 1979),15-32, and Jocelyn Murray's "Gender Attitudes and the Contribution of Women to Evangelism and Ministry in the Nineteenth Century" in *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal: Evangelicals and Society in Britain 1780-1980*, ed. John Wolffe (London: S.P.C.K., 1995): 97-

of her early letters to William Booth, for example, she stated “[w]ho shall dare thrust women out of the Church’s operation or presume to put *my* candle which *God* has lighted under a bushel?”¹¹ In 1859, in response to controversy surrounding the public preaching in England of the American evangelist Phoebe Palmer, Catherine Booth wrote a thirty-two page pamphlet, *Female Ministry; or, Woman’s Right to Preach the Gospel*. In this document she argued that women preachers were not “unnatural and unfeminine” but that woman’s “graceful form and attitude, winning manners, persuasive speech...and finely-toned emotional nature” mean she is ideally equipped for public speaking.¹² Using her extensive Biblical knowledge she attacked the allegation that female ministry is forbidden in Scripture and she tackled the assertion that women should keep silent in church by arguing that if a woman feels called by the Holy Spirit to speak, there is no Scripture which denies her the right to preach.¹³ In 1860 Catherine began a thirty year preaching career which rivalled that of her husband and she came to be seen as one of the most influential Christian women of the time.¹⁴ By 1878 women made up half of The Salvation Army’s field personnel and by the time of Catherine’s death there were five thousand women officers in the organisation.¹⁵ Norman Murdoch, who has written extensively on The Salvation Army, has noted that as a result of Catherine’s beliefs and actions, women officers in The Salvation Army were able to receive and maintain an equal right to perform all priestly functions in the organisation,

116. An overview of the contemporary historical debate is found in Jacqueline de Vries chapter, “More than Paradoxes to Offer: Feminism, History and Religious cultures,” in *Women, Gender, and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, eds. Sue Morgan and Jacqueline deVries (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010): 188-210. For a New Zealand perspective see Peter J. Lineham, “The Gender Issue in New Zealand Evangelical History” in *Reconsidering Gender: Evangelical Perspectives*, eds., Myk Habets and Beulah Wood (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2011): 75-104 and Cathy Ross, “Separate Spheres or Shared Dominions?” in *Transformation*, 23, no. 4 (2006): 228-35 which provides both an overview and a New Zealand perspective, using Elizabeth Colenso and Kate Hadfield as examples.

¹¹ Quoted in Walker, “A Chaste and Fervid Eloquence,”290

¹² Catherine Booth, *Female Ministry; or, Woman’s Right to Preach the Gospel*, (London: Morgan & Chase, [1859]), 3. <http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/vwwwp/VAB7105>

¹³ For more detailed analysis of the contents of “Female Ministry” see Murdoch, “Female Ministry in the Thought and Life of Catherine Booth.”: 352-354 and Read, *Catherine Booth*, 157-62.

¹⁴ Walker, “A Chaste and Fervid Eloquence,”298

¹⁵ Eason, *Women in God’s Army*, 48: Murdoch, “Female Ministry in the Thought and Life of Catherine Booth.”: 362.

including until 1883 the right to administer communion.¹⁶ Murdoch also suggests that the recruitment of these women officers resulted in the organisation developing from a small, inner city mission in East London to a worldwide organisation and also that this large group of women officers enabled the development of the social welfare activities of the organisation.¹⁷ Recent academic scholarship on Catherine Booth has however argued that Catherine's legacy to Salvationist women was something of an ambiguous one, with for example, Eason arguing that Catherine Booth undermined her legacy by her refusal to affirm her own abilities and acknowledge her own significance, by her continued support for female submission in marriage and her stress on maternal obligations at home and her failure to support the view that women should operate outside the domestic sphere.¹⁸

As well as questioning the legacy of Catherine Booth, recent scholarship has questioned The Salvation Army's boast of being the first major Protestant denomination to give women officers equal status and responsibility with male officers with many studies now suggesting that equality may never have been achieved in the organisation. Pamela Walker, for example, writes that although The Salvation Army offered women greater authority than virtually any organisation before World War One, it never sought equality for women, but affirmed wives' duty of obedience to their husbands, usually paid women less than men and rarely appointed women to its highest ranks.¹⁹ The major work challenging the organisation's claim to equality is Andrew Eason's *Women in God's Army: Gender and Equality in the Early Salvation Army*. Eason suggests that The Salvation Army held "troubling beliefs and practices that seriously challenged women's rights to an equitable place with men."²⁰ He argues that although The Salvation Army provided women with equal opportunities to preach alongside men, it largely failed to implement gender equality and that the organisation perpetuated Victorian understandings of sexual difference with masculinity centred on reason and authority

¹⁶ Murdoch, "Female Ministry in the Thought and Life of Catherine Booth.":360.

¹⁷ Ibid., 360-62.

¹⁸ Eason, *Women in God's Army*, 93-118 and Read, *Catherine Booth*, 164-67.

¹⁹ Walker, "'With Fear and Trembling': Women, Preaching and Spiritual authority," 107.

²⁰ Eason, *Women in God's Army*, 2.

and femininity associated with passion, persuasion and sacrificial service.²¹ Margo Dennis' 1998 M.A. thesis, which focuses on women officers and equality from an Australian perspective, also argues "that the position of women officers in The Salvation Army is an ambivalent one" and suggests that "while it is claimed that all officer positions are open to women, in reality not all positions are open to all women in the same degree that they are open to all men."²²

A New Zealand Salvation Army officer, Harold Hill, in his 2004 thesis, *Officership in The Salvation Army*, includes a chapter on women officers, and he concludes that "practice has not always matched precepts" and he suggests that The Salvation Army has over time retreated from its position of gender equality.²³ Cyril Bradwell's general history of The Salvation Army in New Zealand, *Fight the Good Fight*, published in 1982, which is based on his 1950 M.A. thesis, includes a chapter "Women on the March" and he likewise concedes that equal opportunities for women were not always available.²⁴ Ian Gainsford's 2012 research paper which includes a survey of the current situation internationally and in New Zealand along with a survey of active women officers in New Zealand concludes that from the beginning The Salvation Army's ideal of appointments based on ability not gender was never achieved and that "the Army's current practice – in New Zealand and internationally-falls short of this."²⁵ Works aimed at a more general

²¹ Eason, *Women in God's Army*, 140, 141, 151.

²² Margo G. Dennis, "In Her Own Right: Women Officers and Equality in The Salvation Army" (M.A. thesis, Deakin University, 1998), v, 53. See also Richard J.R. Pears, "Towards a Theology of Salvation Army Officership: An Examination of Officer Ministry in the United Kingdom" (M. Theology thesis, University of Oxford, 1996) which provides useful information on the early history of the movement, on the contribution of Catherine Booth as well as an analysis of gender issues within The Salvation Army in the United Kingdom in the 1990s.

²³ Harold Ivor Winston Hill, "Officership in The Salvation Army: A Case Study in Clericalisation." (PhD thesis, Victoria University, 2004), 306

²⁴ Cyril R. Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight: The Story of The Salvation Army in New Zealand 1883-1983* (Wellington: Reed, 1982), 127.

²⁵ Ian Gainsford, "Women at War: A Contrast Between the Theology and Practice of Women's Officership in the Contemporary Salvation Army" (Research paper, University of Otago, 2012), 45, 49. Gainsford's assessment of the current situation for women officers internationally in The Salvation Army is supported by numerous articles, with much debate still occurring on the issue of the position of women officers, particularly married women officers, in The Salvation Army. Some examples of these include: Danielle Strickland's "The Married Women's Ghetto Rant," *Journal of Aggressive Christianity* 101 (2016): 22-27; JoAnn Shade's "A Problem Like Maria," *Journal of Aggressive Christianity* 98 (2015): 5-8 and 103 (2016): 4-7; Chris Wikle's "An Equal Army for a Better World," *Journal of Aggressive Christianity* 108 (2017): 18-21; Helen Cameron and Gillian Jackson's, "One Ministry, Separate Spheres: The Experiences of Ordained Women in Senior Leadership in the Salvation Army in the United Kingdom," in *Women and Ordination in*

audience include, Barbara Sampson's, *Women of Spirit*, a collection of biographies of prominent New Zealand women Salvationists.²⁶ This is useful in giving details of the careers of these women but does not offer any critical analysis of women's roles in the organisation in New Zealand. Also of interest is Adelaide Ah Kow's book, *From Maoriland to Wattleland*, published in 1930 which narrates the life story of Beattie [Beatrice] and Ernest Dixon, who were early New Zealand Salvation Army officers.²⁷ This work gives not only a vivid portrayal of the life of early officers, but also describes issues such as: parental opposition, the poverty they experienced as officers and the disruption of sudden appointment changes. Individual corps histories, for example, Joan Hutson's, *As for Me and my House: A Salute to Early Gisborne Salvation Army Families 1886 to 1952*, and Neil Reinsborg's, *Sallies of the South: Centennial History of The Salvation Army in Southland 1883-1983*, also provide information on women officers.²⁸ Several biographical works have been written on New Zealand male officers who have held senior leadership positions in the organisation and these also comment on the position of women, particularly on the experiences of the leader's wife.²⁹

This thesis aims to determine the degree to which gender equality was achieved by the organisation in New Zealand. It seeks to determine if roles were allocated on merit, experience and ability or by gender. It investigates whether The Salvation Army in New Zealand advocated, supported and instituted equal opportunities for its women officers

the Christian Churches: International Perspectives, eds. Ian Jones, Kirsty Thorpe and Janet Wootton. (London: T & T Clark, 2008), 204-214; Janet Munn's, *Theory and Practice of Gender Equality in The Salvation Army* (Ashland, Ohio: Gracednotes Ministries, 2015); Jenty Fairbank's "'And Then There Were None...'," *The Officer*, October, 1988: 408-411; Donna Ames' "Changing Women's Roles: 1.-The Challenges of Implementing Equality," *The Officer*, November 1996: 511-514 and "Changing Women's Roles: 2.- Learning from Others," *The Officer*, December 1996: 549-551 and Margaret Hay's, "Married Women-Officers," *The Officer*, February 1991: 70-71.

²⁶ Barbara Sampson, *Women of Spirit: Life-stories of New Zealand Salvation Army women from the last 100 years*. (Wellington: The Salvation Army, 1993)

²⁷ Adelaide Ah Kow, *From Maoriland to Wattleland* (London: Salvationist Publishing & Supplies, 1930)

²⁸ Joan Hutson, *As For Me and My House: A Salute to Early Gisborne Salvation Army Families, 1886 to 1952* (Wellington: Flag Publications, 2004). Neil C. Reinsborg, *Sallies of the South: Centennial of The Salvation Army 1883-1983*, (Invercargill: The Salvation Army, 1984)

²⁹ See for example, Kenneth J. Manson, *He Walked With God and Man: A Biography of Commissioner Ernest Elliot, CBE* (Wellington: The Salvation Army, 1997); Cyril R. Bradwell, *Symphony of Thanksgiving: The Life and Music of Commissioner Sir Dean Goffin* (Wellington: Salvation Army New Zealand and Fiji Territory, 1994) and H. Bramwell Cook, *White Gujaratis: Lt-Commissioners Bramwell and Dorothy Cook: Brought Together in the Service of God and The Salvation Army* (Christchurch: H. Bramwell Cook, 2007).

or continued to hold and support ideas which lead to women officers having subordinate roles. It questions, for example, if women officers were given roles involving work with women and children because the organisation believed that women had special characteristics such as greater compassion, moral awareness and ability for self-sacrifice and also looks at the impact of marriage for male and female officers and discusses the impact of motherhood and domestic responsibilities. Both obvious and subtle signs of discrimination against women officers will be identified. The organisation's official publication, the New Zealand edition of *The War Cry*, will also be examined for clues on gender roles in the organisation and this thesis will attempt to determine the degree to which The Salvation Army conformed to, or challenged, the gender roles in wider New Zealand society.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

As historians there are numerous approaches available to us in understanding, constructing, interpreting and examining the past. The historiographical approach adopted in this thesis locates it within the sub-discipline of women's history. Gerda Lerner, one of the early historians to specialise in women's history, wrote of the need to make "women central to our conceptual framework" and "assume that what they do and think is equally important to what men do and think."³⁰ The women who chose to serve in The Salvation Army in New Zealand are therefore the central focus of this thesis rather than significant events in the development of the organisation or its institutions. The sub-discipline of women's history has expanded to include a feminist historical perspective and more latterly a focus on gender history and these three historiographical approaches now co-exist alongside each other in mutually productive ways.³¹ It is my intention to use all three of these historiographical perspectives in this thesis.

It will be traditional women's history in that it seeks to tell her-story by recounting the experiences of female Salvationists in New Zealand, telling the stories of what they did, and attempting to discover their thoughts and attitudes. It aims to place women

³⁰ Gerda Lerner, *Why History Matters: Life and Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 143.

³¹ Sue Morgan, "Theorising Feminist History: A Thirty-year Retrospective," *Women's History Review* 18, no. 3 (2009): 382.

and their activities in the narrative of the history of The Salvation Army in New Zealand. This narrative will include not only the women who are recognised as playing significant roles in the history of The Salvation Army in New Zealand because a focus solely on these women, important though their activities may have been, may not give a completely accurate picture of women's participation in the organisation. In my research I have also tried to trace the career paths and life stories of some less high profile women and those who served in the organisation for only a short time or who disagreed with the ideas and decisions made by the leadership of The Salvation Army. In The Salvation Army, as has been stated, all roles were theoretically open to both sexes, but a more nuanced biographical approach which looks at individuals within the organisation may help determine whether The Salvation Army actually did indeed advocate, support and institute equal roles for women or whether it continued to support ideas which led to women officers having subordinate roles. A collective approach which looks at groups of women officers, for example, those who served on the mission field will also be used. It is hoped that using these approaches may help to determine if women Salvation Army officers saw their interactions with the organisation as empowering and liberating, or if they struggled and rebelled against some of the limitations that the organisation placed upon them.

Feminist history aims to challenge existing perspectives and to transform the historical narrative seeking not only to make women visible but to challenge stereotypical views about, and attitudes towards women. A feminist approach to women's religious history means "re-examining materials and traditions with an eye attuned to women's presence and absence, women's words and silence, recognition given and denied women [along with] understanding the place of women, the contributions they have made and the ways they have been excluded."³² Feminist history questions, critiques, and scrutinizes cherished ideas and concepts and it must include; a measure of suspicion of the androcentric context and content of inherited sources; recovery and reconstruction of women's lives and history and the criticism and correction of established ideas.³³ This thesis adopts a feminist perspective by discussing

³² June O'Connor, "Rereading, Reconciving and Reconstructing Traditions: Feminist Research in Religion," *Women's Studies* 17, no. 1/2 (1989): 102.

³³ June O'Connor, "The Epistemological Significance of Feminist Research in Religion," in *Religion & Gender*, ed. Ursula King (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 47, 46.

not only what women in The Salvation Army in New Zealand did, but also identifying and questioning the beliefs, attitudes and procedures held by The Salvation Army, which impacted on the women who served in the organisation. Feminist research seeks not only to make women visible and to make their experience central, but to challenge and transform and reshape our perspective on the subject under investigation. Feminist historians however, do need to be alert to the possibility of seeking in historical women a representation of contemporary sympathies in the area of gender relationships and also of the need to avoid the temptation to make historical women into heroines.³⁴ This tendency to make historical women into heroic, saintly figures can be a problem, particularly when their story has been written by authors who hold the same religious perspective as that of the women they are describing. Works commissioned and published by The Salvation Army and written by Salvationists have often been guilty of this tendency. This thesis revisits the history of The Salvation Army in New Zealand in an attempt to recover the forgotten voices of the women who were active in the organisation and to challenge and question the beliefs that have arisen around these women with the aim of transforming and reconstructing established ideas about the equality and status of the women who served the organisation, in New Zealand.

Over time historians studying women in history came to believe that in order to effectively understand women's lives, and particularly to understand societal relationships between the sexes, it was necessary to also study men and masculinity with gender being identified as a key axis of power in society.³⁵ The New Zealand historian Jock Phillips notes that "inequalities of gender are relational inequalities" and that to understand these inequalities you need to look at both men and women.³⁶ An

³⁴ Margaret R. Miles, Virginia Burrus, Tazim R. Kassam, and Rita M. Goss., "Roundtable Discussion: Feminist Religious History [with Response]," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 22, no. 1 (2006): 65.

³⁵ Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), 12. The approach in this thesis of using gender as a means to study social relationships of power, developed from Joan Wallach Scott's seminal work, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 1053-1075.

³⁶ Ruth Schick with John Dolan, "Masculinity and *A Man's Country* in 1998: An Interview with Jock Phillips (46-63) in *Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, eds. Robin Law, Hugh R. Campbell, and John Dolan (Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press, 1999), 48

examination of masculinity is necessary “to understand the dynamics of what it is that keeps men in positions of power over women.”³⁷ Therefore this thesis looks at both male and female officers in The Salvation Army in New Zealand and the roles, tasks, and responsibilities assigned to them. By including male officers in an analysis of the organisation it will be able to determine if the roles, tasks and responsibilities they undertook, were different to, or seen as more important than, those undertaken by women officers. Gender thus becomes a means of discussing issues of power and leadership within the organisation. Joan Wallach Scott suggests that historians should compare women’s situation to men by focusing on law, prescriptive literature, iconographic representation, institutional structure and political representation.³⁸ Therefore this thesis will examine official publications, such as the *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of The Salvation Army*; the writings of the organisation’s authority figures; the representation of men and women in publications such as *The War Cry* and the organisational structure of The Salvation Army in New Zealand as a means of discussing and determining the degree of equality women were able to achieve in the organisation.

By analysing the history of The Salvation Army from the perspective of gender it may also be possible to identify other dichotomies within the organisation, for example, between those officers who served as social officers undertaking the organisation’s welfare work and those who served as field officers working in corps, between those who are married and those who remained single, or between those who trained for officership in Britain and those who trained in New Zealand. It is important not to allow a focus on gender to obscure other identities that may have been important to the men and women who made up The Salvation Army. For example, it is important to question whether those women who were from established Salvation Army families, or who were better educated, had a greater chance of achieving high profile and prestigious roles and equality with male officers. It is also important to avoid focusing on high profile powerful men and comparing them to powerless women. Just because male officers

³⁷ Ruth Schick with John Dolan, “Masculinity and *A Man’s Country* in 1998: An Interview with Jock Phillips (46-63) in *Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, eds. Robin Law, Hugh R. Campbell, and John Dolan (Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press, 1999), 48

³⁸ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, Rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 23

held formal positions of power may not mean that women were necessarily powerless. By adopting these three historiographical approaches this thesis will not only recount the experiences of women in The Salvation Army in New Zealand, it will also identify, discuss, challenge and critique, concepts, beliefs and practices held by the organisation that impacted on the women who served in its ranks.

THESIS STATEMENT

In this thesis I will argue that in the early years of its history The Salvation Army rebelled against and challenged religious mores in New Zealand. At a time when women's involvement in church life in New Zealand was largely limited to philanthropic activities, the provision of flowers and food, and fundraising activities, The Salvation Army offered women highly visible roles and responsibilities, not only for public preaching but also for leadership. The Salvation Army provided opportunities for women that were not available to them in other denominations and this made them stand out from other denominational groups. In the years before 1900 New Zealand women were becoming increasingly active in the public sphere, agitating and securing the franchise for women, and in issues of moral and social welfare. The Salvation Army reflected this increased involvement of women in the public sphere with high numbers of women officers and soldiers active in the organisation. At this time The Salvation Army chose to highlight its commitment to equal status and equal roles for women and positioned itself as sympathetic to increased participation for women in public and religious life. During this period The Salvation Army in New Zealand came closest to fulfilling its obligations on the position of women in the organisation as stated in its orders and regulations. Although I contend that ultimately The Salvation Army did not fully implement its requirement to provide equal status and roles for women, during the first thirty years of its history in New Zealand, roles, responsibilities, and status in the organisation was more likely to be allocated on the basis of merit, ability, experience and availability rather than on gender.

From the 1920s through to the end of the period under investigation and perhaps beyond, The Salvation Army increasingly conformed to and mirrored the mores of other religious denominations, and New Zealand society in general. In this period gender relationships in the organisation were similar to those in secular New Zealand, which

emphasised the role of the male as breadwinner and the domestic role of women as wives and mothers. In The Salvation Army a few exceptional women held high profile positions, either in New Zealand or on the mission field. The majority of women officers, however, were largely clustered on the social side of The Salvation Army's work or, if serving on the field side and unmarried, in small corps. Married women officers were in subservient roles to their husbands. During this period, and more particularly in the 1940s and 1950s, it would seem that the practices and beliefs of The Salvation Army in New Zealand were at times contrary to its position of women statement in the organisation's orders and regulations and that the gender of an officer, along with their marital status, was a factor in determining the position they were given in the organisation.

This failure to fully implement gender equality may have occurred for the following reasons. The Salvation Army, despite its published statements on equality for women, always believed in complementary roles for men and women rather than equal roles. It considered men and women to be equal but different, with each sex having different characteristics. The Salvation Army held beliefs and ideas, for example, on leadership, power and self-sacrifice, which impacted on the roles and responsibilities it gave to its male and female officers and led to women officers holding subservient and less visible roles. The Salvation Army always considered that married women officer's roles as wives and mothers and their domestic responsibilities associated with these roles, to be at least as important as their calling to be ministers of religion. Although it trained women to be officers, when these women married, the organisation never adequately dealt with issues of divided loyalty between their commission to work as officers and their responsibility to their families. The Salvation Army in New Zealand increasingly reflected, rather than challenged, the gender mores in New Zealand society of women as stay-at-home mothers and men as breadwinners. It encouraged women to join the movement and become officers when the organisation had evangelisation as its dominant priority, welcoming anybody, regardless of gender, race, class or educational qualifications, to participate in the battle to save souls. Once the evangelical imperative lessened and the initial enthusiasm of converts waned, the organisation consolidated its work in New Zealand and became increasingly conservative. As it became accepted as a more conventional Protestant denomination, gender roles came to more closely

resemble those in other Churches, with male officers in The Salvation Army dominating its prominent leadership positions as they did in other Churches. Senior leadership positions in The Salvation Army in New Zealand during this period were routinely held by overseas trained male officers, who often had little knowledge of the skills and abilities of New Zealand officers, and who were following a career path within the organisation internationally. Although difficult to conclusively prove, this may have impacted negatively on the roles offered to New Zealand officers, especially New Zealand women officers. As The Salvation Army expanded its social welfare activities and institutions, women were increasingly clustered in this area of the organisation's work in New Zealand, where they ministered primarily to women and children, rather than in the more visible area of church leadership and public ministry. The structures and regulations, both formal and informal, of The Salvation Army, worked against women having equal roles and status and allowed discriminatory practices to exist. Despite the high number of women officers, at around 70% of all officers trained in New Zealand, the hierarchical nature of its structure, the patriarchal and paternalistic attitudes of its leadership, and the authoritarian nature of the organisation, allowed male officers to take and hold dominant positions, and the organisation to remain male centred. While some New Zealand women officers were able to hold significant positions by serving The Salvation Army overseas, only a small number ever attained positions of authority in this country.

THESIS STRUCTURE

As the roles and status of women altered over time a chronological approach is used to present the information in this thesis. Within this chronological framework key issues discussed include, the ideas and beliefs that the organisation held about gender, the problems associated with married women officers, and the impact of increasing conservatism and conformity of gender roles in the organisation which led to male officers dominating leadership positions and women officers clustered in the social welfare work of the organisation.

Section One examines the early years, with a focus on the decade of the 1890s, when discussion on women's rights in New Zealand was at its height and when New Zealand women Salvation Army officers appear to achieve their greatest levels of equality. By

World War One this golden age of equality was over and women officers were less likely to be seen in high profile public roles and more likely to be found in the expanding social welfare work of the organisation. During this period many of the officers who appear to have held strong opinions on equality for women were transferred to Australia and this also coincides with a lessening of emphasis on women's rights in New Zealand society more generally.

Section Two examines the period from after World War One through to 1960, with a particular focus on the years from 1930. The period after World War One and through into the 1920s appears to have been something of a watershed for The Salvation Army in New Zealand. In 1914 The Salvation Army had built a new Training College for men and women in Wellington and established its national Headquarters in Wellington. During World War One The Salvation Army had enhanced its reputation by sending a number of chaplains to minister to the New Zealand troops.³⁹ In the world of The Salvation Army internationally, William Booth died in 1912, was succeeded by his son Bramwell who was subsequently deposed as General in 1929. The new General, selected by the High Council, was not a member of the Booth family.

From 1930, conservatism, conformity, and consolidation characterised The Salvation Army in New Zealand, with the organisation increasingly appearing to be a male centred institution. There was an increasing formality and rigidity to the organisation and this is perhaps only relieved by the appointment in 1954 of Colonel (Dr) A. Bramwell Cook, a New Zealand officer and medical missionary, as Chief Secretary [second-in command]. His appointment seems to have delighted New Zealand Salvationists and his adoption of a more pragmatic approach together with his knowledge of The Salvation Army in New Zealand led to some of the more obvious discriminatory practices towards women being identified and addressed. This thesis also includes a section on New Zealand women who served The Salvation Army on the mission field. It was as officers working overseas that women were able to achieve positions of status and responsibility that were not always available to them in The Salvation Army in New Zealand. The end date for this thesis was chosen because the development of second wave feminism in the

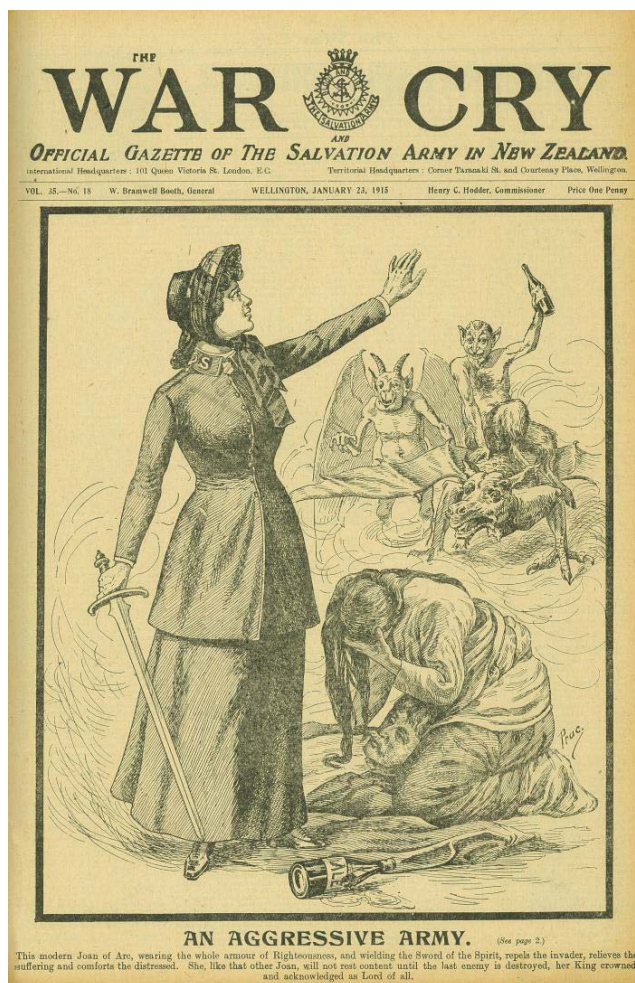
³⁹ Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 103.

years after 1960 began a wave of changes in The Salvation Army and in all the churches that deserves separate close study in another thesis.

SECTION ONE

PART ONE

THE AGE OF ENTHUSIASM, 1883-1920



EARLY HISTORY OF THE SALVATION ARMY IN NEW ZEALAND

In 1882 William Booth received a letter from Miss Arabella Valpy asking him to send officers “to the rescue of perishing souls” in Dunedin.⁴⁰ Booth agreed to Miss Valpy’s request and George Pollard, aged twenty, and Edward Wright, aged nineteen, were sent to commence the work of The Salvation Army in New Zealand. Three other Salvationists, Captain and Mrs Burfoot and Lieutenant Bowerman joined Pollard and

⁴⁰ John Waite, *Dear Mr. Booth: Some Early Chapters of the History of The Salvation Army in New Zealand* (Wellington, The Salvation Army Territorial Headquarters, 1964), 9.

Wright when they stopped in Melbourne and on April 1st 1883 The Salvation Army 'opened fire' in Dunedin.⁴¹ *The Otago Daily Times* reported on the event, noting that Captains Pollard and Burfoot

...are both young men, evidently thoroughly in earnest, and full of faith in the success of their mission. As may be expected, they are not polished speakers, but they have a rough-and-ready style, [and] a determined manner... Mrs Burfoot helps greatly in the singing, speaks effectively, and takes a part in the devotional exercises...⁴²

By Christmas 1883, when The Salvation Army held its first Congress in Dunedin, there were thirty officers present from twelve stations and 400-500 people marched in a procession accompanied by five brass bands.⁴³ By 1891 The Salvation Army in New Zealand was operating 67 corps and 109 outposts with 212 officers and 4000 adult soldiers (members).⁴⁴ Census information reveals that the number of people identifying themselves as Salvationists reached a peak in 1896 at 1.5% of the population, comprising 5244 males and 5288 females.⁴⁵

The Salvation Army in its early years in New Zealand was always a highly controversial presence in a community. It positioned itself as a radical and unconventional sect set apart from mainstream denominations with an evangelical mission to work primarily amongst those on the fringes of society.⁴⁶ Some members and leaders of other denominations welcomed it and others criticised it.⁴⁷ Likewise

⁴¹ The term 'opened fire' in The Salvation Army means to commence work in an area. Detailed information on the early history of The Salvation Army in NZ can be found in Waite, *Dear Mr. Booth* and in Cyril R. Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*.

⁴² [Untitled article], *The Otago Daily Times*, April 4, 1883, p. 2

⁴³ "Salvation Army Congress," *The Otago Daily Times*, December 27, 1883, p. 2

⁴⁴ Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 37.

⁴⁵ Statistics New Zealand/Tatauranga Aotearoa, digitised collection https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1896-census/1896-results-census/1896-results-census.html#d50e112274

⁴⁶ Roland Robertson argues that The Salvation Army should be defined as an established sect. See "The Salvation Army: The persistence of sectarianism" in *Patterns of Sectarianism: Organisation and Ideology in Social and Religious Movements*, ed. Bryan R. Wilson (London: Heinemann, 1967), 56.

⁴⁷ For details on the response from Church leaders, see Waite, *Dear Mr. Booth*, 27.

when The Salvation Army arrived in an area, some citizens welcomed it, as they saw it as a means of dealing with a community's social problems, others formed Skeleton Armies to oppose it and disrupt its activities, as they saw its beliefs and activities, particularly its anti-alcohol and anti-tobacco stance, as an attack on the leisure activities of the working man.⁴⁸ There was also concern about the organisation's attraction for young women with the audience at a talk at the Lyceum Hall in Dunedin being told to "shun and spurn the organisation" and urging the mothers of Dunedin to keep your daughters from the barracks.⁴⁹

Early records on those who joined the organisation and served as officers are patchy.⁵⁰ Any researcher studying The Salvation Army is very dependent on information contained in its publication, *The War Cry*.⁵¹ In addition to *The War Cry* officers in New Zealand also read and occasionally contributed to international Salvation Army publications, such as *The Field Officer*, *The Staff Review* and *The Officers' Review*. These publications were only available to officers, not to other members of the organisation and therefore give valuable insights into issues that concerned officers but which were not considered appropriate to share with the laity in the organisation. It is in these publications that more controversial issues are discussed.⁵² All corps keep history books but the reliability of the information that they contain, particularly for the

⁴⁸ For information on the community response to the activities of The Salvation Army in New Zealand see Michael F. Hay, "'Onward Christian Soldiers': The Salvation Army in Milton, 1884-1894 in *Building God's Own Country: Historical Essays on Religions in New Zealand*, eds. John Stenhouse and Jane Thomson (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 2004), 113-123 and Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 29-34 and Waite, *Dear Mr. Booth*, 32-44.

⁴⁹ "'The Vagabond" at the Lyceum," *The Otago Daily Times*, June 5, 1883, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 18.

⁵¹ Each Salvation Army territory publishes its own edition of *The War Cry*. The cover name of the New Zealand *War Cry* varies over the period of this thesis, variously printed as, *The War Cry* or *The War Cry: Official Gazette of The Salvation Army in New Zealand* or *The War Cry: Official Organ of The Salvation Army in New Zealand*.

⁵² Cyril Bradwell (a soldier and a local officer who wrote extensively on Salvation Army history) notes in his autobiography that in 1935, the corps officer of the corps that he attended in Christchurch gave him copies of *The Officers' Review* to take home and read and that in doing this he was breaking Salvation Army regulations. See Cyril R. Bradwell, *Touched with Splendour: A 20th century Pilgrimage* (Wellington: Flag Publications, 2003), 43.

early years, cannot be guaranteed.⁵³ A handwritten book held at The Salvation Army's Heritage Centre & Archives in Upper Hutt records the names and basic career details of 576 officers, 289 of which are women, who served between 1883 and 1912 but not all officers known to be working in New Zealand at this time are included. For this project I have also accessed officer career cards held at Salvation Army Archives, but not personal officer files, and using this information compiled a database containing information on the career details of 650 male and female officers who served with The Salvation Army in New Zealand.

From 1883-1894, The Salvation Army in New Zealand was run as a separate territory, but from 1894-1912 it was joined with The Salvation Army in Australia and the organisation was run as an Australasian territory with its Headquarters in Melbourne.⁵⁴ Initially there was little formal training for officership in The Salvation Army in New Zealand, but by 1896 three Training Garrisons operated in New Zealand.⁵⁵ From 1894-1912 all officers trained in Melbourne. Women cadets at the Training College, whether married or single, received the same training as men, and were commissioned in the same way as male officers. From 1912 The Salvation Army in New Zealand was divided into four, sometimes five geographical Divisions under the control of a Divisional Commander.⁵⁶ The work of The Salvation Army in New Zealand is also subdivided into what is known as the field side, which is focused on the work of the corps and the social side which is the organisation's welfare work. In the early decades the social side was seen as secondary to the evangelistic activities carried out by the field side of the organisation.⁵⁷

⁵³ Much historical information on The Salvation Army in New Zealand particularly that concerning early opposition to the movement is anecdotal and difficult to verify.

⁵⁴ Cyril R. Bradwell, "An Outline History of The Salvation Army in New Zealand" (M.A. thesis, Canterbury University College, 1950), 51.

⁵⁵ Colin Moore, "New Zealand Salvation Army Officer Training 1883-1912," *Battlepoint* (June 1968): 12-18.

⁵⁶ Bradwell, "An Outline History of The Salvation Army in New Zealand" 55.

⁵⁷ Dean Emmerson in his 1990 research essay notes that "in the past social work was considered the poorer partner." See Dean Emmerson, "The Single Officer" (Research essay, Massey University, 1990), 17.

Each year The Salvation Army in New Zealand publishes a document known as *The Disposition of the Forces* which gives information on where all Salvation Army officers in New Zealand are stationed. These provide valuable information on who served in the organisation and the position that they held. The high number of women officers is clearly apparent in these documents. The format of these documents also provides an insight into how the organisation viewed gender roles and how this changed over time. Earlier editions of *The Disposition of the Forces* only give the officers' surname and usually no indication of their sex. For example, *The Disposition of the Forces* for 1900 gives the surname and rank or surname only for most of the officers, e.g. OPOTIKI: Seamer, WHAKATANE: Stirling. Seamer is a male officer, Stirling a female but this is not indicated in any way.⁵⁸ By 1915 *The Disposition of the Forces* gives the full name and rank of officers, with the female officer details printed in italics e.g. NEWTON: Adjutant Charles Bear, ONEHUNGA: *Captain Marie Larsen*. By 1915, if a male officer was married his entry was followed by a symbol (+) and a number, indicating the number of dependent children he had, e.g. Adj. Thomas Buttimore + 3.⁵⁹ The name of the officer wife is not given.

EARLY SALVATION ARMY MEN AND WOMEN OFFICERS

Salvation Army women officers were often considered to be “unusually prominent and vocal women [who] horrified and angered observers, both lay and clerical [and] who were abused by street gangs and railed at by clergymen.”⁶⁰ An article in *The Southland Times* in 1890 noted “[t]he Lasses are for the most part women of poor circumstances and women whose lot in life has not been an easy one.”⁶¹ Both male and female officers were generally young with limited education and from a working class background. They joined the organisation from a desire to evangelize those who professed no

⁵⁸ *The Disposition of the Forces*, ([Wellington: National Headquarters], 1900), 84

⁵⁹ *The Disposition of the Forces*, ([Wellington: National Headquarters], 1915), 14, 15.

⁶⁰ Pamela J. Walker, “‘I Live But Not Yet I For Christ Liveth in Me’: Men and Masculinity in the Salvation Army, 1865-90,” in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 93.

⁶¹ [Untitled article,] *The Southland Times*, January 9, 1899, p. 1

Christian faith seeking, as they said, to save their souls. Many of those who joined had been previously involved in another Protestant denomination. This was particularly the case for women applicants and, although it is only occasionally stated by women as their reason for joining, it is almost certain that many of them joined The Salvation Army because it was the only Protestant denomination that allowed them to be ministers of religion. For Protestant women in other denominations the only opportunities for full-time employment were as deaconesses or Anglican sisters and these were extremely limited.⁶² The role of deaconess offered work which was similar to that done by women Salvation Army officers who worked on the social side, but in The Salvation Army these women were trained ministers who could and did undertake all the duties of a corps officer if and when required. It is fair to conclude that their lack of educational qualifications would mean that most of the male applicants would not have been accepted for training as clergy in other denominations in New Zealand.

As part of the research for this thesis I have had access to eighteen randomly selected application forms for ten men and eight women who applied to be Salvation Army officers in New Zealand, between 1896 and 1922.⁶³ Since they were not intended to be more than a sample and as it is possible that some of these application forms are from people who still have family working in The Salvation Army in New Zealand, and as

⁶² There is an increasingly large number of works which outline women's roles in Protestant denominations in New Zealand. General works include Elaine Bolitho, "Women in New Zealand Churches, part 1, 1814-1939," *Stimulus* 1, no. 3 (1993): 25-32; Allan K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*, 3rd ed. (Wellington: Education for Ministry, 2004): 74-84; Stephen Hewlett, "Adam's Helper: Women's roles in the Evangelical Churches in New Zealand from Colonial Times to the End of the 20th Century" (M.A. thesis, Massey University, 2004) and Peter J. Lineham, "The Gender Issue in New Zealand Evangelical History" in *Reconsidering Gender: Evangelical Perspectives*, eds., Myk Habets and Beulah Wood (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2011): 75-104. More detailed information on women in specific denominations and on the deaconess movement and Anglican sisterhoods is also readily available, see for example, Ruth Fry, *Out of the Silence: Methodist Women of Aotearoa* (Christchurch, Methodist Publishing, 1987); Margaret McClure, *Saving the City: The History of the Order of The Good Shepherd and the Community of the Holy Name in Auckland, 1894-2000* (Auckland: David Ling, 2002); Karyn-Maree Piercy, "Patient and Endearing Love: The Deaconess Movement, 1900-1920," in *Building God's Own Country: Historical essays on Religions in New Zealand*, eds. John Stenhouse and Jane Thomson (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2004), 196-208; J.D. Salmond, *By Love Serve: The story of the Order of Deaconesses of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand* (Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1962) and Margaret Tennant, "Sisterly Ministrations: The Social Work of Protestant Deaconesses in New Zealand 1890-1940." *The New Zealand Journal of History* 32 no.1 (1998): 3-22.

⁶³ These were randomly selected for me by staff at the Heritage Centre & Archives for The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji and Tonga. Pamela Walker in her work, "I Live But Not Yet I For Christ Liveth in Me," 97-108 discusses Salvation Army conversion narratives, particularly those of male converts. See also B. Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual autobiography in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

some of the information contained on the forms is personal, they are not identified by surname. The Salvation Army in New Zealand has always been a small tightly-knit group and it is a common experience as a researcher to find the same surnames recurring over many generations. Each application form is accompanied by a handwritten narrative of the individual's conversion (following the Methodist model) along with a history of their association with The Salvation Army, and these narratives, together with the answers given to questions on the application forms, give a remarkable insight into the thoughts and lives of the young men and women who applied to be officers.⁶⁴ Some selected excerpts from these narratives are included as Appendix three. It is important to remember that the information they were giving was designed to win them a place at the Training Garrison. There were a high number of applicants for places at the Training Garrison during these early years with *The War Cry* for July 18th 1891, recording that in the previous twelve months, 132 men and women had applied to be officers in The Salvation Army, with equal numbers of each sex, and with between seventy and eighty applicants accepted.⁶⁵

The working-class background of the potential officers is very apparent in applications for officership.⁶⁶ Records give the previous occupation of many New Zealand officers, with the majority of female applicants giving their occupation as domestic, and male applicants tending to be labourers or farm workers. The application forms that I have used give more detailed information on the work that the applicants were currently undertaking.

⁶⁴ A transcript of an early application form is included as Appendix two. Johan A. Lundin has undertaken a detailed study of the conversion narratives of Swedish Salvationists with a particular emphasis on how attitudes towards gender were expressed in these documents. See Johan A. Lundin, "The Salvation Army in Sweden and the Making of Gender-Conversion Narratives 1887-1918," *Journal of Religious History* 37, no. 2 (2013): 245-260. If it were possible a similar in depth study of the conversion narratives of the men and women who applied for officership in New Zealand could potentially offer much insight into attitudes about gender within The Salvation Army and also about religion and gender amongst young New Zealanders more generally.

