

“Reading Love Between the Lines”:  
Religion, Courtship, and Correspondence in the Salvation Army, 1906-1910

by

Ashley Forseille  
B.A., Thompson Rivers University, 2010

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of History

© Ashley Forseille, 2012  
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy  
or other means, without the permission of the author.

## **Supervisory Committee**

“Reading Love Between the Lines”:  
Religion, Courtship, and Correspondence in the Salvation Army, 1906-1910

by

Ashley Forseille  
B.A., Thompson Rivers University, 2010

### **Supervisory Committee**

Dr. Lynne Marks, Department of History  
**Co-Supervisor**

Dr. Elizabeth Vibert, Department of History  
**Co-Supervisor**

## Abstract

### Supervisory Committee

Dr. Lynne Marks, Department of History

Co-Supervisor

Dr. Elizabeth Vibert, Department of History

Co-Supervisor

This thesis examines the romantic relationship of Henry Tutte and Edith Willey according to three main influences – religion, gender, and letter writing – seeking to understand Henry and Edith’s conceptions of courtship and marriage by analyzing their love letters to one another. It argues that all three shaped their relationship – religion and gender serving as frameworks of understanding and correspondence as a space for identity creation. Edith and Henry’s status as officers in the Salvation Army meant that they were officially regulated by Army sanction and unofficially regulated by the Salvationist community. The couple followed the majority of the regulations placed on them but at times negotiated and refashioned the limits of acceptably in order to foster emotional and spiritual intimacy. Henry and Edith saw connections between the spiritual love supported by Army ideology and the romantic love that they felt for one another, which lead them to couch their relationship in their faith. Conceptual connections between faith and gender continued as they wrote about their future roles as husband and wife, imagining their lives together and molding one another through subtle written interactions.

## Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee .....	ii
Abstract .....	iii
Table of Contents .....	iv
Dedication .....	v
Introduction .....	1
The Salvation Army in Canada .....	3
Courtship and Marriage .....	18
Chapter One: Edith Willey and Henry Tutte .....	28
Chapter Two	
“Giving you a look that would betray our secret”: Official and Unofficial Regulation of Courtship in the Salvation Army .....	38
Chapter Three	
“I loved Jesus in you darling”: Religion, Love, and Letter Writing .....	68
Chapter Four	
“A letter from my little wife (to be that is)”: Gender and the Expectations of Marriage.....	88
Conclusion .....	121
Bibliography .....	125
Published Secondary Sources .....	125
Unpublished Sources .....	133
Published Primary Sources .....	134
Archival Sources .....	135
Newspapers and Periodicals.....	135

## **Dedication**

*To Edith and Henry Tutte*

## Introduction

Why do I write so certain?  
Why do I speak so sure?  
That God in Heaven,  
My Love has given?  
Dear Edith, my Love is pure.

As God looks down upon us,  
Sees us walk hand in hand,  
He'll lead us aright,  
If for Him we fight,  
So sweetheart, Our Love is Grand.<sup>1</sup>

We can see from the above poem that Henry Tutte and Edith Willey were guided through their courtship by faith.<sup>2</sup> Henry wrote this assertion of his certainty in 1906, at the beginning of their five-year courtship, emphasizing the connection that he saw between his role as a partner to Edith and his devotion to the Salvation Army. This thesis examines Edith and Henry's romantic relationship according to three main influences – religion, gender, and letter writing, seeking to understand their conceptions of courtship and marriage by analyzing their love letters to one another. I argue that all three shaped their relationship – religion and gender serving as frameworks of understanding and correspondence as a space for identity creation.

---

<sup>1</sup> Excerpt of a poem written in Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 7 Dec 1906, Saskatoon, private collection of Dr. Lynne Marks, Department of History, University of Victoria. Photocopies of Edith and Henry's courtship letters were donated for the purpose of research to Dr. Lynne Marks. Despite efforts to find the original documents, both in various archives and from the donating student, I was unable to locate them for the purpose of this research. The collection of photocopies does not contain all of the letters that Edith and Henry exchanged. Clear gaps in time and information are evident, making it difficult to follow a clear conversation between the two parties. It is unclear whether the original collection is more extensive. Henry wrote the majority of the letters – 71 of 116; most of them written early in their relationship. Only one of Edith's letters from 1906 and 1907 was preserved, compared to Henry's 44 letters. Between 1908 and 1910 Edith's letters were more numerous and we can see a clearer view of the exchanges between the two.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Tutte and Edith Willey will be referred to hereafter as Henry and Edith.

Henry and Edith met, courted, and were married while officers in the Canadian Salvation Army. It is clear that they understood their relationship through a lens of religion. Their shared conception of romantic love was related to religious or spiritual love, bringing them to entwine their love for one another with their love of God. Within their faith, Henry and Edith created a space for emotional and spiritual intimacy, allowing them to enact and enhance their faith through their interactions with one another. While this was a phenomenon specific to the letters, it is likely that other Salvationists thought of love in a similar way given that the Salvation Army supported the connection between various manifestations of love.

The Salvation Army was a regulatory body and a community, both of which directed the courtship of Salvationists. William Booth, the Army's founder, wrote prescriptive literature and official regulations to act as a guide for courting couples. In addition to the Army's established disciplinary system, Booth also encouraged self-regulation and community surveillance, reducing the need for officers to officially intervene in the romantic relationships of other Salvationists. These forms of regulation overlapped and functioned in tandem, all of which applied to other Salvationists, although we can only speculate the extent of Army success beyond Edith and Henry's relationship.

Because officers were transient and regulated by the Army, this couple – along with a majority of other courting Salvationists – had to write rather than court in person. Henry wrote the first of his love letters to Edith on 21 January 1906, when she travelled from Saskatchewan to Manitoba to visit her ailing father. From this starting point, Henry and Edith corresponded as they moved from one appointment to the next, faced

separation from loved ones, and struggled with the regulations imposed on their courtship by the Salvation Army. In order to cope with the constraints on their relationship, Henry and Edith created space to interact within their letters, subtly shaping one another and forming a shared conception of their love and future marriage.

This research focuses on the connections and disjunctures that Henry and Edith saw between their gendered and religious understandings of themselves and of others. For example, marriage meant that Edith had to change her role as a female Salvationist. Although she initially discussed remaining a preacher, Edith left this behind in favour of a supportive wifely role to Henry. Army prescriptions supported the delineation of married and single female roles, encouraging Edith to transition from preacher to the wife of an officer. In this case, the expectations of gender changed Edith's religious participation.

Gender, religion, and letter writing form the fabric of this research, weaving throughout the body of this thesis. The following sections discuss the historiography of each sub-field in order to illustrate the intersection of these topics and the gaps in the literature that a study of Edith and Henry's relationship can illuminate.

## **The Salvation Army in Canada**

The Salvation Army grew from the nonconformist Christian denominations of late nineteenth-century England.<sup>3</sup> The Army's founders, William and Catherine Booth, were successful Methodist preachers during the late 1850s and 1860s. After attracting large

---

<sup>3</sup> Glen Horridge, *The Salvation Army: Origins and Early Days: 1865-1900* (Surrey, UK: Ammonite Books, 1993), 3-4.

crowds to his services in Whitechapel and demonstrating the success of his methods, William Booth was asked to take charge of the Christian Revival Association, a nondenominational group that preached in the East End of London.<sup>4</sup> This organization changed its name five times over the subsequent ten years, becoming the Salvation Army in 1878.