⁶⁵ "The Dual Boom," *The War Cry*, July 18, 1891, p. 2.

⁶⁶ Lynne Marks' article, "The Knights of Labor and the Salvation Army, 1882-1890," *Labour/Le Travail*, 28 (1991): 89-127, on The Salvation Army in Ontario, provides a useful discussion on The Salvation Army's appeal to working class men and women through its emphasis on the salvation of souls with its accompanying implication of spiritual equality, as well as its use of working class popular culture which provided a religious space where working class men and women could feel comfortable and respected, and where working class women could defy gender based constraints.

Male applicants	Female Applicants
“Assist on farm, when not needed at home, work out.”	General household duties, salary 10/- per week-“when out of a situation my brother keeps me.”
Motor mechanic-1 pound 13/- a week	Not in a situation-needed at home
Orchard and garden manager-2 pounds, 12/- weekly	Domestic duties 8/- per week
Salesman-2 pounds weekly	Living at home
Painter/paperhanger	Milking and general house work
General farm work-1 pound 10/-per week	Waitress 10/- per week
Storeman 2 pound per week	Domestic duties
Driving baker’s cart-2 pound 6/- per week	Woollen factory-up to 25/- per week
Miner	Lady help
Painter/paperhanger 36/- per week	

Table One-Occupational and income information on a sample group of candidates for officership.

For male applicants the allowance offered by The Salvation Army was less than they could make in a secular occupation and an officer’s allowance was not guaranteed and only paid if sufficient funds were available after corps expenses had been met.⁶⁷ In contrast for women the allowance was often more than they could make in domestic service. The income for many of these women seems to have been intermittent and unreliable, so the allowance paid by The Salvation Army may have been better than, or equivalent to, what they routinely received. Two male applicants and one female applicant in the sample acknowledge that their reading skills are limited. Most only had a relatively short period as soldiers before offering themselves for officership. Although not shown in this sample group of applicants, amongst the early women officers in New Zealand are a small number of better educated women. Several women worked as teachers prior to becoming officers. Examples include, Kate Kendall who had attended Canterbury Teachers College, Nellie Barnard who had also worked as a teacher, as did Captain Cook who commanded the Dunedin Corps.⁶⁸ Annie Smyth of Wellington was a university graduate.⁶⁹ I have been unable to find a male applicant who had any post-

⁶⁷ There is evidence to suggest that officers often went without their full allowance. For example, Horace Dixon is reported in an article in *The War Cry* dated November 19, 1938, as recalling that for the twelve months of their first appointment as officers, his parents, Beattie and Ernest Dixon, only received eight shillings by way of salary.

⁶⁸ *The War Cry*, December 4, 1926 p. 2.; *The War Cry*, May 11, 1889 p. 1. Information on Captain Cook is from a document written by Hughson and held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives.

⁶⁹ Beryl Hughes and Sheila Ahern, *Redbrick and Bluestockings: Women at Victoria, 1889-1993* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1993), 21.

secondary school education in the period prior to 1914. Most applicants are aged between eighteen and twenty-five. The youngest New Zealand officer was Julia Perry who was in charge of her first corps at the age of seventeen.⁷⁰

Several applicants in the sample group noted on their application forms that their parents did not approve of them becoming officers. Whilst some families welcomed their daughter's association with The Salvation Army, many did not. Not only were there concerns over their daughter's involvement in an organisation which at this time was regarded as an unconventional and radical sect, but the nature of the work was known to be physically arduous and exhausting for women. Lundin, in his research on The Salvation Army in Sweden suggests that for the young women who joined the organisation there, the anxiety and embarrassment which often resulted from joining the organisation "can be understood as a fear of transgressing against the prevailing hegemonic perception that women were not, and should not be, 'independent'."⁷¹ My research on the New Zealand situation suggests that women who joined the organisation often received a negative reaction from family and friends, not because they objected to the independence offered to women in the organisation, but rather, they were concerned about the social embarrassment caused by a young woman's involvement in what was seen as a radical and unconventional religious movement, with a culture that was very different to that of other Protestant denominations.⁷²

Dominating public discourse in New Zealand at this time, were debates over suffrage, temperance, poverty and social welfare and concerns over the perceived moral and physical decline of New Zealanders. By the end of the nineteenth century there were distinctive male and female cultures in New Zealand.⁷³ Female culture focused on domestic life, morality and nurturance in what has come to be termed the "cult of domesticity" and a male culture which centres on the two apparently contradictory

⁷⁰ *The War Cry*, December 28, 1940, p.15

⁷¹ Lundin, "The Salvation Army in Sweden and the Making of Gender-Conversion Narratives 1887-1918," 251.

⁷² See for example, the sentiments expressed by Amy Podmore in her poem transcribed in Appendix five.

⁷³ Bev James and Kay Saville-Smith, *Gender, Culture and Power: Challenging New Zealand's Gendered Culture*. rev. ed. (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1994), 15

constructions of “man alone” and “family man.”⁷⁴ It has been suggested that the twenty year period around 1900 was a period of improvement in the lot of New Zealand women.⁷⁵ Women were active in advocating for suffrage rights, the temperance cause and issues of moral and social welfare.⁷⁶ Margaret Tennant has suggested that “[i]f one was to plot on a graph the intensity of feminist feeling in New Zealand, the years of 1893 and early 1894 would surely show as a high point.”⁷⁷ Belich points to this decade as a highpoint of women activism with legislative triumphs and a proliferation of women’s organisations.⁷⁸ For the women of The Salvation Army the decade of the 1890s was

⁷⁴ Bev James and Kay Saville-Smith, *Gender, Culture and Power: Challenging New Zealand’s Gendered Culture*. rev. ed. (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1994), 15

⁷⁵ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*. (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), 187

⁷⁶ General works which include information on women’s participation in political and social issues during this period include, Barbara Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016); Sandra Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of Women in New Zealand Since they Won the Vote* (Auckland: Penguin, 1993); Margaret Tennant, “Matrons with a Mission: Women’s Organisations in New Zealand, 1893-1915” (M.A. thesis, Massey University, 1976); Anne Else, ed., *Women Together: A History of Women’s Organisations in New Zealand. Nga ropu wahine o te motu* (Wellington: Historical branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1993); James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*. (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), 157-188.; Phillida Bunkle and Beryl Hughes, eds., *Women in New Zealand Society* (Auckland: Allen & Unwin, 1980); Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald and Margaret Tennant, eds., *Women in History: Essays on European women in New Zealand*, (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1986) and produced by the same editors, *Women in History 2* (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 1992). Jenny Coleman, “Appending Possibilities: Tracing the Emergence of Feminist Consciousness in Nineteenth-century New Zealand,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 31, (2008): 464-473, provides useful information on the politicisation of New Zealand women. Collections of original documents concerning the activities of women include, Charlotte Macdonald, *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink: A History of Feminist Writing in New Zealand 1869-1993*, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1993) and Margaret Lovell-Smith, *The Woman Question: Writings by the Women Who Won the Vote*, (Auckland: New Women’s Press, 1992). Works which highlight women’s battle for suffrage include, Patricia Grimshaw, *Women’s Suffrage in New Zealand*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1972). On temperance and morality issues see Barbara Brookes, “A Weakness for Strong Subjects; The Women’s Movement and Sexuality,” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 27, no. 2 (1993): 140-156; Sarah Dalton, “The Pure in Heart: The New Zealand Women’s Christian Temperance Union and Social Purity” (M.A. thesis, Victoria University, 1993); A.R. Grigg, “Prohibition and Women: The Preservation of an Ideal and a Myth,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 17, no. 2 (1983): 144-165 and Jolene A. McKay, “‘The Tie That Binds’: Christianity in the New Zealand Women’s Christian Temperance Union, 1885-1900” (B.A. Hons diss., University of Otago, 1995) and Peter J. Lineham, “The Gender Issue in New Zealand Evangelical History” in *Reconsidering Gender: Evangelical Perspectives*, eds., Myk Habets and Beulah Wood (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2011): 75-104.

⁷⁷ Margaret Tennant, “Matrons with a Mission: Women’s Organisations in New Zealand, 1893-1915” (M.A. thesis, Massey University, 1976), 1

⁷⁸ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 166

represented for them the highpoint of gender equality in the organisation in New Zealand.

WOMEN IN THE SALVATION ARMY IN NEW ZEALAND

The Salvation Army ... opens its platform to the ministrations of both men and women alike-women standing shoulder-to-shoulder with men, thus bursting the bands and crossing the limitations of the world's hide-bound custom. The 'This far, and no further,' which in so many places is a veritable clog upon the activities of a large number of consecrated and devoted women, is not known among us.⁷⁹

The metanarrative of equality for women runs through the history of The Salvation Army and in the early period of its development in New Zealand, The Salvation Army comes closest to fully implementing equal roles for men and women officers. It has been suggested that new religious movements, such as The Salvation Army, "are shaped by the culture into which they are born and ...they change in sympathy with or, in resistance to their surrounding culture."⁸⁰ In New Zealand, in the period from 1880-1920, the issue of women's rights had a high profile with increasing activism by women and increasing participation by them in public life. This was also reflected in The Salvation Army with women in the organisation having a high public profile, and it would seem in many instances, equal opportunities with their male colleagues. For example, in 1892, women officers commanded the five largest corps in New Zealand.⁸¹ *The War Cry* of November 26, 1892 proclaimed "...the women are to the front with vengeance!"⁸² These five women were Hannah Coombs, Annie Purdue, Christina McCormick, Mary Murray and Margaret Cook.⁸³

⁷⁹ "Candidates Wanted," *The War Cry*, June 6, 1913, p. 4.

⁸⁰ Helen Cameron, "Make Love Not War: The impact of the 1960s on The Salvation Army in the United Kingdom" A paper presented at a seminar of the Voluntary Action History Society, London 17 March 2007.

⁸¹ Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 123

⁸² "Chief Sec's Notes," *The War Cry*, November 26, 1892, p. 4

⁸³ Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 123

Even in these early years there was some discussion about, and questioning of, gender roles within the organisation. In December 1891 “S.U.B.” wrote in *The War Cry*

Do Salvationist women get their rights, and if not who is to blame? Well, sometimes they do and sometimes they don't, and sometimes they are to blame, and sometimes they are not. Go into an Army meeting...here are a few men soldiers and a good many lasses. The Captain who is leading is a man...one man gets up and another...but **not a lassie**. ... Yes, if we let them, men will always be to the front...so women, step out, claim and make use of your rights and privileges...Salvation women of New Zealand, rise up...go forth to fight bravely during 1892 and do your part in the great Salvation war. Lasses, live up to your privileges and **stand up for your rights**. [emphasis as in original]⁸⁴

Women's rights were a significant part of public discourse at this time, and The Salvation Army undoubtedly realised that its position on equality for women could be used as a means of engaging with the wider public. In *The War Cry* of May 21st 1892 a challenge was issued – “WOMEN vers. MEN. Great Tug of War. The Equality of the Sexes” with the 123 male officers and the 140 female officers of The Salvation Army in New Zealand being urged to “get your brains burnished and your pencils pointed” and submit to the editor “songs, testimonies, incidents and experiences, bearing on the twin subjects of men's wrongs and women's rights,” from a Salvationist perspective.⁸⁵ It was proposed that a pair of special editions of *The War Cry* would be published later that year, the first being a Women's “Cry”, written and edited entirely by women, followed by one written and edited entirely by men.⁸⁶ “S.U.B.” seems to have played a significant part in the production of the women's special edition of *The War Cry* and in an article published in June 1892 discussing the upcoming edition she noted that while Salvationist men may not express in words the belief that “women are not up to much,” it is a view that some may hold.⁸⁷ She urged women Salvationists to send articles “to the

⁸⁴ “S.U.B.”. “Women's Rights,” *The War Cry*, December 26, 1891, p. 7. The identity of “S.U.B.” is never given in *The War Cry*, but she is almost certainly Mrs Staff-Captain Emily Grinling, wife of the editor of *The War Cry*.

⁸⁵ “Women vers. Men.” *The War Cry*, May 21, 1892, p. 4

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ “S.U.B.” “For the Lassies,” *The War Cry*, June 11, 1892, p. 5

Editor-no, that's a little wrong this time-the Editoress, who will...shape them up and put them in as fully as possible."⁸⁸ It was noted that the special edition of *The War Cry* which attained the greater circulation would "enable the people of New Zealand to form some idea as to the mutual position of the sexes" within the organisation.⁸⁹ The two editions of *The War Cry*, subsequently published in June and July of 1892, now provide a revealing snapshot into the respective attitudes, beliefs and activities of both male and female officers in The Salvation Army at this time and give an illuminating insight into the ideas and practices on gender equality which existed in the organisation at this time.

**THE WAR CRY: FOR THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND, SPECIAL WOMEN'S CRY,
June 25th, 1892**

"Forward, lasses, forward! be your motto. Go forward, conquering and to conquer!"

Annie Bailey, Colonel.⁹⁰

The special women's edition of *The War Cry* cover story is entitled "The Three P's" and is made up of three articles, "The Peregrinations of Paul (Not apostle but Rescue Secretary)" on the life and career of Ensign Annette Paul, "The Pedigree of Perry" an article written by Captain Perry and "A Poem of Podmore" written by Amy Podmore, the Garrison Lassie Captain.⁹¹ A transcript of Amy Podmore's poem and a song on the topic of women's rights in The Salvation Army, composed by Beatrice M. Thomson of Port Chalmers, are included as Appendix five. The article on Annette Paul relates the story of her early life, her conversion and her career as a Salvation Army officer. Ensign Paul was from a relatively well-to-do family and she notes that her "time was spent entirely

⁸⁸ "S.U.B." "For the Lassies," *The War Cry*, June 11, 1892, p. 5

⁸⁹ "Women vers. Men." *The War Cry*, May 21, 1892, p. 4

⁹⁰ For biographical information on Annie Bailey, wife of the Territorial Commander Reuben Bailey, see, "Our N.Z. Leaders-The Antecedents and Experiences of a London Lad and Canuck Lass," *The War Cry*, December 26, 1891, p. 5 and "Brigade-Captain Salmon: How she became Mrs. Colonel Bailey," *The War Cry*, December 26, 1891, p. 6.

⁹¹ Rescue Secretary was the most senior position for women officers. In this position a woman officer was responsible for The Salvation Army's social welfare work for women. Amy Podmore was the officer in charge of the Women's Training Garrison at Newtown.

for self.”⁹² She states that initially she was too proud to attend The Salvation Army but when she did, was converted. She was accepted for the work (became an officer) and spent six weeks training as a cadet where “she was properly broken in as a ‘Cry’ seller and visitor, having doors shut in her face, dogs set on her, etc.”⁹³ The article notes her promotions through the ranks, her work in various corps and her current post at Territorial Headquarters doing Rescue and Enquiry work. We read of the trials and tribulations of her early years as an officer which include, travelling up the Whanganui River, being chased by a bull, flung out of a buggy, deliberately being locked in the billiard room of a hotel, several accidents involving bolting horses and “twice being thrown under the wheels of a trap.”⁹⁴ Mention is also made of the role that women officers had in the conversion of male alcoholics, with it being noted that during the time that she and Cadet Hyndman were at Port Chalmers that “it was remarkable the number of drunken men who came to the meetings.”⁹⁵ Events described in this article are typical of those experienced by many women officers at this time. The next section is written by Captain Julia Perry. She writes that as a child she had wished to become a missionary but had grown up in a Church of England family with the idea “that woman could never do anything of her own account, that her position must always be subordinate to man.”⁹⁶ She encountered The Salvation Army and realised that “here at last were a people who not only gave men a platform of usefulness, but also women” and so in 1885 she decided to “cast in my lot to sink or swim with The Salvation Army” where a woman “is enabled to compete with man in every branch of soul-saving work.”⁹⁷ At the time of writing she had seven years of experience as a Salvation Army

⁹² “The Peregrinations of Paul,” *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p. 1

⁹³ Ibid. Selling *The War Cry* to the public was a key task of Salvation Army officers. Home visiting was also considered an important task for an officer. The *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers* published in 1900 required the field officer to undertake home visiting for at least three hours each day or eighteen hours each week and that suggests that if each visit was fifteen to twenty minutes then ten or twelve visits could be achieved in a day.

⁹⁴ Ibid. Annette Paul would later become well known for her heroism during the sinking of *The Wairarapa* off Great Barrier Island in 1894. She also made a generous donation to The Salvation Army of land in central Wellington. She resigned from The Salvation Army c. 1911 and died in Auckland in 1952.

⁹⁵ *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p.1.

⁹⁶ “The Pedigree of Perry,” *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p. 2.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

officer. In her article Captain Perry uses four typical justifications for the public ministry of women. Firstly, that if a woman is obeying God by her actions then this trumps any societal norms. She writes “[w]hen the Lord says “Speak”, who had any business to say “keep silence?””⁹⁸ Secondly Captain Perry highlights the perceived special spiritual and emotional nature of women, writing that women

have much truer perceptions and intuitions, much more tact in dealing with human hearts and lives-much greater patience, forbearance, and endurance-qualities so necessary in working for God...They also can, by sympathy and love, enter into the hearts and homes of the people in a way men never can-show more of the Spirit of the Master in coming down beside the lowest and worst, and giving them a helping hand in lifting them to what is holier and happier.⁹⁹

Thirdly she emphasises the important role of women in social reform, noting that “our Social Reform Wing is in the hands of women.”¹⁰⁰ Finally she notes that “[t]he Lord gave the message of His resurrection to a woman,” that God uses women equally with men and in an indirect reference to Galatians 3:28 she concludes, “God being no respecter of persons, male and female are in Christ one new creature.”¹⁰¹

Surprisingly, the article in this special edition of *The War Cry* entitled, “A Glimpse of Algeria” is a plea for women to become officers in New Zealand, for “the call is loud and the need is great.”¹⁰² The reader is challenged with “which shall it be—some of Christ and just a *little* of self? Or *all* of Christ and none of self.” [emphasis as in original]¹⁰³ This article is followed by a passionate appeal by Lieutenant Florence Newbold from the Candidates Department to women to consider that

⁹⁸ “The Pedigree of Perry,” *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p. 2.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² “A Glimpse of Algeria,” *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p. 2.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

...souls-precious-priceless souls are sinking into perdition, when *you*, my sister, might be the one to stretch out a helping hand to rescue such... [and asking] Which will you choose a life of comfort and self-pleasing, or one of devotion and self-sacrifice?" [emphasis as in original]¹⁰⁴

In these two articles the Salvation Army's emphasis on the need for self-denial and self-sacrifice on the part of its officers, particularly the women involved in the social side of The Salvation Army's work is clearly in evidence.

Two articles deal with the difficulties associated with being a married woman officer. "S.U.B.", in her article acknowledges that it is hard for men to break away from tradition and acknowledge that a woman is equal to him, however she affirms the view that God intended woman as a help-meet for men.¹⁰⁵ The rest of the article is devoted to Salvationist marriages with "S.U.B." suggesting that when two Salvationists marry they unite their abilities, talents and consecrated lives and urging the wife "not to slacken speed, or to become less zealous for God and perishing humanity...".¹⁰⁶ The Salvationist husband is urged to sometimes stay home from Salvation Army activities so that his wife can attend and show by his actions that his wife is as much a Salvationist as he is and "has an equal right to share in the fight."¹⁰⁷ Mrs Adjutant Hoare, in her article, asks the question. "[w]hy do some of our married women, who once stood in the front of the battle, proving themselves capable of holding positions of responsibility and trust, not do as much after their marriage as before?"¹⁰⁸ She argues that women can be just as useful in the Lord's service after marriage as before. She is briefly critical of some of her fellow officers who on marriage "take a decided step to the rear."¹⁰⁹ This is followed by criticism of officer husbands. She notes

¹⁰⁴ Florence Newbold, "A Call to the Lasses," *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ "S.U.B." "Man: Real and Ideal," *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Hoare, "Before and After Marriage," *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p. 5.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

There are a number of our lasses who have given themselves to some comrade for better or for worse (often worse), who, although blessed with talents and ability (some far above average), have been made to feel...that their place was at home.¹¹⁰

Her suggested solution was for officer husbands to give their wives the opportunity to take the Sunday night meeting and to take part in other meetings, and to let it be understood that “your wife is one with you in all the operations of the corps.”¹¹¹ She also suggests that officer wives be consulted on the affairs of the corps for it is “an acknowledged fact that women possess far more discernment and discretion than the ordinary man.”¹¹² Whilst she acknowledges that women have domestic duties she “cannot feel that it is woman’s God appointed lot to be kept perpetually washing dishes, cooking, mending and nursing.”¹¹³ She makes it clear that the blame for women officers no longer being at the front of the battle lies primarily with their husbands and she reminds them of the marriage ceremony where they promised not to hinder their wife’s work for the extension of God’s kingdom.¹¹⁴

Captain Isabella Cook deals in a forthright manner with the issue of ambition and the Salvationist woman, writing that “surely ambition is not out of place for us.”¹¹⁵ She argues that a sense of ambition might prove beneficial to women who “have been ‘called out of darkness’ to reflect the image of Christ here on earth.”¹¹⁶ She acknowledges that this ambition must be focused on Godly matters and stresses to Salvationist women that “We are Called with a “High and a Holy Calling” and surely in such a sphere, ambition could never be out of place.”¹¹⁷ She writes that “the time has passed when it is

¹¹⁰ Hoare, “Before and After Marriage,” *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p. 5.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ The Salvation Army’s Articles of Marriage state very clearly the organisation’s expectation that service in The Salvation Army was to have a very high priority in the lives of those who chose to be married in The Salvation Army. A transcript of the Articles of Marriage for 1891 is included as Appendix four

¹¹⁵ Isabella Cook, “Women’s Ambition,” *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

considered out of women's sphere to be ambitious and zealous for the cause of God."¹¹⁸ Isabella Cook's comments are highly unusual in Salvation Army literature with the vast majority of writing stressing self-denial and self-sacrifice as desirable characteristics in a Salvationist woman. This article is one of the few times when the topic of ambition, albeit Godly ambition, is mentioned in *The War Cry*.

Lieutenant Gertrude Gates' article, "Women's Rights" is often quoted both by Salvationists and historians when discussing issues of gender equality in this period and a full transcript of her article is included as Appendix six. Unlike other contributors, such as Gates, who often refer to The Salvation Army's progressive stance on equality for women, Constance from Otepopo, only mentions The Salvation Army once. She notes how the woman who is patient, long suffering, submissive and largely silent is often lauded as an example of feminine virtue. She suggests that "no good was ever done by a love that is over-indulgent, by a silence that is simply the result of a habit of passive submission" and challenges women to speak out and let it be known how keenly they feel the injustice of inequality because "**Right and Truth and Good for One Sex Means the Same for the Other**" [emphasis as in original].¹¹⁹

Through the articles in this edition of *The War Cry* we get a real sense of just what officership in The Salvation Army meant to these women. We get a chance to hear their voices, and to discover their opinions on women's equality within the organisation. It is striking how enthusiastic they were about the roles being offered to them. There is no evidence of Salvationist women, either officers or soldiers, being confined to roles such as flower arranging, provision of food or fundraising activities, as was the case for many women in other Protestant denominations in New Zealand at this time. It is apparent that they saw themselves as equal soldiers in the Salvation War. The hardships that they endured are not disguised. The contributors do not shy away from criticising the attitudes of male officers. There is strong evidence of women engaging in public ministry. Their comments show their great delight in being part of an organisation which gave women, especially working-class women, the opportunity to be ministers of religion and to live out their Christian faith. Captain Isabella Cook epitomises this when

¹¹⁸ Isabella Cook, "Women's Ambition," *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p. 3

¹¹⁹ "How Long?," *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p.5

she writes, "Let us embrace the golden opportunities afforded to us, and both in public and in private do our utmost to extend the Kingdom of God."¹²⁰


To get a clearer picture of gender relationships within The Salvation Army in New Zealand in 1892, it is important not just to discuss the content of the articles but also to deconstruct the text, to discover what is not written about, and to search for the gaps, silences, and absent voices. What is it, if anything, that the articles in the special edition of *The War Cry* are not telling us? The dominant ideology expressed in the women's edition of *The War Cry* is that The Salvation Army allows women equal roles and responsibilities with their male colleagues, that it has broken down the barriers that confine women to the private sphere of home and family and that it allows them an equal role in public ministry. If equality is not achieved the blame is laid on male officers for not stepping aside and female officers not stepping forward. What is not found is any criticism of the doctrines or structures of The Salvation Army. The primary purpose of The Salvation Army was the salvation of souls, and The Salvation Army used every possible means to get its evangelical message across to the New Zealand public. As Hilda Hedges wrote in her lecture notes at the Training Garrison in 1907, "All must be devoted to this work of saving souls...soul saving is the Alpha and Omega of the Salvation Army officer's life."¹²¹ Evangelism was always more important to the organisation than equality for women. The issue of women's rights was a significant part of public discourse and The Salvation Army must have been aware its position on women's public ministry could be used as a way of engaging with the public, as a point of difference with other Protestant denominations, and as an evangelical tool to attract new members to the organisation. *The War Cry* was published not simply as a means of communication and information for members of the organisation, but more importantly it was hoped that its content would attract people to the organisation, convict the unsaved of their need for salvation, and additionally that money raised from the sale of the magazine could be used to finance the evangelical outreach of the organisation.¹²²

¹²⁰ Isabella Cook, "Women's Ambition," *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p. 3.

¹²¹ Hilda Hedges' book of lecture notes is held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives.

¹²² The women's edition of *The War Cry* sold 23,800 copies and the men's edition 23,500.

ANOTHER BOOMER
WHO
Challenges THE World



Captain Maggie Davies,
OF
DENNISTON FAME,
WHO,
WITH A POPULATION OF UNDER 1,000,
SELLS
264 "War Crys,"
OR,
Over One in Five for Every Man, Woman
and Child in the Place.

If this same standard could be reached by
every Corps in the Colony, the New Zealand
"War Cry" would have a circulation of over
100,000 WEEKLY.

**THINK OF IT, OFFICERS!
THINK OF IT, SOLDIERS!
THINK OF IT, RECRUITS!
THINK OF IT, EVERYONE!**

and, having thought well, go in with all your
might to
BOOM THE "CRY!"

The War Cry, June 20, 1891.

The women's edition of *The War Cry* was promoted as special and different to the usual editions of the magazine, so to get a clearer perspective on gender issues in the organisation it is useful to compare it to another edition of *The War Cry*. The randomly selected edition I have analysed is that of March 10th 1900. On reading this edition the most striking fact is how difficult it is to determine the sex of the officers who are mentioned. For example, in a short article on events at the Dunedin Corps, it is noted that "Captains Hartland and McCormack helped to make things gee" and in another article on Palmerston South we read that "Lieutenant Scarlet spent a weekend at the settlement of Macraes."¹²³ There is no indication that these officers are women. Also included in this *War Cry* is a full page article on the opening of the Devonport Corps which is illustrated by photographs of the female officers, "Ensign Milligan, Officer who opened the Corps"; "Captain Goodwin Officer in Charge" and "Lieut. Williams, Second in Command."¹²⁴ There is also a full page address "to the Soldiers of the Salvation Army in

¹²³ "Palmerston South," *The War Cry*, March 10, 1900, p. 7.

¹²⁴ "Our New Opening: Devonport," *The War Cry*, March 10, 1900, p. 3.

Australasia" by Mrs Booth, whose husband Herbert, led The Salvation Army in Australasia at this time.¹²⁵ The wives of senior officers are also clearly actively involved as officers undertaking their own duties. For example, in the article describing the activities of the Auckland Division we read that "Mrs [Major] Bennett has again visited the famous Thames Corps... [and] was assisted by quite a bevy of officers" many of whom were women.¹²⁶ More conventional depictions of women include a poem, "'Grog-Shop' Joe's Confession," which highlights the importance of a woman's, especially a mother's, special spiritual awareness and her responsibility to instruct her children about religious matters.¹²⁷ An attitude of self-sacrifice is illustrated in an article about Sister Mrs Young of Opotiki who encouraged her daughter to enter Training College even though she was dying of cancer, noting that "[p]ersonal feelings and interests were nothing to this warrior soul. The Kingdom was everything."¹²⁸ Missing from this *War Cry* are descriptions of the work of Salvationist women working in social institutions. Women officers are however depicted as actively involved in public ministry. In both photograph and text their activities are described, as much as, if not more so, than those of male officers. The fact that it is often impossible to determine the gender of the officer being described supports the viewpoint that there was gender equality in The Salvation Army in New Zealand at this time. Although all senior positions, such as Divisional Commanders were held by men, officer wives are also shown actively engaged in public ministry, often unaccompanied by their husband. It is significant to note that in 1894 when Colonel Bailey, the Leader of The Salvation Army in New Zealand, went to England for five months Mrs Colonel Bailey took charge of Salvation Army affairs in New Zealand, and at the same time Mrs Holdaway, wife of Staff-Captain Ernest Holdaway, took charge of the Northern Division in her husband's absence.¹²⁹ Significantly, it was not the next most senior male officer that took over the

¹²⁵ "The Sort of Soldiership Which 1900 Needs: Mrs. Booth's Address to the Soldiers of the Salvation Army in Australasia," *The War Cry*, March 10, 1900, p. 5.

¹²⁶ "Thames," *The War Cry*, March 10, 1900, p. 7.

¹²⁷ "'Grog-Shop' Joe's Confession," *The War Cry*, March 10, 1900, 1-2

¹²⁸ "Promoted: Sister Mrs. Young of Opotiki," *The War Cry*, March 10, 1900, p. 2

¹²⁹ Ivy Cresswell, "Canoe on the River: The Life-story of Brigadier Ernest Holdaway" in Harold Hill, *Te Ope Whakaora: The Army that Brings Life*, (Wellington: Flag Publications, 2007), 149

responsibility, but the officer's wife who took over her husband's duties, even at this senior level.

Equality for women in The Salvation Army in New Zealand reached a peak in the 1890s then tapered off in the early years of the twentieth century. Many of the officers who contributed to these special editions of *The War Cry* and who actively supported women's rights were transferred to Australia when the two territories were combined in 1894. These included Alfred and Emily Grinling, Reuben and Annie Bailey, Adjutant and Mrs Hoare, Gertrude Gates, Captain Cook and Major and Mrs Robinson. This coincided with a general lessening of interest in New Zealand society on issues of women's rights once the franchise for women had been achieved in 1893. By 1906 even the National Council of Women had gone into abeyance.¹³⁰

MEN IN THE SALVATION ARMY IN NEW ZEALAND

The Salvation Army offered men who served in the organisation very different ideas about masculinity than were common in secular society and in other religious denomination. Pamela Walker, for example, notes that The Salvation Army "offered a masculine religiosity that stressed temperance, frugality, and discipline, all of which were at odds with pervasive notions of manliness and she suggests that Salvationist men acquired military-style uniforms and titles within a remarkably heterosexual organization that encouraged men and women to struggle against sin side by side."¹³¹ By an examination of men's special edition of *The War Cry* of 1892, it may be possible to determine the roles and responsibilities that The Salvation Army in New Zealand gave its male officers and to identify male attitudes in the organisation. This may identify possible clues as to why ultimately gender equality was ultimately never fully achieved by the organisation in New Zealand.

¹³⁰ Dorothy Page, *The National Council of Women: A Centennial History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996), 38. See also the final chapter, "Feminism in Retreat" in Tennant, *Matrons with a Mission*, 118-133.

¹³¹ Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 243

THE MEN'S SPECIAL EDITION OF *THE WAR CRY*,

July 9th 1892

“Learn to stand on your merits, men, and not on your sex.”¹³²

This comment written by Colonel Bailey is an indication that he considered it important for men who joined the organisation to realise that roles and responsibilities within the organisation would be assigned on merit not on gender. The fact that he needed to remind his male officers and soldiers of this may indicate that some of them, at least, expected that gender would be a factor in the assigning of roles in the organisation. The men's special edition of *The War Cry* opens with an article entitled “Men Who Have Steered The Salvation Barque: Some Front Rank Men in the Salvation War!”¹³³ This article is essentially a list of some of the great men of the organisation, including General Booth, Bramwell Booth, Ballington Booth and Herbert Booth and clearly shows the predominately male leadership of the organisation. Only two of the names, Colonel Bailey and Major Veal have any association with New Zealand.

Captain Mercier in his article admits that he cannot help feeling an amount of spiritual pride that God created man first. He goes on to suggest that any talk about the superiority of one sex over another is a waste of pen and ink and that he does not think that men can “claim the Throne intellectual or women the Throne affectional.”¹³⁴ He reiterates that there is no place like The Salvation Army for equalising the sexes, that in all branches and departments, except the Rescue Work, there is equality between male and female officers with his final paragraph reiterating the idea that men and women have complementary roles, by stating that “[w]hat a man lacks, a woman makes up; what a woman lacks, a man makes up.”¹³⁵ Adjutant Hoare's article “Spiritual Man” notes that “the ideal man is only to be found in the spiritual man.”¹³⁶ Hoare's opinion

¹³² Reuben Bailey, “What The Colonel Thinks of The Women's “War Cry.”,” *The War Cry*, July 9, 1892, p. 5. It is interesting to note that while the women's edition of *The War Cry* is clearly identified on the cover as being a special women's edition, the men's edition of *The War Cry* has the usual masthead.

¹³³ “Men Who Have Steered The Salvation Barque: Some Front Rank Men in the Salvation War!,” *The War Cry*, July 9, 1892, p.1-2.

¹³⁴ Mercier, “The Equality of the Sexes,” *The War Cry*, July 9, 1892, p. 2.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Hoare, “Spiritual Man,” *The War Cry*, July 9, 1892, p. 2.

illustrates the argument made by Laura Lauer, who has suggested that The Salvation Army sought to create a new concept of masculinity by rejecting the hallmarks of male identity such as physical strength and all-male spaces, and offering instead access to spiritual power, co-operation with women, companionate marriage and masculine domesticity.¹³⁷ Adjutant Hoare goes on to suggest how Salvationist men should set about becoming spiritual men. This encouragement of masculine spirituality is further explored in the article by Major Robinson, "Some Men I Have Met. Six of them were wise and four were foolish."¹³⁸

A close reading of this special men's edition of *The War Cry* illustrates some of the attractions that The Salvation Army held for New Zealand men. The Salvation Army was an organisation of working class men and their pride in their working-class origins is shown in the way the men refer to themselves as, for example, "Saved Butcher" and "Converted Miner."¹³⁹ The Salvation Army provided leadership positions for many men that they would be unlikely to achieve in the secular world. Major Robinson, for example, at the age of nine was working as a labourer on a brick field but at the age of 39 was Field Secretary of The Salvation Army in Australasia. The organisation gave social and religious authority to ordinary working-class men, with one contributor writing, "I soon found myself in the Garrison, and after six weeks training under Captain Crossley, I was promoted to Temuka to lead on."¹⁴⁰ It provided an income (albeit only a small allowance) and a stable career with a recognised hierarchical structure through which they could progress. It also provided companionship with other men which was not based around traditional male pursuits and a sense of unity with others with a common purpose and goal, namely the salvation of souls. This is illustrated in the section, "Training Notes" which includes details of the boisterous behaviour of the

¹³⁷ Laura Lauer, "Soul-saving Partnerships and Pacifist Soldiers: The Ideal of Masculinity in the Salvation Army" in *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture*, ed. Andrew Bradstock (Houndmills: Macmillan, 2000), 194-208 and also Pamela J. Walker, "'I Live But Not Yet I For Christ Liveth in Me': Men and Masculinity in the Salvation Army, 1865-90" in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 92-112.

¹³⁸ Robinson, "Some Men I Have Met: Six of Them were Wise and Four were Foolish," *The War Cry*, July 9, 1892, p. 3.

¹³⁹ *The War Cry*, July 9, 1892, p. 8.

¹⁴⁰ Potter, "My 'Giving in'," *The War Cry*, July 9, 1892, p. 3

young male cadets at the Training Garrison and in the comment “I was sent to Hokitika...and there I spent the best six months...God used us in the salvation of precious souls.”¹⁴¹ It gave men a chance to participate in a quasi-military organisation characterised by many military symbols of bands, drums, flags, uniforms and an opportunity for adventure, as illustrated in the article on Ernest Holdaway’s activities in the Whanganui area.¹⁴² Several articles also illustrate the sense of companionship and collaboration that existed between Salvationist men and women in their religious endeavours.¹⁴³ The Salvation Army encouraged companionate marriages and an example of this is seen in the article describing the work of Staff-Captain and Mrs Holdaway on the Whanganui River.¹⁴⁴ The rest of this edition of *The War Cry* resembles a normal edition of the magazine for this period, with the usual feature articles on international and national Salvation Army events, temperance issues and original songs. Despite it being advertised as an issue which looks at equal opportunities available in the organisation regardless of sex, at least half the articles are unrelated to gender issues, in contrast to the women’s special edition where almost all articles focused on this issue. This may indicate that for many men in the organisation they were unconcerned about this issue and therefore did not feel it was worth submitting a contribution.

Key beliefs and attitudes relating to gender roles and gender equality in The Salvation Army are clearly illustrated in these three editions of *The War Cry*. Women are shown in leadership positions, being promoted through the ranks, and undertaking the same tasks as men. Many of these articles highlight the emphasis placed by The Salvation Army on self-sacrifice, the idea of selfishness as a sin, the belief that women had a heightened spiritual and moral awareness, and the conflict that occurred when a women officer married, between her commission as an officer and her duties as a wife

¹⁴¹ Spiers, “Training Notes,” *The War Cry*, July 9, 1892, p. 8 and Potter, “My “Giving in”,” *The War Cry*, July 9, 1892, p. 3

¹⁴² Holdaway, “A Trip Up the Wanganui River,” *The War Cry*, July 9, 1892, p.6.

¹⁴³ Lundin notes that joining The Salvation Army challenged the existing social order of keeping the sexes apart in a public and a private sphere see Lundin, “The Salvation Army in Sweden and the Making of Gender-Conversion Narratives 1887-1918,” 252.

¹⁴⁴ Holdaway, “A Trip Up the Wanganui River,” *The War Cry*, July 9, 1892, p. 6.

and mother. Some of these articles also indicate a lack of clarity over whether the organisation's position of women statement laid down equality based on merit, or equality based on equal but complementary roles for male and female officers.¹⁴⁵ During the early years of The Salvation Army, its position of women statement seems to have been interpreted as equality based on merit, but over time, and increasingly in practice, this came to mean that male and female officers were seen as equal but as having different and complementary roles, which were determined by perceived gender differences. A complementarian perspective is often viewed with suspicion by feminists particularly when male authorities claim them as natural characteristics, and because a complementarian position often benefits men more than it does women.¹⁴⁶ The Salvation Army continued to boast of its egalitarian position but increasingly practiced a complementarian position. This would lead to women officers becoming clustered in the social service side of The Salvation Army's work in New Zealand and male officers holding the leadership positions in the organisation. I would suggest that these beliefs and attitudes as well as the practices, procedures and issues that resulted from them, ultimately led to The Salvation Army in New Zealand failing to fully implement gender equality well into the mid twentieth century. Key beliefs and ideas and their impact on women officers in the organisation will now be discussed in more detail.

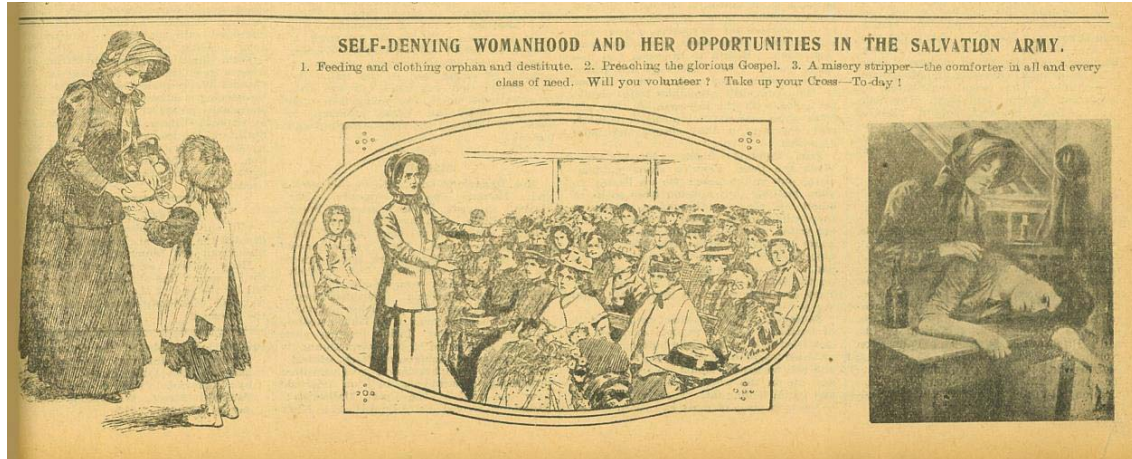
¹⁴⁵ See L. A. Ellis "Evangelical women and secular society in New Zealand: An Investigation into Feminism as an Ideology of Empowerment" (M.A. thesis, Victoria University, 2012), 22, gives an outline of the differences between the complementarian and egalitarian perspective and for a discussion of the biblical foundations on which the complementarian and egalitarian perspectives are based see the Appendix, "Lines of Resistance" in Stephen Hewlett, "Adam's helper," 1-18.