The Salvation Army was designed by the Booths to be both exciting and relevant to the average person, combining military language, working-class culture, and revivalist methods to reach the “unchurched masses.” Elaborate churches were rejected in favour of simple halls. Adherents were known as soldiers and preachers were officers. Brass bands – a prominent element of contemporary military culture – were public symbols of the movement and Salvationists wore militaristic uniforms. The Booths applied to the Army many of the lessons they had learned as Methodist preachers. For example, open-air meetings were a common style of meeting, paralleling the Methodist camp meeting. Following the Methodist example as well as the influence of Catherine Booth, the Army featured female preachers, known as Hallelujah Lasses, who drew crowds out of both novelty and excitement. Because of the Army’s distinct methods, the organization grew rapidly; 519 English corps were formed by 1883.<sup>5</sup>

The Army spread to the United States, Australia, and Canada during the 1880s. International expansion was less a plan on the part of William Booth than an organic evolution as British immigrants brought the practices of the Salvation Army from their homeland.<sup>6</sup> In May of 1882, Jack Addie and Joe Ludgate, two recent British immigrants

---

<sup>4</sup> Horridge, *The Salvation Army*, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Horridge, *The Salvation Army*, 38.

<sup>6</sup> R.G. Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada: The History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion 1882-1979* (Toronto: Peter Martian Associates, 1977), 6.

to Canada, held the first Army-style meetings in London, Ontario.<sup>7</sup> This began a process whereby the Army recognized Canada as a territory separate from the United States and appointed its first commissioner, Thomas Bales Coombs.<sup>8</sup> The Army grew rapidly in Canada perhaps, as historian R.G. Moyles suggests, filling the void that Methodism left as it became more respectable and less appealing to rural and working-class Canadians.<sup>9</sup> While the stronghold of the institution remained in Ontario, corps were formed across the fledgling country, reaching as far as Victoria, British Columbia by 1887.<sup>10</sup> The peak of Army membership in Canada was recorded in the mid-1880s at 25 000 soldiers, followed by a steep decline to 14 000 soldiers in 1891.<sup>11</sup>

During the 1880s, the Canadian Salvation Army closely followed the format of its British parent movement. Officers traveled to Canadian cities to spark revival meetings with the hope of establishing new corps. These officers received orders directing their progress, although the central organization of the movement was minimal during this early period. In order to encourage spectators to participate in meetings and experience conversion, Salvationists returned to early Methodist forms of revival, breaking with more reserved contemporary forms of evangelical worship.<sup>12</sup> Marching bands paraded through urban and rural areas and officers, both male and female, gave passionate testimony of their own conversion, emphasizing spiritual equality and empowerment. In

---

<sup>7</sup> Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada*, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada*, 10.

<sup>9</sup> Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada*, 13.

<sup>10</sup> Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada*, 11. For more information on the Salvation Army in Victoria see Susan Neylan, "Encountering Spirits: Evangelical and Holiness Revivals in Victoria, BC, and the 'Colonial Project,'" *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 36.71 (2003): 175-204.

<sup>11</sup> Lynne Marks, "The 'Hallelujah Lasses': Working-Class Femininity and the Salvation Army in English Canada, 1882-92," in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, 67-117 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992): 74.

<sup>12</sup> It was previously accepted that revivalism declined after the 1830s, following the Second Great Awakening. Recently historiography has begun to contest this conclusion. See for example Marguerite Van Die, "'The Marks of a Genuine Revival': Religion, Social Change, Gender, and Community in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario," *Canadian Historical Review* 79.3 (1998): 524-563.

the 1880s and early 1890s, the Army's willingness to transgress contemporary mainstream religious practices drew converts to the penitent form as well as outrage from local citizens. Canadian newspapers and magazines recorded the views of many non-Salvationists who argued that the Salvation Army encouraged disorder, both sexually and civically, through its unusual methods.<sup>13</sup>

By 1906 when Henry and Edith began to court, the Canadian Salvation Army had changed significantly since its founding more than twenty years earlier. The Army was first established in Canada as a satellite to the original British organization. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Canadian Army put in place financial and bureaucratic structures that formed a distinctly Canadian organization, while still maintaining ties to the headquarters in London.<sup>14</sup> The Army also systematized training colleges that allowed Canadians to obtain commissioned ranks, eventually replacing some of the positions originally held by British officers.