¹⁴⁶ Rita M. Goss, "Feminist Issues and Methods in the Anthropology of Religion" in *Methodology in Religious Studies: The Interface with Women's Studies*, ed. Arvind Sharma (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2002), 62.

PART TWO

BELIEFS, ATTITUDES, AND PRACTICES WHICH IMPACTED ON WOMEN OFFICERS IN THE SALVATION ARMY IN NEW ZEALAND, 1883-1920

SELF-SACRIFICE AND SELF-DENIAL



The War Cry, October 9, 1915

Christian women often face enormous pressure to put the needs of others ahead of their own.¹⁴⁷ The Christian Church has always encouraged women to sacrifice themselves and their own needs for love, and the model of a good Christian woman has always been of one who asks for little and sacrifices much for her faith, her church and her family.¹⁴⁸ Evangelical churches, in particular, have held up the model of a Christ-like self-denying and sacrificial life as a goal for their members. Women's sphere of sacrificial service has been associated with her roles as wife and mother, as helpmeet to her husband, and as a carer and moral educator of her children. It has often been argued that these attitudes of self-denial and self-sacrifice were detrimental for women because they did not encourage them to develop assertive attitudes and the degree of

¹⁴⁷ Anne Borrowdale, *A Woman's Work: Changing Christian Attitudes*, (London: SPCK, 1989), 2,4,28.

¹⁴⁸ Lisa Isherwood and Dorothea McEwen, *Introducing Feminist Theology*, 2nd ed. (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 2001), 37.

ambition necessary for them to pursue and attain equality with men.¹⁴⁹ Lynn Rhodes suggests that “sacrificial love language has often been used as an ideology to keep women subordinate to men.”¹⁵⁰ The Salvation Army placed considerable emphasis on the importance of sacrifice and self-denial particularly for women in the organisation.¹⁵¹ Eason has noted that in the early years of The Salvation Army the image of selfless womanhood remained dominant and that the early pioneers were often remembered more for their self-denial than their assertiveness, and he argues that this history of selflessness did not encourage women Salvationists to pursue leading roles in the organisation’s hierarchy.¹⁵² This emphasis on self-denial was featured in the lessons at the Training Colleges as this example from Hilda Hedges’ 1907 book of lecture notes shows.

Sacrifice

Given up to God and the Army. I will accept the disagreeable and go through.

Consecration-To the Army

No officer is sincere, unless prepared to sacrifice themselves give themselves up.

Maintain at all costs the spirit of self-sacrifice. [emphasis as in original].¹⁵³

Self-denial and self-sacrifice was particularly apparent in the social side of the work of The Salvation Army. Many, mostly unmarried, women officers spent their careers sacrificially serving and caring for others, often at considerable personal cost to their own health and well-being. These female officers embodied the ideal of selfless service, who “by cooking meals, nursing sick babies, protecting the abused and witnessing to the

¹⁴⁹ See for example, Eason, *Women in God’s Army*, 29; Jill Robson, “Ministry or Profession: Clergy doubletalk” in *Mirror to the Church: Reflections on Sexism*, ed. Monica Furlong (London: S.P.C.K., 1998), 118-119 and Borrowdale, *A Woman’s Work*, 24-29.

¹⁵⁰ Lynn N. Rhodes, *Co-Creating: A Feminist Vision of Ministry* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1987), 80.

¹⁵¹ See, for example, the comment by Mrs. General Booth that she considers that for Salvation Army women that “in the matter of sacrifice she has gone ahead of her brothers!” in *The Officer*, July 1914, p. 510.

¹⁵² Eason, *Women in God’s Army*, 137.

¹⁵³ Hilda Hedges book of lecture notes is held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives.

spiritually lost...were models of Christlike love, sacrifice and devotion.”¹⁵⁴ Their attitude of self-denial is epitomised in a tribute written by Envoy Brown, from Pahiatua, to Adjutant Morrison, formerly Matron of the Sydney Slum Brigade. Envoy Brown wrote that she had asked Adjutant Morrison one New Year’s Eve what her motto was for the New Year, to which Morrison replied “[a]lways the same, sink self, exalt Christ.”¹⁵⁵

Self-denial and sacrifice was encouraged by the leaders of the organisation, with the need for self-sacrificing women officers to work in social institutions highlighted in *The War Cry*. In 1913 the following article, entitled “Needs of the Women’s Social” was published. It states

...no joy is comparable to the joy of SELF-SURRENDER, SACRIFICE and SERVICE. The appeal is particularly to the women in the ranks who can find a place of usefulness in our rescue, maternity, and children’s homes; there is a work here that ONLY THEY CAN DO, and waiting for them TO FILL. ...We need a new order of womanhood who will live poor in the midst of the poor, giving up, as the apostles did, everything for Christ...women conspicuous for their womanliness, their humility, their self-sacrifice...- SELFHOOD smites us...The curse of modern times is selfishness...no joy is comparable to the joy of SELF-SURRENDER, SACRIFICE and SERVICE...SLACKNESS IS INFAMY...The women’s social work needs sanctified and self-surrendered workers. WILL YOU BE ONE? [emphasis as in original]¹⁵⁶

By 1900 there were a total of 30 staff involved in the Women’s Social Work in New Zealand and ten involved in the Men’s Social Work.¹⁵⁷ This aspect of The Salvation Army’s work grew rapidly and by 1915 there were 55 female officers and 25 male officers working in 20 social institutions, twelve of these institutions catered to the needs of women, predominately in maternity and rescue homes.

The major high-profile position for women officers in New Zealand was that of Women’s Social Secretary which involved responsibility for all the welfare work of the

¹⁵⁴ Eason, *Women in God’s Army*, 139-140.

¹⁵⁵ “A Tribute to the Late Adjutant Morrison,” *The War Cry*, January 18, 1919, p. 6

¹⁵⁶ “The Needs of the Women’s Social,” *The War Cry*, April 19, 1913, p. 4

¹⁵⁷ Figures taken from *The Disposition of the Forces* for 1900.

organisation which involved women. Tennant has suggested that for the matrons and superintendents of The Salvation Army social institutions their positions gave them a livelihood, public recognition and esteem.¹⁵⁸ Many women social officers, however, were rarely in the limelight, either within The Salvation Army or in the wider community. Busy with social work, in maternity homes, rescue homes, orphanages and rest homes these women undertook their service far away from the Salvation Army leadership at Divisional and Territorial Headquarters, and even largely unseen by most members of Salvation Army corps. Many of these female Salvation Army officers served their entire careers doing mundane and physically exhausting tasks. The obituary of Catherine Burgess notes “[h]er service was given in a restricted space, but her influence for good was unbounded.”¹⁵⁹ Likewise the career of Commandant Louisa Calcott who began her service as an officer with The Salvation Army in the laundry of the Auckland Rescue Home in 1899, then moved through kitchen, wash house, workroom duties and nursing positions, in the Christchurch Rescue Home, Dunedin, Christchurch, Auckland and Wellington Maternity Homes, Wellington Children’s Home, Anderson’s Bay and Hamilton Children’s Homes, ending her career in 1926 as the Matron of the Napier Maternity Home. Her obituary in *The War Cry* notes that works of love and mercy were “the passion of her life” and that “through storm and sunshine she steadily plodded on, bringing comfort to the broken-hearted and leading many to seek Christ.”¹⁶⁰ At her funeral it was reported that Major Avenell spoke of the qualities of heart and mind which were essential for a good social officer, namely “the ability to love the unlovable, the power to sympathise with those in dire need, and give support to those who wanted it...[which] is only expressed in actions.”¹⁶¹ For the majority of these women officers it is clear that they saw their position as officers in The Salvation Army’s social institutions as their calling, as a practical and worthwhile means of serving God and

¹⁵⁸ Margaret Tennant, “‘Magdalens and Moral Imbeciles’: Women’s Homes in Nineteenth Century New Zealand” in *Women in History 2*, eds. Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald and Margaret Tennant (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992), 64.

¹⁵⁹ “Loyal Servant of God, *The War Cry*, November 13, 1948, p. 7

¹⁶⁰ “Called to Higher Service,” *The War Cry*, February 18, 1939, p.10. For more information on Louisa Calcott see also Hutson, *As for Me and my House: A Salute to Early Gisborne Salvation Army families 1886 to 1952*, 45-46.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

their fellow citizens and equally as important as the calling of their fellow male and female officers who served on the field side of the work. Male officers in social institutions also undertook routine tasks and had a lower profile within the organisation however their appointments in social institutions usually only occupied a small part of their career, often at the beginning or end of their careers. Adjutant Styles, for example, who is recorded in 1920 as keeping the grounds, horses and carts at the Anderson's Bay Home had 28 corps appointments as well as his four social appointments.¹⁶² Women officers serving on the social side tended to remain there for most of their careers.

There are only a few examples of women in The Salvation Army urging their sisters to assert themselves and be more ambitious. Penarth writing in *The Field Officer* in 1903 asks why there are so few women in Salvation Army leadership. She argues that humility is not incompatible "with the faithful discharge of high duties and high responsibilities" and she counters the argument that there is no room for women at the top with the comment "there is always room at the top for all who take the trouble to climb there!"¹⁶³ Penarth suggests that women need to "cultivate solid qualifications" and gain career experience before marriage, writing "let no man take your crown-at any rate, until you have placed a few stars in it by your own hand."¹⁶⁴ She criticises women for not being fired with determined ambition and urges them to toil, study, and fight to secure the highest success as officers.¹⁶⁵ In 1913, Mrs General Booth [wife of Bramwell Booth] wrote to women officers of The Salvation Army stating

Many women, alas! shrink from asserting themselves, and to many men it is but too natural to be the aggressor and to take the subjection of woman which prevails in the world around them as a matter of course. They do not desire to see any alteration along these lines.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² "Editorial Jottings," *The War Cry*, January 24, 1920, p. 4

¹⁶³ Penarth, "Our Woman Warriors: No. 1.- Room at the Top!" *The Field Officer* (January 1903): 7-8.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*: 8

¹⁶⁵ Penarth, "Our Woman Warriors: No 11.-Helps Upward," *The Field Officer* (February 1903): 51.

¹⁶⁶ Booth, [Mrs. Bramwell] "To the Women Officers of The Salvation Army, 1.- Our Precious Heritage." *The Field Officer*, 21, no.3 (1913): 84.

Overall however, it is statements which extol the virtues of sacrificial service that are the norm in Salvation Army publications. Comments about sacrificial service are much rarer in obituaries and articles on male officers, whereas women officers are frequently praised for this characteristic. By focusing on the need for sacrificial service and on putting the needs of others before their own, women in The Salvation Army were effectively discouraged from being ambitious for their own career development. Eason argues that

having been socialised to live for others, these women lacked the motivation to pursue a more ambitious place within the organisation,... early female officers lived and breathed within an atmosphere of self-denial, which did little to equip them with the determination necessary to develop their capabilities and skills...¹⁶⁷

If putting the needs of others before one's own was highly regarded by the organisation there was little incentive for women to put themselves forward. To be ambitious was associated with being self-centred which was the antithesis of the sacrificial service teaching of The Salvation Army.

The Salvation Army's doctrines and teaching on sin and holiness also discouraged women from asserting themselves.¹⁶⁸ Its doctrine on sinfulness states

THE ESSENCE, ROOT, OR UNDERLYING MOTIVE OF ALL SIN IS SELFISHNESS; that is, pleasing self without due regard to the glory of God or the welfare of others.
...*Selfishness is at the root of all sin.* [emphasis as in original]¹⁶⁹

It is easy to see how this focus on sin defined as selfishness would discourage women in The Salvation Army from asserting their right under the Army's regulations for equal access to all roles within the organisation. The *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers* reinforces this perspective, suggesting that the field officer should describe sin as being

¹⁶⁷ Eason, *Women in God's Army*, 141.

¹⁶⁸ For example, in the *Handbook of Salvation Army Doctrine* (London: International Headquarters, 1923) Chapter 10 Section III Clause 2(c) on Entire Sanctification states "Conviction for Holiness leads the soul to realize and to sorrow over...inward evils, such as: *Pride*, or an undue sense of one's own importance...*Vanity*...[and]*Selfish Ambition*-the craving for position, power..."

¹⁶⁹ *Handbook of Salvation Army Doctrine* (London: International Headquarters, 1923), 58

pride “an undue sense of our own importance”; as vanity “which often gets the upper hand, and every now and then struts to and fro even on the platform of the Barracks”; as ambition “a craving to secure a position of power or wealth or dignity” and as evil temper, malice, covetousness and lust.¹⁷⁰ Inevitably The Salvation Army’s definition of sin, would constrain women officers from asserting their desire for greater and more public roles, lest it be interpreted as putting their own needs before those of others, or as pride, vanity or ambition. Feminist theologians and academics argue that a definition of sin which focuses on pride and ambition and stresses the virtues of humility and gratitude may not be appropriate for Christian women who are often powerless. O’Connor, for example, writes that in Western philosophical and religious traditions “sin has consistently been named on the basis of men’s experiences” and that sin exhibited as pride is only appropriate to those who regularly exercise power and authority and who need to be reminded to be self-critical about how they exercise power and authority.¹⁷¹ Saiving has suggested that rather than focusing on the sin of pride, it may be more appropriate for women to see “underdevelopment or negation of the self” as sin with Cathy Ross suggesting that for women a more appropriate definition of sin for women may be the “sin of hiding” and that a strong ethic of care-giving and a desire to avoid conflict has not helped women flourish in the church.¹⁷² The doctrine of holiness is also a significant part of the teaching of The Salvation Army and reiterates the theme of sacrifice, obedience and service with its inclusion of phrases such as “surrendered to be, do or suffer,” “constant obedience,” “more perfect service” and “the soul shall love its neighbour with a love which makes its possessor devote himself and all that he has to the promotion of his neighbour’s greatest good.”¹⁷³ Like the doctrine of sin, the doctrine of holiness applied to both male and female Salvationists but with its emphasis on suffering, obedience, perfect service, and devotion to promoting your neighbour’s

¹⁷⁰ The General [William Booth], *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of The Salvation Army* (London: Headquarters of The Salvation Army, 1900), 133

¹⁷¹ O’Connor, “The Epistemological Significance of Feminist Research in Religion,” 50

¹⁷² Valerie Saiving, “The Human Situation: A feminine view,” in *Womanspirit Rising: A Feminist Reader in Religion*, eds. Carol P. Christ & Judith Plaskow (New York: HarperCollins, 1979), 37. Cathy Ross, “Is Christianity Good for Women?: A response to Peter Lineham,” in *Reconsidering Gender: Evangelical Perspectives*, eds. Myk Habets & Beulah Wood (Eugene Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 114.

¹⁷³ The General [William Booth], *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of The Salvation Army* (London: Headquarters of The Salvation Army, 1900), 129

highest good, it is easy to see how this doctrine could cause women officers in The Salvation Army to refrain from asserting themselves and demanding equal rights and opportunities within the organisation.

EVANGELICALISM

The Salvation Army identifies itself as an evangelical organisation. The four basic tenets of evangelicalism are an emphasis on the conversion of the individual, human effort and action, a high regard for the Bible, and an emphasis on the death of Christ, rather than His earthly ministry.¹⁷⁴ These four evangelical beliefs could both empower women in their ministry in The Salvation Army, but also work to marginalise them. Catherine Booth had used her extensive knowledge of Scripture to justify women's public preaching but The Salvation Army never challenged the idea of a woman's submission to her husband. Evangelicals emphasise the suffering of Christ, and the Biblical command of Jesus to his disciples that "[i]f anyone would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me."¹⁷⁵ This emphasis on the sufferings of Christ and the need for sacrifice and self-denial for Christians, as has already been discussed, is often problematic for women. The Salvation Army had a strong emphasis on the need for conversion and all were welcome, regardless of class, race, educational ability or gender in the salvation war. Women in The Salvation Army were seen as having a vital part to play in the organisation's evangelical work and their particular ability to work for, and convict the unsaved of their need for salvation, and to minister to the needy, was constantly reiterated by the organisation. This emphasis on conversion and The Salvation Army's requirement to publicly witness to this conversion experience could work against women. Testifying in public, both in Salvation Army meetings and at open air gatherings was considered necessary and following their enrolment as a soldier, public testimony to the impact of salvation was a requirement. The Salvation Army must have recognised there was a problem with male Salvationists

¹⁷⁴ D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History From the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1993) *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, (accessed May 9, 2017), 2-3

¹⁷⁵ Matt. 16:24(Revised Standard Version).

dominating public meetings and with women Salvationists being reluctant to speak in public, as its *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers* state

The sisters are so trained up from childhood to give the leadership to men, that they will never open their mouths in their presence, unless an opportunity is made for them to do so and they are pressed to avail themselves of it.¹⁷⁶

The F.O. [Field Officer] must insist upon the woman having an equal opportunity for active service... Not all husbands are willing to sit silent and allow their wives to have a fair turn in the ring or on the platform, although their husbands know that their wives will speak more acceptably and usefully than they can themselves. This will not be done because of any set purpose to keep wives and sisters silent, but because of a thoughtless habit on the part of the men of taking up the time themselves.¹⁷⁷

Comments such as those in the women's edition of *The War Cry* of 1892 would suggest that women were often too timid to speak, and too softly spoken to be heard clearly.¹⁷⁸ "S.U.B." in her article in *The War Cry* of 26th December 1891 also indicates that male domination of public events was not unknown in The Salvation Army in New Zealand.¹⁷⁹

There are clear differences between the conversion narratives of men and those of women.¹⁸⁰ Male narratives focus on sins of the body, rather than sins of the mind. They often describe their conversion as a rejection of the activities they once enjoyed and often feature narrow escapes from death or some cataclysmic event. For women bodily sins are rarely mentioned, childhood and youth is described as a time of searching, and there is less of a dramatic turn from the sinful life to that of the converted sinner. This

¹⁷⁶ The General [William Booth], *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of The Salvation Army* (London: Headquarters of The Salvation Army, 1900), 219

¹⁷⁷ The General [William Booth], *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of The Salvation Army* (London: Headquarters of The Salvation Army, 1900), 224-225

¹⁷⁸ See for example, Hoare, "Before and After Marriage," *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892, p. 5

¹⁷⁹ See also the quote on page 28 of this thesis which is an extract from "S.U.B." "Women's Rights," *The War Cry*, December 26, 1891, p. 7. Further quotations from, and comments on, S.U.B.'s article are made in the conclusion of this thesis.

¹⁸⁰ Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 75-84 and Lundin, "The Salvation Army in Sweden and the Making of Gender-Conversion Narratives 1887-1918," 245-260

put a Salvationist woman at something of a disadvantage when it came to speaking of her conversion. With many of them coming from other Protestant denominations, a dramatically sinful past was less likely to be part of their life narrative. A male Captain who was an “ex-Jail Bird” and who could sing his prison experience was always going to attract more attention and visibility than a young woman testifying that she had been saved “from all sin, from worldly dress, feathers and flowers.”¹⁸¹ There are, however, some occasions when women officers achieved greater results than their male colleagues. Fanny Worsdell, a Salvation Army soldier and later an officer, happened to attend the opening of the Oamaru Corps and was the only person able to get a hearing, “the crowd simply howled down any of the men officers and comrades present.”¹⁸²

Evangelicalism emphasised the importance of individual effort and action, both in spreading the Christian message and in caring for the less fortunate. This attitude opened up many opportunities for Christian women in all Protestant denominations. Whilst in other churches this was likely to be limited to tasks such as home visiting and Sunday School teaching, in The Salvation Army the scope for all women, both officers and soldiers, was considerably wider. The effort and action required by The Salvation Army’s determination to evangelize the highways and byways of New Zealand often came at tremendous cost for its women officers. The career cards of women officers and articles in *The War Cry* indicate that many women officers suffered from exhaustion and significant health problems and many resigned when the amount of human effort and action required became intolerable. The resignation of officers of both sexes was a constant problem for The Salvation Army and a chapter of the *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers* was devoted to it. There were approximately 576 officers working in New Zealand from 1883-1912 and of these 208 are known to have resigned from their role as officers.¹⁸³ Of the 289 women listed as officers in this period, 109 are listed as

¹⁸¹ “The ex-Jail Bird,” *The War Cry*, March 24, 1888, p. 2 ; Alice Wilkinson, “Lines From the Lasses,” *The War Cry*, March 24, 1888, p. 4

¹⁸² Kirk manuscript, held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives, p.18. Harry Combs, in his book, *Growing Up in the Forty Mile Bush*, (Hamilton: Paul’s Book Arcade, 1951),71-73 recounts the impact of the arrival of the first two Salvation Army women officers to Dannevirke and their success, when two previous male officers had failed, in establishing the Army in 1892, in what was seen as a male dominated unruly sawmilling community.

¹⁸³ These statistics are taken from a book at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives which is known to not be completely accurate.

resigning, with 99 men also resigning during this period.¹⁸⁴ Some former officers continued their involvement with The Salvation Army as soldiers, but many moved to other Protestant Churches.¹⁸⁵ The pages of *The War Cry* are full of accounts of officers, both male and female, experiencing health problems. In the month of July 1894, fifteen officers with health problems are mentioned in *The War Cry* and The Salvation Army operated a Home of Rest for officers who were ill or needing a rest. A number of married women officers are mentioned as taking on the work of running the corps when their husbands are unwell. For example, "Captain Drew is going on a much needed furlough. Mrs Drew is to 'hold the fort' at Whangarei during his absence" and when Captain Burton was resting it was reported that "Mrs Burton is so well, strong and able, that she should take an appointment somewhere while he continues to rest. We are therefore giving her the command of Cambridge."¹⁸⁶ These examples do serve to further illustrate that women officers, including married women officers, were actively involved in running corps in The Salvation Army in New Zealand at this time.

WOMEN AS MORAL GUARDIANS

By the time The Salvation Army was established in late Victorian Britain the belief that women were the moral and spiritual guardians of both home and community with a higher level of spiritual awareness was firmly entrenched.¹⁸⁷ This belief led to women being cast in the role of the moral guardians of society. Women were seen as pivotal to moral reform within the family and for the moral regeneration of the nation.¹⁸⁸ Callum

¹⁸⁴ See footnote 183.

¹⁸⁵ For an informative account of the difficulties faced by one officer couple and ultimately their resignation from the organisation, see "Captain's Lot. Religious Tyranny. A Kick and a God Bless You. Captain Stevens Relates his Experiences." *Thames Star*, June 24, 1893.

¹⁸⁶ "Northern Notes," *The War Cry*, July 14, 1894, p. 7: "Chief Sec's Notes," *The War Cry*, July 21, 1894, p. 4

¹⁸⁷ The New Zealander 'Jenny Wren' [Jane Elizabeth Harris] expressed this sentiment when in a pamphlet published in [date] she wrote that women's special mission is 'To redeem Man from error, to rescue him from social and moral degradation...to train her children in the ways of Truth, Peace and Purity; to elevate the mind of Man...by the power of her devoted loving nature in the peculiar relationships of her sex.' This pamphlet is included as a photograph in Melanie Nolan, *Breadwinning: New Zealand Women and the State* (Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2000), 13.

¹⁸⁸ Sarah C. Williams, "Is There a Bible in the House? Gender, Religion and Family Culture" in *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, eds., Sue Morgan and Jacqueline deVries (London: Routledge, 2010), 17.

Brown in *The Death of Christian Britain*, in which he argues that the recent decline in church adherence is largely due to the loss of religious loyalty by women, suggests that

After 1800, the religiosity of women was paramount to the evangelical scheme for moral revolution. They were regarded as having special qualities which put them at the fulcrum of family sanctity. In addition the very same qualities which made them special in the home rendered them extra special in the wider reformation of communities and the nation as a whole.¹⁸⁹

In New Zealand the arrival of The Salvation Army coincided with a growing concern for the moral and physical welfare of New Zealanders. Belich has described the period from 1880 to 1930 as “the great tightening” when “a crusade for moral harmony tightened up New Zealand society like a great spanner” with “intense social obsessions” on issues of sexuality, prostitution and uncontrolled motherhood.¹⁹⁰ These beliefs and concerns impacted on women in The Salvation Army in three ways. Firstly, the idea that women were naturally more spiritually and emotionally sensitive than men, meant that they were seen as having a special role and ability to, convict the unsaved, particularly men, of their need for salvation. This opened up extensive opportunities for women in evangelistic outreach. There are numerous examples in *The War Cry* which illustrate this belief.

¹⁸⁹ Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000*, (London: Routledge, 2000), 59.

¹⁹⁰ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 157-158



Illustration to a poem entitled, "Answer Him Softly," *The War Cry*, May 12, 1900.



Front Cover of *The War Cry*, April 26, 1913 with the caption, "Salvation Found Under the Canopy of Heaven"

Secondly, mothers in particular, were seen as responsible for the moral education of their children. The image of the praying mother of a wayward child was a very common and powerful motif in Salvation Army literature. This identification of motherhood with moral teaching is shown in an article in *The Officer* entitled "The Essentials of a Happy Home-The Children's Morals" which notes that children's "morals, the principles of right and wrong, are imbibed almost entirely at home. ...Mothers and home makers must be careful to instil into the child right morals in the home."¹⁹¹ The moral and spiritual teaching that children had received was often mentioned in the obituaries of Salvationist mothers. For example, it is recorded in *The War Cry* that at the memorial service to Mrs Commandant Atkinson, her son "told of his mother's constant endeavours to guide her children's feet in the paths of righteousness..."¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Wallis, "The Essentials of a Happy Home," *The Officer* (July 9, 1916): 613. See also, Mrs. General Booth, "The Mother in Relation to the Moral and Spiritual Nature of her Child," *The Officer* 23, no. 1 (1915): 1-6

¹⁹² "Promoted to Glory," *The War Cry* July 30, 1955, p. 7

The Mother's Prayer.

Tune—*Your mother still prays for you, Jack.*

6 'Twas one cold night in winter,
And the wind blew rough and wild,
As the bar-lights brightly gleamed upon
A drunkard's starving child.
Little Tot was only seven years old,
Yet her heart beat warm and true
To father, as she sweetly said,
"Mother still prays for you."

CHORUS.

Dear mother is praying for you, dad ;
Dear mother is praying for you ;
And though no one else will trust you now,
Yet mother still prays for you.

The drunkard's heart was aching
As he thought of days gone by ;
And the simple message touched a chord
That would not dormant lie ;
He thought of the home so happy,
Which was once so bright and fair—
There was comfort and food in plenty—
But now, 'twas cold and bare.

He thought of her, so patient,
His good wife, so brave and true,
And of little Tot beside him,
Who had good cause to rue
That she ever had such a father,
Who was so cruel and unkind ;—
As he thought, there arose a longing
Some better way to find.

Now, Tot was in the Army ;
Like a Junior Soldier brave,
She told her daddy how Jesus could
The erring drunkard save.
She told the old, old story,
Till the tears ran down his cheeks ;
As they homeward hied she whispered,
" 'Tis the sinner Jesus seeks."

The father's heart was broken,
For her love had won the day ;
And with true repentance for his sin,
He began to seek and pray.
He went to an Army meeting,
And there the wondrous story told—
How Jesus broke his hard, bad heart,
And brought him within the fold.

He's drunken Dick no longer,
But he plays in the Army band,
With as happy a home and family
As any in the land ;
And Tottie's face lights up with joy |
As she hears her father say,
" I'm glad I'm saved, and marching on
In the good old Glory way."

CHARLIE SMITH, Cheviot.

The War Cry, October 12, 1895.

Finally, the idea of women as society's moral guardians gave them enormous opportunities in the social side of The Salvation Army's work, with its rescue homes, maternity homes, prison gate work and other social institutions. As Tennant has noted "Salvationist women came to dominate rescue and maternity work in New Zealand, engaging in the most aggressive forms of outreach through prison gate brigades and

midnight patrols.”¹⁹³ Robinson, in her thesis which looks at The Salvation Army’s transition from its beginnings as a controversial organisation using popular culture and women preachers as a means of evangelism to an organisation which is respected and admired for its philanthropic work, has suggested that the social work of The Salvation Army, rather than the more flamboyant public preaching roles on the field side, appealed to middle class women because roles such as caring for the sick and the poor did not challenge ideas of social respectability for women. ¹⁹⁴I can find no evidence to support this in the New Zealand situation, with women who might be considered middle class, such as Annette Paul, Nellie Barnard and Kate Kendall, working on both the field and social side of the organisation.¹⁹⁵



The War Cry June 16, 1900. A Woman Social Officer and The Salvation Army Social Institutions in New Zealand.

¹⁹³ Tennant, “Magdalens and Moral Imbeciles’: Women’s Homes in Nineteenth Century New Zealand” in *Women in History*2, 63

¹⁹⁴ Barbara Robinson, “Bodily Compassion;’ Values and Identity Formation in The Salvation Army 1880-1900” (PhD thesis, University of Ottawa, 1999), 5, 7

¹⁹⁵ It should be noted that officers in The Salvation Army were sent by Headquarters to their appointments and had no input as to the appointment they received.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MOTHERHOOD

From 1883 to 1920 there was an increasing emphasis in New Zealand society on the importance of motherhood, with mothers seen as critical to the physical and moral health of the nation. This resulted in the establishment of the Plunket Society in 1907, focusing on the health of mothers and babies; the development of the Eugenics movement; and from the early twentieth century the idea of the male breadwinner wage where a male worker's wages were determined on the assumption that he was supporting a non-earning wife and two or three children.¹⁹⁶ Women were seen as having an essential role in producing healthy offspring and it being considered that this which would lead to a better nation and Empire. It was hoped that the concept of scientific motherhood, with its focus on improving the skills of mothers, would result in children who were better, both morally and physically. As a consequence of these ideas, the home increasingly became, for New Zealand women, their primary focus.¹⁹⁷

Salvation Army publications, both nationally and internationally, focus on the importance of the role of mothers. Florence Booth [wife of Bramwell Booth] in her series of addresses on motherhood published as *Mothers of the Empire*, in 1914, noted

True Motherhood is among the holiest and highest vocations to which a woman can consecrate her gifts and powers... the home represents the nation; and only as far as the homes of its people are pure and good can the nation itself be pure and good, and fitted to take its place in the world.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ For a general discussion of motherhood in New Zealand see Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women* and Sue Kedgley, *Mum's the Word: The Untold Story of Motherhood in New Zealand* (Auckland: Random House, 1996). For more information on the development of the Plunket society and its impact on New Zealand society, see Erik Olssen, "Truby King and the Plunket Society: An Analysis of a Prescriptive Ideology," *New Zealand Journal of History*, 15, no. 1 (1981), 3-23 and Linda Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers: The Plunket Society and Infant Welfare, 1907-2000* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003). For information on the Eugenics movement in New Zealand see Philip J. Fleming, "Eugenics in New Zealand 1900-1940" (M.A. thesis, Massey University, 1981) and for information on the breadwinner wage see Nolan, *Breadwinning: New Zealand Women and the State* (Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2000).

¹⁹⁷ This idea is discussed in more detail in Megan C. Wood, "Re/producing the nation: Women Making Identity in New Zealand, 1906-1925" (M.A. thesis, University of Canterbury, 1997) and Shelley Griffiths, "Feminism and the Ideology of Motherhood in New Zealand, 1896-1930" (M.A. thesis, University of Otago, 1984)

¹⁹⁸ Florence Booth, *Mothers and the Empire and Other Addresses*, (London: The Salvation Army Book Department, 1914), 18, 3.

In 1907 Florence Booth commenced The Home League, an organisation which was aimed primarily, but not exclusively towards the interests of married woman who were associated with Salvation Army corps. The Home League was initially commenced in New Zealand in 1911 but did not become fully established until 1917. The first objective of The Home League was to “give practical Counsel on Home Affairs, the Management of Children, Moral Questions, Physical Difficulties, Hygiene, and matters generally relating to the well-being of all in the home” and its second objective was to “encourage Spiritual Life and Bible Reading in mothers, and to lead those who are not yet converted to a definite Christian experience.”¹⁹⁹ The Home League was The Salvation Army’s equivalent of The Mother’s Union or The League of Mothers and Homemakers of New Zealand.

For women officers in The Salvation Army in New Zealand an increasing emphasis on home and family led to three developments. Firstly, for married women officers their role as mothers became increasingly important. As noted earlier they were seen as responsible for the moral and spiritual development of their own children. Secondly, the increased emphasis on the importance of domestic life meant that for the officer wife her primary aim became meeting the physical needs of her children, whilst her husband concentrated on the work of The Salvation Army. As more and more women in New Zealand opted to be stay at home mothers, the officer wife who spent considerable amounts of time outside the home working for The Salvation Army, became increasingly unusual. Thirdly, for single officers, marriage and motherhood, were increasingly seen as an important aim in life and due to the restrictive marriage regulations of The Salvation Army, many were forced to leave the organisation in order to marry. Generally, over this period there becomes an increasing emphasis within the organisation on women as mothers, rather than as public evangelists and full time ministers.

Married Women Officers

The Salvation Army always had strict regulations on the courtship and marriage of officers. The first edition of *The Orders and Regulations* published in 1886 stated that an

¹⁹⁹ “The Home League,” *The War Cry* March 3, 1911, p. 5

officer's spouse must be a soldier in The Salvation Army, with a preference, especially for women officers that her marriage partner be an officer but this was soon changed to restricting marriage partners for officers of both sexes, either to those who were already officers, or to soldiers who were suitable candidates for officership and willing to enter training.²⁰⁰ By 1891 an amended set of regulations for engagements, courtship and marriage were inserted in the application forms for officers and this is included as part of Appendix two. The regulation that an officer could only marry another officer or a person willing to become one was in force throughout the period that this thesis covers.

Right from the commencement of The Salvation Army there have been problems around the roles and responsibilities of married women officers, which centre on the need to balance their responsibilities as a wife and mother, with their responsibilities to The Salvation Army and their own calling to ministry. William Booth had recognised that this was a problem both for the organisation and for women officers. In 1900 he published a series of articles on marriage and the responsibilities of Salvation Army husbands and wives and this was reprinted in the New Zealand edition of *The War Cry* in the same year.²⁰¹ Booth acknowledges the difficulties of responsibilities as wife, homemaker and mother, and writes that "the lot of many a woman religiously married is little better than a beast of burden."²⁰² He is stingingly critical of husbands, particularly Salvation Army male officers, who prevent their wives from having a public ministry, writing

Husbands...even Salvationist husbands-object to their wives taking too active a part in the public work... How many beautiful, devoted, and largely-gifted women have I known, who, while single, swayed crowds with their divine eloquence, commanded and directed large bodies of soldiers without difficulty, and swept

²⁰⁰ Laurence Hay, "Restrictive Marriage Regulations," *The Officer* (October 1999): 26. A contemporary perspective on, and analysis of, The Salvation Army's practice of ordaining both husband and wife as officers is found in Richard J. Munn, "Salvation Army Officer Leadership: For Such a Time as This" (Doctor of Ministry thesis, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, 2004).

²⁰¹ See, The General [William Booth], "Every Day Religion," *The War Cry*, August-December, 1900

²⁰² The General [William Booth], "Every Day Religion-About Women and Marriage," *The War Cry*, December 1, 1900, p. 5

hundreds of souls into the Kingdom, but who...passed from public view on their wedding day!²⁰³

William Booth goes as far as to call husbands who prevent their wives from engaging in public ministry rattlesnake tempters who

...attract and ensnare the woman, in the full zenith of spiritual power and prosperity...[with] the only difference between them and the rattlesnake...[being] that the rattlesnake devours his victim, and they keep theirs shut up in the cage of their own home.²⁰⁴

There is however a degree of ambiguity in the statements of William Booth when in the same series he writes

A true Salvation husband will afford his wife, so far as he has power to do so, every reasonable opportunity for exercising her gifts in Salvation work.... She has a natural right ... To exercise the gifts God has given her...so far as she has opportunity for doing so, and when that exercise does not interfere with her duties she owes to her husband and her family. [emphasis as in original]²⁰⁵

The husband...is the head of the house, the wife, and the children. The interests of an army necessitate a general; of a ship, a captain; of a family, a head. The husband is that head.²⁰⁶

In these quotations it is apparent that Booth was not challenging the idea of the husband as head of the household and the wife as being responsible for domestic matters.

²⁰³ The General [William Booth], "Every Day Religion-About Women and Marriage," *The War Cry*, December, 1, 1900, p. 5

²⁰⁴ The General [William Booth], "Every Day Religion-About Husbands-Their Privileges and Duties," *The War Cry*, November 3, 1900, p. 4

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ The General [William Booth], "Every Day Religion-Responsibilities," *The War Cry*, October 13, 1900, p. 5

The ideal married woman Salvation Army officer was exemplified by Mrs Colonel Lawley, a British officer, whose working and home life was described in the New Zealand edition of *The War Cry* of February 9th 1895.

The active captaincy of past service has well paved the way for the double labours of a D.O. [Divisional Officer] and a housewife which fall upon Mrs Colonel Lawley, and she still considers the life of a Field Officer one of the most glorious privilege and opportunity. ... The life of Mrs Lawley is an object lesson. That the characteristics of **A Mother and an Officer** may be blended, without either suffering by the presence of the other, and with its natural sequence of all-round extension of the Kingdom, is exemplified in the daily doings of the only woman officer to hold the rank of D.O. in the United Kingdom. [emphasis as in original]²⁰⁷

This ideal seems to have been rarely achieved and there are an increasing number of articles in *The Field Officer* which indicate that this was always a contentious issue for the organisation and for the women themselves. Mrs Commissioner Higgins, writing in 1915, acknowledges that The Salvation Army does not always make equality of opportunity possible and admits that there are women officers who “had they remained single, would have filled larger positions of responsibility and trust than they are now likely to fill.”²⁰⁸ She suggests that the spheres open to the officer wife are training her children for officership and coadjutor of her husband and she notes the special opportunities available to an officer’s wife such as cultivating relationships with other officers, offering sympathy, involvement in the Home League and in training the next generation of Salvationists and she reminds women that they are still responsible for public work “which the fact of wifeness and motherhood must not be permitted to interfere with.”²⁰⁹ Mrs Ensign McVeigh wrote in 1914, of her disappointment after marriage saying that to “ have commanded Corps for ten years and then to have responsibility removed, and find apparently nothing much to be responsible for, is not a state of affairs to which one can easily be reconciled...”²¹⁰ Mrs Lieut.- Colonel Thomas, in

²⁰⁷ “Feminine Features,” *The War Cry*, February 9, 1895, p. 6

²⁰⁸ Higgins, “Woman’s Place in The Salvation Army World,” *The Officer* (1915): 598

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 599

²¹⁰ McVeigh, “A Married Woman’s Opportunities As a Wife and Mother on the Field,” *The Officer* (January 1914): 39

her article in *The Officer*, warns the officer wife to avoid the temptation to give up platform work and notes that many women who, previous to marriage, were powerful speakers are now content to give out the second song and she warns of the danger of giving undue place to the baby.²¹¹

It is clear from comments in these articles that some married couples employed domestic help. The practice of employing a girl to help the officer wife was also used by New Zealand women officers, particularly in the early years of the organisation. Ah Kow notes in her biography of Beattie and Ernest Dixon that they employed help in the house to enable Mrs Captain Dixon to run the corps at Mosgiel with the aid of an assistant officer, while Ernest who was a skilled carpenter built the Hall.²¹² There is uncertainty over whether this domestic help was paid directly by The Salvation Army or met by the officers, out of their allowance.²¹³ The problem of the role of married women officers was not an insignificant one for the organisation in New Zealand. In 1900, there were 59 of them out of a total of 310 officers, by 1910, 79 out of 247. By 1915, there were 112 officer wives, made up of 23 wives of Territorial Headquarters officers, 44 wives of Divisional Headquarters officers, and 22 field officer wives, with the rest being married to social officers or Training Garrison officers, out of total of 402

²¹¹ Thomas, "We Officer Wives and Mothers: How Shall We Keep Up the Standard?," *The Officer* (1917): 665-668. Other articles expressing similar sentiments include, "Continual Comrades in This War-Some life leaves turned by an Officer's wife," *The Officer* (1916): 419-422; "An Officer's Wife" *The Field Officer* (April 1909): 190-191.; "The Bond of Service and Fellowship-Officer Wives of the International Headquarters" *The Officer* (1917): 395-398; "'Guardians of Women's Opportunities'-Trials and Triumphs of Staff Officers' Wives in Spheres of Unseen Service" *The Officer* (March 1919): 242-244 and Mrs Lieut.-Colonel Harris, "Officer Wives I Have Known-Energetic Salvation Service Unhindered by Domestic Cares" *The Officer* (May 1919): 431-433.

²¹² Ah Kow, *From Maoriland to Wattleland*, 83-84

²¹³ Mrs Ensign McVeigh also refers in her article noted above that she had a girl to help her in the house. It is probable that any domestic assistance was paid for by individual officers out of their allowance. Mrs. Lieut.-Colonel Thomas, in the article noted above, states that in pre-war days she had been an advocate of Officers "keeping a 'help' in the house, but in these days of high prices that matter must depend upon the number and the circumstances of the family." It is also possible that this practice varied between Territories. There is a somewhat ambiguous document held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives and published in Hill's *Te Ope Whakaora*, which dates from the period when Reuben Bailey was Territorial Commander, which notes the amounts that officers who were engaged in work amongst Māori were to be paid and this includes a comment about paying a girl if one is kept. There is no indication if this applied to all officers, only those engaged in the work amongst Māori, or that it was ever implemented.

Salvation Army officers in New Zealand, or around 27% of the organisation's workforce.²¹⁴

Eason identifies three typical responses made by married women officers to balancing their roles and responsibilities as wife and mother and also an officer of The Salvation Army.²¹⁵ These are clearly identified in New Zealand. Firstly, a married woman officer could try to seek a balance between home and public ministry. This balancing act was discussed in an article in *The War Cry* in 1900, in which Mrs Colonel Estill spoke "with the women warriors of Otago" and gave them "planning hints, to enable them to include in their schedules, Bible reading, visitation, implementing methods of filling the barracks, nursing the sick, helping the drunkard and getting at the children."²¹⁶ The reporter concludes by noting that "we were also shown the possibility of being a wife, mother, and a warrior all in one."²¹⁷ I have been able to identify some married women officers in this early period who seem to have been able to achieve this ideal state of balance between their domestic responsibilities and their responsibilities as officers by continuing to be actively involved in the work of the corps. For example, a *War Cry* article mentions that Commandant Maud Campion took "her full share of corps work during the long periods she assisted her husband."²¹⁸ In an obituary for Mrs Brigadier Mary Baylis, the writer notes that "together they served effectively in appointments all over New Zealand" and that she "played her part not only as a wife and mother but also as an officer."²¹⁹ On the occasion of the retirement of Commandant and Mrs Styles a *War Cry* article recorded that Mrs Commandant Styles went from "hard go to hard go" faithfully helping her husband.²²⁰ Whether on the platform or in the general corps work she was a valued helpmeet and when her health failed it came as a great

²¹⁴ Figures are taken from *The Disposition of the Forces* for 1900, 1910 and 1915.

²¹⁵ Eason, *Women in God's Army*, 130-132

²¹⁶ Nellie Evans, "Mrs. Colonel Estill Holds Council With the Women Warriors of Otago," *The War Cry*, September 1, 1900, p. 6

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ "Triumphant Service Concluded," *The War Cry*, September 11, 1954, p. 7

²¹⁹ "An Officer Dearly Loved," *The War Cry*, February 28, 1959, p. 6

²²⁰ "Commandant and Mrs. Styles Enter Retirement with the Esteem of Comrade Salvationists," *The War Cry*, December 4, 1926, p. 2

disappointment to her to have to relinquish her public duties.²²¹ Secondly, a married woman officer could see her public ministry as her first priority with home duties taking a secondary place. I have found several examples of officer couples where the officer wife continues to undertake significant public ministry. As mentioned earlier, Mrs Reuben Bailey acted as Territorial Commander and Mrs Holdaway as Divisional Commander of Northern Division. Adjutant Sanson's wife took charge of the Dunedin Corps when her husband went to an International Congress in 1914.²²² Mrs May Bladin took charge at Kilbirnie and Waimate when her husband served as a military chaplain during World War One.²²³ Mrs Brigadier Charker "carried on the work" at Wellington South when her husband attended an international congress and a *War Cry* article reports that while he was away she "had a most wonderful time. Many souls were saved, and on his return he found twenty-two new soldiers had been added to the Roll."²²⁴ Nellie Fisher was also a good example of a married woman officer from New Zealand who seemed able to achieve a balance between officership and domestic responsibilities serving as Territorial Secretary for Women's Social Work, Editor of *The Young Soldier* in Canada and Territorial Home League secretary in Australia, as well as being the mother of three children and the wife of a senior officer.²²⁵ Finally, a married woman officer could put her domestic responsibilities ahead of the claims of officership. It is more difficult to find examples of these as they tend not to have a high profile, but comments in some obituaries do give a clue. For example, the obituary for Mrs Brigadier Newbold notes she was "a godly and useful worker before marriage" and as a married officer "a wonderful support to her husband."²²⁶ The obituary of Mrs Brigadier Dorothy Ericson, who had entered the Training Garrison as a married woman records

²²¹ "Commandant and Mrs. Styles Enter Retirement with the Esteem of Comrade Salvationists," *The War Cry*, December 4, 1926, p. 2

²²² See R.T. Hughson manuscript held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives.

²²³ "Made Sacrifices Cheerfully: Mrs Commissioner Bladin Promoted to Glory after Valiant Service," *The War Cry*, March 11, 1950, p. 6

²²⁴ "Have Rendered Good Service," *The War Cry*, July 15, 1939, p. 10.

²²⁵ See "Mrs. Staff-Capt. Fisher (Capt. Nellie Barnard)." *The War Cry*, May 11, 1889 and also <http://winsomegriffin.com/Barnard/HarrietEllenBarnard.html>

²²⁶ "Great in Faith and Works," *The War Cry*, September 6, 1947, p. 8

that she “loyally supported her husband in social and headquarters appointments” for 35 years.²²⁷

In this early period, it seems that some married women officers were often able to continue undertaking some form of public ministry. The amount that they undertook depended on factors such as, the number and age of their children, the willingness of their husbands to support their public ministry, the amount of help they may have had in the home and the position that their husband held in The Salvation Army. Married women officers rarely received appointments in their own right. In rare cases married women officers stepped into their husband’s roles. When a woman officer was widowed she usually retired from active service within a few weeks of her husband’s death.²²⁸ Many gifted women officers had their ability to undertake public ministry constrained when their husbands were appointed to positions that did not involve corps work.

HOW THE PRACTICES OF THE SALVATION ARMY COULD DISCRIMINATE AGAINST WOMEN

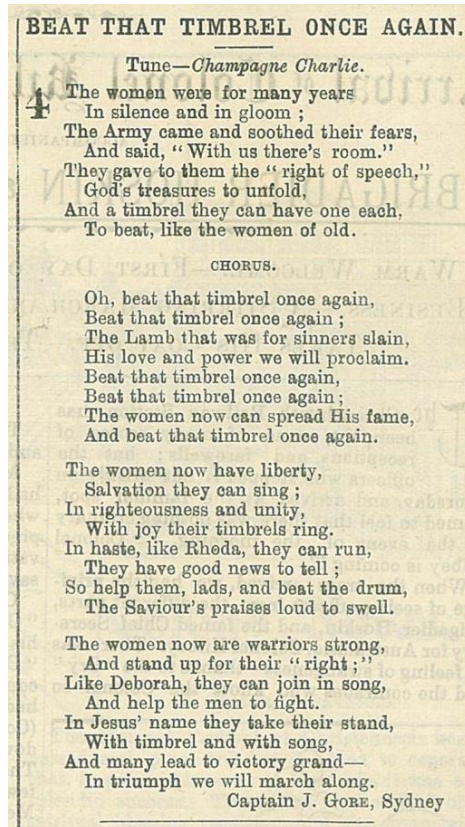
More obvious and structurally embedded examples of discrimination will be discussed in Section Two of this thesis but using research on the musical culture of The Salvation Army in New Zealand it is possible to show how subtly discrimination against women could develop in the organisation.

Music always played an important part in the life of The Salvation Army with bands, singing, and marching seen as essential tools for convicting sinners of their need for salvation. Women members of The Salvation Army initially played significant roles in the Army’s musical events, many of which took place in public spaces. For many people outside The Salvation Army women preachers were controversial, but women

²²⁷ “Loyal Worker in Every Appointment,” *The War Cry*, November 27, 1954, p. 7

²²⁸ The only exceptions I have found to this are Mrs Major Fraser who continued to undertake appointments on the social side after her husband’s death and Mrs Major Evelyn Hughson who after her husband’s death, managed The Nest, a Salvation Army orphanage in Hamilton, and then held several other appointments in social institutions.

preachers in uniform, playing the tambourine, and singing were shocking.²²⁹ The citizens of Waimate were clearly disturbed by timbrel playing Salvationist women because two of them “were charged with maliciously disturbing the inhabitants” of the town “by beating tambourines on a Sunday.”²³⁰




The War Cry March 30, 1895

The application form for officership includes questions on the candidate’s musical abilities. Marching and open-air meetings were a weekly, if not daily, feature in the early days of The Salvation Army and music was used as a tool for evangelism. Singing was used as a means of convicting the unsaved of their need for salvation. The voice of a woman singing was seen as particularly effective means of evangelising young men as illustrated in this song composed by P. A. Brady of Kaitangata.

²²⁹ Walker, *Pulling the Devil’s Kingdom Down*, 196

²³⁰ Waite, *Dear Mr. Booth*, 33



THE SALVATION **ARMY LASSIE.**

**Under the folds of an Army flag
A lassie fair was singing;
Under the banner of Blood-and-fire
The Gospel truths were ringing.
The lassie sang of a Saviour's love,
And the Christian's reward in the realms
above.**

**Hush'd was the sound from the crowded
street,
As people stopped to listen—
The voice of the singer, clear and sweet,
Caused tears in the eyes to glisten;
And many felt in that solemn hour
The mystic sway of an unseen Power.**

**The heart of one young man was touched
At the sound of the voice so rare;
He thought of a far-off English home,
And the words of a mother's prayer.
And a sense of sadness filled his heart,
As he strove to break sin's chains apart.**

**The streets are deserted, the Army gone,
But the goodly seed of truth is sown;
And the young man feels within his heart
A peace which before he had never
known.**

**He blesses the singer and that sweet song
That turned his feet from the ways of
wrong.**

P. A. BRADY, Kaitangata.

The War Cry July 22, 1905

Band, songster and timbrel brigade practice were important mid-week activities for Salvationists and were occasions not only for music making but for socialising with other members of the corps. In the early years women Salvationists were very active in music making. Many corps formed Lasses' Bands as well as the usual brass bands.



A UNIQUE PICTURE OF THE FIRST LASSIES' BAND IN DUNEDIN
 BACK ROW (left to right): Sister Mrs. Shankland, Sister Mrs. Fleming (still Soldiers of Dunedin), Sister Mrs. Fawcett (deceased), Sister L. Burrows.
 FRONT ROW: Sister Mrs. J. King (still a Soldier of Dunedin), Major C. Sparks (deceased), Adjutant Coombs (now Samaritan Officer, Dunedin), Sister Mrs. Ranford (deceased), Sister Mrs. R. Jack, Captain N. Barnard (now Mrs. Colonel Fisher)

The War Cry April 1, 1933

One of the more celebrated Lasses' Bands was formed in Christchurch and toured the country in 1892 raising money for the erection of a new Headquarters Building.²³¹ Three New Zealand women were in the Commonwealth Lasses' Band.²³² Major Ernest Holdaway led a Māori music group, which included women officers and which toured not only New Zealand, but also Australia and England.²³³ Over time music making in The Salvation Army in New Zealand became increasingly formalised. In the early years of the movement in New Zealand there were opportunities for female Salvationist musicians to contribute either in Lasses' Bands, as soloists, or in mixed groups of singers or musicians. Increasingly, however, male only brass bands come to dominate, particularly in larger corps. Songster groups, comprising both men and women, and female timbrel brigades had much less prestige than the brass bands, which dominated not only at outdoor events, but also at most services. This sidelining of women is beautifully illustrated in a memoir written by the daughter of Daisy Brooks (later Allot). Daisy had, as a young Salvationist in Invercargill learned to play a cornet and enjoyed playing in the Corps band.



Daisy Brooks. Photograph courtesy of Heritage Centre & Archives for The Salvation Army, New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga.

²³¹ Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 150

²³² *Ibid.*, 153

²³³ For further information on Holdaway's music group see Ivy Cresswell, *Canoe on the River*, 152-53; 163-65; 191-92; 204-06.

When Henry Goffin, who was later to be appointed Secretary for Bands and Songster Brigades in New Zealand, became corps officer and conductor of the band at Invercargill Corps, he was horrified to see a female Salvationist in the band and reputedly said “I will not have a bonnet in my band.” At the next Open Air meeting [Daisy] turned up wearing a bandsman’s cap. “She remained in the band!”²³⁴ In March 1938, the front cover of *The War Cry* features photos from the recently held Bandmasters’ Councils. All photos depict men bar one, which is of Songster Leader Mrs Glendinning, “the only woman delegate present.”²³⁵ In the period from 1920 to 1960 women Salvationists were rarely seen in brass bands, with bands becoming almost exclusively male domains and dominating Sunday worship in the majority of Salvation Army corps in New Zealand. Being part of the band was seen not only as a form of service but was a source of prestige for many male Salvationists.²³⁶



The Wellington South Salvation Army Band 1946

Photograph courtesy of Heritage Centre & Archives for The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga

²³⁴ Joyce Allot, *Memoirs of an O.K.*, 3, held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives.

²³⁵ “Pictorial Sidelights of the Bandmasters’ Councils,” *The War Cry*, March 5, 1938, p. 1.

²³⁶ See page 105 of this thesis for an outline of the issues that Viola Blincoe had with members of the band when she was the officer at Lower Hutt Corps in 1937.

CONCLUSION FOR SECTION ONE

“The Salvation Army...no longer subjected to ridicule or interference, it has substantial ‘barracks’ in every town, does the work of rescue, has prison-gate brigades everywhere, and is remarkable... for its splendid works of charity.”²³⁷

By 1920 The Salvation Army had established itself as part of the religious landscape of New Zealand. Throughout this period, it continued to extol its practice of offering equal roles and opportunities for women officers. For example, Mrs Commissioner Hay is recorded in *The Dominion* as saying “[a] woman in the Salvation Army does the same work as a man, rises by virtue of her ability to the same position as a man, her sex is absolutely no bar to her.”²³⁸ For a short period between 1883 through to the early 1900s women in The Salvation Army in New Zealand came close to achieving equality with their male colleagues. This coincided with the rise of women’s activism in New Zealand around issues of suffrage, temperance and social and moral purity. This golden age did not last. By 1910 an analysis of illustrations of officers in *The War Cry* for the three months from July to October reveals three illustrations of married officer couples, ten illustrations of female officers and eighteen illustrations of male officers, the majority of whom were depicted in leadership roles. During World War One women officers played an increased role in the organisation with Lieut.-Colonel Toomer writing that during the War The Salvation Army’s “greatest asset were the women” and that “our debt to the brave girls who shouldered the responsibility of the time and carried on the Salvation work through the four frightful years will never be paid.”²³⁹ Single women officers during this early period held significant roles in their own right, albeit as the social welfare work expands increasingly in caring and service roles, and less often in public leadership positions. Married women officers, whilst often in secondary and support roles to their husbands, often did, at least for part of their careers, hold a position as a minister of religion in their own right, as illustrated by the career of Mrs Colonel Graham, who looking back on her years as an officer wife both in Australia and

²³⁷ R. A. Loughnan, *New Zealand at Home* (London: Newnes, 1908), 132

²³⁸ “Woman Warriors: Their Sex No Bar,” *Dominion*, February 4, 1910, p. 2

²³⁹ Memoirs of Lt. Colonel Toomer, 34-35, held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives.

New Zealand wrote that in 37 years of officership, as well as raising nine children, she has been a good second to her husband both as a Captain's wife and as a helper to him in his position as a D.C. [Divisional Commander], but also significantly she remarks that while he served as Young People's and Candidates Secretary in New Zealand she had served as CO [Commanding Officer] for the first Rescue Home in New Zealand.²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰ Graham, "Lest we Forget: An Officer-Mother's Testimony," *The Officer* (February 1922): 163-164.

SECTION TWO

PART ONE

THE ERA OF CONSOLIDATION, CONFORMITY AND CONSERVATISM,
1920-1960



The War Cry June 25, 1938

The period from 1920 to 1960 was one of consolidation, conformity and conservatism for The Salvation Army in New Zealand. There was a consolidation of the field work of the previous decades and The Salvation Army during this period increasingly conformed with, and more closely resembled, other Protestant

denominations in New Zealand. This period was also characterised by increasing conservatism in gender roles with The Salvation Army conforming to, rather than challenging, gender roles in New Zealand society. The Salvation Army in New Zealand was increasingly no longer viewed as an extreme religious sect but as a mainstream Protestant denomination which focused on the provision of welfare services.

CONSOLIDATION

In 1912 The Salvation Army in New Zealand once again became an independent territory and by the end of World War One had established a new Training College for officers, and a new Territorial Headquarters in Wellington. There was a consolidation of The Salvation Army's reputation, with Bradwell noting a "unanimous chorus of commendation" from the community, Church leaders and the general public in contrast to the brickbats of earlier years.²⁴¹ Contributing to its growing positive reputation was the massive increase in the number of social institutions run by the organisation. These social institutions and welfare activities included children's homes, training farms for boys and youth, industrial homes, hostels and shelters for both men and women, Maternity Homes, Eventide Homes for aged women, sanatoriums for alcoholics, prison visitation and police court work, Samaritan work and hospital visitation.²⁴² In 1914 there were only 60 children in Salvation Army welfare institutions but by 1922 the number had risen to 500.²⁴³ There was consolidation of the field work of The Salvation Army rather than significant growth, with "steady but unspectacular advances" from 1912 to 1933.²⁴⁴ The 1933 Jubilee pamphlet notes that there were 400 corps and centres of spiritual activity in New Zealand.²⁴⁵ There were occasional bursts of expansion, particularly during the time when Commissioner Hay was Territorial Commander (1926-1929) with fourteen new corps established, 23 new buildings erected, a 10% rise in enrolment of soldiers and in meeting attendance and a 20% rise

²⁴¹ Bradwell, "An Outline History of The Salvation Army in New Zealand," 90

²⁴² "These Fifty Years: Being a Review of the Beginnings and Progress of The Salvation Army in New Zealand "What hath God wrought?" 1883-1933," (The Salvation Army, 1933), 28.

²⁴³ Bradwell, "An Outline History of The Salvation Army in New Zealand," 95.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 99

²⁴⁵ "These Fifty Years," 28

in Sunday School attendance.²⁴⁶ From 1929-1963 the number of active Salvationists in New Zealand remained relatively constant at about 6000.²⁴⁷

CONSERVATISM

This period was one of increasing conservatism in The Salvation Army in New Zealand, in which the organisation acquired “an atmosphere of security” but also a time characterised by problems of adjustment from a religious movement with its origins in Victorian England to a denomination which was relevant to contemporary New Zealand society.²⁴⁸ Old rituals, such as the Open Air and the Hallelujah wind-up, continued to be part of The Salvation Army’s religious practice until well into the 1960s and even beyond. Bradwell writes

In the first two postwar decades, then, we see the Army in its pragmatic way, without much theorising about the challenges facing it, faithfully carrying on its traditionally evangelical indoor services with their regular penitent-form appeals, maintaining its open-air ministry...keeping up its sale of the *War Cry* in the hotels...stirring up the zeal of its own soldiers and adherents...²⁴⁹

Aitken’s assessment is harsher, suggesting that by 1960 many of the Army’s customs had

...hardened until they have almost the force of mandatory law, and whereas they were once arresting novelties they now appear as quaint survivals from the past

²⁴⁶ Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 93

²⁴⁷ No official national statistics recording the number of soldiers are kept by The Salvation Army with only individual Corps attendance records available. Bradwell in *Fight the Good Fight*, 112, gives a figure of 5,800 committed and enrolled soldiers in 1945 rising to 6,400 in 1965. Census statistics show 11,591 identifying their religious affiliation as Salvation Army in 1921; 13,300 in 1945 and 13,607 in 1951. Statistics taken from Peter J. Lineham and Allan K. Davidson, *Transplanted Christianity: Documents Illustrating Aspects of New Zealand Church History*. 3rd ed., (Palmerston North: Massey University, 1995), 241.

²⁴⁸ Thomas Gordon Aitken, “Aspects of the History of The Salvation Army in New Zealand, 1929-1963: A Study in Adjustment.” (M.A. thesis. Victoria University, 1964), 13; Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 112 and Ethel Rae Major, “The Salvation Army: An Assessment of Trends in Decline and Growth.” (M.A. thesis, Victoria University, 2006), 64.

²⁴⁹ Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 112.

[with] the bulk of Army's members...content to be carried along a tide of group activities which leave little time for study and thought.²⁵⁰

Criticism of The Salvation Army and its leadership by members of the organisation has never been encouraged but this was particularly the case in this period. Unquestioning loyalty was expected.²⁵¹ There were fewer new converts and new members were largely the children of those already associated with the organisation.²⁵² A comfortable and conservative community developed, where the traditions of the Salvation Army were considered normal, if not sacrosanct.

The decade of the 1920s was an interesting one for The Salvation Army with the organisation returning to its more controversial and radical roots, when the Territorial Commander, Commissioner James Hay, used highly visible and confrontational techniques, which would have been more familiar to early day Salvationists, such as moral marches for the sins of Wellington and Auckland, to evangelise non-believers. These controversial techniques delighted some Salvationists but others questioned them.²⁵³ From 1930 to 1960, The Salvation Army's interactions are characterised by increasing conformity, with a slackening of evangelical efforts and when the soldiery "preferred comfort and a regular place of worship to an out and out attempt to get the Army moving again."²⁵⁴ Overall, there seems to be less desire on the part of the membership to engage in public activities which would mark them out as different to other denominations. Perhaps an indication of this conservatism is shown by the unwillingness both by the Territorial Commander and the Chief Secretary to allow Cyril Bradwell access to material which may have been useful for his 1950 thesis.²⁵⁵ From the 1940s *The War Cry* becomes much more focused on Salvation Army events with less of

²⁵⁰ Aitken, "Aspects of the History of The Salvation Army in New Zealand, 1929-1963," 127-28, 131.

²⁵¹ Major, "The Salvation Army," 25

²⁵² Ibid., 51.

²⁵³ Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 93.

²⁵⁴ Aitken, "Aspects of the History of The Salvation Army in New Zealand, 1929-1963," 49.

²⁵⁵ Bradwell, *Touched With Splendour*, 105.

an emphasis on capturing the world for God and more emphasis on the world of The Salvation Army.²⁵⁶

CONFORMITY

The Salvation Army increasingly conformed to the characteristics of a denomination rather than a sect.²⁵⁷ In his study of The Salvation Army in the United States, Hazzard found church like tendencies developing in the second half of the twentieth century.²⁵⁸ This is also the case in New Zealand, with Commissioner Cunningham in 1934 noting a tendency for the Army's field work and meetings to become "unaggressive" and "just like a church."²⁵⁹ Conformity of The Salvation Army in New Zealand to the movement internationally was achieved by appointing overseas trained officers, usually from Britain, to the two most senior leadership positions in New Zealand. The first New Zealand trained officer to be appointed as Territorial Commander of the organisation in New Zealand was Ernest Elliot in 1972.²⁶⁰ Prior to 1950 only two Chief Secretaries were New Zealand officers. Bradwell notes that "New Zealanders have had legitimate cause for complaint in that International Headquarters has seen fit to overlook so consistently the claim of New Zealand officers ...to the high executive positions in this country."²⁶¹ He also notes that "some of the surviving correspondence and reports of the twenties reveal surprising misjudgements of personalities and faulty assessments of situations in New Zealand by commissioners unfamiliar with the country and its people."²⁶² Aitken confirms that relationships between New Zealand Salvationists and their leaders at Territorial Headquarters may have been difficult, writing that "both

²⁵⁶ This more inward focus is illustrated in *The War Cry* with many of the articles in the magazine only being of interest to Salvationists. For example, in the edition dated March 2, 1940 reports include, "A Preview of the Centennial Congress," "Field Despatches-Latest Reports of Army Doings Throughout the Dominion," and "Our Musical Fraternity."

²⁵⁷ John W. Hazzard, "Marching in the Margins," *Review of Religious Research* 40, no.2 (1998): 122. Hazzard suggests that the religious norms of denomination are closer to secular norms, while the religious norms of a sect are relatively distant from secular norms.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 138.

²⁵⁹ Aitken, "Aspects of the History of The Salvation Army in New Zealand, 1929-1963," 46.

²⁶⁰ Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 120.

²⁶¹ Bradwell "An Outline History of The Salvation Army in New Zealand," 118.

²⁶² Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 99.

Commissioner Evan Smith and Commissioner Hoggard noted in their reports a “spirit of disloyalty to Headquarters” which had to be overcome.²⁶³ One incident exemplifies this disconnection between Territorial Headquarters and some New Zealand Salvationists. In the late 1930s a group of young men from Linwood Corps formed a rugby team which was linked to the Merivale Rugby Football Club. Senior leadership at Territorial Headquarters objected to Salvationists being linked to an outside club and Chief Secretary Grattan instructed the Divisional Commander to disband the team. The Divisional Commander Brigadier Charles Gray’s response to Headquarters was that their instruction was ridiculous and he had no intention of implementing it.²⁶⁴ New Zealand Salvationists were delighted when a New Zealand officer, Bramwell Cook was appointed Chief Secretary in 1954.²⁶⁵ These comments and incidents show that there were tensions and conflicts between The Salvation Army’s global regulations and practices, and societal norms in New Zealand. In its early years The Salvation Army positioned itself outside the norms of New Zealand society and more closely adhered to the culture and practices of the global movement. In this later period many members of the organisation increasingly conformed to the cultural norms of New Zealand life, whether as Salvationist men who played rugby or Salvationist women who focused on their home and family like many other New Zealand women at this time.

Dissent and criticism by New Zealand officers of their senior leaders could result in significant consequences for them. In the course of my research I have found three examples of women officers who took matters into their own hands and went over the heads of the senior leadership in New Zealand to take their concerns directly to the General, or to his wife. When General Carpenter and his wife visited New Zealand in

²⁶³ Evan Smith: Report, 1942 p.4; Hoggard: Report, 1956, p.34. Quoted in Aitken, “Aspects of the History of The Salvation Army in New Zealand, 1929-1963,” 129. I have not been able to read these reports as they are no longer available to researchers. The lack of access to these reports means I am unable to comment on the degree of autonomy that the Territorial Commander had in running the organisation in New Zealand or get a sense of the relationship that the Territorial Commander had with International Headquarters. Territorial Commanders to New Zealand were usually mid-career officers who would often go on to hold significant positions with The Salvation Army. A question outside the scope of this thesis is to determine what impact having key senior leadership positions held by non-New Zealand officers had on the growth and development of The Salvation Army in New Zealand.

²⁶⁴ Bradwell, *Touched With Splendour*, 49-50 and H. Bramwell Cook, *Think on These Things: The Salvation Army Christchurch City Corps, 1883-2008* (Christchurch: The Salvation Army Christchurch City Corps, 2008), 73.

²⁶⁵ Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 114.

1946 it appears that Eva Radcliffe took concerns about her retirement pension to the General and Laura Dutton is known to have approached Mrs General Carpenter about being denied the opportunity by the New Zealand leadership, to serve on the mission field.²⁶⁶ The most significant dispute between a New Zealand woman officer and the New Zealand leadership is that involving Florence Birks, which is discussed in detail later in this thesis.²⁶⁷ The Salvation Army encouraged intense loyalty from soldiers to their corps with the corps and its activities central to their lives. It provided not only spiritual activities but also Red Shield Guides and Scouts, sporting and musical activities. Major notes "The Salvationist lived for his or her corps with the attendant social life, association and friendships this offered."²⁶⁸ Aitken writes that the corps provided "an intense sense of community which is carefully fostered by the Army's leaders, an 'in-group' for its members" [who were] "tightly bound together as a social group" [with a] "unity strengthened by ties of family and friendship, common interests, a common religious experience."²⁶⁹

During this period there was an increasing conformity to, and co-operation with, other Protestant churches. There was no longer a suspicious withdrawal from other established churches but co-operation, support and willing participation in inter-church events with the organisation joining the National Council of Churches in 1944.²⁷⁰ Some Protestant ministers, however, were not always happy to acknowledge that women Salvation Army officers were ministers, just as they were. Lieut.-Colonel Viola Blincoe writes in her memoirs

Not only were women not wanted at the corps but by the Ministers' Fraternal as well. They failed to notify us of the first meeting but I was very conscious of it and decided if it happened again I would approach them. However before the next

²⁶⁶ Eva Radcliffe correspondence held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives and "Pioneered Prison Work," *The War Cry*, June 8, 1946, p. 3 and also Sampson, *Women of Spirit*, 162.

²⁶⁷ See pages 123-125 of this thesis.

²⁶⁸ Major, "The Salvation Army," 46.

²⁶⁹ Aitken, "Aspects of the History of The Salvation Army in New Zealand, 1929-1963," 29.

²⁷⁰ Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 111.

meeting the Anglican Minister called and frankly admitted that they were doubtful about including women in their gatherings but had decided to invite us and he had been chosen to contact us.²⁷¹

GENDER ROLES IN THE SALVATION ARMY-THE GLOBAL PICTURE

By 1925 a key change had occurred in the Position of Women statement in the *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers* with the word “leading” dropped from the statement which now stated only that “[o]ne of the principles of The Army is that women have the right to an equal share with men in the great work of publishing Salvation to the world.”²⁷² Gender roles and relationships within The Salvation Army were increasingly questioned over this period and this was reflected by an increasing number of articles on this topic in *The Field Officer* and *The Staff Review*. Senior leaders, especially women, regularly wrote on the issue and there must have been an awareness at all levels of the organisation that women officers were not always treated equally with their male counterparts. In 1923 General Bramwell Booth wrote that there were cases of male officers objecting to working under the command of female officers because they considered it involved “a loss of dignity and a reduction in authority” and he appeals to men to be faithful to the principle of equality.²⁷³ In the same decade Mrs Lieut. Commissioner Nurani reported that many men will only allow their wife to take “small meetings on her own”, forgetting that many of them had lead corps before their marriage. [emphasis as in original]²⁷⁴ Brigadier Matilda Hatcher also wrote that in her experience not all male officers were supportive of equality for women in the organisation.²⁷⁵

²⁷¹ Viola Blincoe, *A Life of Service: The Memoires [sic] of Lt. Col V.E. Blincoe (R) M.B.E.* (self-published manuscript) vol. 1 : 64.

²⁷² *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers*, (London: Salvation Army International Headquarters, 1925), 51.

²⁷³ The General [Bramwell Booth], “The Position and Work of Woman,” *The Staff Review*, (1923): 155.

²⁷⁴ Nurani, “The Leadership of Women,” *The Staff Review* (1924): 162.

²⁷⁵ Matilda Hatcher, “We Women,” *The Officer* (1926): 66-67.

In 1930 Staff-Captain Mary MacFarlane, from the Australian Eastern Territory, wrote a major and extremely critical article entitled, "ARE EQUAL STANDARDS FOR MEN AND WOMEN OFFICERS MAINTAINED?" for *The Staff Review*. [emphasis as in original]²⁷⁶ She describes this as a burning issue for younger, thinking, women officers and mentions that many who answer this question negatively are on this side of the world, so presumably Australian and New Zealand officers.²⁷⁷ She notes inequality was not her experience when serving in The Salvation Army in Britain.²⁷⁸ Discriminatory practices that she highlights include: discrimination over salary and provision of Quarters; lack of equal opportunities for women with men of the same ability and experience, with men being given more prestigious appointments in large corps and women being sent to smaller corps; and when careers are written about in publications only a brief mention is made of the officer wife.²⁷⁹ I have found many examples of these discriminatory practices occurring in The Salvation Army in New Zealand and these will be discussed in a later section of this thesis.²⁸⁰ Unlike the authors of many articles in Salvation Army publications, Mary Macfarlane places no blame for this situation on women officers themselves. She writes

...in every Department of Army service women have shown skill and devotion, and according to opportunity have, in many cases, fitted themselves to take the first place, whereas they have often been given the third and fourth place. ...For whilst in every other walk of life woman is getting more freedom, and is given more responsibility, it seems to me The Army is increasingly suppressing her.²⁸¹

The editor of *The Staff Review* gave four other officers the opportunity to respond to what must have been seen as a controversial article. Three of these officers supported Macfarlane's views. Mrs Lieut.-Commissioner Povlson noted that the growing

²⁷⁶ Mary MacFarlane, "Are Equal Standards for Men and Women Officers Maintained?" *The Staff Review*, (1930): 339-344.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 339.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*: 339-344.

²⁸⁰ See pages 106-110 of this thesis.

²⁸¹ MacFarlane, "Are Equal Standards for Men and Women Officers Maintained?": 343.

inequality was being noticed by people outside the organisation.²⁸² Commissioner Johanna Van de Werken suggested that the reason that few women hold senior positions was that men are inclined to promote other men and also that Christian women are not inclined to fight for their place or push themselves to the front.²⁸³ Colonel Julius Neilsen however argued that women should not be given senior positions because they lack the strong voice and physical strength required.²⁸⁴

Two years later, Mrs General Higgins, suggested that women officers, by failing to take advantage of the opportunities presented to them, may be allowing their privileges to fall into other hands, and that it was possible for even the married woman warrior to take an active part in the work of the corps without neglecting her domestic duties.²⁸⁵ In London in May 1944, at an international Commissioners' Conference, Mrs General Carpenter gave an impassioned address to the senior leaders in the organisation.²⁸⁶ While noting the importance of motherhood she issued a spirited challenge to those attending, who represented all The Salvation Army territories saying

...a large proportion of women Officers have given themselves seriously to their responsibilities; some have come to feel that opinion outside The Salvation Army concerning women's powers has not only caught up with us, but has outstripped our vision and action. Some women Officers feel that in certain situations they do the work and the men get the credit. At any rate, they get the top jobs, presumably because they are married...The women contend that some men are incurably ungenerous towards them, that some will not allow a woman to fill a position of authority...that they regard her as an awkward quantity to be dropped overboard as occasion permits...I am informed that at least two-thirds of the Officers of The

²⁸² Povlsen's response to MacFarlane, "Are Equal Standards for Men and Women Officers Maintained?" *The Staff Review* (1930): 347-8.

²⁸³ Johanna Van de Werken's response to MacFarlane, "Are Equal Standards for Men and Women Officers Maintained?" *The Staff Review* (1930): 352.

²⁸⁴ Julius Nielsen's response to MacFarlane, "Are Equal Standards for Men and Women Officers Maintained?" *The Staff Review* (1930): 346-7.

²⁸⁵ Higgins, "Woman's Opportunity in The Army," *The Officers' Review* (1932), 1, no. 5: 385, 388.

²⁸⁶ Carpenter, Mrs General. "Women's Sphere of Influence in The Salvation Army," Speech notes from Mrs General Carpenter's address to the Commissioners' Conference, 1944. Manuscript held at The Salvation Army International Heritage Centre, London.

Salvation Army are women...I would ask the Members of this Council...to see that there is a suitable proportion of women in leadership.²⁸⁷

It is clear that the senior leadership of The Salvation Army was consistently made aware of the concerns of women officers and the problems that they were encountering in the organisation.

THE SITUATION IN NEW ZEALAND

My research suggests that the situation for women officers in New Zealand was similar to those of women officers in other territories with the opportunities for women officers in New Zealand to undertake equal roles and responsibilities steadily declining. The increasing conformity of The Salvation Army to the mores of other Churches and to New Zealand society, along with increasing conservatism within the organisation led to an increasing number of roles in the organisation being assigned not by merit but by gender. A very high proportion of officers in The Salvation Army in New Zealand were women.

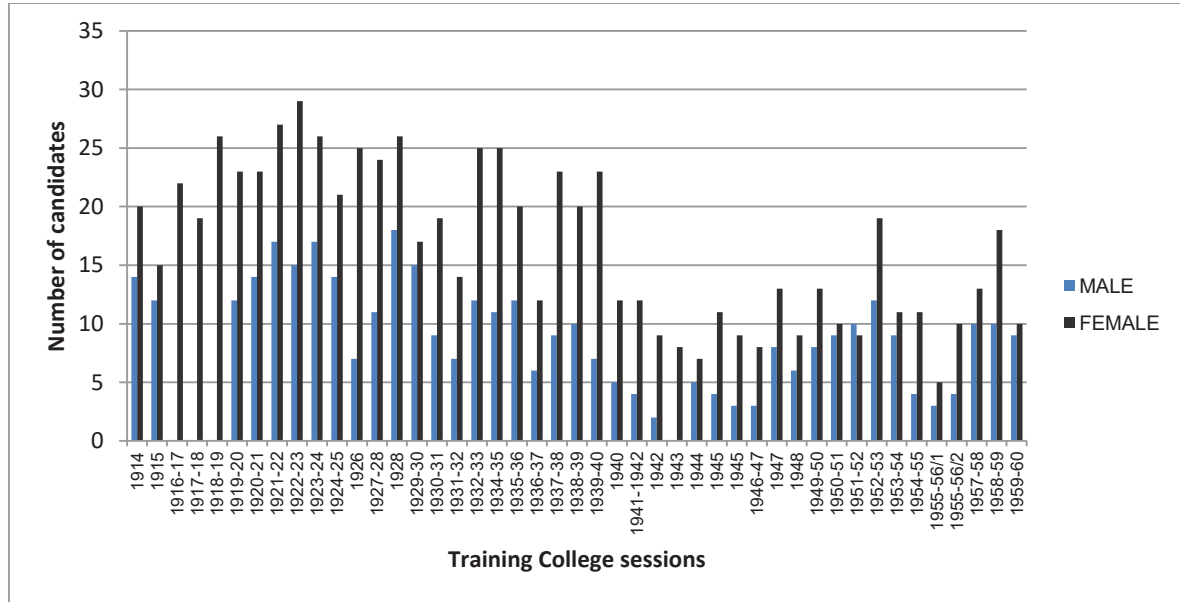


Table Two- Cadets entering Training College by gender.

As the above table illustrates, the majority of officer cadets in New Zealand were women, with 751 women from 1914 to 1960 and 377 men. This high ratio of female to

²⁸⁷ Carpenter, "Women's Sphere of Influence in The Salvation Army"

male officers plus the organisation's claim that "women have the right to an equal share with men in the great work" and that "a woman may hold any position of authority and power" should have resulted in a high number of women achieving significant leadership positions.²⁸⁸ In the period from 1920 to 1960, apart from the women who held the position of Women's Social Secretary, only two other women held senior leadership posts namely, Florence Birks as Training College Principal in 1940 and Edna Grice who became Divisional Commander of the Wellington Division in 1954. Occasionally a woman officer was appointed as D.Y.P.S., [the officer in charge of a Division's work with children and youth] and one officer, Alice Mackay, had in 1926, held a position as assistant to the Field Secretary with responsibility for women officers, but overall women officers are noticeably absent from senior positions. Women officers were also only rarely given appointments to large and prestigious corps.

After studying the career cards of 650 New Zealand officers, the following typical career patterns emerge. Most male officers began their career in field work with appointments to small corps. After they marry they are appointed to a position at a large corps, which were reserved primarily for married couples. Unmarried male officers are rare and even widowers remarry fairly quickly. The vast majority of men remained in field work for most of their careers and many eventually became staff officers, in greater or lesser roles depending on skills and abilities. Some male officers served on both the field and social side. A small minority were appointed to positions in men's social work for most of their career and an even smaller minority became missionaries. Most women officers started their careers with a field appointment and had a mix of appointments on both the field and social side for the first few years. Their field appointments were almost always to small corps. Within five years some had married officers, others had resigned to marry non-officer Salvationists or non-Salvationists. The majority of women officers were given appointments on the social side, where many served unobtrusively for their entire careers in support positions and domestic roles. A few went on to do further training as maternity nurses and depending on skills and abilities some held leadership positions in social institutions. Some officers had appointments on both the field and social side throughout their careers. A

²⁸⁸ *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers*, (London: Salvation Army International Headquarters, 1950), 50.

small number became missionaries and on returning from the mission field were often appointed to minor positions at Territorial Headquarters.

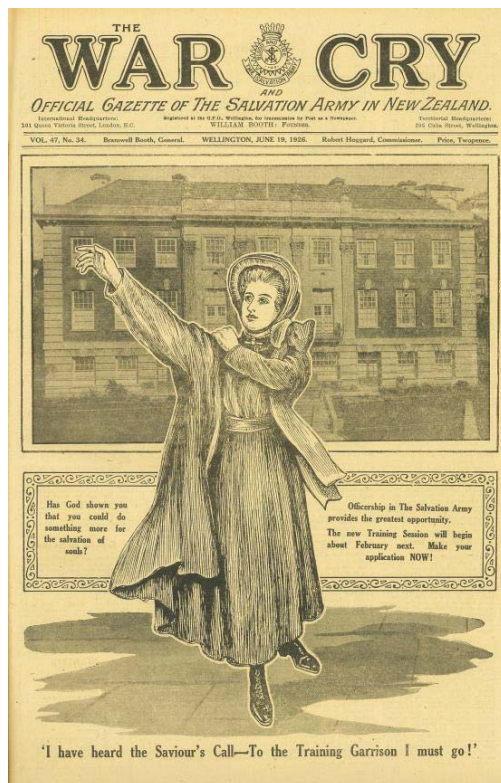
In this later period, much clearer distinctions between groups of women officers emerge. In the earlier period (1883-1920) not only were there fewer distinctions between the roles and responsibilities of male and female officers, but also fewer distinctions between married and single women officers. Married women officers, provided their family responsibilities allowed, had at least some opportunity to fulfil their duties as an officer. They can be found actively involved in evangelical work, occasionally taking over their husband's roles, travelling, preaching and conducting services alongside their husbands and on their own. By the 1930s the roles and responsibilities of married women officers and single women officers are very different. Single women are able, to some degree, to have similar careers to male officers, whereas married women officers have support roles to their husbands and become increasingly under-utilised and under employed. The problem of what role a married woman officer should have in the organisation was identified by the leadership but never effectively addressed.²⁸⁹ Cleary, for example, commenting on The Salvation Army in Australia, has concluded that "[m]arried women officers, schooled in the principles of equality, ordained equal in ministry, and commissioned equal in rank, were in practice denied equal access to their calling."²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ See footnote 25 on page 6 of this thesis for examples of contemporary articles that question the roles assigned to married women officers within the organisation.

²⁹⁰ John Cleary, *Salvo!: The Salvation Army in the 1990s*, (Double Bay, N.S.W.: Focus Books, 1993), 106. See also Dennis, "In Her Own Right," 46.