As an international organization, the Salvation Army began to focus on social outreach as a strategy for salvation in the late 1880s. Before this shift, the Army relied on revival meetings to draw followers. In the late 1880s and beyond, the organization began to open rescue homes and other social institutions for "fallen" women. Philanthropic venues were supposed to draw in non-Salvationists so that they could experience conversion. In this way, social work replaced revivals as the main method of evangelizing.<sup>15</sup> It is a mistake to see the shift to philanthropic activities as a uniform

---

<sup>13</sup> For examples see Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in Late Nineteenth Century Small Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996): 173-176.

<sup>14</sup> Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada*, 10.

<sup>15</sup> Street preaching has been documented into the 1910s in some Canadian cities. In 1909 and 1912, for example, there was a conflict over free speech between the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the Vancouver corps of the Salvation Army. The Vancouver city police ordered the IWW to cease public gatherings held at the intersection of Carrall and Hastings streets while ignoring the open airs held by the

process; however, it is important to acknowledge that the Canadian Army was a part of this shift. Because the bulk of Canadian scholarly histories focus on the early Salvation Army when it was primarily a revivalist movement, we know very little about the Canadian Salvation Army between 1890 and 1940. It is clear that during this time the Army shifted its focus from revivalism to philanthropic work but the timing and extent of this shift – especially in smaller communities and in the West – requires further attention.

R.G. Moyle's *The Blood and Fire in Canada* discusses the ways that the Salvation Army was marketed and perceived by the public beyond the 1890s. While the book was published thirty-five years ago, it remains the most detailed study of the Canadian Army's transition from revivalist movement to philanthropic organization. Moyle argues that while the social wing of the Canadian Salvation Army became a "distinct and independent branch of Christian outreach" by 1900, the public image of the Salvation Army was not so quick to change. In the early twentieth century, new programs increased public awareness of social efforts, slowly solidifying the reputation of the Army's philanthropy. It was not until after World War II that "the Social Wing had become the better-known, relegating the Army's evangelical ministry to a secondary role and, as far as most Canadians were concerned, relative obscurity."<sup>16</sup>

---

Salvation Army on the opposite street corner, which sparked the dispute. Mark Leier, "Solidarity on Occasion: The Vancouver Free Speech Fights of 1909 and 1912," *Labour/ Le Travail* 23 (1989): 39-66.

<sup>16</sup> Moyle, *The Blood and Fire in Canada*, 135. There has been a limited amount of public history written about the role of the Salvation Army in the World Wars, which – especially for the American Army – cemented the reputation of the organization as a charity through work on the home front and in Europe. The Army participated in the distribution of luxury items and necessities, fundraising efforts, and aiding the wounded during both World War I and II. American sources also emphasize the role that the Army played in reminding soldiers of American values. See Lettie Gavin, "The Salvation Army," in *American Women in World War I* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1997). While neither a scholarly nor analytical work, Gavin offers insight into the American conception of the Salvation Army through the description of personal narrative, making clear that after the efforts of Salvationists during the First World War, Americans understood the Salvation Army to be primarily engaged in social work. Moyle argues that while Canadian Salvationists were engaged in the First World War at home, it was not until the Second World War that the Canadian Salvation Army became active in supporting Canadian troops overseas.

The sources used here raise questions about the implementation of institutional policy within the individual corps of smaller communities. Certainly, Edith and Henry saw themselves as nineteenth-century evangelists more than twentieth-century social workers. When Henry's role changed from preacher to financial manager and fundraiser, he wrote to Edith that his faith was not as strong, and wished that he could become a field officer again. That he thought a position as a field officer would be more spiritually rewarding speaks to Henry's belief that the Army should have remained primarily a revivalist movement.<sup>17</sup> Edith and Henry believed that the Army was becoming too restrained and lacked the passionate worship that characterized the movement in the nineteenth century. They were not alone in their criticism; P.W. Philpott, for example, founded the Christian Workers' Church in 1892 after leaving his position as an officer in the Salvation Army. His main criticism was that the shift to philanthropy encouraged some officers to focus on money and status rather than faith and salvation.<sup>18</sup> Edith and Henry had similar concerns and their belief that the Army should remain a revivalist movement informs the direction of this thesis. Perhaps the vision of themselves as evangelists was a general characteristic of field officers as opposed to officers engaged in policymaking and enforcement.

While Henry and Edith experienced a revivalist movement, the Canadian Army was standardizing procedures, establishing financial stability, and emphasizing social

---

<sup>17</sup> Edith and Henry's conception of the Army as an evangelical movement was established while posted at the Saskatoon corps. The Salvation Army in Saskatoon was fledging in the early twentieth century, meaning that the operations in the city were concerned with establishing a stable congregation and financial footing rather than instituting social work programs. Both Henry and Edith wrote about attending outdoor meetings and listening to testimony. They did not, however, discuss social work programs while in Saskatoon. Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 28 Oct 1909, Montreal; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 28 May 1910, Montreal; Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 12 June 1910, Port Arthur, ON.

<sup>18</sup> Kenneth Draper, "A Peoples Religion: P.W. Philpott and the Hamilton Christian Workers' Church," *Social History* 36.71 (2003): 99-121.

work programs. Scholars have suggested that the Salvation Army began to take on these elements of middle-class Protestant culture in order to provide longevity and broader acceptance for the organization.<sup>19</sup> Philanthropy, for example, was an accepted middle-class aspect of religious participation for both single and married women. The Salvation Army rose to meet this expectation in that Salvationist women, especially those who were married, were channelled into social work and away from preaching.<sup>20</sup> Additionally, the bureaucracy and efficiency of the new Army was closer to middle-class values than the previous loosely organized evangelical movement, as was the system of accreditation that standardized the requirements to become an officer. This inclusion of middle-class religious elements sometimes meant the exclusion of the working-class culture that had been foundational for the movement.<sup>21</sup> It is likely that this exclusion alienated the working-class adherents who had once found a haven from middle-class prejudice in the Army. At the same time, the move towards more conventional methods meant that the Army was more widely accepted by mainstream Christians. Rumours about disorderly Army practice all but disappeared from the secular press by the early twentieth century.<sup>22</sup>

S.D. Clark's foundational work *Church and Sect in Canada*, published in 1948, illustrates an evolution in early Canadian sects from evangelical, revivalist movements to

---

<sup>19</sup> For example, see Moyles, *Blood and Fire*, 121-125.

<sup>20</sup> The pressure for married female officers to step back from preaching is discussed further in Chapter Four.

<sup>21</sup> As R.G. Moyles argues, by the 1890s the Army could no longer afford to hold disruptive meetings and irritate the established elite with parades and street corner preaching. The Salvation Army needed the financial support of middle- and upper-class Canadians in order to continue, so Commander Herbert Booth put in place a "programme of consolidation" by which "the Salvation Army began consciously to rid itself of the trappings of a sect and take on the vestments of a church." However, it was the lack of 'churchiness' that drew many working-class adherents to the Army during the late nineteenth century. Moyles, *Blood and Fire in Canada*, 121-125.

<sup>22</sup> Some soldiers and officers were disillusioned by the increasingly mainstream operation of the Army. Henry worried that the growing respectability of the Army meant a weakened ability to bring people to salvation. This was a common sentiment expressed by officers around the turn of the century. See Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 4 Jan 1906, Saskatoon; Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada*, 123-4; Draper, "A Peoples Religion."

established, respectable denominations.<sup>23</sup> Although Canadian historians have since critiqued and reworked Clark's sect-to-church characterization of Canadian churches, his basic conclusions about the Salvation Army still hold.<sup>24</sup> When first introduced in Canada during the 1880s, the Salvation Army took the place of Methodist and Baptist sects on the fringes of societal acceptance.<sup>25</sup> Eventually, the Army began to comply more closely to the rules of respectability and build the infrastructure of an organization that could persist beyond the revival stage, just as others had.<sup>26</sup> Although we know little about the process, at the turn of the twentieth century the Salvation Army was moving away from the societal fringes and becoming more widely accepted by other Christians. The Army's inability to achieve the status of a mainline denomination like the Anglican or Catholic churches stemmed from their continued focus on ministering to the poor and destitute.