MARRIED WOMEN OFFICERS

The Call to Officership



The War Cry June 19, 1926

In the early years of the organisation in New Zealand the great majority of candidates for officer training were unmarried. During the period from 1914-1960 an increasing number of married couples entered the Training College in New Zealand. In the years from 1914 to 1944 only six married couples entered the Training College but in the period from 1945 to 1960 this dramatically increased to 33 married couples. Overall an increasingly high proportion of officers in New Zealand, particularly on the field side, were married couples. The Salvation Army is unique amongst Protestant denomination in its requirement that for married couples who serve as officers, both the husband and wife are to be called, trained and commissioned.²⁹¹ If they enter the Training College as a married couple both are trained and commissioned for ministry. If an officer marries after completion of training they are obligated to marry another officer. If the person they wish to marry is not a Salvation Army officer, or prepared to become one, they

²⁹¹ The Commission of Jean Staples is included as Appendix seven. All officers also signed a Covenant and the Covenant signed by Dean Goffin is also included in this appendix.

must abandon their officership. Laurence Hay in a forthright article on The Salvation Army's restrictive marriage regulations notes that there is anecdotal evidence within The Salvation Army that there were Salvation Army officers where only "one of the couple has a sense of vocation for officership."²⁹² He suggests that this gave a couple three options, the couple could part, one of them could deny their call, or the uncalled one could enter officership.²⁹³ *The War Cry* tackled this issue in 1930 in an article 'Is His Call Hers?' The article discussed what the reader should do if a Bandsman-friend has been called to officership with the writer advising young women not to consider the call of the Bandsman-friend her call, and noting that the Holy Spirit speaks to each individually.²⁹⁴ As the following quote by an anonymous writer suggests, most married women became Salvation Army officers because they felt called by God to that role, but this was not always the case. She wrote

I have known a few very charming women who entered the Training College engaged to be married to an Officer, and very anxious to assist 'him' with his work, but who acknowledge that they would have no desire to enter Training had they not met 'him'. ... most of us, however, came into the Work because we were called by God... To this number I write - and not as an Officer's wife (I have always disliked this term) but *as an Officer who is also a wife*. First of all, and before any other obligation or relationship, we are Officers, in answer to the intimate call of God. [emphasis as in original]²⁹⁵

This dilemma faced Dean and Marjorie Goffin in 1950 when Dean experienced his call to officership. He wrote

Supreme in importance was the necessity for complete unanimity of purpose between my wife and myself. She knew no Damascus road experience, but almost

²⁹² Hay, "Restrictive Marriage Regulations," : 27.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ "Is His "Call" Hers? : Some Good Advice on a Perplexing Problem, *The War Cry*, January 18, 1930, p. 2.

²⁹⁵ "Officers Who Are Also Wives," *The Officer s' Review* (1940): 359. This problem of her marriage covenant conflicting with a woman officer's covenant with The Salvation Army is still a problem for the organisation with Helen Cameron and Gillian Jackson discussing the issue in their chapter, "One Ministry, Separate Spheres" in *Women and Ordination in the Christian Churches*, published in 2008.

a Gethsemane... During subsequent days and weeks strength came to me from the loyalty and devotion of Marjorie whose call came, not as personal summons to preach the gospel, but to quietly support her husband in this supreme vocation.²⁹⁶

An interesting exception to the strict adherence by the organisation to their regulations on marriage occurred when the New Zealand officer and missionary doctor, Bram Cook, wished to marry Dorothy Money. Dorothy was a committed Christian but not a Salvationist. Cook spoke to General Higgins about his dilemma and the General cabled The Salvation Army in New Zealand "Accept Dorothy Money for the 1934 training session."²⁹⁷ The first time Dorothy wore The Salvation Army uniform was when she was farewelled from the Christchurch Corps to attend the Training College.²⁹⁸

It could be inferred that The Salvation Army took the call of married women seriously by the fact that when married couples with children attended the Training College they were not permitted to bring their children with them. The children were sent to live with relatives or were placed in a Salvation Army institution for the duration of their parents' time at the Training College.²⁹⁹ This practice appears to have been abolished or moderated to allow very young children to remain with their parents during the time that Lieut.-Colonel Bram Cook was Chief Secretary in the late 1950s. Those women who entered Training College as married women, or who married very shortly after completion of training often did not build up the degree of experience and levels of confidence of earlier officer wives. In earlier times officer wives had usually spent many years as field officers prior to their marriage whereas, in this later period, married women often did not establish themselves as independent officers, and spent virtually

²⁹⁶ Quoted in, Cyril R. Bradwell, *Symphony of Thanksgiving: The Life and Music of Commissioner Sir Dean Goffin*, (Wellington: The Salvation Army, 1994), 83-84. A similar experience to Marjorie Goffin's is described in the narrative of the life of Beatrice Dixon recounted in Ah Kow, *From Maoriland to Wattleland*, 39-43.

²⁹⁷ John C. Waite, *The White Gujarati: The story of A. Bramwell Cook*, (London: Salvationist Publishing and Supplies, 1973), 63. See also Cook, *White Gujaratis*, 91-93.

²⁹⁸ H. Bramwell Cook, *White Gujaratis: Lt-Commissioners Bramwell and Dorothy Cook*. (Christchurch: Privately published, 2007), 109-110.

²⁹⁹ See Bradwell, *Symphony of Thanksgiving*, 84, 89 for an example of this occurring when Marjorie and Dean Goffin attended the Training College in 1951.

their entire career acting as their husband's assistant and in secondary roles with little or no responsibility.

The officer wife

Having trained married women for officership what was The Salvation Army's expectation of the role that they would undertake? The requirements and expectations of an officer wife are clearly articulated in the *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers*, which are summarised in the Table below.³⁰⁰

<p>An officer wife</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. "...shares her husband's rank and privileges...she should possess the qualifications essential to successful officership...observe the regulations."2. Her husband should "give her due opportunity for the exercise of her gifts, avoid keeping her or allowing her to remain in the background."3. Her "sphere of service differs from that of other officers, and she may feel inclined, especially in certain circumstances (when closely occupied with young children, for example) to feel that her opportunities are comparatively restricted...[but] she can wield a powerful influence."<ol style="list-style-type: none">(a) "Upon [her] depends her husband's well-being and success...[she should] stimulate him to rise to the highest of which he is capable...guarding, supporting, assisting...[with] carefully prepared meals, economy in outlay of income, agreeing to his absence, sparing him anxiety over home and children."(b) "Influence...her children [to] follow in the same path of self-sacrifice and devotion."4. "Give as much time as possible (while giving all due attention to claims of husband, home, children and domestic affairs) to direct salvation service The nature of such service will depend largely upon her husband's appointment.<ol style="list-style-type: none">(a) An officer wife should usually assist her husband, often acting as his second-in-command.(b) Headquarters appointment-not his second in command 'officer-wife should serve to the best of her ability as a soldier-and if desired as a local officer-of the corps to which she belongs..."5."Exercise constant vigilance and care to<ol style="list-style-type: none">(a) Resist the tendency to settle down and slip into the background....(d)Be willing to occupy a back place if necessary, yet capable of holding a front-rank position(e)She should avoid discouragement should her opportunities be restricted and her gifts apparently unappreciated...(f)Avoid a grumbling, fretful spirit(g)Resist any tendency to worldliness in furnishings, dress of children, not gossip."6."The character and capabilities of a wife would be taken into account when husband assessed for promotion."
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Table Three- Abridged version of the duties of the field officer wife as outlined in the *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers*, 1960.

It is clear from these regulations that the married woman officer was, despite receiving the same training as other officers, seen primarily as a support person to her husband.

³⁰⁰ A full transcript of "Section 4-The Officer and his Wife," from the *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers* published in 1925, is included as Appendix eight.

From 1920 to 1960 the culture of, and roles and responsibilities within The Salvation Army in New Zealand became increasingly dominated by, and biased towards married officers. There was a deliberate policy of appointing married couples to the largest and most prestigious corps. Lieut.-Colonel Viola Blincoe confirms this policy in her memoirs noting that on being appointed to Sydenham Corps in 1932, she had received a letter from the Field Secretary reminding her “that the big Corps had been reserved for married couples and therefore it was up to me to make a place for single women.”³⁰¹

Each particular group of married women officers, whether as wives of field officers, social officers or staff officers, had their own unique set of challenges.

Married Women Field Officers

“God did not call your husband to speak for both of you. He called *you*, because he has a place for the ministry of women.” [emphasis as in original]³⁰²

“She realises that while she is an Officer as much as her husband, yet in public...her husband’s voice should be heard, and not hers.”³⁰³

The majority of married women officers in New Zealand spent a significant proportion of their officership as field officer wives and the dilemma they faced is articulated in the above quotes.³⁰⁴ In the period from 1920 to 1960 I have located over twenty articles in Salvation Army international publications for officers which discuss the roles, responsibilities, trials and tribulations of the field officer wife.³⁰⁵ Most mention the lessening of opportunities that occur when a single woman officer marries. This had begun to happen prior to World War One but becomes much more apparent in this period. This diminishing of responsibilities, roles and indeed public visibility is

³⁰¹ Viola Blincoe, “*A Life of Service*,” vol 1: 48

³⁰² “Officers Who Are Also Wives,” *The Officers’ Review* (1940): 360.

³⁰³ Graver, “The Ideal Officer’s Wife,” *The Officer* (1930): 48.

³⁰⁴ Figures from *The Disposition of the Forces* show that in 1926 there were 25 field officer wives, rising to 71 in 1940 and dropping to 58 by 1950.

³⁰⁵ Apart from the articles quoted in this section, see also, Higgins, “Concerning the Corps Officer’s Wife,” *The Officer* (1931): 177-182; Carpenter, “The Woman Behind the Shop: Thoughts for Officers’ Wives,” *The Officer* (1938): 531-534; Windybank, “Let Us Now Praise...A cordial tribute to corps officers’ wives,” *The Officer* (1931): 270-272; Rich, “Bouquet to the C.O.’s wife,” *The Officer* (1950): 293-294; “Wife and Officer,” *The Officer* (1960): 358 and Davey, “Our Women Field Officers: A Tribute and a Plea,” *The Officer* (1923): 489-492.

clearly shown in the careers of a large number of married women officers in New Zealand. For example, Maude Kilgour, who trained in 1927, had ten years of appointments, then married Arthur Boon in 1937 and from that point her career becomes subsumed into his. *The War Cry* report on their retirement function in 1972, noted that she conducted women's singing groups and gave good service on the piano but makes no mention of her early career as an officer.

Criticism of the practices of The Salvation Army is also a common theme. Typical is a letter in the correspondence section of *The Officer* in 1919 where an "Overseas-Officer-Wife" wrote

It has been the boast of The Salvation Army that women in its ranks are on equality with men. I do not think that this is wholly true, or at any rate not so much as it should be... There are more women than men in our ranks, and many of them possess brains, education, and godliness which qualify them to occupy responsible positions. The married women-Officers might receive a little more recognition than they do. At the last Congress not one married women was asked to speak or pray.³⁰⁶

She goes on to state that the D.C. [Divisional Commander] has sent Christmas greetings and gifts to her husband and to his Lieutenant, but did not acknowledge the Officer wife, and she complains of the

utter ignoring of a woman who did an equal part of the platform work, a fair share of the visitation, and all the clerical work [and states that she] does not think that an Officer's wife should be treated as though she was a sort of upper servant, and not capable of taking a place on the same plane as her husband.³⁰⁷

An examination of a collection of Congress programmes at the Heritage Centre & Archives for The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga, suggests that Overseas-Officer-Wife had a valid point. Apart from meetings specifically for women, women officers do seem to play a secondary role at these major public gatherings.

³⁰⁶ "Correspondence," *The Officer* (1919): 357.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid*: 358.

Some articles criticise officer husbands, with some of the women writers hinting that husbands could be to blame for their wife fading from public roles. For example, Mrs Adjutant Grinstead from the United Kingdom writes

every Corps Officer is called to the platform, [but] so many women lose their 'platform personality' soon after they enter the marriage relationship. Who is at fault? Sometimes it appears to be the husband, who does not give his wife the rightful opportunity of delivering her message.³⁰⁸

In "Officers Who Are Also Wives by One of Them" the writer notes that sometimes husbands prefer to keep the platform for themselves and relegate their wives to behind the scenes jobs.³⁰⁹ It is hard to find written evidence of New Zealand officer husbands who were less than encouraging of the public ministry of their wife, although anecdotal evidence suggests that this did happen. The great majority of articles have, to a greater or lesser extent, some criticism of officer wives, with discussion of, for example, the officer wife who "shrinks back instead of standing shoulder to shoulder with her husband as a true helpmeet."³¹⁰ In 1958, Mrs Brigadier Ernest Baxendale from the United States writes

In our marriage vows we promised that we would not allow our marriage to lessen our devotion to God...and yet how easy it is after marriage...to forget our obligations to God and the Army. Some women ...often hide behind home and family responsibilities and scarcely ever render any service to the Army.³¹¹

The withdrawal of women officers from public duties is mentioned so frequently that it does suggest that many of them did give up some of their opportunities to fulfil the responsibilities and duties of their calling, although it is very hard to determine whether it was a personal decision to do so, the husband officer's decision that they did so, or that officer wives were denied opportunities by the organisation. Without having

³⁰⁸ Grinstead, "A Woman-Officer's Influence," *The Officers' Review* (1932): 199

³⁰⁹ "Officers Who Are Also Wives," *The Officers' Review* (1940): 360

³¹⁰ Wellman, "Officer-Wives and Mothers in Council: The Claims of the Children and the Claims of the Corps," *The Officer* (1926): 189

³¹¹ Baxendale, "The Demands on a Wife," *The Officer* (1958): 377-78

access to personal officer files, which possibly would give some kind of performance appraisal of individual officers, it is impossible to ascertain if this criticism of officer wives was valid and how widespread it was.

As the following two quotations illustrate, there were significant difficulties involved in combining motherhood and officership, with women officers receiving plenty of advice on this subject.

During the early years of her married life Mrs Toomer was obliged to give much of her time to the training of her five children, but in later years she was able to take a more prominent part in meetings conducted by her husband.³¹²

God has entrusted our children to us as precious gifts, to be brought up on His fear and love and *trained for His service*, and should not this duty stand first when it comes to deciding between the claims of the Corps and our responsibility to God for developing the character and spiritual life of our children? [emphasis as in original]³¹³

Domestic happiness and childcare were seen as very much the responsibility of the officer wife. The advice given included using domestic help, but this became less common as time went on. The need for an officer wife to be extremely well organised was frequently stressed. By “economy of one’s time, economy of one’s strength [and] economy of one’s speech” women should be able to do justice to both the children and the corps.³¹⁴ There was little acknowledgement by the leadership in New Zealand of the personal cost to women field officers. Manson, in his biography of Ernest Elliot, writes “Too often the loneliness of women officers, cut off from their calling by their home base is overlooked.”³¹⁵ Included as Appendix nine is Captain Ernest Elliot’s suggested plan for the officers who were about to take up the appointment that the Elliots were vacating at

³¹² “Patient and Prayerful: Mrs Lieut.-Colonel Toomer Enters her Eternal Reward following a life of triumphant service,” *The War Cry*, October 28, 1950, p. 7.

³¹³ “Officer-Wives and Mothers in Council: The Claims of the Children and the Claims of the Corps,” *The Officer* (1926): 188.

³¹⁴ Beckett, “Officer-Wives and Mothers in Council: Economy of Kinds,” *The Officer* (1926): 95-97.

³¹⁵ Kenneth J. Manson, *He Walked With God and Man-A Biography of Commissioner Ernest Elliot, C.B.E.* (Wellington: The Salvation Army, 1997), 5-6.

Riverton in 1936. This reveals the heavy workload of officers and the conditions under which they worked. A workload such as this would preclude officer husbands from offering much assistance in the home. The reality for field officer wives in New Zealand was that they made do with ad-hoc childcare arrangements to enable them to undertake minimal duties as a Salvation Army officer with, for example, Bradwell writing that, the officer wife at Oxford in 1949 would frequently leave her child with his wife Nola in order to “get on with her visitation and other responsibilities.”³¹⁶

The duties that the field officer wife should be involved in are frequently the subject of discussion. One of the more illuminating descriptions of these duties is in a 1926 article, “How My Wife Has Helped Me” written by an officer husband whose wife; attends to the vast army of callers, visits the sick, engages in secretarial duties, keeps her home happy and bright, ensures the comfort of her husband and children, ensures cleanliness in the home and in her family’s appearance, makes and mends their clothing, takes less rest at night, and helps keep her husband’s spiritual experience high.³¹⁷ There are many examples of New Zealand officer wives who did meet these exacting standards. Gladys Bartlett, for example, is described as,

an active officer, devoted wife of an industrious husband, mother to not only five very alert children, but the 'mother' in the fullest and noblest sense to a host of young folk who were part of the Hamilton Corps in those days [whose] quarters were always spic and span, very like a Barnardo's Home with an ever open door. [She offered] generous warm hearted hospitality...a life of self-renouncing love...a 20th century Mother in Israel.³¹⁸

Similarly Clarice Smith is described as a mother of four children, who was well-organised, a good time manager who would work to the early hours, who was frugal and sewed her children’s clothes and in addition kept corps appointments going while her husband served as a chaplain in Korea for 20 months, was an active youth worker, and was also a fine public speaker who shared the platform ministry with her husband.³¹⁹

³¹⁶ Bradwell, *Touched With Splendour*, 103.

³¹⁷ “How My Wife Has Helped Me: A Husband’s Tribute to his Wife,” *The Officer* (1926): 424-426.

³¹⁸ Melvin Taylor, “Tribute Mrs Brigadier Gladys Bartlett,” *The War Cry*, October 25, 1986, p. 9.

³¹⁹ Barbara Sampson, *Women of Spirit*, 115-121.

Some married women field officers stepped into their husband's roles when their husbands served as military chaplains in World War Two. For example, Mrs Major Wilf Searle became the officer at Miramar and Mrs Adjutant Harry Goffin at Papakura Corps.³²⁰ Mrs Katherine Bicknell informed the Chief Secretary when her husband was sent overseas that she was interested in taking her own appointment, and she was appointed as officer in charge of the Florence Booth home in Wellington.³²¹

Staff Officer Wives

Any Staff Wife and Mother certainly has wide and legitimate scope for the outpouring of her love in the family circle, and it is not for a moment expected that we should take up so large amount of work outside as to cause neglect to our duties, temporal or spiritual, at home. Neither is it expected, on the other hand, that we should make it the sole purpose of our life to serve our family's interest. ***Given even a fair measure of strength and opportunity, we are not true to our first consecration if we live the ordinary life of the ordinary woman.*** [emphasis as in original]³²²

Staff officer wives are those women officers whose husbands held senior roles in the organisation, such as positions at Divisional Headquarters, the Training College, Territorial Headquarters or International Headquarters.³²³ As the above quotation indicates staff officer wives faced a major problem. Unlike the field officer wife, who could assist her husband in the corps, these wives found themselves with no official role, responsibility or appointment and this often caused much unhappiness for these women. Some of the most senior staff wives in the organisation wrote extensively on this issue so at the highest level The Salvation Army must have been aware that a large

³²⁰ "Notes By the Chief Secretary," *The War Cry*, May 18, 1940, p. 9.

³²¹ "Official Chaplain to the Troops: Adj. Bicknell Goes Overseas," *The War Cry*, January 20, 1940, p. 10 and "God Was Her First Priority," *The War Cry*, July 27, 1991, p. 8.

³²² Shaw, "Staff Wives and That 'Settling Down' Spirit," *The Staff Review* (1929): 419.

³²³ The Salvation Army's definition of which ranks qualified as staff ranks changed over time. From 1881 any rank of Staff-Captain and above was described as staff rank but this was progressively raised. By 1947 this rank had risen to officers with the rank of Brigadier and above. See Hill, "Officership in The Salvation Army," Appendix three for a chart showing the ranks of The Salvation Army from 1878-2003.

group of women officers were underemployed. Mrs General Higgins, for example wrote, in 1941

Responding to the Divine Call, we became Officers; and powers were developed within which enabled us to lead Soldiers, manage crowds, and finance Corps. ...we married, in many cases we stood by our husband on the Field and shared with him the brunt of the battle... The Army of today [has] a great number of 'Headquarters Wives,' whose husbands' appointments do not provide them with official work to do. It is true that they have their home to look after, and their children to train... But when it comes to personal responsibility for some specific work for God in The Army, no law is laid down, no definite claim is made upon their time...In the years that have gone it may be we held a front-rank place, and led and controlled others; people looked up to us, obeyed us, and in lost things we had the privilege and responsibility of the last word...Now everything has changed...we are no more the centre of attention...To those of us who from the beginning, in obedience to a clear and definite call, took up our cross to follow the Master in becoming Officers...the experience I have described carries with it a real trial! ³²⁴

From 1920 to 1960 there were a large number of officers involved in administrative positions in The Salvation Army in New Zealand. Aitken's research shows that during this period some 40 to 50 Salvation Army officers were essentially bureaucrats.³²⁵ This resulted not only in their removal from the field work but also in the removal of their wives from active service. Staff officers were usually mid to late career officers who were highly experienced and skilled, and the duties they undertook were often specialised, and unable to be performed by their wives. The last Territorial Commander's wife to deputize for her husband in New Zealand, was Mrs Commissioner Hay when her husband attended the High Council in England in 1929 and one wonders if this was because Commissioner Hay's leadership style looked back to a period when women officers played a greater public leadership roles and more frequently deputised

³²⁴ Higgins, "Opportunities and Responsibilities of Wives of Headquarters Officers," *The Officer* (1931): 265-266.

³²⁵ Aitken, "Aspects of the History of The Salvation Army in New Zealand, 1929-1962", 129.

for their husbands, even in senior positions.³²⁶ By 1919 there were 100 staff officer wives out of a total of 472 officers, by 1926, 110 out of a total of 573, and in 1931, 47 staff officers' wives of whom 16 were retired officers. In the 1930s *The Disposition of the Forces* stopped including a statistical summary chart categorizing officers by rank and clearly identifying the number of staff officer wives. In 1936, I have calculated that, there were 28 officer wives whose husbands held appointments at Territorial Headquarters, Divisional Headquarters or at the Training College and this remained at a similar level through to 1960. From the end of World War One to the early 1930s, approximately one fifth of commissioned married women officers may have been under-utilised. Earlier in their service as officers these women had worked with their husbands in corps and social appointments, often balancing their duties with the care of young children, then just as their children were becoming less dependent, the husband officer would receive an appointment to a position at Headquarters (either Divisional or Territorial) with no official role given to his wife.

Senior leadership gave guidance on what the staff officer wife should do, but acknowledged that the work suggested did not come with the same degree of responsibility or status of the work they may have done as single officer women or even as field officer wives. Mrs General Higgins described it as work of "the plain delving sort, without much earthly distinction," with tasks such as Corps Cadets Guardians, Home League Treasurers, or just being ordinary Salvationist soldiers, even suggesting "they be leaders in humility."³²⁷ She went as far as to suggest that staff officer wives look to women in "church and chapel" where "no place is too small for them to fill" and where some work in the Sunday School, others visit the sick and others are engaged in Mothers' Meetings.³²⁸ This seems a long way from Catherine Booth's original vision for women officers in The Salvation Army. The roles of these staff officer wives came to more closely resemble that of clergy wives. These women officers are often described in *The War Cry* as supporting or accompanying their husbands, travelling with them,

³²⁶ [Photograph and caption], *Evening Post*, November 20, 1928, 11, 13. *The War Cry* issues of January and February 1929 have several articles on the activities of Mrs Commissioner Hay, which include accounts of her opening a Citadel and conducting large public events.

³²⁷ Higgins, "Opportunities and Responsibilities of Wives of Headquarters Officers," 267-270

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

and sometimes taking a small part in their husband's activities, with tasks such as leading a song, opening in prayer, giving their testimony and only very occasionally preaching or leading an event. When they lead meetings or events or had significant roles these are almost always Home League events or separate events for women.

The Salvation Army gave women officers the same rank as their husbands, even though they did not necessarily have his responsibilities. They derived their status from their relationship with him and so it is possible that they could be motivated to lend their support to maintaining the status quo because their marriage to a senior leader gave them status and influence without much responsibility.³²⁹ The anonymous author of an article in *The Officer* in 1916 compared some Salvation Army officer wives to the wife of a Mandarin, noting

We wear the insignia of our husbands' position, and take place and privilege which these ranks admit to, and I have been asking myself how far we deserve this. ... Should we wear the marks of Officership if in practice and more particularly in spirit, we are not Salvation Army Officers?³³⁰

Staff officer wives were expected to be involved in the life of the corps that they attended, but secondary to the corps officer wife, who was usually their junior in age and experience. The duties and roles these staff officer wives undertook were often little different to those undertaken by non-commissioned Salvationist women. For example, it is noted in *The War Cry* that Mrs Brigadier Hilda Caporn (née Hedges) whose husband was Territorial Auditor

has rendered valuable service, mostly behind the scenes. For a few years she collected ...in the interest of the Self-Denial Appeal and latterly rendered valued

³²⁹ Some scholars have suggested that women often have an investment in their subordinate status and respond to the competitive and often hostile environment of the workplace by returning to the familiarity of the domestic realm. See for example, Clare Walsh, *Gender and Discourse: Language and Power in politics, the Church and Organisations* (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), 20. See also Maggie Kirkman and Norma Grieve, "Women, Power and Ordination: A Psychological Interpretation of Objections to the Ordination of Women in the Priesthood," *Women's Studies International Forum* 7, no. 4 (1984): 491. For a contemporary perspective on the issue of the deployment of wives of senior leaders in The Salvation Army see, Strickland, "The Married Women's Ghetto Rant."

³³⁰ "Continual Comrades in This War': Some Life Leaves Turned by an Officer's Wife XVIII-Our Position as Officers: A Chapter for Married Sisters Only," *The Officer* (1916): 419.

aid at the Girls' Home Owen Street. In the Wellington South Corps she did active work in the Y.P. [Young People's] Corps, and also served as Home League Treasurer for a period.³³¹

Another staff officer wife, Mrs Brigadier Eva Hawkins is described as giving "patient, untiring support...as a hospital visitor, Home League worker and willing servant of all."³³² In 1959 *The War Cry* ran a series of articles entitled "Home, Sweet Home" written by women officers about the homes they had lived in.³³³ Each article was accompanied by a small biography of the woman officer. The biography of Mrs Lieut.-Colonel Elsie Coxhead notes that she is the wife of the Financial Secretary and her "superior taste in decoration is exemplified in a number of Army properties" [and her] behind-the-scenes service is her leadership of the prayer circle for the wives of officers at THQ [Territorial Headquarters].³³⁴ Likewise the biography of Mrs Lieut.-Colonel Constance Riseley, notes that she, "had plenty of experience in home-making" and for ten years served as Divisional Home League Secretary in Palmerston North, Christchurch and Wellington.³³⁵

Wives of senior staff officers at Territorial and Divisional Headquarters were often given a position of responsibility in the Home League.³³⁶ These roles did not involve the same degree of responsibility as those held by their husbands. The senior Home League leadership positions appear to be allocated as a matter of course almost always to the wife of the Territorial Commander and the wife of the Chief Secretary. There is no indication that these roles were allocated on ability or merit or even that the woman appointed necessarily had a particular interest in women's ministry, although some such as Mrs Commissioner Evan Smith clearly did, with Lieut.-Colonel Viola Blincoe writing in her memoirs that Mrs Evan Smith was a great fighter for women officers.³³⁷

³³¹ "Territorial Auditor Completes a Worthy Record," *The War Cry*, January 29, 1949, p. 5.

³³² "Served With Cheerfulness," *The War Cry*, February 5, 1949, p. 7.

³³³ See *The War Cry* for March to May 1959.

³³⁴ "Home Sweet Home," *The War Cry*, March 14, 1959, p. 6.

³³⁵ "Home Sweet Home," *The War Cry*, April 4, 1959, p. 6.

³³⁶ For example, in 1957, Divisional Home League Secretaries were Mrs Janie Searle whose husband was Property Secretary and Mrs Brigadier Ann Elliot, Mrs Brigadier Lord, Mrs F. Searle and Mrs Senior-Major Lindsay, whose husbands were all Divisional Commanders. *The War Cry*, May 25, 1957, p. 9.

³³⁷ Viola Blincoe, *A Life of Service*, vol. 1 : 71.

Some staff officer wives in New Zealand took advantage of opportunities for service not only within the organisation but outside it. Janie Searle, who in addition to her work for The Salvation Army where in 1959 she held the position of Territorial Home League Secretary, also undertook extensive work for the National Council of Women serving as National President of that organisation and subsequently being elected to the Board of the International Council of Women as a vice-president.³³⁸

There is much anecdotal evidence that the lack of official roles for staff officer wives caused New Zealand women officers much distress as they saw their opportunities for service in The Salvation Army severely limited by their husband's promotion to Divisional or Territorial Headquarters. While identifying that the lack of suitable roles for staff officer wives was a problem, the organisation expected the women officers themselves to find ways to cope with their diminished opportunities. There appears to have been no attempts made in New Zealand or internationally to make the regulatory and procedural changes necessary to allow these trained and experienced women to fulfil their commission as officers in The Salvation Army and to be true to their calling to be ministers of religion.

Married Women Social Officers

This is the smallest category of officer wives.³³⁹ The Salvation Army expected that these women would be involved in assisting their husbands to run the social institution that they were appointed to. Domestic duties in the institution were a significant part of being a social officer wife and they were unlikely to be involved in public preaching with their ministry being one of practical service. Their lives were physically strenuous and their duties largely invisible to the wider Salvation Army world. They were often given the role of matron at the social institution where their husband was the officer in charge. For example, Edith Scotney assisted her husband as Matron of the Island Bay Boys' Home and the Eltham Boys' Home for seven and half years when her husband was in charge of these institutions. When her husband transferred to staff positions she lost this role and in the later part of her officership she is described as directing the Young

³³⁸ Page, *The National Council of Women*, 109.

³³⁹ Figures in *The Disposition of the Forces* show 25 social officer wives in 1926, 27 in 1940 and 11 in 1950.

Women's Bible Class and helping with the Y.P. [Young People's] demonstration at Wellington South Corps.³⁴⁰ Mrs Kath Bevan, the wife of Adjutant Nelson Bevan who was appointed Manager of Mercy Jenkins in 1943, reminiscing about her time there wrote

I had a six month old baby when I was appointed Matron in 1943. They were hectic times. There was lots to learn and the work load was heavy. There was the endless task of washing shirts, jerseys, trousers, socks. Mending went on late into the evening. The problem was not helped by lack of finance and changing staff.³⁴¹

SINGLE WOMEN OFFICERS

Single women social officers

The great majority of single women officers are found in the social side of the work of The Salvation Army.³⁴² Women's social services provided not only support for women and girls in all sorts of need but also a pool of jobs in which female officers found meaningful service.³⁴³ The field side was dominated by married couples, but on the social side a single woman officer was able to carve out a career for herself, which could involve not only service to others and to The Salvation Army, but also professional development in, for example nursing, and also have the chance to attain leadership positions in the organisation's social institutions. Many New Zealand women officers trained as maternity nurses with some Salvation Army maternity hospitals operating as training institutions.³⁴⁴ Later in the period officers began to undertake professional training in social work with Thelma Smith chosen to be the first Salvation Army officer to study for a Social Work Diploma at Victoria University.³⁴⁵ It was common for women

³⁴⁰ "Farewelled From Active Service," *The War Cry*, January 13, 1940, p. 9.

³⁴¹ A. L. (Scotty) McGrath and Howard Wilson, *The "Inside" Story: The Mercy Jenkins Salvation Army Boys' Home. Eltham 28th December 1909-26th January 1954.* (self-published, 1993), 79.

³⁴² Figures from *The Disposition of the Forces* show that there were 63 women social officers in 1919, rising to 104 in 1940 and dropping to 70 in 1950.

³⁴³ Cleary, *Salvo!*, 105

³⁴⁴ "Queried by Quiz: Captain Berry Gives a Few Facts about the Wellington Bethany Hospital," *The War Cry*, November, 11, 1940, p. 10.

³⁴⁵ Sampson, *Women of Spirit*, 109.

officers to spend a few years in field work then move to the social side. The career of Adjutant Brown, Matron of Wellington Women's Rescue Home is typical. After officer training she spent three years doing field work, then was appointed to the Christchurch Rescue Home, and after qualifying as a maternity nurse, to Maternity Homes in Dunedin, Gisborne and Napier, before her appointment to the Wellington Rescue Home. An article in *The War Cry* in 1930, which takes the form of an interview with two Wellington Samaritan Workers gives an idea of the workload of these officers. In the preceding month, they had distributed 1,400 garments, supplied 283 families with food and conducted 244 interviews dealing with unemployment, destitution and unhappy home life. Their work included attending court for women prisoners, visiting 90 homes, buying foodstuffs and blankets and visiting the public hospital and old folks' homes with Ensign Smith noting "[t]ruly only the truest, finest religion can meet the constant demands made upon time and patience."³⁴⁶ The work and character of these women social officers is exemplified in the life of Anne Forsyth who was "greatly loved and valued in her various appointments because of her pleasant personality, her efficiency and her spiritual maturity."³⁴⁷ She declined proposals of marriage and became the first matron of the Cecilia Whatman Home where "[t]he staff and the many children under her care became her "family" and she their friend and wise counsellor [and where] her enjoyment of life, her sense of humour, and quick wit endeared her to all and what happy sounds of fun and laughter echoed in that place."³⁴⁸

Work in social institutions was demanding and difficult as the following quote from a letter from Florence Birks welcoming Hazel Allison to the Women's Social Service illustrates.

...you will, no doubt, find a difficulty in adjusting yourself to the new conditions...After the independence of the comparative liberty of the Field or Staff Officer you will, no doubt, alternate in sympathy between Andromeda and Ulysses...I have been through this period of transition, so I speak from experience when I say that in coming into an institution you will at first wish to break the four

³⁴⁶ "Ministering to the Needy: The Splendid Work Being done by the Army's Samaritan Workers in Wellington," *The War Cry*, September 20, 1930, p. 2

³⁴⁷ Elsie Adams, "'The Woman I most Admire'," *The War Cry*, June 2, 1984, p.11.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

walls...Thus if in your sphere you feel crushed and crowded, remember the caged canary and sing on...With reference to salary you will find a difference here also. In Social Work the officer receives a "Living-In" Allowance.³⁴⁹

There were a high number of resignations from single women social officers. The Salvation Army's regulations on marriage and the scarcity of male officers in the organisation in New Zealand meant that many left to marry. Many women officers on the social side found the work arduous. If they were qualified maternity nurses then there were professional opportunities available to them outside the organisation.³⁵⁰ They had little opportunity for public preaching and due to their work commitments in social institutions often little opportunity to participate in wider Salvation Army activities.

Single women staff officers

Often single women officers served in secretarial and administrative positions at Divisional or Territorial Headquarters. These were usually women who had secretarial skills when they became officers or older single women at the end of their careers. Women's Side Officer at the Training College was an important position for single women officers, which involved supervision of women cadets and some teaching at the College.

Single women field officers

The vast majority of women officers spent time as field officers in the early years of their careers with the majority then moving on to social appointments. As single women officers advanced in their career there were fewer positions available for them, with the major corps appointments usually reserved for married officers. Women field officers were always sent out in pairs, with one officer more senior than the other. There are many instances of close professional relationships between single women officers who served together for long periods of their career.

³⁴⁹ Letter to Hazel Allison from Florence Birks, Women's Social Secretary, dated May 25, 1935 and held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre and Archives.

³⁵⁰ See page 120 of this thesis.

One of the most high-profile single woman officers of this period was Lieut.-Colonel Viola Blincoe, who entered the Training College in 1920 and retired in 1960. She served as a field officer, staff officer and social officer, in positions which included Women's Side Officer at the Training College, Women's Social Secretary and Trade Secretary, where she was the first woman to hold the position. Her two volumes of reminiscences provide the most detailed, descriptive, forthright and comprehensive account of the life of a woman Salvation Army officer of this period. These memoirs also include an account of the work she undertook outside The Salvation Army for Prisoners' Aid and Rehabilitation Society, the National Council of Women and the National Council of Churches.³⁵¹ While Viola Blincoe's career shows that a single woman officer could achieve high profile positions in The Salvation Army in New Zealand, her reminiscences also reveal, the hard work, difficulties and disappointments she experienced during her time as an officer.

MEN IN THE SALVATION ARMY IN NEW ZEALAND

Gender relationships in New Zealand were impacted by a post war sense of obligation towards the men who had fought in two World Wars. It was considered right and proper that the best employment opportunities should be given to them.³⁵² Research undertaken by Geoffrey Troughton suggests that during this period there was considerable concern by church leaders about men deserting the church.³⁵³ As mentioned earlier, it was the practice of The Salvation Army in New Zealand that positions at large corps and most leadership positions, were given to married male officers.³⁵⁴ Whereas, in the very early years of the movement, involvement in The Salvation Army in New Zealand could be damaging to a man's reputation amongst his

³⁵¹ Viola Blincoe, *A Life of Service: The Memories of Lt. Col V.E. Blincoe (R) M.B.E.* 2 vols. See also, Sampson, *Women of Spirit*, 65-76 and Margaret Tennant, *Through the Prison Gate: 125 years of Prisoners' Aid and Rehabilitation* (Wellington: New Zealand Prisoners' Aid and Rehabilitation Society, 2002), 44-49.

³⁵² Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 188 and May, *Minding Children, Managing Men*, 52

³⁵³ Geoffrey Troughton, *New Zealand Jesus: Social and Religious Transformations of an Image, 1890-1940*, (Bern: Lang, 2011), 24. See also Geoffrey M. Troughton "Jesus and the Ideal of the Manly Man in New Zealand after World War One," *Journal of Religious History* 30, no. 1. (2006): 45-60.

³⁵⁴ See page 90 of this thesis.

non-Salvationist peer group, involvement in The Salvation Army in these later years, could give a man status and prestige that he may not have achieved in a career outside the organisation. The issue of men leaving The Salvation Army was addressed by involving its male membership not only in positions of authority as local officers but also by encouraging their participation in brass bands. The period from World War Two through to the 1970s was the heyday of brass bands in The Salvation Army in New Zealand. Virtually every corps in the country, both large and small, could muster a group of bandsmen, often of varying abilities. Women were excluded from all but the smallest bands. As Cleary notes “the band became a place for men’s business; women were denied membership.”³⁵⁵ The dominance of the corps band could cause a problem for women officers with an assumption that women officers would not necessarily give a prominent place to band activities. Viola Blincoe wrote that when she and Eva Svendsen were appointed to Lower Hutt Corps in 1937 the band went on strike for a year.³⁵⁶ At a meeting of the band to discuss the issue, she told them, “Gentlemen you have forgotten one thing, you are Salvationists first and bandsmen second.”³⁵⁷

CONCLUSION

By the mid-point of their careers, married male officers who served The Salvation Army in New Zealand were in leadership positions, either in large corps, at Divisional or Territorial Headquarters or as managers of a social institution. Married women officers were in support positions to their husbands, either in corps or social institutions. Where they had an appointment or a role to undertake it often involved work with women and children. Single female officers were usually appointed to smaller corps, with only some occasionally being appointed to leadership positions at large corps. Many were appointed to support positions at Divisional or Territorial Headquarters, but the vast majority were appointed to the social side of the organisation’s work where a few of them rose to leadership positions in social institutions.

³⁵⁵ Cleary, *Salvo!*, 105

³⁵⁶ Blincoe, *A Life of Service*, 62-63

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

SECTION TWO

PART TWO

BELIEFS, ATTITUDES, AND PRACTICES WHICH IMPACTED ON NEW ZEALAND WOMEN OFFICERS, 1920-1960

DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES TOWARDS WOMEN OFFICERS

In the years after 1920, The Salvation Army was still distinctive amongst the religious community in New Zealand for the opportunities it offered to women. While The Salvation Army may not have completely upheld its position statement on women, it still offered women far more opportunities than were available in other denominations and indeed in many professions. Most Salvationist women would not have considered that The Salvation Army discriminated against them. They considered that they were doing the Lord's work, and this was far more important to them than, for example, the amount of allowance they received. That said there were discriminatory practices in evidence in the organisation.

Single women officers received a smaller allowance to their male colleagues. An application form for the Training College in 1922 contains the following section:

ALLOWANCES.- From the day of arrival at his Corps, each Officer is entitled to draw, in addition to house rent, the following allowances, providing the amount remains in hand after meeting all local expenses, namely:-For Single Men: Lieutenants, 26s. weekly, and Captains, 29s weekly; for Single Women: Lieutenants, 20s. weekly, and Captains,, 23s.weekly; Married Men, 43s. per week.³⁵⁸

The rate of allowance paid when officers married was also clearly a source of concern to some women. Mrs Brigadier Phyllis Daley, who married in 1943, said in an oral history interview

When we got married B [her husband] was getting 19/6 a week and when we married we got 22/6 a week...I was worth nothing and I got chucked in for

³⁵⁸ Form of Application for Appointment as Officer in The Salvation Army dated 1922.

nothing...I was that extra little bit. I always said that he got 22/6 and a wife chucked in for nothing...It was very hard but we had to cope on it...there was nothing else.³⁵⁹

Comments in the letter between Florence Birks and Hazel Allison imply that there was a difference in the allowance received by officers working on the social side, the majority of whom were women.³⁶⁰

There were also differences in the provision of accommodation between married and single officers and between officers who served on the field side and those who served on the social side. Officers who served on the field side, both male and female had accommodation provided but single women officers were expected to find their own accommodation. Cook, in the biography of his father, writes

It was the practice at the time to provide married couples with quarters, but not single officers. Unattached lasses were expected to find their own accommodation, and for this they were given an allowance that was sufficient for no more than room boarding, and not a flat. Bram remembered Major Christina Henderson with her bag, weeping on the steps of the Training College. She had searched over Wellington and found nowhere to stay.³⁶¹

Cook's father, who was Chief Secretary, solved the problem by having several flats built in Wellington for officer accommodation and introducing a policy in New Zealand of providing accommodation for single women officers in New Zealand.³⁶² Viola Blincoe, when she was appointed Women's Social Secretary in 1941, was disturbed at the standard of accommodation offered to single women officers in the Army's social institutions, writing that

³⁵⁹ Transcript of an oral history interview between Helen May and Mrs Brigadier Phyllis Daley held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives. Brigadier and Mrs Daley served as social officers for 32 years.

³⁶⁰ See pages 102-103 of this thesis.

³⁶¹ Cook, *White Gujaratis*, 187

³⁶² *Ibid.*

In many instances officers were still having to share bedrooms. For these delightful women officers there was not one corner on earth they could call their own. ...If officers on the Field could have a whole house surely social officers were entitled to one room.³⁶³

There is also evidence of poor provision of retirement accommodation for single women officers, with Blincoe noting that she “was very concerned that no provision had been made for our faithful women who had given many years of sacrificial service.”³⁶⁴

Evidence also suggests that widowed male officers may have received a higher allowance than widowed female officers.³⁶⁵ Promotion in rank was also denied to women officers with Bradwell noting Commissioner J. Evan Smith’s “persistent but unsuccessful efforts to persuade IHQ [International Headquarters] to allow him to promote to the rank of Brigadier some of the fine women officers in charge of...children’s homes and maternity hospitals.”³⁶⁶

Women officers in the organisation in New Zealand were denied opportunities for career advancement with, as has been stated earlier, the organisation having a policy of, with a few exceptions, appointing married couples to large corps. This meant that the single woman officer was appointed to smaller, often isolated, rural corps, away from Divisional Headquarters, where they were largely invisible and unable to gain the necessary experience to take senior leadership positions in the organisation. This denial of opportunity is also highlighted in the fewer opportunities given to single woman officers to undertake public speaking at large events. There is evidence to suggest that women officers, particularly married women officers, were often denied opportunities to undertake the rituals of the church. A search of the *New Zealand Gazette* for 1955 reveals that no married woman officers were listed as marriage

³⁶³ Blincoe, *A Life of Service*, vol. 1, p. 73.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

³⁶⁵ See, “Officers’ Retirement Scheme: A Summary of its Provisions as to Age and Allowances,” *The Officer*, 1919: 415-417. This article refers to the Officer’s Retirement Scheme that The Salvation Army operated internationally. I am unable to determine whether or not these provisions applied to New Zealand officers but it seems likely.

³⁶⁶ Bradwell, *Touched With Splendour*, 82.

celebrants for The Salvation Army.³⁶⁷ Some single woman officers are listed, including single woman officers serving on the social side, but in the case of married officer couples, only the male officer is registered as a marriage celebrant. Reports of funerals, dedications of children and enrolments of soldiers in *The War Cry* show that, with only few exceptions, it is the male officer who carried out these ceremonies. In *The Disposition of the Forces* throughout virtually all the period that this thesis covers, the names of married women officers are not listed. The entry for a married couple in this document is shown as for example, Senior Captain Alfred Harford x 3.³⁶⁸ The letter x is to indicate that the officer had a wife and the number indicates the number of children. In articles, published in *The War Cry* or in other Salvation Army publications, describing the career of an officer couple, such as, for example, a retirement announcement, it is interesting to note that most of the article focuses on the work of the officer husband. This is illustrated in an article published in *The Officer* in 1931, which is part of a series of short biographical articles about Salvation Army officers throughout the world, which features Ensign Allan Montgomery and notes that he

...has now seen eleven years' service, and has had charge of some of New Zealand's leading Corps" [that he is] a strenuous worker [and] enthusiastic in all he undertakes. He believes in looking after his people, and visiting them regularly [and] ...as an organizer [he] manifests ability [and] is successful in financing his Corps.³⁶⁹

In one sentence at the end of the article, it is noted that, the "Ensign has a splendid helper in Mrs Montgomery, on whose devotion, ability and tact he can, and does, always depend."³⁷⁰

Single women officers were not always welcomed by the corps to which they were appointed. In her memoirs Viola Blincoe writes that when she was appointed to Lower Hutt she "concluded that for a second time I had been appointed to a corps where

³⁶⁷ *The New Zealand Gazette*, January 27, 1955: 75-76.

³⁶⁸ This example is taken from *The Disposition of the Forces* for 1959

³⁶⁹ [Untitled], *The Officer*, (1931): 476

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

women officers were not wanted.”³⁷¹ Bradwell confirms this attitude, writing that “it was not an easy task for young Adjutant [Edna] Grice” to take charge of the Linwood Corps in 1938, in what he describes as a “male dominated decade.”³⁷² In his history of the Christchurch Corps, Cook also notes “Adjutant Eva Radcliffe and Captain Janet Brunton...as female officers were not always appreciated by the younger bandsmen, who at first made life difficult for them.”³⁷³

It is apparent that women officers in The Salvation Army in New Zealand experienced discriminatory practices, and could be hindered in their careers by the discriminatory beliefs that were held by some male Salvationists. Beliefs and attitudes which worked against equality for women officers were also embedded in the procedures, practices and regulations of the organisation.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MOTHERHOOD

Motherhood and domesticity reign supreme in New Zealand society in the period from 1920-1960. As Dorothy Page notes, “Truby King’s Plunket ruled and women’s domestic role was elevated at the expense of any public role.”³⁷⁴ Just as in wider New Zealand society and in the Western world more generally, the importance of motherhood was stressed in The Salvation Army world. In 1944 Mrs General Carpenter stated,

Home and mother are the foundations of the nation. ...A godly, happy, efficient mother and homemaker is the highest expression of womanhood. Only when her first calling is well performed, should a mother turn her eyes and hands to other demands.³⁷⁵

³⁷¹ Blincoe, *A Life of Service*, vol. 1, 62,

³⁷² Bradwell, *Touched With Splendour*, 250.

³⁷³ Cook, *Think on These Things*, 71.

³⁷⁴ Page, *The National Council of Women*, 38. For a general overview on the increasing emphasis placed on the importance of motherhood in New Zealand society in the years following World War One, see also Kedgley, *Mum’s the Word*; Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women* and Helen May, *Minding Children, Managing Men: Conflict and Compromise in the Lives of Postwar Pakeha Women*, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992).

³⁷⁵ Mrs General Carpenter’s speech notes for her address to the International Commissioners’ Conference held in London, in 1944.

The years between 1920 and 1970 represent the zenith of the Home League in New Zealand. In 1940 there were 104 branches with 3290 members.³⁷⁶ The women's pages of *The War Cry* were full of domestic hints for housewives. A typical example is "The Realm of Home: For our women readers," published in January 1930, which included, "Home-a magic word, To be a wife and mother is a great career for a woman," plus making a rope mat, those troublesome stains, a recipe for cabbage and fried eggs, and how to make candy peel.³⁷⁷ An article from 1950 suggests that for Salvationist women it "may well be in your home that your most lasting work for God and The Army will be done."³⁷⁸ A women's rally at Wellington Citadel in 1944, led by Mrs Commissioner Astbury, the national Home League President, is discussed in a *War Cry* article under the heading, "HOME: The focal point of a woman's life."³⁷⁹

The sermons of Samuel Logan Brengle, a widely published Salvation Army preacher from the United States, clearly articulate attitudes towards motherhood within the organisation. Firstly, a Salvationist mother was responsible for training the next generation of Christian workers.³⁸⁰ Secondly, Brengle notes that mothers are "a sacrificial host, the great givers and sufferers of the race" and that "the glory of motherhood is the glory of self forgetful unselfishness."³⁸¹ These two emphases, the importance of raising the next generation of Salvationists and the association of motherhood with self-sacrifice and denial of self were to be problematic for many married women officers. For many of them, self-denial would often mean a denial of their call to officership and relinquishing their public ministry to focus on the needs of their husband and children. The married woman officer's role as a wife and mother was considered to be at least as important, if not more important than her duties as a

³⁷⁶ "Queried by Quiz: Mrs Lieut-Commissioner Smith Chats about the Home League," *The War Cry*, August 24, 1940, p.10.

³⁷⁷ "The Realm of Home: For our Women Readers," *The War Cry*, January 4, 1930, p. 2.

³⁷⁸ "She Had to Miss the Meetings-But Prayer Brought Victory and Peace," *The War Cry*, February 11, 1950, p. 8.

³⁷⁹ "HOME: The Focal Point of a Woman's Life," *The War Cry*, May 14, 1949, p.4.

³⁸⁰ Samuel Logan Brengle, "Holiness and Self-denial," www.sermonindex.net. This responsibility for the officer wife, in particular, to train the next generation is also highlighted in the *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers*. See Appendix eight.

³⁸¹ Samuel Logan Brengle, "Our Mothers," www.sermonindex.net.

commissioned officer. The tasks and duties of the officer wife increasingly resembled those of other Christian women and indeed most New Zealand women. The glorification of, and importance attached to, the role of motherhood and the increasing focus on domesticity and home life which reaches a peak in New Zealand in the 1950s, was reflected in The Salvation Army. Once proud of standing apart from other denominations and challenging gender mores in society, the organisation increasingly conformed to the surrounding culture, which saw married women as stay-at-home mothers and husbands as the family breadwinner. In theory, married women officers were commissioned officers with an equal right to all positions in the organisation, but in reality, there were increasingly assigned to support roles to their husbands and roles which focused on caring for children (either their own, those in institutions, or those who attended the corps) and doing domestic duties within their homes or in Salvation Army institutions.

SELF-SACRIFICE AND SELF-DENIAL

Whether married or single, women officers were judged on the degree of self-sacrifice and self-denial they exhibited. The Salvation Army's emphasis on sacrificial service continued through these decades with all its officers expected to put the needs of others and the needs of the organisation ahead of their own. Service, sacrifice and caring for others continued to be identified with women officers with most obituaries of women officers referring to their self-sacrificing, self-denying and supportive attitudes. That of Mrs May Bladin is typical, with its comment that "her life was one of sacrifice cheerfully made."³⁸² The front cover of *The War Cry* for June 6, 1925 asks "Has God Called You To A Life Of Service For Humanity?" and the illustration depicts women officers in caring roles, teaching orphans and helping the fallen, whereas male officers are depicted soul winning, preaching the gospel, rescuing the drunkard and visiting prisons.³⁸³ Single women officers, in particular, were praised for their self-sacrificing service.³⁸⁴ The obituary of May Dickinson, a Samaritan and Probation Officer from

³⁸² "Made Sacrifices Cheerfully: Mrs Commissioner Bladin Promoted to Glory after Valiant Service," *The War Cry*, March 11, 1950, p. 6

³⁸³ "Has God Called You To A Life Of Service For Humanity?," *The War Cry*, June 6, 1925, p. 1

³⁸⁴ See for example, Davey, "Our Women Field Officers: A Tribute and a Plea," *The Officer* (1923): 492

Dunedin, states that “no demand upon her was regarded as incurring to much trouble, even though for some years her health was far from satisfactory.”³⁸⁵

Married women officers and their families also made considerable sacrifices and these are often highlighted in memoirs and biographies, particularly those written by officer’s children. In *Memoirs of an O.K.* [Officer’s Kid] Joyce Allot-Davis writes that her father, Jabez Allot, “had to finance a corps and his own salary to feed his family” with lots of time spent visiting, collecting door to door and selling *The War Cry* and she recalls hearing of times when there was nothing left in the house to eat.³⁸⁶ She recounts how she became aware of her mother’s [Daisy Allot née Brooks] dedication to serving after realising that the reason for her lateness one day was because she had been cutting the toenails of a very old man who lived alone.”³⁸⁷

Borrowdale suggests that a “service ethic which emphasises refusal to complain, and accepts personal cost as suffering for Christ’s sake, leaves unjust working conditions unchallenged.”³⁸⁸ This was the case with The Salvation Army in New Zealand with evidence in personal reminiscences of officers and their families of discontent with working conditions in the organisation but little evidence to show that these conditions were challenged. Rather there was an acceptance that a life of sacrifice, self-denial and service was part of working for the organisation. Just one example of this in New Zealand was the acceptance of the requirement for an officer to meet all the expenses of the corps before drawing his/her allowance. Much anecdotal evidence suggests that this often resulted in officers and their families going without, or being reliant on the charity of others. This requirement, however, continued to be in place in New Zealand until the 1960s.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁵ “Major May Dickinson Goes Home,” *The War Cry*, January 12, 1946, p. 9

³⁸⁶ Allot, *Memoirs of an O.K.*, 2.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

³⁸⁸ Borrowdale, *A Woman’s Work*, 52

³⁸⁹ Harold Hill, “Sacrifice in Reasonable Service,” *Journal of Aggressive Christianity*, 54 (2008); 6

WOMEN'S ROLE AS MORAL GUARDIANS

“The mother must be ever turning her children’s eyes to the things that are eternal. She must claim her children and all their gifts for God and The Army.”³⁹⁰

“God has given to women the inestimable honour and responsibility of bearing, cradling and training the peoples of the world. What the mothers are, the nations will be.”³⁹¹

Salvationist women’s role as moral guardians was exhibited in two ways. Firstly, in their role as mothers they were seen as being responsible for guiding the behaviour of their own children. They were expected to have a key role in the conversion of their children and were expected to train them to be the next generation of Salvationists.³⁹² More so than in the earlier period, the Salvationist woman was now expected to be heavily involved in working with children and young people, in for example, Junior Soldier Brigades, Corps Cadet Brigades and Red Shield Scouts and Guides. These groups had the aim of conversion, increasing Christian knowledge, and guiding the morals of the next generation. The morals of the next generation had become an increasing concern for New Zealanders.³⁹³

Secondly, many Salvation Army women officers were engaged to some degree in professional roles dealing with members of society who had offended against the moral code of the time. Roles for women Salvation Army officers working in this area become much more professional in this later period, with woman officers such as Annie Gordon, receiving community recognition for their work. In 1920 Annie Gordon was appointed to be the first Women’s Probation Officer in Auckland, and in the fourteen years she held this role, officially dealt with over 400 women and girls and counselled many more.³⁹⁴ When she retired in 1935 a civic farewell was held for her and in 1945 The

³⁹⁰ Carpenter, “Guardians of Women’s Opportunities,” *The Officer* (1919): 244

³⁹¹ Minnie Carpenter, “Be Faithful in All Things,” *The War Cry*, March 2, 1940, p. 2.

³⁹² See for example, “A Salvationist Mother’s Advice: Mrs Lt.-Col. Burton Speaks to a War Cry Interviewer About the Training of Children,” *The War Cry*, May 9, 1931, p. 4

³⁹³ In 1954 this concern led to the *Report of the Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents*, produced by the Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents and commonly known as the Mazengarb Report. (Wellington: Govt. Print, 1954).

³⁹⁴ Sampson, *Women of Spirit*, 37

Salvation Army awarded her the Order of the Founder, the highest possible distinction for a Salvationist.³⁹⁵ Her obituary in *The War Cry* in 1951 calls her “a friend to fallen women.”³⁹⁶

LANGUAGE AS A REFLECTION OF BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

Language “encodes the culture’s values and preoccupations and transmits these...to each new generation.”³⁹⁷ It also reveals “a great deal about unspoken assumptions in a given cultural context.”³⁹⁸ The Salvation Army’s beliefs about women and self-sacrifice, the importance of motherhood and the innate special qualities of women, are reflected in the language used to describe women in the organisation. The Salvation Army’s beliefs about men are also reflected in the language used to describe their activities. Language is not neutral and words and phrases have meanings which reflect the values and commitments of a particular group.³⁹⁹ The language used in obituaries published in *The War Cry* is particularly revealing about the beliefs that The Salvation Army had about gender characteristics, with the organisation’s gender ideologies manifested in the way both men and women are written about. Penelope Eckert has suggested that while

men can justify and define their status on the basis of their accomplishments, possessions, or institutional rules, women must justify and define themselves on the basis of their overall character and the kinds of relations they can maintain with others...Men do things, women be things. Women are expected to be a particular kind of person-to perfect not their skills or their actions, but their *selves*.” [emphasis as in original]⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁵ Sampson, *Women of Spirit*, 38.

³⁹⁶ “A Friend to Fallen Women,” *The War Cry*, June 16, 1951, p. 7.

³⁹⁷ Deborah Cameron, ed., *The Feminist Critique of Language: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 1990), 12.

³⁹⁸ Isherwood & McEwen, *Introducing Feminist Theology*, 18

³⁹⁹ Elaine Storkey, *What’s Right With Feminism* (London: SPCK, 1985), 49

⁴⁰⁰ Penelope Eckert, “The Good Woman,” in *Language and Woman’s Place*, ed. Robin Lakoff (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 167

Eckert's position is illustrated in the language used by the organisation to describe Salvation Army officers, with women officers being judged according to a set of criteria based on service, self-sacrifice and relationships with others, and described as caring, serving and nurturing others, whereas male officers are defined largely by the positions that they held in the organisation with little emphasis on their personal characteristics. The obituary of Ellen Smith, for example, notes that she was "highly respected for her devoted service [and] the desire to serve was evident to the end."⁴⁰¹ Major Merle Kennerley "lived for others" and undertook "selfless service".⁴⁰² Mrs Brigadier Watkin was "a gracious woman whose life was lived for others."⁴⁰³ The obituary of Brigadier Leonard Tong is typical of a male Salvation Army officer, noting his 52 years as an officer, 43 of which were on active service where he served as a corps officer for 29 years.⁴⁰⁴ He is described as a "clear holiness teacher and a band enthusiast."⁴⁰⁵ Talbot has argued that gender stereotyping linked with gender ideology reproduces gender differences and by doing so sustains hegemonic male dominance and female subordination.⁴⁰⁶ Salvation Army discourse over this period overwhelmingly describes male officers in their professional leadership roles and women as the organisation's carers. This gender stereotyping must have impacted on women officer's views of themselves, on their career aspirations and also on their willingness to challenge men for leadership positions.

LEADERSHIP AND POWER

Monica Furlong in her book on women and power in the church suggests that "even for women in occupations where the obstacles appear to have been cleared...conditions and prejudices are still considerable handicaps."⁴⁰⁷ This section of the thesis, examines

⁴⁰¹ "Wide Influence in Life of Service," *The War Cry*, September 19, 1970, p. 2.

⁴⁰² "She Served Country Women," *The War Cry*, October 3, 1970, p. 2.

⁴⁰³ "Comrades Promoted to Glory," *The War Cry*, August 8, 1971, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁴ "He Shed a Wide Influence," *The War Cry*, August 12, 1967, p. 9.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Mary Talbot, "Gender Stereotypes: Reproduction and Challenge" in *Handbook of Language and Gender*, eds. Janet Holmes & Miriam Meyerhoff (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 472

⁴⁰⁷ Monica Furlong, *A Dangerous Delight: Women and Power in the Church*, (London: SPCK, 1991), 6

the conditions, structures, ideas and beliefs which The Salvation Army held about power and leadership in order to determine how these ideas impacted on the men and women who served the organisation in New Zealand and why it was that even in an organisation where obstacles for women appear to have been eliminated they remained underrepresented in positions of leadership and power.

When The Salvation Army came to New Zealand it was characterised by a focus on evangelistic outreach and its leaders seem to have adopted a flexible approach which enabled them to respond to events and circumstances in wider New Zealand society. Over time there is an increasing emphasis on establishing a corporate structure and on establishing administrative processes for the organisation. For example, when Adams arrived as the new Territorial Commander in 1934, his first task was to overhaul the organisation's financial and administration systems.⁴⁰⁸ When the primary goal of the organisation was the salvation of souls, all Salvationists had a role to play, but with increasing professionalisation there was a greater differentiation between officers, and also between officers and soldiers, within the organisation. This professionalisation tended to favour male officers. For some single women officers involved in work on the social side this was also a time of an increased focus on achieving and using their professional qualifications, primarily in the area of maternity care.

Women officers in The Salvation Army worldwide were not reticent in reminding senior leaders that they were not getting leadership roles. Mrs General Carpenter in her 1944 address to the Commissioner's Conference pleaded "may I again press our leaders to give definite consideration to a suitable proportion of women Officers in leadership."⁴⁰⁹ In New Zealand, however, the senior leadership of The Salvation Army remained overwhelmingly male and this continued to be the case until well after 1960.

⁴⁰⁸ Waite, *Dear Mr. Booth*, 80-81

⁴⁰⁹ Mrs General Carpenter's speech notes for an address to an International Commissioners' Conference held in London in May 1944. These notes are held at The Salvation Army International Heritage Centre, London.



The War Cry, September 25, 1937

Lakoff has suggested that “men tend to relegate to women things that are not of concern to them, and do not involve their egos.”⁴¹⁰ In The Salvation Army in New Zealand, with very few exceptions, the only senior positions held by women were Women’s Social Secretary and National President or National Secretary of the Home League, positions where they supervised and led other women, and where they were largely only visible in a leadership role, to other women. Only a few exceptional women occasionally attain other leadership positions in the organisation. Male senior officer’s roles centre on organisation, administration and public leadership where they are highly visible both in the Christian community and in the wider public sphere. As well as ideas and beliefs about gender roles that existed within the organisation, ideas about the roles, attributes and characteristics of men and women that were prevalent in New Zealand society, such as an emphasis on domesticity and the importance of the stay-at-home mother and the male as breadwinner, came to be accepted by The Salvation Army and embedded in the way the organisation operated.

⁴¹⁰ Lakoff, *Language and Women’s Place*, 43



The War Cry March 7, 1959: March 14, 1959: April 18, 1959

Leadership styles and power relationships in The Salvation Army can be described as male centred, authoritarian, hierarchical and paternalistic.⁴¹¹ Authoritarian leadership is characterised by an intolerance of dissent, rejection of dialogue and debate, dictatorial control and unquestioning obedience.⁴¹² Authoritarian institutions require a variety of forms of obedience, an attitude of willingness to obey a superior, loyalty to the institution, with the institution being seen as more important than the self, and conformity to the institution in matters such as dress and personal life.⁴¹³ The Salvation Army was governed and administered by numerous rules and regulations, both for its officers and soldiers. Officers could be dismissed or demoted for breaches of these rules and regulations and some New Zealand officers were. Officers were sent to their appointments, they had no choice in where they were deployed and objections that they

⁴¹¹ For a description of these leadership styles see David Collinson and Jeff Hearn, "Naming Men as Men: Implications for Work, Organization and Management" in *The Masculinities Reader* eds. Stephen M. Whitehead & Frank J. Barrett (Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2001):156-161

⁴¹² Ibid: 156-57

⁴¹³ Marilyn French, *Beyond Power: On Women, Men, and Morals* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1985), 309-311

made to an appointment were almost always overruled. Henry Goffin, for example, is recorded as protesting at being appointed aide-de-camp to Commissioner Hoggard, firstly because he was uncomfortable with the restrictions and protocol of this position, and secondly because it would mean his wife Kate's abilities as an outstanding public preacher would not be used, as with Henry's appointment to this position she would become a staff wife with no official role.⁴¹⁴ Goffin was told "[t]his is the General's appointment so there is nothing more to be said."⁴¹⁵ Salvation Army women in New Zealand, by and large, accommodated and accepted their situation but there are examples of women officers who did not. Annabelle Baird, who after serving for thirteen years as Matron of The Salvation Army's Bethany Hospital in Auckland, was transferred in January 1948 to The Salvation Army's Dunedin Maternity Hospital. Subsequently she resigned from The Salvation Army, and in 1950 records show she was matron of a private maternity hospital back in Auckland.⁴¹⁶ Viola Blincoe records that during her time as Women's Social Secretary the Matron of The Salvation Army's maternity hospital in Napier also resigned to start her own maternity hospital.⁴¹⁷

The Salvation Army was extremely hierarchical and military terms reinforced the maleness of the organisation. Military language, which is usually associated with masculine activities, dominate the culture of the organisation, not only in the military titles it gave its officers but also in its hymns and in its symbols of banners, flags, drums, bands and fighting soldiers. John Coutts, a former British officer, has written that in the organisation "the temptations of status, rank and place-seeking are not unknown" and that "the Army is ruled by a self-perpetuating oligarchy."⁴¹⁸ Margo Dennis, an Australian Salvation Army officer suggests that the "organisation's military model of command promotes among officers a consciousness of rank and position."⁴¹⁹ When masculine

⁴¹⁴ Cyril R. Bradwell, *Symphony of Thanksgiving: The Life and Music of Commissioner Sir Dean Goffin*, (Wellington: The Salvation Army, 1994), 18, 21-22

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ "Won City's Esteem: Major A. Baird Farewelled from Auckland," *The War Cry*, January 24, 1948, p. 10 and for information on the maternity unit which Baird was involved with see, <https://sites.google.com/site/nzmaternityhomes/home/auckland-region/central-isthmus>.

⁴¹⁷ Blincoe, *A Life of Service*, vol. 1, 73

⁴¹⁸ John Coutts, *The Salvationists*, 29, 26

⁴¹⁹ Dennis, "In Her Own Right" 89

styles of autocratic and non-participative masculine styles of leadership dominate then women leaders tend to be devalued.⁴²⁰

Leadership in The Salvation Army was paternalistic. Paternalistic leadership is characterised by: an emphasis on the protective nature of authority with the idea of rule by a wise, authoritative, benevolent father; an emphasis on the importance of personal trust relations; the need for employees to invest voluntarily in their work task and to identify with the company.⁴²¹ Paternalistic leaders often justify this style of leadership on the grounds that they have their subordinates best interests at heart.⁴²² William Booth saw himself as a father figure in the organisation.⁴²³ There is anecdotal evidence to suggest that Territorial Commanders and Chief Secretaries in New Zealand also saw themselves as having a paternalistic role, especially in the care and protection of women officers. Several incidents recounted in the biography of Lieut.- Commissioner Bram Cook could be said to illustrate this style of leadership.⁴²⁴ In a paternalistic organisation powerful men foster the careers of younger male colleagues and also of women who conform to conventional notions of female identity.⁴²⁵ Commissioner Joanna Van de Werken recognised the tendency for Salvation Army leaders to promote other men noting that fewer and fewer women were occupying positions of influence in The Salvation Army and suggesting the “chief explanation is that the desire to rule is innate in *man*, and he is involuntarily inclined to assign the first place to man, the second to woman.” [emphasis as in original]⁴²⁶

⁴²⁰ Alice H. Eagly, Mona G. Makhijani and Bruce G. Klonsky, “Gender and the Evaluation of Leaders: A Meta-analysis,” *Psychological Bulletin* 111, no. 1 (1992): 18 (3-22): 18.

⁴²¹ Collinson and Hearn, “Naming Men as Men,” 157

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 158

⁴²³ In the preface which William Booth wrote to Hulda Friederichs’ *The Romance of The Salvation Army* Booth admits that his initial form of government of the organisation was purely paternal.

⁴²⁴ See for example, Cook, *White Gujaratis*, 187-188

⁴²⁵ Collinson and Hearn, “Naming Men as Men,” 158

⁴²⁶ Johanna Van de Werken’s response to MacFarlane, “Are Equal Standards for Men and Women Officers Maintained?”: 352

Despite the numerical supremacy of women officers in New Zealand, the organisation was gendered masculine, with masculine leadership styles, masculine patterns of behaviour and masculine terminology. Men occupied most leadership positions in New Zealand and women's subordinate status became institutionalised by appointing them predominately to positions on the social side, appointing them to smaller corps, treating field officer wives as subordinate to their husbands, and offering senior women single officers less prestigious staff officer appointments. Male officers were the dominant group in The Salvation Army in New Zealand and monopolised those functions to which the organisation attached most value, namely the public evangelical roles. There was a clear emphasis throughout the organisation, and indeed from the women themselves, on the importance of the feminine values of caring and selflessness, even though this thinking led to them being given subordinate roles in the organisation. Penny Jamieson, the first Anglican woman bishop in New Zealand, has suggested that women are more at ease with the idea of service and servant leadership, seeing it as a way of making the power they hold acceptable to men, and that honouring the serving role of women "is now generally seen as an ill-disguised but effective way of keeping them in their place."⁴²⁷ If column inches in *The War Cry* are used as a guide to who has honour, prestige and public recognition in the organisation then the male officer stationed at a large corps, or the male staff officer who was a Divisional Commander had a higher profile in the organisation, than the Matron of a Salvation Army Maternity Home.

The feminist theologian Elaine Storkey has written that the Church is "happiest with women who are supportive and domestic, women who are uncritical and non-threatening, docile, feminine, good followers, hospitable and passive. Most churches are embarrassed with women who feel called to leadership, women who are perceptive and analytical" and in churches and in much Christian literature

...women are presented in certain fixed and stereotypical terms. They are divided into the good and the bad. The good are those who know their place, the ones who

⁴²⁷ Penny Jamieson, *Living at the Edge: Sacrament and Solidarity in Leadership*. (London: Mowbray, 1997), 141.

accept leadership and male decisions without question. The bad ones are the feminists.⁴²⁸

The Salvation Army was happiest with those women officers who complied with the practices of the organisation. A major incident occurred in 1936 when a senior woman officer, Florence Birks, who at the time was serving as Women's Social Secretary, dared to criticise the senior leadership in New Zealand. In November 1936 she wrote to the Chief Secretary who had recently arrived in New Zealand.

I would remind you that if the leaders expect to receive loyalty from the subordinates, then they must show themselves worthy of it; the day of the divine right of Kings is over. If I who know the country and understand the conditions, if I who know my team, and should be in the best position to understand women and their work will not be listened to...then the door is closed, as far as I am concerned, in regard to ever trying to present the position, or represent the case for the women which I as their immediate leader, should be in the best position to judge, at any rate until you have been in the country sufficiently long enough to familiarise yourself with them.⁴²⁹

Margaret Hay has described Florence Birks as "New Zealand's outstanding woman officer of the twentieth century, both intellectually, and as an orator and spiritual leader," but her criticism of The Salvation Army's leadership in New Zealand nearly cost her, her career.⁴³⁰ Florence Birks wrote to General Evangeline Booth expressing her concerns regarding the leadership of The Salvation Army in New Zealand. Unfortunately, no copy of this letter remains.⁴³¹ As a result of this letter a court of

⁴²⁸ Storkey, *What's Right With Feminism*, 48, 119.

⁴²⁹ Letter from Florence Birks to The Chief Secretary dated November 11, 1936 held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives.

⁴³⁰ In 2014 Margaret Hay presented a lecture at Booth College of Mission entitled, "Holy Leadership?: A Historical Case Study of Brigadier Florence Birks." This is available online at <https://bcmnz.wordpress.com/2014/07/01/bcm-thought-matters-seminar-video-27-march-2014/> Hay's assessment of Florence Birks is confirmed by Agatha Battersby in an obituary on Birks in *The Veteran* in 1961 in which Battersby writes "hers was a master mind, clear in judgement and accurate in its findings."

⁴³¹ The International Headquarters of The Salvation Army in London were destroyed during a bombing raid in May 1941 and many records were lost.

inquiry conducted by Commissioner Langdon from International Headquarters was held in December 1936. According to Hay, Florence Birks was critical of the state of The Salvation Army's institutions in New Zealand, officer appointments, domination by English leadership, her own allowances and accommodation at the Training Garrison and she also accused the Territorial Commander of nepotism, however, the central issue for Birks was equality for women officers.⁴³² Hay considers that the problem for the senior leaders in New Zealand was that Florence Birks as Women's Social Secretary was "leading like a man."⁴³³ As a result of this inquiry Florence Birks and her fellow officer Ellen Smith were sent to Australia. In 1940 a new Territorial Commander, Commissioner Evan Smith, was appointed to New Zealand and shortly after an announcement was made in *The War Cry* that Florence Birks was to return to New Zealand as the Principal of the Training College with Ellen Smith as Women's Side Officer.⁴³⁴ Florence Birks would be the first woman officer to hold the role of Training Principal.⁴³⁵ Viola Blincoe writes that the new General had instructed the new Territorial Commander that Smith and Birks were to have appointments of equal status to those they had occupied before they left for Australia.⁴³⁶ *The War Cry* article describing their welcome meeting states that the Commissioner

...extended a warm welcome to the two Majors, speaking of the splendid service they had rendered in the past and of the high esteem in which they are held. On behalf of the General he assured them that their Leaders in the Army had complete confidence in them and thought they were eminently suitable for the responsible positions to which they had been appointed.⁴³⁷

⁴³² Margaret Hay, *Holy Leadership?: A Historical Case Study of Brigadier Florence Birks*, <https://bcmnz.wordpress.com/2014/07/01/bcm-thought-matters-seminar-video-27-march-2014/>

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ "Important Changes," *The War Cry*, May 5, 1940, p. 8.

⁴³⁵ In 1991 Margaret Hay became the second woman Training Principal.

⁴³⁶ Blincoe, *A Life of Service*, vol. 1, p. 70

⁴³⁷ "Welcome to Esteemed Officers," *The War Cry*, June 22, 1940, p. 7.

This incident highlights the difficulties faced by women officers during this period and is another illustration of the problems that occurred when officers who were unfamiliar with the New Zealand situation were appointed to senior leadership roles.

Power in an organisation is most likely to be achieved by those who undertake extraordinary activities which are visible and noticed by others and relevant to the goals of the organisation, and also those who have informal social networks and acceptance by their peers.⁴³⁸ It is the high flyers in an organisation who get the honours and privileges.⁴³⁹ The high flyers in The Salvation Army in New Zealand were predominately male officers who held leadership positions and represented the organisation in the public domain. It does need to be acknowledged that the high flyers in almost all aspects of New Zealand society, politics, business, and church, prior to 1960 were men, but the difference between The Salvation Army and these other institutions was that they did not profess to offer equal roles to women. It was the male officers who carried out extraordinary and highly visible activities in large corps, in evangelistic outreach, in music and as missionaries. Their visibility increased their status and power within the organisation.⁴⁴⁰ Women officers in the organisation remain largely invisible in their welfare work on the social side. In an article in *The War Cry* marking the retirement of two women social officers, Brown and Heal, Senior-Major Albert Chandler remarked “[t]oo many know too little of the work such women are doing in the Women’s Social Department.”⁴⁴¹ Many officers, both male and female, laboured industriously behind the scenes for their entire careers. For example *The War Cry* of January 1949 describes Hawkins and Caporn as “prominent officers who served behind the scenes” with long years of toil for Hawkins both in the field and social, and for Caporn at Headquarters as Territorial Auditor and also noted that their rewards are shared by Mrs Hawkins and Mrs Caporn, who have laboured with their husbands in

⁴³⁸ Rosemary Moss Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 176-189

⁴³⁹ Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, *Sex, Gender and the Social Order* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 235

⁴⁴⁰ The careers of Bram Cook and Dean Goffin could be seen to illustrate this. Bram Cook, a prominent medical missionary, became Chief Secretary in New Zealand and later Territorial Commander of Eastern Australia despite having very little experience as a field officer. Dean Goffin, very early in his career, became National Bandmaster for The Salvation Army in Britain and from there moved to senior leadership positions in New Zealand and then Territorial Commander of New Zealand in 1980.

⁴⁴¹ “Two Worthy Workers Retire,” *The War Cry*, December 16, 1950, p. 4.

sacrificial endeavour.⁴⁴² Kanter's suggestion that informal social networks and peer group acceptance determine who has access to power is also very apparent in The Salvation Army in New Zealand. Male officers socialised together, worked together, and sometimes played music together and thus had many opportunities to build up informal alliances which could enhance their careers. Single women officers on the other hand were often isolated in social institutions, doing physically demanding jobs which left them fewer opportunities to socialise with other Salvationists and build up these informal networks. Within an organisation some individuals who are identified as high performing are usually fast-tracked. In The Salvation Army this could mean being selected to attend the International College for Officers in London.⁴⁴³ Those officers who were selected to attend undertook seven months of intensive study and it was the intention that these officers would be the organisation's future leaders. In the period under consideration, male officers, such as Ernest Elliot, attended but no married women officers were selected to attend.⁴⁴⁴

Gender bias in an organisation can operate at many levels, through social practices, processes, activities and interactions. In their research on women and leadership, Stead and Elliott have identified organisational procedures and practices which led to the marginalisation of women.⁴⁴⁵ These include: an implicit understanding of leadership as male, with women being filtered into roles that have less standing, and which are deemed as more appropriate to what are viewed as feminine characteristics; a lack of access for women to professional networks; the domination of masculine organisation processes and leadership styles; a tacit acceptance that men's careers will have priority over those of women and a denial of opportunities to women to gain the necessary experience to assume leadership positions.⁴⁴⁶ These organisational procedures and

⁴⁴² "Laboured All Along the Way," *The War Cry*, January 1, 1949, p. 7.

⁴⁴³ This institution, which became known as the International College for Officers in 1954, existed under various names from 1909. In earlier years the courses were of shorter duration.

⁴⁴⁴ It was the norm for the officer's wife to remain in New Zealand while her husband was in London. As far as I am aware the first married woman officer from New Zealand to attend the International College for was Barbara Sampson in 1988.

⁴⁴⁵ Valerie Stead and Carole Elliott, *Women's Leadership* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 9, 98-112.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

practices are all illustrated in *The Salvation Army in New Zealand*. Regulations, procedures and practices were built on the implicit understanding of leadership as male. This understanding of leadership as male is consistently portrayed in Salvation Army publications.⁴⁴⁷ The married male officer was seen as the ideal Salvation Army worker in New Zealand, and he was rewarded with high status appointments. He had the added bonus of a wife who could take care of domestic life and also act as his assistant. Women were seen as unnatural inhabitants of senior roles in the organisation with it being noted in *The War Cry* and even sometimes in the secular press as exceptional when a woman officer achieved a significant leadership position.⁴⁴⁸ The Salvation Army regarded women as having natural abilities as carers and nurturers and this led to single women officers being appointed to positions on the social side which had less status in the organisation than positions on the field side. Masculine norms of behaviour dominate in The Salvation Army's regulations and leadership styles. Women officers did not have the same access to senior leaders, with even those who served at Divisional and Territorial Headquarters positions, being clustered by and large, in secretarial and support roles, not in decision making roles. Male officers were responsible for decision making and for determining the appointments offered to officers. Women in the organisation were held to be primarily responsible for family and domestic duties, with it being accepted that the male officer's career would have priority. This is openly stated in the organisation's rules and regulations and clearly illustrated in the career narratives of New Zealand Salvation Army officers. Women officers were not given the range of appointments that they needed in order to gain the necessary experience to undertake senior roles. For example, it was hard for single women field officers to get experience in large corps, and they would have needed this

⁴⁴⁷ See for example an article by Newall, "My Ideal Staff Officer," *The Officer* (1930), 249-250 in which the writer notes that his ideal staff officer "will have Enterprise, Foresight and Vision, is a good Business Man, A capable Public Speaker, he is an Enthusiast." There is no suggestion that the ideal leader could be a woman staff officer.

⁴⁴⁸ See for example, [Photograph and caption], *Evening Post*, November 20, 1928, on Mrs Commissioner Hay taking charge of The Salvation Army in New Zealand during her husband's absence and "Making N.Z. History": Sen-Major Edna Grice, First Woman Officer to be Appointed as Divisional Commander in Dominion," *The War Cry*, January 23, 1954 and "History-Making Night," *The War Cry*, February 13, 1954, p.6.

experience to gain a promotion to Divisional Commander. The first woman officer to be appointed as a Divisional Commander was Edna Grice in 1954.⁴⁴⁹

It was not the case that all men in The Salvation Army in New Zealand deliberately wanted to sideline women, but the conditions of service in the organisation, and the attitudes and beliefs of those in authority, increasingly prioritised and glorified the tasks and positions held by men. Prestige and privilege was given to the work of men over the work of women, for example, public preaching over social work, the Divisional Commander or Secretary for Bands or even prominent musicians being accorded more status than the Woman's Social Secretary or the matron of a Maternity Home. Despite its position statement on women, assumptions about gender roles remained embedded in the culture of The Salvation Army and in the individuals who made up the organisation. The organisation never dealt with the underlying dichotomy that while it offered women equal opportunities, it continued to perpetuate sex-role stereotypes and the tradition of male leadership common to most other religious denominations in New Zealand.

CONCLUSION OF SECTION TWO

By 1960 conservative and conformist attitudes characterise The Salvation Army in New Zealand. Traditional attitudes on gender roles have replaced the radical and non-conformist practices of the early years. Separate spheres of service for male and female officers characterise The Salvation Army in New Zealand. Married male officers dominate in leadership, administrative and public roles while single women officers are predominately found in social welfare institutions in caring and serving roles involving women and children. Married women officers have a support role to their husbands and their roles and responsibilities most commonly reflect that of many New Zealand women of the era with an emphasis on home and family rather than on their professional career as ministers of religion.

⁴⁴⁹ "Making N.Z. History": Sen-Major Edna Grice, First Woman Officer to be Appointed as Divisional Commander in Dominion," *The War Cry*, January 23, 1954, p. 7. As far as I am aware the only married woman yet appointed to the position of Divisional Commander in her own right has been Lt. Colonel Raeline Savage, Divisional Commander for the Central (Wellington) Division, 1995-1998.