In an effort to actively remember and record its history, the Salvation Army has commissioned an eight-volume institutional history, the first volume of which was published in 1947.<sup>27</sup> Salvationists have also produced a number of biographies, most of

---

<sup>23</sup> S.D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948).

<sup>24</sup> Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, for example, have further elaborated on changes to the social understandings of the Christian churches during nineteenth-century, highlighting the institutionalization of the both Catholic and Protestant churches in terms of lessened venues for popular expression, increasingly professionalized clergy, and the decline of denominational fluidity. Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, "Discipline and Dissidence in Colonial Society," *Christian Churches and their Peoples, 1840-1965: A Social History of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 7-59.

<sup>25</sup> Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada*, 368.

<sup>26</sup> Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada*, 424.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Sandall, *The History of the Salvation Army, 1865-1878*, vol. 1 (London: Salvation Army, 1947); Robert Sandall, *The History of the Salvation Army, 1878-1886*, vol. 2 (London: Salvation Army, 1950); Robert Sandall, *Social Reform and Welfare Work: The History of the Salvation Army, 1883-1953*, vol. 3 (London: Salvation Army, 1955); Arch Wiggins, *The History of the Salvation Army, 1886-1904*, vol. 4 (London: Salvation Army, 1964); Arch Wiggins, *The History of the Salvation Army, 1904-1914*, vol. 5 (London: Salvation Army, 1968); Federick Coutts, *The Better Fight: The History of the Salvation Army, 1914-1946*, vol. 6 (London: Salvation Army, 1973); Henry Garipey, *Weapons of Goodwill: The History of the Salvation Army, 1946-1977*, vol. 7 (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986); Henry Garipey, *Mobilized for God: The History of the Salvation Army, 1977-1994*, vol. 8. (Atlanta, Ga: Salvation Army, 1999). Robert Collins provides oral history about the Army which, while not commissioned, is closely associated with the organization; Robert Collins, *The Holy War of the Sally Ann: The Salvation Army in*

which describe members of the Booth family.<sup>28</sup> Despite the importance of these volumes for Salvationists, the history they chronicle is largely limited to uncritical description. Scholarly institutional histories by Glenn Horrdiage, Diane Winston, and others provide a more critical examination, although few focus on the Army in Canada.<sup>29</sup>

The majority of historiography discussing gender and identity in the Salvation Army focuses on the late nineteenth-century movement. Lillian Taiz, for example, suggests that national identity was an important component of the American Salvation Army, the leadership of which came into conflict with many of William Booth's policies. As an outcome of these differences, changes to the national leadership were frequent, especially between the years of 1880 and 1904.<sup>30</sup> In the midst of these bureaucratic changes, an "Americanization" of the Army took place in which national symbols like the "Star Spangled Banner" became an important part of the local character.<sup>31</sup> Taiz also contends that the working class was able to access religion in a more familiar setting by circumventing increasingly middle-class denominations. The American Army marketed itself specifically to the working class, "creating an autonomous, democratic, heterosocial alternative world in which [the working class] could express and share their spirituality

---

*Canada* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1984). Also see Henry Garipey, *Christianity in Action: The International History of the Salvation Army* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans., 2009).

<sup>28</sup> Examples that will be discussed later in this thesis include Catherine Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth: The Story of her Loves* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970) and W.T. Stead, *Mrs. Booth of the Salvation Army* (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1900).

<sup>29</sup> Edward H. McKinley, *Marching to Glory: The History of the Salvation Army in the United States of America, 1880-1980* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980); Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada*; Bernard Watson, *A Hundred Years' War: The Salvation Army: 1865-1965* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965); Horrdiage, *The Salvation Army*; Diane Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1999).

<sup>30</sup> Lillian Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses: Remaking the Salvation Army in America, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 24.