SECTION THREE

NEW ZEALAND SALVATION ARMY WOMEN OFFICERS WHO SERVED OVERSEAS, 1907-1960



The War Cry September 3, 1932

Missionary service dramatically expanded the sphere of action available to Christian women. Protestant evangelical women were a significant part of the missionary enterprise, not only did they contribute large amounts towards the fundraising of missionary work but by the 1890s the number of female missionaries serving overseas was almost equal to the number of men.⁴⁵⁰ Over the period from 1900 to 1960 the

⁴⁵⁰ Susan Thorne, "Missionary-Imperial Feminism" in *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice*, eds. Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 41; Peter Williams, "The Missing Link: The Recruitment of Women Missionaries in some Evangelical English Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century" in Bowie in *Women and Missions: Past and Present: Anthropological and Historical Perceptions*, eds. Fiona Bowie, Deborah

nature of missionary work changed a great deal, moving from an emphasis on a knowledgeable, superior foreign missionary to missionaries who were prepared to work with indigenous peoples and adopt a much greater degree of cross-race collegiality.⁴⁵¹ This thesis will not attempt a postcolonial critique of missionary endeavours of the period but solely focus on the roles and responsibilities given to New Zealand women Salvation Army officers who served overseas compared to those who remained at home in New Zealand.⁴⁵²

Although missionary work gave women opportunities not available to them in their home countries, much missionary work did not challenge established ideas about gender roles, with many women missionaries primarily working in traditionally female roles as teachers and nurses. Women missionaries were seen as having a special role in ministering to, and in the evangelising of, other women. In 1917 Mrs Lieutenant-Colonel Carpenter of The Salvation Army noted

The only safe way of taking the West to the Chinese woman is to take it through Christ. Christian women, with hearts full of great love and patience, must take the Gospel to the Chinese women in their homes and teach them how to live.⁴⁵³

Kirkwood and Shirley Ardener (Providence, RI: Berg, 1993), 43; E.R. Pitman, *Lady Missionaries in Many Lands*, (London: Pickering & Inglis, [1929]), 8-9.

⁴⁵¹ Ruth Compton Brouwer, *Modern Women Modernizing Men: The Changing Missions of Three Professional Women in Asia and Africa, 1902-69* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 11-33

⁴⁵² It is important to note as Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus do in *Gendered Missions* that "Religious causes enabled many women to go overseas, and women missionaries helped provide many subject women with access to education and opportunities they would not have otherwise enjoyed. Yet neither of these liberating, enlightening moves was without deep shadows both for the women missionaries and the indigenous people they lived among." p.7-8. See also Thorne, "Missionary-Imperial Feminism," 39-65, Rhonda Semple's chapter "Professionalising their faith: Women, Religion and the Cultures of Mission and Empire," in *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, eds. Sue Morgan and Jacqueline DeVries (London: Routledge, 2010) has a discussion on missionary women and the imperial project and Tony Ballantyne, "Religion, Difference, and the Limits of British Imperial History" *Victorian Studies*, 47 no.3 (2005), 427-455 which looks at six recent books on the subject of the relationship between missionary activity and Empire. Elizabeth Prevost's article "Assessing Women, Gender and Empire in Britain's Nineteenth Century Protestant Missionary Movement" in *History Compass*, 7 No.3, 2009: 765-799 also outlines current research in this area.

⁴⁵³ Carpenter, "The Awakening of China: The Women of the Flowery Land" *The War Cry*, December 22, 1917, p. 14

This is also noted in an article in Sydney Morning Herald describing the work of a New Zealand woman missionary officer

Speaking of the maternity work, Major Battersby said the native methods were very crude, yet they resented help from a white male doctor. However, they did not object so strongly to a white woman, and a great deal of work has been done by women in this direction.⁴⁵⁴

An article in *The War Cry* in 1945 notes that around twenty-five New Zealand officers were working on the mission field and this number seems to be relatively constant from 1920-1960.⁴⁵⁵ For this study I selected twenty-three Salvation Army women officers who served overseas from 1907 to 1960 and examined their career paths. Sixteen were unmarried when they served overseas and seven were married. The Salvation Army missionary narrative in New Zealand before 1960 is dominated by two male medical missionaries, Dr Bramwell Cook and Dr Kingsley Mortimer, with their activities featuring extensively in *The War Cry* and in other Salvation Army publications, but these men were joined by other male officers and also large numbers of female officers who played prominent roles in the work of The Salvation Army in India, Africa and Asia. While somewhat less visible, the activities of these women are often reported in *The War Cry* and it is apparent that they often undertook significant positions of responsibility on the mission field. Most of them undertook roles in nursing and teaching but some also did administrative and corps work. Most significantly many of the women Salvation Army officers who served overseas were given roles and responsibilities on the mission field that they would not have been given at home in New Zealand.

Examples of women officers who achieved significant responsibilities overseas include Eva Radcliffe who was appointed a Divisional Commander in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1939.⁴⁵⁶ In Japan Annie Smyth dealt with Japanese and Western businessmen

⁴⁵⁴ "Medical Work: Salvation Army field in Africa: Interesting Visitor" *The Sydney Morning Herald*, March 16, 1936, 4.

⁴⁵⁵ "Scanning the Mission Field: Why New Zealanders Should be Thrilled with Pride to share in the Annual Self-denial Effort," *The War Cry*, September 15, 1945, p. 5

⁴⁵⁶ It would be another 15 years before a woman officer was appointed to be a Divisional Commander in New Zealand, with the appointment of Edna Grice, in 1954.

soliciting funds for the work of The Salvation Army in Japan, organising safe houses for foreign seamen and escorting large parties of men from British and American warships around Tokyo.⁴⁵⁷ Agnes Morgan took charge of the Peking Central Corps in China in 1947.⁴⁵⁸ Jean Gould was appointed Literary Officer for Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan in 1960, and Ivy Cresswell served in East Africa as a teacher, with 70 schools under her direction. Also in the field of education, Lavinia Benson worked in Salvation Army educational institutions in Africa from 1945 onwards and by 1964 was responsible for 164 schools, 800 teachers, 32,000 pupils as well as serving on four government committees.⁴⁵⁹ In nursing, one of New Zealand's earliest Salvation Army missionaries was Alice Law, who in 1907 served as the first matron of The Salvation Army hospital at Anand in India. Many New Zealand women officers who went on to hold significant positions in the organisation internationally in the years after 1960 gained their experience in overseas postings.⁴⁶⁰ Married women officers also served with their husbands overseas. Like married woman officers in New Zealand these wives had two options, firstly to try and combine some kind of public ministry with their family and domestic duties, or to devote their time solely to domestic and family life, thus enabling their husbands to focus on their professional responsibilities. Mrs Eva Argyle and Mrs Dorothy Cook, both of whose husbands served at the Emery Hospital in India, clearly show these two options. An article in *The War Cry* in 1941 notes that Mrs Eva Argyle was "handicapped somewhat for public work on account of her two little daughters, [but she] takes the opportunity to visit the sick and sorrowing...whilst the Major is at home at midday."⁴⁶¹ In her obituary it is recorded that Mrs Dorothy Cook had

⁴⁵⁷ Sampson, *Women of Spirit*, 42-43; Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 161, 108-109

⁴⁵⁸ Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 162

⁴⁵⁹ "New Editor Appointed," *The War Cry*, February 27, 1971, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁰ For example, Vera Williamson went on in 1977 to become Chief Secretary (second-in-command) for the South East Indian Territory. Moira Wright would become the first New Zealand woman officer to command a Salvation Army territory when she was appointed by General Eva Burrows to command Singapore/Malaysia in 1987.

⁴⁶¹ "N.Z. Missionary Officers Write of Their Doings and Their Happiness in Their Work," *The War Cry*, April 12, 1941, p. 10.

said when she was asked what her ministry was would reply, "To be beside my husband, Bram, to make possible his life's work."⁴⁶²

MOTIVATIONS FOR SERVICE ON THE MISSION FIELD

Evangelism was the primary motivation of Salvation Army officers who served on the mission field. Ensign Nellie O. Newton, when serving in China in 1918, wrote, "Oh the privileges of being here and striving to win these dear souls for God!"⁴⁶³ Annie Smyth would greet people in the street in Japanese with the question "Are you saved?"⁴⁶⁴ Throughout the period under discussion, the salvation of souls remained the primary motivation, but over time, the emphasis changed from preaching the need for conversion to indirect evangelism through the provision of educational facilities and health services to the local people. The priorities of The Salvation Army are clearly shown in this comment by Ivy Williams who served as a nurse and Women's Social Secretary in South Africa when writing of the William Eadie Hospital, "here a hospital with clinic provides for so many who stand in need of the gospel message, as well as medical care."⁴⁶⁵ As evangelism became less politically and culturally acceptable in many of the host nations, The Salvation Army turned to providing social services with a less obvious evangelistic motive.

Virtually all women missionaries felt they had been called to the work. Unlike appointments in New Zealand, Salvation Army officers were able to decide whether or not they would accept an appointment to the mission field. Often at quite a young age many women missionaries note that they experienced a sense that God required them to serve as missionaries, sometimes writing that even the specific country had been made known to them. For example, Vera Williamson has written in her memoir, "[s]ure that God must have a plan for my life, in childish simplicity I knelt at a box in my room

⁴⁶² "A Courageous and Gracious Woman Who Heeded God's Call," *The War Cry*, May 30, 1992, p. 7

⁴⁶³ Nellie O. Newton, "New Zealander's Christmas in China," *The War Cry*, April 6, 1918, p. 6.

⁴⁶⁴ Sampson, *Women of Spirit*, 44

⁴⁶⁵ "New Zealand Officer Supervises Hospitals," *The War Cry*, January 14, 1967, p. 7.

and asked him to tell me what it was. I got up knowing I should go to India.”⁴⁶⁶ Bessie Forsyth, who spent twenty-six years in Ceylon, felt called to missionary service at age ten and Moira Wright felt a “clear call from God to go to China” at age fifteen. Maud Carmichael (née Sowton) noted that “[o]ne night she was especially led to pray for China and the conviction came to her that she ought to volunteer for service there herself” and Dorothy Elphick records that “the destination came as a clear unmistakable call to service in Papua New Guinea, one day as she stood at the kitchen sink.”⁴⁶⁷ In a frank interview on her missionary service, Jean Gould said “I came for the Lord’s sake!” and that she had never felt a flair for missionary work, nor had she wanted to see the world, but she had received a cable from International Headquarters asking if she would be willing to go, and because she had been asked and felt called by God, she went.⁴⁶⁸ Some women officers went after being made aware of a particular need. For example, in 1917, *The War Cry* noted that The General has cabled The Commissioner to ask for four women officers, to be part of a party “for the pioneer work of The Salvation Army amongst the four hundred millions of Chinese” and “The Commissioner has agreed to accept...Adjutant Newton...Captain Andrews...Captain Wilkinson...and Captain Smith.”⁴⁶⁹ After World War Two Kia Ora Tyler volunteered to go to Indonesia after hearing that long serving missionaries there needed a rest.⁴⁷⁰

Many women officers found missionary service provided them with opportunities for travel and adventure, which as New Zealand women of limited means, they would be unlikely to have. For example, in the course of her missionary career, Agatha Battersby lived in Japan, Korea, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Kenya. Memoirs written by these women, their letters home to friends and family in New Zealand, and articles they sent home to be published in *The War Cry* are full of accounts of their travels and adventures. There was also the challenge of learning new languages, new physical

⁴⁶⁶ Vera Williamson, *The Inside Story*, (self-published manuscript, 2003), 10

⁴⁶⁷ “Chinese Soldiers Were Puzzled,” *The War Cry*, February 8, 1930, p. 9 and Sampson, *Women of Spirit*, 177.

⁴⁶⁸ “Serving With Gladness,” *The War Cry*, January 15, 1949, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁹ “Concerning China,” *The War Cry*, January 27, 1917, p. 5: Bradwell, *Fight the Good Fight*, 162.

⁴⁷⁰ “A Good Samaritan,” *The War Cry*, April 23, 1966, p. 5.

challenges and adjusting to different cultures. The autobiographical accounts written by these women are full of stories of their adventures living as independent women in a foreign country. The experiences available to them were far greater than they would have had if they had remained as officers in New Zealand. Many of them identified with the culture in which they had chosen to serve. Annie Smyth on being asked by *The War Cry* editor how she felt about returning to New Zealand in 1939, commented that, she felt “as though my roots have been plucked out of my adopted soil!” and went on to explain that having lived nearly half a lifetime in Japan, living and speaking as the people lived and spoke and learning to love them, it was a difficult matter to break away.⁴⁷¹ Sampson writes that Smyth “studied the Bible in Japanese and was an avid reader of Japanese literature. She absorbed the culture, adapting herself to Japanese life and thought, identifying fully with the people.”⁴⁷²

The great majority of women officers who served on the mission field had professional skills, primarily in teaching and nursing, and mission service offered increased professional opportunities and challenges. Jean Gould, who had trained as a kindergarten teacher in New Zealand noted in her memoir, that as literary officer her main duty had been

to encourage Indian officers to write creative work of substance and quality in their own languages” [and that she had] no formal training...[and] was inadequately prepared. Humanly speaking as I said, I was without degrees and training that might have been thought essential for such a varied programme of work as came my way in those unforgettable 23 years.⁴⁷³

Opportunities for nurse-officers in New Zealand were largely limited to maternity hospitals, but overseas missionary hospitals provided a wider range of services and therefore more professional opportunities. Vera Williamson, for example, found this when appointed to serve in India writing that

⁴⁷¹ “Brigadier Annie Smyth Returns,” *The War Cry*, October 7, 1939, p. 4

⁴⁷² Sampson, *Women of Spirit*, 44. Annie Smyth returned reluctantly to New Zealand having intended to retire in Japan. She was subsequently appointed to the Wairoa Corps as corps officer and along with her sister was brutally murdered there in 1942.

⁴⁷³ Jean Gould papers held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives.

With only basic qualifications and limited nursing I fully expected, when appointed to the hospital [Catherine Booth Hospital, Nagercoil, South India] to work as a staff nurse. Within a few months I found myself Superintendent of Nurses and sole tutor to a lower grade School of Nursing.⁴⁷⁴

In The Salvation Army in New Zealand there were no opportunities for those with teaching qualifications to work as teachers in a school environment, but there were significant opportunities, particularly in Africa, at Salvation Army educational institutions.

Missionary service gave women officers a sense that they were respected, both within The Salvation Army and in their communities back in New Zealand. Service overseas gave them recognition and prestige, with accounts of their activities published in *The War Cry* and occasionally in secular newspapers, and they were in demand as speakers when on furlough back in New Zealand. Many women who served overseas were older, unmarried, more experienced officers. For Salvation Army women officers there was a limited pool of potential marriage partners in New Zealand and service overseas may have been seen as offering a more interesting and fulfilling life than that of a single officer in New Zealand. Some however looked on missionary service as their life's calling and chose the single life in order to achieve it. Annie Smyth, for example, turned down a marriage proposal because she was determined to serve as a missionary in Japan.⁴⁷⁵ In a notebook belonging to Jean Gould she has made some notes for a talk which was to be entitled "Single, yet undismayed!"⁴⁷⁶ Vera Williamson writes that "when I answered God's call to missionary service I accepted the single life as my lot."⁴⁷⁷

Service on the mission field was often arduous, exhausting, stressful and damaging to the health of those that undertook it, with high levels of stress associated with adjusting to a different physical environment and culture, coping with rapid changes, dealing with the local population, relationships with colleagues, criticism from home, and

⁴⁷⁴ Williamson, *The Inside Story*, 33-34

⁴⁷⁵ Sampson, *Women of Spirit*, 42

⁴⁷⁶ Jean Gould papers held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives.

⁴⁷⁷ Vera Williamson, *The Inside Story*, 65

maintenance of family life for those with children and maintaining family and friendship connections with those at home.⁴⁷⁸ These problems are clear to see in the writings of the women officers who served on the mission field. Vera Williamson highlights the problem of cultural adjustment, writing in her memoirs

The zealous young missionary is consumed with a desire to DO THINGS. She beats her fists against a brick wall of indifference, and her fists get calloused. Perhaps calloused knees would have accomplished more. Or maybe the wall isn't a wall of indifference at all, only a wall of different thinking. Perhaps it could be taken down brick by brick with patient hands. [emphasis as in original]⁴⁷⁹

There were difficulties in maintaining family and marital relationships on the mission field, with husbands often absent and children having to be sent away to school. For example, an article on Major and Mrs Argyle notes that "Mrs Argyle is preparing to take Eunice away to school and that this is one of the major sacrifices made by Missionary Comrades."⁴⁸⁰ An article on Mrs Askew notes that "The Adjutant's distant work will take him from home six months of the year."⁴⁸¹ Several of the missionary officers whose careers I have looked at suffered physical health problems as a result of their time overseas. Both Ivan Argyle and Dorothy Cook suffered ongoing health issues after missionary service and Kia-Ora Tyler's ill-health forced her return from overseas with Mina Fordyce's service in Malaya also cut short because of ill-health.⁴⁸² The Salvation Army recognised that service on the mission field involved a greater likelihood of health issues by allowing officers who had served more than twenty years in the tropics, to retire five years earlier.⁴⁸³ Jean Gould wrote in her memoirs that when she had been a corps officer in a particularly difficult corps in New Zealand there had been a sign above

⁴⁷⁸ Bowie, Kirkwood and Ardener, *Women and Missions*, 8

⁴⁷⁹ Williamson, *The Inside Story*, 32

⁴⁸⁰ "N. Z. Missionary Officers," *The War Cry*, April 12, 1941.

⁴⁸¹ "Personal Pars," *The War Cry*, November 11, 1940, p. 8.

⁴⁸² Fordyce: "Doors Were Opened," *The War Cry*, February 1, 1958, p. 9; Cook, *White Gujaratis*, 194; Tyler: "A Good Samaritan," *The War Cry*, April 23, 1966, p. 5. Argyle: "Caught in the Spotlight," *The War Cry*, July 21, 1945, p. 10.

⁴⁸³ "Officers' Retirement Scheme: A Summary of its Provisions as to Age and Allowances," *The Officer*, 1919: 415

the Mercy Seat which read “Endure hardness as a good soldier of Christ.” She took this memory with her to the mission field. An officer friend had also given her a word of Scripture “I will be to you a little sanctuary among the heathen.” She remarks that for her the sanctuary was a mosquito net and the heathen the mosquitos and other flying insects.”⁴⁸⁴ Service on the mission field did not mean that officers were immune to personality conflicts with other officers or to problems with the leadership of The Salvation Army as illustrated by Jean Gould’s comments when given a difficult task by a Field Secretary in India, “[a]t times like this I could see the T.C. [Territorial Commander] (a woman expatriate) frowning at me, daring me to burst into tears. So I didn’t.”⁴⁸⁵ The difficulties of life on the mission field are encapsulated in a letter from Bram Cook to Vera Williamson, a transcript of which is included as Appendix ten. There is some evidence to suggest that The Salvation Army was unsure what to do with women officers when they returned from missionary service as perhaps exemplified by Ivy Cresswell’s career after returning from Africa.⁴⁸⁶ Appointments for returning male officers seems to have been less of a problem as they continued to progress in their careers following missionary service.⁴⁸⁷

The women officers who undertook service on the mission field were often second generation Salvationists or women who were better educated with tertiary or professional qualifications. Annie Smyth had won a scholarship to Wellington Girls’ College in 1899 and graduated with a B.A. from Victoria College of the University of New Zealand.⁴⁸⁸ Gwenyth Norman, Ivy Cresswell, Lavinia Benson and Laura Dutton were also

⁴⁸⁴ Jean Gould papers held at The Salvation Army New Zealand, Fiji & Tonga-Heritage Centre & Archives.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ Ivy Cresswell as well as serving as a teacher served for many years as editor of the East African edition of *The War Cry*, a position which necessitated fluency in several languages. On her return to New Zealand she was appointed to the position of editor of “The Young Soldier,” the children’s section of *The War Cry*, where under the pen name of Cousin Tui she responded to letters from young Salvationists, a position she held for 24 years. For some of her time at the Editorial Department, her boss, the editor of *The War Cry* was a male officer from Australia, whose career card notes that prior to becoming an officer he had been employed as a grocer’s assistant.

⁴⁸⁷ For example, Bram Cook went on to become Chief Secretary for New Zealand and Territorial Commander for Eastern Australia and Tom McKenzie who after his return from service in Africa had various appointments before becoming Divisional Commander of Canterbury/Westland in 1969.

⁴⁸⁸ Sampson, *Women of Spirit*, 41-42; Hughes and Ahern, *Redbrick and Bluestockings*, 21.

university graduates, Mavis Mortimer had a medical degree and Lillian Abel, Alice Law and Vera Williamson were all qualified nurses. The Salvation Army in New Zealand was not always happy to lose high calibre officers to overseas territories. Laura Dutton had her application for overseas service declined on the grounds that she was needed in New Zealand. Laura, however, took the opportunity of speaking with the wife of General Carpenter when they were visiting New Zealand in 1946, and within a few months she was on her way to Africa.⁴⁸⁹ Male officers with tertiary or professional qualifications could progress through the ranks and use their abilities in New Zealand as staff officers or administrators or in other senior roles as well as take up opportunities on the mission field. For women officers with tertiary or professional qualifications the opportunities open to them were much more limited and the mission field presented an attractive option which enabled them to fulfil both their professional and evangelical ambitions.

The language used to describe women who served overseas is very revealing. In obituaries and other *War Cry* articles on women officers there is an emphasis on their caring, nurturing, and sacrificial service but this is usually not the case for women who served on the mission field. Women who served on the mission field are described differently and there is a definite sense that they were highly regarded within the organisation. Robson suggests that “women who succeed in the Church are often described as *extraordinary* women which implies that they are unusual, not of the ordinary run of women...not normative...the exception to the rule.”⁴⁹⁰ The language used to describe missionary women officers supports this assumption and shows that The Salvation Army regarded these women as exceptional and different from the norm.⁴⁹¹ Articles and obituaries highlight their abilities and intelligence. Some examples are included in the Table below.

⁴⁸⁹ Sampson, *Women of Spirit*, 162

⁴⁹⁰ Robson, *Ministry or Profession: Clergy Doubletalk*, 117.

⁴⁹¹ For a discussion on the language used to describe other woman officers see pages 115-116 of this thesis.

Evangeline Radcliffe	“a heroine” “gave impression of austerity” <i>The War Cry</i> , 17/6/1972
Lt. Colonel Jean Gould	“an individualist with a fine mind, a strong will and resolute principles” <i>The War Cry</i> 9/3/1991
Lavinia Benson	“a capable administrator and a great mind” “she abhorred woolly thinking” “expressed her convictions fearlessly and pungently” “a force to be reckoned with” “tenacity of purpose and professional and spiritual integrity” <i>The War Cry</i> 2/12/1972: 13/1/1973
Ivy Cresswell	“a person of knowledge and steadfastness” <i>The War Cry</i> , 19/1/1974
Agatha Battersby	“a formidable but dedicated lady of remarkable versatility” Bradwell, <i>Touched With Splendour</i> , 124
Moira Wright	“skilled administrator and collaborator” “set high standards for herself and could be fierce” <i>The War Cry</i> , 21/4/2012
Arrina Bridge (née Packer)	“she had a mind of her own” “a faith of action” <i>The War Cry</i> 11/6/1977

Table Four: Examples of language used to describe women officers who served overseas

As these descriptions indicate, women officers who served on the mission field were highly regarded in The Salvation Army. On the mission field there appears to be a greater sense of equality, with not only complementary roles for women, but also egalitarian roles, due to the unique professional skills that women could offer. Both genders had special professional skills to contribute. All officers, regardless of gender, were dependent on each other, with a pressing need to get the job done, and great spiritual and physical needs to attend to, just as there had been in the early years of the organisation in New Zealand. Married women officers on the mission field sometimes struggled to find a role for themselves.⁴⁹² The mission field allowed pragmatic decision making, possibly less adherence to regulations and a chance for women officers to gain experience which enabled them to take on leadership positions. Service on the mission field was clearly based on merit and ability with a person’s skill set more important than their gender. Women officers were able to achieve positions of responsibility, prestige and power on the mission field which their male colleagues were able to achieve by service in New Zealand. Missionary service enabled women officers to

⁴⁹² See for example: Cook, *White Gujaratis*, 117-118.

achieve higher levels of seniority, increased opportunities and status than was likely be achieved by their female colleagues who remained in New Zealand.

CONCLUSION

Service in The Salvation Army offered women many opportunities. Most significantly, it offered women, particularly working-class women, a chance to become ministers of religion. Without doubt it offered women many more roles, responsibilities and opportunities to participate in church life, than were available to them in other Protestant denominations in New Zealand at this time. The Salvation Army offered the women who became officers the equivalent training to their male colleagues and if they remained unmarried, it occasionally offered some of them, equal opportunities with their male colleagues. This was particularly the case during the early years of their careers, and during the early years of the organisation's development in New Zealand. It also, occasionally offered some women, particularly those who served on the mission field or in social institutions, positions of authority and leadership. Studying The Salvation Army using gender as a primary category of analysis however has revealed that despite the organisation's claim that all positions in the organisation were available to women, it largely failed to offer its women officers' equality with their male co-workers. In the years between 1883 and 1960, gender increasingly became a determining factor in the position an officer was appointed to. High profile leadership positions were invariably held by male officers and less visible roles involving caring, supporting and serving others were held by female officers.

When The Salvation Army arrived in New Zealand it positioned itself as a radical and unconventional sect that was prepared to challenge religious and societal mores, in order to appeal to and evangelise non-church attenders, particularly those from a working-class background. By its style of worship, the lifestyle of its members and by its encouragement of women to train as ministers, and by giving them opportunities for church leadership and public ministry, it positioned itself as outside of, and different to, the prevailing culture of other Protestant denominations. Women officers were highly visible in the organisation during the early years of its history in New Zealand. John Read, in his biography of Catherine Booth, has written that during the first ten years of its development The Salvation Army was a meritocracy and "when the Army was growing fast, there was no lack of freedom, no shortage of opportunity."⁴⁹³ The research

⁴⁹³ Read, *Catherine Booth*, 171

undertaken for this thesis indicates that this was also the case during the first twenty years of The Salvation Army's development in New Zealand with the organisation coming close to fulfilling its position statement that all roles in the organisation were open to women. At this time, appointments were more likely to be allocated on merit, experience and availability, rather than on gender. The decade of the 1890s represents a highpoint for women in The Salvation Army in New Zealand. This coincided with increasing activism by many New Zealand women around issues of suffrage and moral and social welfare. The Salvation Army in New Zealand saw that women's rights were an important issue at this time and chose to emphasise the organisation's position on equal opportunities for women as a way to draw attention to its evangelistic message and to engage with the community. Many Salvation Army officers during this period were very supportive of gender equality both within the organisation and within the wider community.⁴⁹⁴ During these early years there was an extremely high level of consciousness by those in the organisation of the need for evangelism, and all were welcome, as warriors in this salvation war, regardless of gender, age, race or educational ability. Linda Bridges has identified, what she terms, the Lydia phase in church development.⁴⁹⁵ She suggests that in the early stage of church development the leadership of women is valued but that over time the value of women leaders is sacrificed and undermined as the church institutionalises.⁴⁹⁶ As Bridges' article shows, once religious groups become more established, egalitarian attitudes fade and patriarchal attitudes assert themselves.⁴⁹⁷ This is illustrated in The Salvation Army in New Zealand, with women taking less visible roles, and men taking highly visible public roles, particularly those involving leadership and authority, as The Salvation Army becomes part of the established religious community.

In the years after World War One, gender roles in The Salvation Army in New Zealand increasingly mirror those in secular New Zealand society and within other Protestant denominations. Within The Salvation Army internationally there is also less emphasis on equal opportunities for women. This coincided with the waning of the influence of

⁴⁹⁴ For example, Emily Grinling ("S.U.B.") was a signatory of the suffrage petition of 1893.

⁴⁹⁵ Linda McKinnish Bridges, "Women in Church Leadership," *Review and Expositor*, 95 (1998): 327-347

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 329

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 330-336

the Booth family, who were committed to the principle of equality, with the death of Catherine in 1890 and William in 1912 and with Bramwell being deposed from his position as General in 1929. There was always a tension for Salvationists between adherence to the secular and religious mores of the community in which they were situated, and the need to conform to the constraints and regulations imposed by being part of an international movement. In the early years in New Zealand, the beliefs and structures of The Salvation Army, including the belief in equality for women officers, had a greater influence on those who were part of the organisation, rather than the culture of the surrounding world. As The Salvation Army consolidated its work in New Zealand and as a second generation of Salvationists emerge, the culture of New Zealand society seems to exert a greater influence on New Zealand Salvationists. This tension can be illustrated in the occasional conflicts that occur between senior leaders from overseas, who represent the wider international movement, and the officers and soldiers in New Zealand.

By the 1930s increasing conservatism and conformity characterised The Salvation Army in New Zealand. This led to an apparent unwillingness to stand apart from other religious groups and a desire by officers and soldiers to fit in with the prevailing culture of New Zealand society. Gender roles in New Zealand society were characterised by a focus on motherhood and domesticity for women and for men on their role as family breadwinner. Within The Salvation Army married women officers took secondary roles to their husbands, and with the expansion of the social welfare work of the organisation, single officers were increasingly deployed in social institutions. There is evidence to suggest that Salvationists increasingly focused on activities within the organisation, rather than evangelical outreach to the wider community. As in other Protestant denominations and in New Zealand society generally, high profile positions in The Salvation Army were occupied by men. It is fair to conclude that New Zealand men at this time were unaccustomed to women having authority in the workplace and this led to women officers in The Salvation Army sometimes struggling to gain acceptance as leaders, both from within the membership of the organisation and from clergy in other denominations. This period in New Zealand's religious history is characterised by a rise in inter-church cooperation and also a concern over the lack of involvement by men in the life of the church. The Salvation Army was no longer willing to be side-lined by

the religious community as a fringe sect. It chose to align itself with more conventional Protestant denominations where the norm was for women to be seen in the pews, not in the pulpit. The organisation's policy of equal roles for women was out of step with the prevailing culture of both the secular and religious world and although it continues to state, although less vehemently, that it offered equal roles for men and women officers and continued to train women, including married women, identically to men, it largely failed to deliver on its promise of equality. Despite training married women as officers, and acknowledging that when a single woman officer married, she remained an officer in her own right, the organisation never put in place practices and procedures that would have allowed married women officers to fulfil their commission. It chose to ignore the issue of the under-utilisation of married women officers when their husbands were promoted to staff positions. Single women field officers during these years were only occasionally given positions of authority and leadership.

As early as 1891, in her article entitled, "Women's Rights," which urged women to "claim their privileges and stand up for their rights," "S.U.B." gives us some clues as to why it was unlikely that women officers would achieve equal roles and responsibilities with their male co-workers.⁴⁹⁸ In her article "S.U.B" points out that the highest and noblest aim of Salvationist women should be the "the salvation of her fellow creatures" and that this aim took precedence over "the manifold duties of her home life" and even her responsibilities as a wife and mother.⁴⁹⁹ "S.U.B." goes on to outline three scenarios, and in these, there are hints as to why it was that equality in roles and opportunities was never achieved in The Salvation Army in New Zealand. Firstly "S.U.B" gives the example of a Major's wife who at a large Salvation Army meeting manages to get a large sum of money in the collection plate. She writes, "have you ever read or heard tell of the Major's wife who has been an officer for nine years, not having begged a collection until recently, and that was because her husband (the Major) happened to be out of the way. She got a good one too."⁵⁰⁰ This example is likely based on an incident described

⁴⁹⁸ "S.U.B." "Women's Rights," *The War Cry*, December 26, 1891, p. 7. Sixty-three years later in *The War Cry* for January 9, 1954, S.U.B.'s article was reprinted, with the title "Sisters, Stand Up For Your Rights and Brothers-Do-Your Best To Help Them." in an abbreviated form, with the comment that it was still up-to-date, which possibly indicates that some in the organisation were aware that the issues outlined in the original article were still relevant to the organisation.

⁴⁹⁹ "S.U.B." "Women's Rights," *The War Cry*, December 26, 1891, p. 7

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

in an earlier article, "Down South with Mrs Major Rolfe" in which the author, Lizzie Gunnion writes "[w]hat a good thing she came without the Major for once. When the men are there the women don't get a chance."⁵⁰¹ Secondly "S.U.B." describes a married male Captain, whose wife has been a Captain before she married and had done a great deal better in her station than he had done in his, writing

They take the station together, they go to most of the meetings, and the man leads the most, if not all of the meetings; his wife helps him...But *he* is the Captain, and being a *man*, fancies he can do things in the best way."⁵⁰²[emphasis as in original]

Her third scenario highlights the fact that at major events, such as the General's visit, the congregation is made up mostly of men, who "S.U.B" suggests would not have given their wives the option of attending, and she concludes that "it is more likely that the dear brother, never thought of anyone but himself" and she suggests that men should offer to stay home and allow their wives to attend. The first scenario in this article hints that men always dominated the organisation with women officers denied the chance to fully participate, and only being given opportunities when no male officer was available. The second shows that married male officers saw themselves, and were seen by the organisation, as having the principal leadership role with the third scenario highlighting the difficulty for women of combining their roles as mothers with their role as officers.

The beliefs, ideas and practices of The Salvation Army subtly discriminated against women officers. Its ideas and doctrines, on for example, sin, self-denial and the importance of motherhood, constrained women officers from claiming their right to equal roles for themselves in the organisation. The organisation's emphasis on the importance of service and self-denial must have impacted on the willingness of women officers to challenge the practices of the organisation and to agitate for greater opportunities for women. For many women officers the idea of agitating for equal roles would have been an anathema for them with their chief concern being evangelism of the unsaved and care of the unfortunate and many would have considered that in comparison to their sisters in other denominations they had equal opportunities.

⁵⁰¹ L. Gunnion, "Down South With Mrs Major Rolfe," *The War Cry*, December 12, 1891, p. 7

⁵⁰² "S.U.B." "Women's Rights," *The War Cry*, December 26, 1891, p. 7

The Salvation Army's statement on the position of women implies equality of opportunity, with roles in the organisation open to all, and allocated not on the basis of gender, but on the basis of merit, experience and ability. In practice, however, The Salvation Army in New Zealand increasingly took a complementarian approach when assigning roles to male and female officers. Male and female officers were seen as having particular gender characteristics which made some position more suitable for men and others more suitable for women. Women officers were increasingly directed to roles involving work with women and children and the destitute and away from those involving public ministry and leadership. Women officers became clustered in positions on the social side, with male officers dominating leadership positions on the field side, either at corps, Division or Headquarters level. Women officers always significantly outnumbered male officers in New Zealand, but they were rarely placed in significant decision making roles in significant enough numbers to be able to influence the structure and practices of the organisation.

The Salvation Army, as an institution, was always portrayed by those in authority, as being more important than the needs and desires of those who served in its ranks. The paternalistic, hierarchical and authoritarian structure of the organisation worked against women officers. This is illustrated, for example, by the practice of reserving large corps appointments for married couples which disadvantaged single officers, the majority of whom were women. By being confined to small corps, women were denied the chance to develop the skills and experience needed if they were to achieve leadership positions. Women had to be visible and exceptional to succeed. The practice of International Headquarters of appointing male, usually British, senior leaders to New Zealand meant that those responsible for officer appointments were often unfamiliar with the skills and abilities of New Zealand officers and although difficult to prove, it is possible that some were unwilling to give women officers' leadership opportunities and to identify barriers to their progress. Despite a high percentage of Salvation Army officers in New Zealand being women, the organisation consistently failed to appoint a significant number of them to senior leadership positions.

Shaw Clifton, Territorial Commander of The Salvation Army in New Zealand from 2002-2004 and General from 2006 to 2011, noted in an interview in *The Journal of Aggressive Christianity* that in his opinion The Salvation Army had "too often ...yielded to

the temptation to trim our sails to the winds of human approval.”⁵⁰³ When The Salvation Army arrived in New Zealand in 1883 and for the following twenty or so years the approval of other New Zealanders did not seem to concern many of those who chose to belong to The Salvation Army. Training women as officers, appointing them to lead corps, and allowing them to take similar roles to male officers was one of the most obvious ways in which The Salvation Army differed from other religious groups in New Zealand at this time. Adherence to the principles and regulations of the organisation were seen as paramount for those who joined and the need to evangelise the unsaved was their first priority. Attitudes either of approval or criticism from those who were not part of the organisation were largely irrelevant. Human approval did not matter: the work of The Salvation Army did. With the consolidation of the work of the organisation in New Zealand in the years after World War One, the organisation became increasingly conservative and similar to other Protestant denominations. From 1930 to 1960 most New Zealanders felt that a woman’s place was in the home and gender roles within The Salvation Army came to resemble those in the wider community. In the case of married officer couples, The Salvation Army viewed the male officer as the leader and his wife, despite having an identical calling, training, commission and covenant to her husband, was seen as primarily responsible for her home and children. Any work she undertook outside the home environment focused primarily on work with other women. The social work of The Salvation Army greatly increased during these years. It gave the organisation prestige in the community and needed community support to sustain it. The social institutions of The Salvation Army required large numbers of staff and the organisation had a high number of single women officers who could work in these institutions in roles that were seen in the community as traditional and acceptable female roles. A Salvation Army officer nurse was a far less controversial figure than a woman Territorial Commander of The Salvation Army might have been. In the years from about 1920 onwards The Salvation Army increasingly conformed to the gender roles of the wider New Zealand community and full equality of roles and opportunities for women was not fully implemented by the organisation in New Zealand.

⁵⁰³ “Interview with Shaw Clifton,” *The Journal of Aggressive Christianity*, (2000) Issue 9

APPENDIX ONE

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of The Salvation Army

By The General

1900

1. One of the leading principles upon which The Army is based is the right of woman to an equal share with man in the great work of publishing Salvation to the world. By an unalterable provision of our Foundation Deed she can hold any position of authority or power in The Army, from that of a Local Officer to that of The General.
2. This principle must be recognised and acted upon by all Field Officers in their dealings with woman. It is founded upon the claims and sanctions of the Bible on her behalf, and upon the remarkable ability she possess for managing the affairs of the war, and for influencing the hearts and consciences of the people for God. Moreover, the marvellous part woman has played in our history, the enormous influence which the exercise of her gifts and the self-sacrifice of her labours have won for us, should secure for her in the future that place in our councils and our campaigns which she has enjoyed in the past.
3. All necessary forbearance and patience must be exercised towards woman in view of the drawbacks under which she labours in public life from physical weakness, marriage relationships, family cares, and other burdens which she is specially called to bear. If some inconveniences are the result of the irregular working occasioned by the social duties of woman, they will be found to be amply compensated for by the inestimable benefits flowing from her personal influence and remarkable gifts whenever she has full opportunity for their exercise. It must be borne in mind that woman has talents which are not possessed by man, and not to call them into action because of the little inconvenience their use may entail means the everlasting loss of the blessing they would have bestowed upon the world.
4. Let it therefore be understood that women are eligible for the highest commands-indeed, no woman is to be kept back from any position of power or influence merely on account of her sex.
5. The Field Officer is responsible for the carrying out of these principles in so far as they concern Corps work; and to this end must take every opportunity of setting a good example to his Local Officers and Soldiers as to their treatment of, and relationship with, their sister-comrades. He will be able to do this by-
 - (a) Selecting them for such positions as Local Officers and Soldiers as they are able to occupy.
 - (b) Rendering such assistance to women in his Corps as the physical weakness and social disadvantages under which they labour require. This kind of practical gallantry must not be found wanting in the F.O.
 - (c) Being careful to apportion to women a fair share of the opportunities for usefulness presented in meetings, whether in the open air or inside.
 - (d) By regarding and treating women as being equal with men in all social relations of life, whether it be as mothers, wives, sisters, or comrades. In order to do this Field Officers should endeavour to inculcate in the minds of those around them and their children the great principle that girls are equal with boys, and that they should be treated accordingly.

Source: *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of The Salvation Army*, by The General [William Booth]. (London, Headquarters of The Salvation Army, 1900), 294-95.

APPENDIX TWO

FORM OF APPLICATION

FOR AN APPOINTMENT AS AN

OFFICER IN THE SALVATION ARMY (1898 version)

Name/Address

1. Where were you born?.....Year..... Town..... Country.....
 2. What was your AGE last birthday?.....Give the date of your next birthday.....
 3. What is your height?.....
 4. Are you free from bodily defect or disease?.....
 5. Are you short of any front teeth?.....If so, will you get others put in, if accepted?
 6. Have you any impediment or any difficulty of speech?
 7. What serious illnesses have you had, and when?
 8. Have you ever had fits of any kind?.....If so, how long ago, and what kind?.....
 9. Do you consider your health good, and that you are strong enough for the work of an officer?.....If not, or if you are doubtful, write a letter and explain the matter.
 10. Are you, or have you ever been married?.....Have you any children?
 11. When and where CONVERTED?
 12. To what other Religious Societies have you belonged?
 13. Were you a Junior Soldier?.....If so, how long?
 14. How long have you been enrolled as a SOLDIER?.....And signed Articles of War?
 15. To what Corps did you belong?.....
 16. If you hold any office in your Corps, say what, and how long held?
 17. Do you intend to live and die in the ranks of the Salvation Army?
 18. Have you ever been an open BACKSLIDER?.....If so, how long?
 19. Why?.....Date of your restoration.....
 20. Are you sanctified?
 21. Are you in DEBT?.....If so, how much?.....Why?
 22. How long owing?.....What for?
 23. Did you ever use intoxicating drink?.....If so, how long since you entirely gave up its use?.....
 24. Did you ever use tobacco or snuff?.....If so, how long since you gave up using either?
 25. What UNIFORM do you wear?.....
 26. How long have you worn it?.....
 27. Do you agree to dress in accordance with the direction of Headquarters?.....
 28. Can you provide your own uniform before entering the service?.....
 29. Are you in a SITUATION?.....If so, how long?.....
 30. Nature of duties and salary.....
 31. Name and address of employer.....
 32. If out, date of leaving last situation.....How long there?.....
 33. If not in situation, how are you maintained?
 34. Why did you leave?
 35. Name and address of last employer.....
 36. Do you follow any employment at home?.....
- For reference, give us the addresses of the following
37. An Officer.....
 38. A private Soldier who has known you the longest
 39. A landlord, landlady, or neighbour who has known you the longest since your conversion, and can speak of your life and character at home.....

40. Can you start the SINGING?.....
41. Can you play any musical instruments?.....if so, what?.....
42. Is this form filled out by you?.....Can you read well at first sight?.....
43. Can you write SHORTHAND?.....If so, what speed and system?.....
44. Can you speak any language other than English?.....If so, what?.....
45. Have you had any experience and success in the JUNIOR SOLDIERS' WAR?
46. If so, what?.....
47. What experience have you had in keeping accounts?.....
48. Are you willing to sell the War Cry?.....
49. Do you engage not to publish any books, songs, or music, except for the benefit of the Salvation Army, and then only with the consent of Headquarters?.....
50. Do you promise not to engage in any trade, profession, or other money-making occupation, except for the benefit of the Salvation Army, and then only with the consent of Headquarters?.....
51. Would you be willing to go ABROAD if required?.....
- 51A. Would you be willing to go to the Maori Work?.....
- 51B. Do you promise to conform to the Maori Work rules, if sent to it?.....
52. Do you promise to do your utmost to help forward the Junior Soldiers' Work, if accepted?.....
53. Do you pledge yourself to spend not less than nine hours every day in the active service of the Army, of which not less than three hours of each weekday shall be spent in VISITATION?...
54. Do you pledge to fill up and send to Headquarters forms as to how your day is spent, if required?.....
55. Have you read, and do you believe, the DOCTRINES printed on the other side?.....
56. Have you read the "Orders and Regulations for Field Officers" of the Army?.....
57. Have you a copy of "Orders and Regulations for Field Officers"?.....
58. Have you read the "Orders and Regulations for Soldiers"? (price twopence).....
59. Do you pledge yourself to study and engage to carry out and to endeavour to train others to carry out all the Orders and Regulations of the Army?.....
60. Have you read the Order on page 4 of this Form as to PRESENTS and TESTIMONIALS, and do you engage to carry it out?
61. Do you pledge yourself never to receive any sum in the form of pay beyond the allowances granted under the scale which follows?.....

ALLOWANCES: -From the day of arrival at his station, each Officer is entitled to draw the following allowances, providing the amount remains in hand after meeting all local expenses, namely:-For Single Men: Lieutenants, 24s. weekly, and Captains, 27s; for Single Women: Lieutenants, 18s. weekly, and Captains, 21s. weekly; Married Men 40s. per week with house rent.

62. Do you perfectly understand that no salary or allowance is guaranteed to you, and that you will have no claim against the Salvation Army, or against anyone connected therewith, on account of salary or allowance not received by you?.....
63. Are you aware that Field Officers are responsible for their own doctors' bills, unless they arrange otherwise with their D.O.?.....
64. Have you APPLIED BEFORE?.....If so, when?.....
65. With what result?.....
66. If you have ever been in the service of the Salvation Army in any position, say what?.....
67. Why did you leave?.....
68. Are you willing to come into TRAINING, that we may see whether you have the necessary goodness and ability for an Officer in the Salvation Army, and should we conclude that you have

- not the necessary qualifications, do you pledge yourself to return home and work in your Corps without any dissatisfaction?.....
69. If we think it best for you to remain some months longer in your Corps for improvement, are you willing to do so cheerfully, and fill up monthly forms as to your progress?.....
 70. Will you pay for your own travelling expenses, if we decide to receive you in Training?....
 71. How much can you pay for your maintenance while in Training?.....
 72. What is the shortest NOTICE you require, should we want you?.....
 73. Are your PARENTS willing that you should become an Officer?.....
 74. Does anyone depend on you for support?.....If so, who?.....
 75. To what extent?.....Explain by letter how those depending on you would be supported should you be accepted.
 76. Give your parents' or nearest living Relatives full address.....
 77. Are you COURTING or writing someone with a view to engagement?.....If so, give the name and address of the person.....
 78. How long have been engaged or writing?.....What is the person's age?.....
NOTE: -If you are engaged, we cannot decide your case until the person also applies to come into training.
 79. What is the date of birthday?..... How long enrolled as a SOLDIER?
 80. What uniform does the person wear?.....How long worn?.....
 81. What does the person do in the Corps?.....
 82. Has the person applied for the work?.....
 83. If not, when does the person intend doing so?.....
 84. Do the parents agree to the person coming into Training?.....
 85. Do you understand that you may not be allowed to marry until three years after your appointment as an Officer, and do you agree to abide by this?.....
 86. If you are not courting, do you pledge yourself to abstain from anything of the kind during Training, and for at least twelve months after your appointment as a Commissioned Field Officer?.....
 87. Do you pledge yourself not to carry on courtship with anyone at the Station to which you are at the time appointed?.....
 88. Do you pledge yourself never to commence, or allow to commence, or break off anything of the sort, without first informing your Divisional Officer, or Headquarters, of your intention to do so?.....
 89. Do you pledge yourself never to marry anyone, marriage with whom would take you out of the Army altogether?.....
 90. Have you read, and do you agree to carry out, the following Regulations as to Courtship and Marriage?⁵⁰⁴.....
 - (a) "Officers must inform the Commissioner of their desire to enter into or break off any engagement, and no Officer is permitted to enter into or break off an engagement without the Commissioner's consent.
 - (b) "Officers will not be allowed to carry on any courtship in the town in which they are appointed; nor until twelve months after the date of their commission.
 - (c) "Headquarters cannot consent to the engagement of Male Lieutenants, until their Divisional Officer is prepared to recommend them for command of a Station as Captain.
 - (d) "Before Headquarters can consent to the marriage of any Officer, the Divisional Officer must be prepared to give him three stations as a married man.

⁵⁰⁴ There are two sets of Regulations for engagements, courtship, and marriage included with this form. The second set of SPECIAL REGULATIONS which were glued into the form were issued by The Salvation Army Headquarters in Melbourne and came into force in September 1891 and replaced those printed on the original form. Both sets are reproduced here, with the new regulations typed in bold.

- (e) "No Officer will be allowed to marry until he or she has been at least three years in the field, except in the case of long-standing engagements before application for the work.
- (f) "No Male Officer will, under any circumstances, be allowed to marry before he is twenty-two years of age, unless required by Headquarters for special service.
- (g) "Headquarters will not agree to the marriage of any Male Officer (except under extraordinary circumstances) until twelve months after consenting to his engagement.
- (h) "Consent will not be given to the engagement of any Male Officer unless the young woman is likely to make a suitable wife for an Officer, and (if not already an Officer) is prepared to come into Training at once.
- (i) "Consent will not be given to the engagement of Male Lieutenants until they have fitted themselves for promotion.
- (j) "Consent will be given to engagements between Female Officers and Soldiers, on condition that the latter are suitable for Officers, and are willing to come into Training if called upon.
- (k) "Consent will never be given to any engagement or marriage which would take an Officer out of the Army.
- (l) "Every Officer must sign, before marriage, the Articles of Marriage, contained in the Orders and Regulations for Field Officers.

SPECIAL REGULATIONS

ENGAGEMENTS, COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

1891

The following Regulations respecting Engagements, Courtship and Marriage, came into force September 1, 1891, from which date they take the place of the Regulations previously issued:-

1. **Officers must inform their Divisional Commander or Headquarters of their desire to ENTER INTO or BREAK OFF any engagement; and no Officer is permitted to enter into or break off any engagement without the consent of Headquarters.**
2. **Officers will not be allowed to carry on any courtship in the town in which they are appointed; nor until TWELVE MONTHS after the date of their first commission.**
3. **Headquarters cannot consent under any circumstances to the engagement of MALE LIEUTENANTS.**
4. **Before Headquarters can consent to the marriage of any Officer, the Divisional Officer must be prepared to give him three Stations as a married man.**
5. **No Officer, after the date of issue of these Regulations, will be allowed to marry until he or she has been at least three years in the field; except in cases of long-standing engagements before application for the work.**
6. **No MALE OFFICER will, under any circumstances, be allowed to marry before he is TWENTY-TWO YEARS of age, unless required by Headquarters for special service.**
7. **Headquarters will not agree to the marriage of any MALE OFFICER (except under extraordinary circumstances) until TWO YEARS after consenting to his engagement.**
8. **Sanction will not be given to the engagement of any MALE OFFICER unless the young woman has successfully passed through the Training Home, or, if already an Officer in the Field, has shown suitability to become an Officer's wife.**
9. **Consent WILL NOT be given to engagements between FEMALE OFFICERS and SOLDIERS until the latter has successfully passed through the Training Home, and proved themselves competent for Officership.**

- 10. Consent will never be given to any engagement or marriage which would take an Officer out of the Army.**
- 11. Every Officer must sign before marriage the Articles of Marriage, contained in the Orders and Regulations for Field Officers.**

MARRIED MEN MUST ALSO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:-

1. How long have you been married?.....
2. Is your wife converted?
3. Have you any children?.....If so, state their number and ages.....
4. Are the members of your family free from bodily defect and disease?.....
5. Does your wife engage to wear Uniform?
6. Does she take part in the work of the Army?.....If so, what?.....
7. Does she wish to become an Officer?.....Or is she only willing that you should be one?
8. Has she always favoured your going to meetings?.....Or complained of your going too much?.....
9. If she objects to your becoming an Officer, what is her reason for doing so?.....
10. Have you read to her the Questions and Answers on this form?.....

These questions are followed by sections on Presents and Testimonials, The Doctrines of The Salvation Army, a Declaration which is to be signed by the candidate and, if married, also by his wife and a section for the candidate to write their personal experience, which is to include an account of their life and experience both before and after conversion.

APPENDIX THREE

Selected excerpts from the candidate's personal experiences section of the application form for appointment as an officer in The Salvation Army

Male applicants Initial and age	Date of application	Comments
W (21)	1898	Converted at 17. Writes of "impurity of heart and thought through reading impure books and mixing in bad company...had sunk very low, though in intent more than deed" and "God called me to give up every earthly ambition and prospect and live for the Salvation of Souls...".
C (20)	1898	Writes of "bad company, worldly amusements." Had been a Salvation Army soldier for two years. He tried to ignore his call to officership "but had to follow God."
C (24)	1898	Gives his employment history in farming and mining. Was already assisting at a Corps while the officer was away. Had only been a Salvation Army soldier for five months.
J (24 in 1901)	Applied twice-1898 and 1901	Converted in the Junior Corps. "I have tried to satisfy myself at my trade... but feel that God wants more from me..."
A (24)	1908	Converted five months previously, only ten weeks as a Soldier before applying. Spent "a life of pleasure, spending most of my time in the Ballroom and the Theatre...I feel I must be working for God for the harder I work for him, the further temptations are away from me."
G (44)	1912- An application for reacceptance	"I had a little difference with [name] Divisional Officer.
B (29)	1917	Spent 12 months as a soldier. Gives a detailed account of his "sin" as a young man and the consequences of it and an emotional account of his conversion experience.
A (26)	1919	Born into a Christian home "I was called away to the war and while being away I was often

		face to face with death and during these trying times I found my Saviour very precious. I promised God that if I was spared to return in good health I would give my life to S.A. work..." He had been a soldier for one month.
B (23)	1921	Had been eight years a Soldier. Been in The Salvation Army all his life in juniors, band and various Corps positions-no dramatic conversion experience and application reads like a job application. ⁵⁰⁵
N (20)	1922	Had been a Soldier for five years. Gives an account of growing up in the Junior corps, then signed the Articles of War, also a bandsman. No dramatic conversion experience.

Female applicants

R(22)	1900	Church member but went to dance and other worldly amusements, then converted at Salvation Army and now wants to lead others to the Cross. A soldier for two years.
E (18)	1896	Always religious-went to Church and Sunday School, but also went dancing. Had cared for siblings after mother's death. She was "miserable on account of sin," felt the Spirit of God at Salvation Army meeting and got "gloriously converted"... "whether accepted or not plan to go on and do all I can...for the perishing souls around me." A Soldier for 19 months.
B (20)	1907	"no Christian influence at home" allowed to live "a worldly and sinful life." At Salvation Army meeting "God revealed to me my sinful condition" "home

⁵⁰⁵ The information on 'B' and 'N's application form is an indication that for children who grew up as second generation Salvationists, less emphasis on dramatic conversion and officership seen as a career and Salvation Army activities central to their lives. It will be argued in the next section that this led to increasing conformity and conservatism in the organisation.

		opposition severe.” 3 years and 11 months a Soldier.
C (24)	1907	“When in my teens I sought and found my Saviour. Since then I have spent my days attending Army meetings. I had a hard struggle at first, but thank God he stood by me and enabled me to come off a conqueror...My one desire and object in life is to be a faithful follower of him...” A Soldier for 5 years.
M (20)	1910	Describes herself as “a wilful, disobedient child” ... “ever since I learnt to trust Jesus Christ to save me, my life has been a happy one, the joy I have experienced since my mind as [sic] been set on Army work is more than I can find words to express.” 2 years a Soldier
J (22)	1918	Little Christian influence in childhood. “Convicted of sin” at Salvation Army Harvest Festival. “I now enjoy a bright soul’s experience and for some time have felt the call for Officership.” Two months a Soldier
B (20)	1918	Before conversion “life was of a frivolous nature” Always had a desire to know more of God and become a worker in His vineyard...My hopes are built on nothing less than Jesus Blood and righteousness feeling He requires of me all I have and all I am.” 15 months a Soldier
E (37) wife of B	1917	“I saw plainly that God hadn’t called me to the Army, but he <u>drew</u> me there, only worked through my husband...went to the Penitent Form and there reconsecrated my life to God and promised to serve him in the Army, where God had seen fit to call Mr [husband’s name].”

APPENDIX FOUR

ARTICLES OF MARRIAGE

Orders and Regulations for Field Officers

1891

[The Captain should read the following Articles of Marriage, explaining as he may think desirable, the peculiar meaning of a Salvation Army wedding]

1. We do solemnly declare that we have not sought this marriage for the sake of our own happiness and interests only, although we hope these will be furthered thereby; but because we believe that the union will enable us better to please and serve God, and more earnestly and successfully to fight and work in The Salvation Army.
2. We here promise that we will not allow our marriage in any way to lessen our devotion to God, our affection for our comrades, or our faithfulness in The Army.
3. We each individually promise that we will never do anything likely to prevent the other's doing, or giving, or suffering, anything that is in his or her power to do, give, or suffer, in order to assist The Army, believing that in so doing we shall best promote the glory of God and the Salvation of souls.
4. We also promise that we will use all our influence with each other to promote our constant and entire self-sacrifice in fighting in the ranks of The Salvation Army for the Salvation of the world.
5. We also promise to always regard our home in every way as a Salvation Army Soldier's (or Officer's) Quarters, and to arrange it accordingly, and to train all in it who may be under our influence and authority, for faithful and efficient service in The Army.
6. We promise, whether together or apart, always to do our utmost as true Soldiers of Jesus Christ to carry on and sustain the War, and never to allow The Army to be injured or hindered in any of its interests without doing our utmost to prevent it.
7. Should either of us from sickness, death, or any other cause, cease to be efficient Soldiers, we engage that the remaining one shall continue to the best of his or her ability to fulfil all these promises

[The Captain will then say to the Bride and Bridegroom:-]

“My dear comrades, if you wish to be married upon these terms, and if, in the presence of God, who searches all hearts, you know of no just cause, why you should not be joined in marriage,

Stand Forward!”

APPENDIX FIVE

A POEM OF PODMORE, THE GARRISON LASSIE CAPTAIN⁵⁰⁶

<p>O give a sketch of real life, With pen and ink in black and white To me, is quite a puzzle: What to put in, and what leave out. To be correct, and still be short, A wiser brain might muddle, But as it's for the Lasses "Cry," And in its interest keen am I, I'll try and rhyme my story- A tale of wondrous saving grace Towards a soul of Adam's race, And give Him all the glory.</p> <p>Just over twenty years ago, In Lancashire, 'mid frost and snow, Was where I first did hail from; Until New Zealand shores were sought, Where I was sent to school, and taught To gain an education. Schooldays, church, and sweet home life Rush on in quick succession; But one event stands prominent, My very first impression.</p>	<p>"Twas a <i>revival</i>, and the style Strict Presbyterian. Of course there was no penitent- form; That is not catechism. Quoth parson grave, in solemn tones, "If conscience doth distress thee, Just stay behind at service close, I'll see you in the vestry." I slipped from my companion's side, I felt so very anxious, For in my mind I thought I ought To try and be religious; So timidly, with beating heart I whispered to the warden: "If you please, sir, do you think I could see the parson?" "Ah, well, my child, he's busy now, Engaged with the Committee!" And my poor heart more stony grew; Oh, what a shameful pity.</p>	<p>The Army came, but sad to say, I hate and despised them; I went and thought them awful cranks, And freely criticised them; Until their God awakened me With His direct revealings; The die was cast, and I was shot Deep down into my feelings. So one night in a meeting hot, Led by Commissioner Howard, The struggle ceased, and I found peace As soon as I went forward. It caused a stir, my friends demurred, And I got lots of chaffing, But on I went, I was intent On victory- "neck or nothing." A soldier's life for eighteen months, And then a call still greater So in the Field I sally forth With God as my Director. To Otahuhu, with soldiers true, My first Cadet appointment Till some months spent, I then was sent to Newton as Lieutenant; Then on to Hastings in the East, And Gisborne on still further, Where health broke down, and I was bound To take a lengthy furlough. New Plymouth and Blenheim come in turn, Each station full of blessings; Then came the Newtown Garrison, With all its precious lessons. And now I'm here in Christchurch Corps, And this my one desire, That I may live to serve and save, Beneath the Blood and Fire</p>
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⁵⁰⁶ "A Poem of Podmore, The Garrison Lassie Captain," *The War Cry* June 25, 1892.

Song composed by Beatrice M. Thomson, Port Chalmers.

Printed in, *The War Cry*, June 25, 1892.

Before the Army came along,
Some folks they thought 'twas wrong
To hear a woman speak, and tell
What God had saved her from.
They thought it was not Scriptural
To hear a woman say
That she had given her heart to God,
And walked the narrow way.

CHORUS.

But now we are fighting for Jesus,
Still some folks don't approve of our ways;
But we'll speak and we'll pray,
And sing aloud each day,
For now we are fighting for Jesus!

There are some souls who thank the Army
For the right that it has given
To lassies to go forth and tell
Of Jesus and of heaven.
There are hundreds thanking God to-day,
For some Army lassie's prayer,
That he has used to save their life
From a very dark career.

I'm glad I am a lassie,
And fighting for the right;
I'm glad I have the privilege
To help on in the fight.
I mean to go on faster,
And help the world to gain,
Until I hear the Saviour say,
"Come up with me to reign."

APPENDIX SIX

“WOMEN’S RIGHTS: Lieut. Gertrude Gates Expresses the Opinion of the Band Girls”

The War Cry, June 25, 1892, p.7.

Should we not have our rights? I ask why? I do not give any reason why we should not. God has given us brains, then why should we not use them? particularly when it is for His honour and glory. I often feel like speaking my mind on the subject of women’s rights, and whenever I have the opportunity of ventilating my opinions I do so. In the first place, this is one of the much-needed steps our gallant S.A. has taken. It has broken down the orthodox idea that a woman’s place is at home, and has given us what has long been needed-unrestrained liberty of action and thought.

In the Army we have an opportunity of using every bit of talent we possess, and by the help of God, and our willingness to obey His voice, even the weakest of us can be used for His service, and can do our part.

Then, my dear sisters, why don’t you live up to your opportunities? In the devil’s service the women are active enough, and, in some cases, are not at all particular what they do in order to gain their ends. Then why not go in to do your level best to gain you rends now, *i.e.*, the salvation of souls and the smile of God?

Men boast that they can do without the women, excepting in the home sphere; but wait, and we will prove that in their boasting they err. We will take worldly pleasures for instance. What is the chief attraction in all places of public amusement but woman, as well as in private life? Men will talk more about their charms and accomplishments, when their pleasure and excitement are over, than the object of their sports or the nature of the play, as it may be. They admit that women are to be admired; then let us lay ourselves out to be admired in the right way.

Let our Light so Shine Before MEN

that they may see our good works, and glorify God. Some lasses may say, “Well, I am no good; I can’t do anything;” but that is nonsense; you can if you are willing, for I have proved it. For instance, before I was saved I used to devote days of thought upon the designing of a ball-dress, and the outcome of it all was that I might eclipse some one else, get the most dances, and gain the smile and admiration of the so-called gentlemen. Well, then, if I had brains and talents to waste in that direction, why should I not use every faculty I possess in designing a way to get sinners saved and gaining God’s smile and approval? Of course I should, and yet there are dozens of women in our ranks today, who are saved from the same of similar evils, who sit quietly by and let the men do their work. God bless you, lasses. Don’t let the Lord come and find your lamps without oil.

God has Saved You for a Purpose,

and not to be idle. No, no; there is too much work to be done. No drones in His kingdom. The bees turn the drones out of the hive, so will God turn idlers out of the kingdom.

The men are only just beginning to wake up, and I tell you, girls, we have put some of them on their mettle. Take our Lasses’ Band for example. Even our worthy Ensign is obliged to confess that the women are the best men after all. Indeed we are a very important and useful people too. When a special band was to be formed, it was chosen to be of lasses, and, after three weeks’ practice, we were commissioned and sent out like orphans to tour the colony. Tell me if ever you knew a men’s band accomplishing such a thing.

Some of us did not know a note of music, and some of us had never handled our instruments before; but still, we women, when we take an idea into our heads, do our best to accomplish our ends, and that brings success.

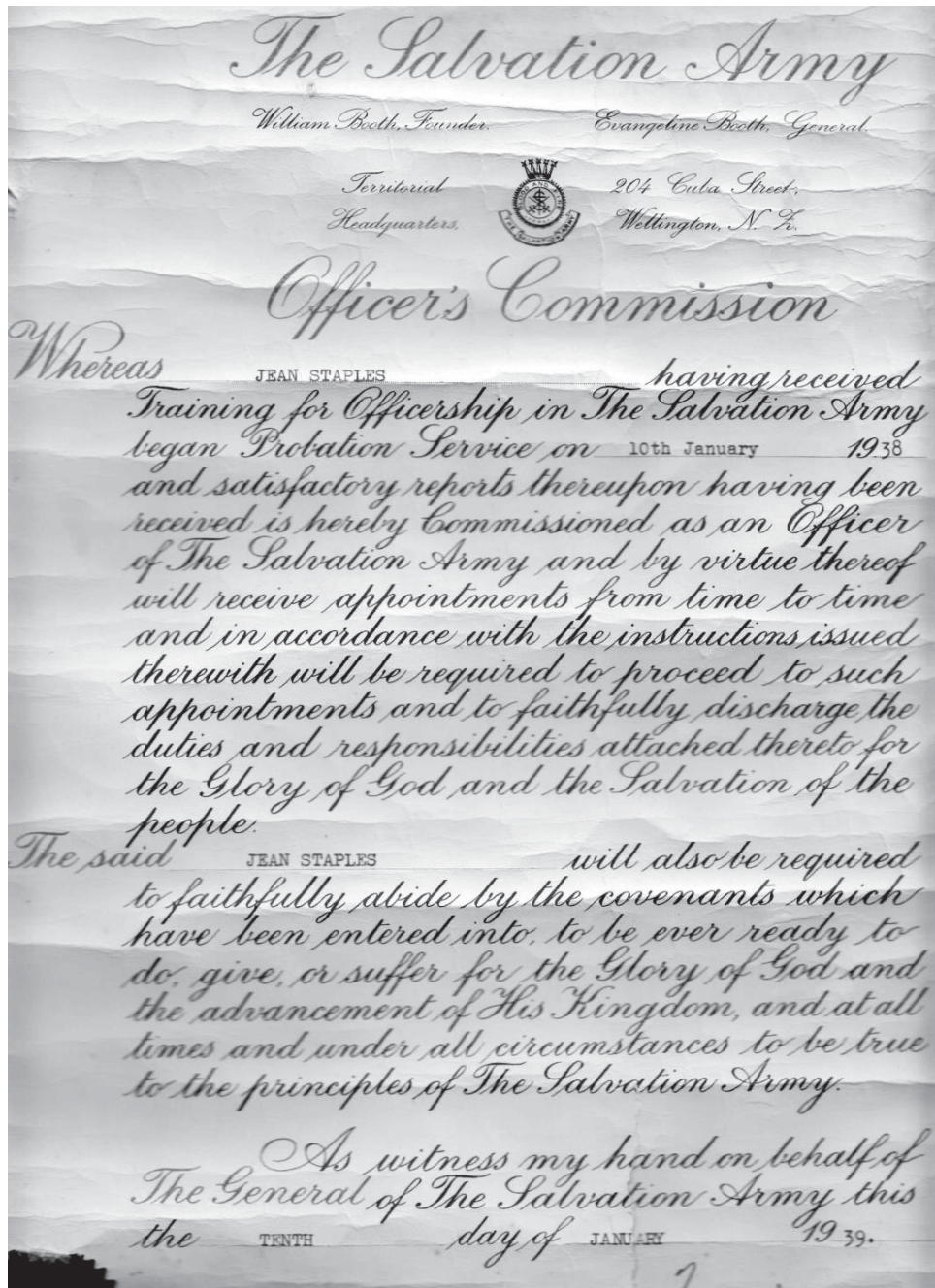
It meant hours of untiring practice and plenty of knee-drill (that's good at all times), and a determined spirit of never-give-in; hence our success, and, without exception, our tour so far has been very successful. Of course, we can't get on without the men altogether, but still,

If we Women are More Independent,

and strike out for ourselves, fight hard for our rights, and use them when we get them, we shall then hold the position in the world that God intends us to take. In the meetings don't let the men do all the testifying and the praying, but take your turn by the holy boldness you possess. You may be a help to some poor, timid, trembling soul, and instead of losing a blessing you may gain one.


APPENDIX SEVEN

The Commissioning Certificate of Jean Staples



The Covenant of Dean Goffin

Signed January 25, 1952



The Salvation Army
WILLIAM BOOTH — Founder

MY COVENANT

Called by Almighty God to Officership in
The Salvation Army

I Give myself to Him, and here and now willingly
bind myself in a solemn Covenant.

*I WILL love and trust and serve HIM supremely
so long as I live.*

*I WILL live to win souls, and I will not allow
anything to turn me aside from seeking their
Salvation as the first great purpose of my life.*

*I WILL be true to The Salvation Army and the
principles represented by its Flag under which I
stand to make this Life-Covenant.*

Done in the strength of my dear SAVIOUR, at
Wellington, in the presence of the Training College
Staff, and of my Comrade-Cadets on THE LAST
SPIRITUAL DAY of the SESSION.

Date 25th January 1952



 } Witness to
this Covenant

APPENDIX EIGHT

Orders and Regulations for Field Officers, 1925.

Part II. Chapter VI. Marriage Relationships Section 4-The Officer and his Wife

1. The Officer's wife is herself an Officer; she shares her husband's ranks and privileges. She should, therefore, possess the qualifications essential to successful Officership (as hereinbefore described); and she is required to observe the Regulations affecting Officers, such as those concerning uniform wearing and the avoidance of worldly adornment. (See *Chapter IV, Section 2 of this Part.*)

The Army Officer and his wife differ from other married couples in that they are partners, not only in respect to private, family and social affairs, but also in respect to life-work and official position. The wife of, say a carpenter, banker, minister of religion, or member of Parliament, is not necessarily such herself; she may know little or nothing about her husband's occupation. Even in the The Salvation Army the wife of a Local Officer is not, in virtue of that fact, herself a Local Officer. But an Officer's wife is, so to speak, 'in the business' with her husband, that business being leadership in the carrying out of The Army's high purposes.

2. The Officer husband should regard and treat his wife as his comrade in the War. He should study her spiritual welfare, give her due opportunity for the exercise of her gifts, avoid keeping her or allowing her to remain in the background, and talk freely with her about everything connected with the fight and with the interests of the Army. In short, he should make her actually his partner in the great enterprise in which he is engaged, in all his dealings acting in accordance with The Army's principles concerning the position of women. (see *Part I, Chapter XII.*)
3. The Officer's wife will find that, in some respects, her sphere of service differs from that of other Officers, and she may be inclined, especially in certain circumstances (when closely occupied by a young family, for example) to feel that her opportunities are comparatively restricted. But she should remember that, in important directions, she can, all along, wield a most important influence.
 - (a) Upon the Officer's wife depends, to a very large extent, her husband's well-being and success. If godly, devoted, and skilful, she can stimulate him to rise to the highest of which he is capable-guarding his spiritual life, supporting him in trial, assisting him in difficulty, cheering him in discouragement, guiding him in perplexity, and inspiring him to constant perseverance. She can make it comparatively easy for him to fulfil his duties and obligations; for example, by punctual, carefully prepared meals and other methodical household arrangements; by economy in the outlay of income; by willingly agreeing to his absence in the interests of the War; by sparing him needless anxiety concerning home and children. She can, on the other, hand, by failing him in these respects, be more or less of a handicap to him throughout his career.
 - (b) The Officer's wife possesses an immeasurable influence with her own children. They watch her at close quarters throughout their childhood and youth, and if they continually see in her the

spirit and conduct proper to true Salvation Army leadership, they are likely, in due course, to follow the Saviour in the same path of self-sacrifice and devotion.

- (c) The Officer's wife can exert considerable influence over other women, especially wives and mothers, such as neither husband nor any single Officer could hope for. The women feel that she understands them, and hence are prepared –provided she is good and true-to accept and often to seek her counsel, in spiritual as well as social and household matters.
4. The Officer's wife, while giving all due attention to the claims of husband, home, and children, should conduct her domestic affairs simply and methodically, omitting all that is unnecessary, in order that as much as possible of her time and strength may be of direct Salvation service. The nature of such service will depend largely upon her husband's appointment.
- (a) In most appointments- for example, at Corps and Institutions-an Officer's wife should usually assist her husband, often acting as his Second-in Command. He is, of course, responsible, but she should interest herself, and as far as strength and opportunity permit, take her full share in every phase of work under his direction, giving special attention to those departments for which she, as a married woman, is peculiarly adapted. This would, as a rule, include efforts on behalf of women, such as the Home League; also visitation, particularly of those cases where a male visitor might be less acceptable or effective.
 - (b) In most appointments-for example, on a Headquarters-the wife could not, as a rule, suitably act as her husband's Second-in –Command, although even then she can often render valuable assistance. In certain circumstances a wife so situated may be entrusted, by Headquarters, with some definite responsibility distinct from that of her husband. But whether this be so or not, such Officer's wife should serve to the best of her ability as a Soldier-and if desired as a Local Officer-of the Corps to which she belongs. The fact that she is an Officer's wife gives her a standing with the people which increases her opportunities for usefulness.
5. In order that the Officer's wife shall satisfactorily fulfil the manifold demands made upon her, she will need to exercise constant vigilance and care in many directions.
- (a) She must resist the tendency to settle down and slip into the background. She should not allow herself to feel that, because she is not responsible (as possibly she was before marriage) her help is not required, but she should take an active part in the fight, as far as circumstances permit.
 - (b) She must, at all costs, keep a bright spiritual experience, devoting needful time to communion with God, no matter to what extent domestic and other claims make it difficult for her to do so.
 - (c) She should keep herself well informed. She should read diligently, especially Army publications, extending her own interests and sympathies beyond the limits of her own family and immediate surroundings.
 - (d) She should be willing to occupy a back place if necessary, yet capable of filling a front-rank position.
 - (e) She should avoid discouragement should her opportunities be restricted and her gifts apparently unappreciated, maintaining her interest in the fight, preserving the right spirit, and doing all that she can even if withheld from doing all that she would like.
 - (f) She should guard against a fretful, grumbling spirit.
 - (g) She should resist any tendency to worldliness in the furnishing of her quarters or the dressing of her children, also the temptation to gossip, either in her own home or elsewhere.
6. In recommending the advance of married Officers to higher positions and wider spheres of service, responsible Army leaders usually take into consideration the character, capabilities, and work of the wife as well as those of the husband.

7. The Officer and his wife are required, whenever possible, to attend Officers' Councils together.

APPENDIX NINE

WORK SCHEDULE OF ERNEST ELLIOT AT RIVERTON CORPS IN 1936

COMPILED FOR THE TWO SINGLE WOMEN OFFICERS WHO WERE TO TAKE OVER FROM ERNEST AND ANN ELLIOT

"The following has been my plan for each month. I have not always been able to carry it out in its entirety but would strongly advise as close as an adherence to it as possible.

First week of the month visit and conduct meetings beyond Tuatapere.

Monday. Visit and hold meeting at new mill, Papatotara, in the home of Mr Spain, a converted man anxious to help others. The mill is not very large. Sometimes I stay the night at the mill and on others proceed to Mrs Hill at Clifden, 14 kilometres north of Tuataupere.

Tuesday. Visit district and hold meeting at Sandford's Mill in Mrs Trainor's home. Arriving at the mill I usually visit and dine with Mr and Mrs McDonald, and immediately after commence the meeting. Quite a number of children attend here. To sleep I return to Mrs Hill's, Clifden.

Wednesday. Visit and hold meeting at the Lilburn Mill. Meeting at 8 o'clock mill time, which in the majority of places is half an hour ahead of usual time, in either Mrs Dixon's or Mrs McKenzie's, both of whom are very nice. The children from Clifden usually attend this meeting.

Thursday. Cottage meeting in the Clifden district. Mrs E. Hill will introduce you to your responsibilities here. I have high hopes for this meeting and run it on real Army lines. If prayerfully and carefully handled, some of these folks will eventually link up as Salvationists. The meeting is a weekly one. I usually attend three times monthly. For 45 years the Army has not been able to get a meeting going here and at last we have succeeded. I believe, by God's help, it will grow under your leadership.

Friday. Finish visiting and return home. Second week in the month, visit Riverton. Third week in the month, visit Colac Bay-Longwood

Meetings held in Riverton

Sunday 7.30am Kneedrill

10.00am Bible Class (fortnightly)

11.00am Holiness Meeting

2.30pm Junior Meeting

6.15pm Open-air Meeting

7.00pm Salvation Meeting

On the first Sunday in every month there is the hospital meeting, 6 to 6.30pm. Take as many comrades as possible.

Tuesday

7.30pm Open-air Meeting

8.00pm Soldiers Meeting

Thursday

2.30pm Home League

7.30pm Cottage Meeting, winter months

Friday

Do books at Treasurer Mrs Saunders

Saturday

7.00pm Shop collection

7.45pm Open-air Meeting

8.30pm Prayer Meeting

Tihaka and Colac Bay: Juniors held at 1.30pm every Sunday. Secretary Saunders (Jessie, the daughter of the Treasurer) will explain the procedure.

Longwood: Senior meeting, fortnightly, 2.45pm in the railway station, also Juniors, weekly, 2.45pm. On the meeting day they both join together.

Orepuki and Tuatapere: I have discontinued the open-air meetings that usually were held fortnightly in these places and would advise you to concentrate on the mill work which, I believe, will be more profitable.

Harvest Festival: I have collected the whole of the district and held harvest meetings in Riverton. Also Y. P. Harvest Festival at Tihaka and Colac Bay, both of which were successful....

Sale of Work: An annual sale of work is held in June or July and is a good financial effort. The women of the corps will rally round in good style. In 1936 we had a "Maoriland Fair" which resulted in 45 pounds being taken.

Self denial: The comrades usually do Riverton but the remainder is the responsibility of the officers.

Christmas War Cry: They go like hot cakes. I had 750.

Carolling: Do the town and Riverton Rocks and nearby country as opportunity permits. On Christmas Eve and Christmas morning I took the car and carolled the back country at Clifden and Otahu Flat.

Bible Class: This is just a new venture but proving fine. Most of the young folk live out at Colac Bay, so I leave Riverton (fortnightly) at 9.15am to travel to Colac Bay to pick them up and bring them in...."

Sourced from: Manson, Kenneth J. *He Walked With God and Man: A Biography of Commissioner Ernest Elliot, C.B.E.* Wellington: The Salvation Army, 1997, pp. 19-21.

APPENDIX TEN
EMERY HOSPITAL, ANAND

5/8/45

Dear Captain Williamson,

I am pleased to know you have arrived in India. You are going to a great hospital and a marvellous opportunity. I have wished I could have a word with you. As this is impossible I am doing the next best thing-writing.

I have been saddened to see many beautiful nurses come out full of hope and ambition who, in a short time have become disappointed, soured or heart-broken by the hardness of the road or misunderstandings of various sorts.

May I ask you to make a vow not to lose your experience? There is no need to. I have not yet. My wife has not. Be determined to let nothing dim your call-not even a row with another nurse, a cross word from a doctor or any misunderstanding with anyone.

Do not listen to criticisms of the Army-remember the Army is bigger than any one of us!

What a sermon! But I guess I have been there long enough to see more than one nurse get astray or embittered and I don't want you to do so.

Yours sincerely

A. Bramwell Cook

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GLOSSARY

Articles of War- The document Salvationists sign at the time of their enrolment as soldiers.

Barracks-A Salvation Army hall

Cadet –A Salvationist in training for officership

Candidate- A Salvation Army soldier who has been accepted for officer training in The Salvation Army.

Chief Secretary-An officer who is second in command of a territory.

Citadel-A hall used for corps operations- a Salvation Army worship centre. Earlier names used include Fortress and Barracks.

Commission- A document conferring authority upon a staff or field officer, or upon an unpaid local officer

Congress-Central gatherings held in most territories annually to which all officers of the territory are summoned. Many Salvation Army soldiers also attend.

Corps-A Salvation Army church, generally under the leadership of one or more officers.

Corps Cadet-A young Salvationist who undertakes a course of study and training at his or her corps.

Division-A number of corps grouped together under the direction of a Divisional Commander.

Divisional Commander [D.C.]-The officer in charge of a Division

Divisional Young Peoples' Secretary [D.Y.P.S]-The officer in charge of The Salvation Army's work with children and young people in a Division.

Field Secretary-An officer responsible to the Territorial Commander for corps officers and their interests.

Field Side-The evangelistic work of The Salvation Army and the work of the organisation that centres round the corps.

General, The-An officer elected to the supreme command of the Army throughout the world. All appointments are made, and all regulations issued, under his authority.

Hallelujah Windup-A time of praise with singing and clapping, usually at the end of a meeting, when the flag is marched around the hall.

High Council- A group composed of the Chief of the Staff, all active Commissioners, and Colonels of two years' standing who hold territorial commands. The High Council elects the General and may be called upon to adjudicate upon the fitness of a General for office, in accordance with the Deed Poll of 1904.

Home League- The Salvation Army's women's organisation which holds regular meetings in the corps.

Junior Soldier-A boy or girl who, having professed conversion has signed the junior soldier's pledge and become a Salvationist.

Knee-drill-A prayer meeting

Local Officer-A soldier appointed to a position of responsibility and authority in a corps who carries out the duties of his/her appointment without being separated from their regular employment or receiving remuneration from the Army.

Marching Orders-Instructions from Territorial Headquarters informing an officer that he/she is being moved to a new corps.

Officer-A Salvationist who has left ordinary employment and, having been trained and commissioned, is (until retirement) engaged in full-time Salvation Army service.

Opened Fire-To commence the work of The Salvation Army in a particular location.

Outpost-A locality in which Army work is carried on from time to time, and which it is hoped will eventually develop into a corps.

Penitent-form or Mercy Seat-A bench, usually at the front of an Army hall, where people are invited to kneel and pray in order to seek salvation or sanctification or make a special consecration to God's will and service.

Promotion to Glory- The Salvation Army's term for the death of a Salvationist.

Quarters-The officers' home.

Ranks- (in order of seniority) 2nd Lieutenant, 1st Lieutenant, Captain, Major, Senior-Major, Brigadier [other ranks which were abolished during the period 1883-1960 include Staff-Captain, Ensign, Commandant, Adjutant] Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel, Lieutenant-Commissioner, Commissioner, General.

Red Shield Guides and Scouts-The Salvation Army's equivalent of Girl Guides and Boy Scout groups.

Sergeant-Major-The chief local officer in a corps who assists the corps officers with meetings and usually takes command in their absence.

Social Side-The welfare work of the organisation that centres on its social institutions.

Soldier-A person who has in a formal ceremony, joined The Salvation Army by giving evidence of salvation/conversion and signing the Articles of War.

Territorial Commander [T.C.]-The officer in charge of a Territory.

Territory-A country, part of a country or, several countries combined, in which Salvation Army work is organized under a Territorial Commander.