<sup>31</sup> Taiz, "Missionaries to America: The Americanization of the Salvation Army," in *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses*, 11-48.

using the vernacular culture of the northern urban working class.”<sup>32</sup> These qualities, which appealed to the American working class, waned in the twentieth century, producing a more middle-class organization, as was true of the organization internationally.<sup>33</sup>

While it is plain that urban centers were able to draw in larger congregations, the Army was also active in smaller communities. While R.G. Moyles argued that the prairies were too thinly populated to sustain the Army, this research shows that in both Regina and Saskatoon, corps worked actively to convert farmers and immigrants well into the twentieth century. Moyles has since published on the topic of the Mountaineer Brigade, a group of itinerant preachers that served the population of miners and lumberman in the interior of British Columbia.<sup>34</sup> In *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, Lynne Marks affirms the role of the Salvation Army in smaller urban centres. By exploring the intersections of class, gender, and religion, Marks found that the Salvation Army was a significant venue for the expression of working-class culture in small towns.<sup>35</sup> While firmly focused on the late nineteenth century, *Revivals and Roller Rinks* raises many of the questions that motivated this research. For example, Marks suggests, “at the local level the Army provided a less constrained space for traditional courtship, a space that

---

<sup>32</sup> Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses*, 166.

<sup>33</sup> Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses*, 166.

<sup>34</sup> R.G. Moyles, “The Salvation Army’s Mountaineers: Evangelizing the Interior of British Columbia,” *British Columbia History* 43.2 (2010): 36- 40. Moyles has been prolific in writing about the Salvation Army in Canada. See R.G. Moyles, *The Salvation Army in Newfoundland: Its History and Essence*, (Toronto: Salvation Army, 1997); R.G. Moyles, *The Salvation Army and the Public: Historical and Descriptive Essays* (Edmonton: AMG Publications, 2000); R.G. Moyles, *Come Join Our Army: Historic Reflections on Salvation Army Growth* (Alexandria, Va.: Crest Books, 2007); R.G. Moyles, *I Knew William Booth: An Album of Remembrances* (Alexandria, Va: Crest Books, 2007). For a regional history of the Salvation Army in Newfoundland see Jefferson D. Dunton, “The Origins and Growth of the Salvation Army in Newfoundland, 1885-1901” (MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1996).

<sup>35</sup> Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 141.

had at least a certain sanction of religious legitimacy.”<sup>36</sup> This is an assertion that is explored throughout this work.

In the place of its founding, the Army garnered a strong following and disrupted the power structures of established denominations by ministering to the poor and allowing women to preach.<sup>37</sup> Pamela Walker examines the ways that British Salvationists experienced their faith by looking at conversion narratives, urban working-class neighbourhoods, and the incorporation of popular culture. Her work is especially relevant because it looks at many aspects of the Army with a focus on gender and sexuality, offering insights into the nature of masculinity and femininity experienced and created by Salvationists. She suggests that some early Salvationists were transgressive of mainstream marital roles, citing a number of cases where both men and women performed tasks contrary to contemporary gender expectations.<sup>38</sup> This collection does not offer similar evidence; however, this may be a case where the Army had changed significantly by the early twentieth century.

Beginning in the 1860s and 1870s, Canadians perceived that Protestant Christianity was becoming ideologically feminized, resulting in declining numbers of male church members.<sup>39</sup> Together with the bar against female preachers in most

---

<sup>36</sup> Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 176-177.

<sup>37</sup> Pamela J. Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 2.

<sup>38</sup> Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 123-127.

<sup>39</sup> Americanist Barbara Welter is known for discussion of this phenomenon in Barbara Welter, “The Feminization of American Religion,” in *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976). This is tied to her earlier article Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860,” *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151–174. Since the 1970s, the feminization of Christianity has become so widely accepted that a full list of North American sources which broach the topic would exhaust nearly every study that discusses religion and gender in the late nineteenth century. Prominent Canadian and American examples include Gail Bederman, “‘The Women Have Had Charge of the Church Work Long Enough’: The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911-1912 and the Masculinization of Middle-Class Protestantism,” *American Quarterly* 41.3 (1989): 432-465; Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1977); Norman Knowles, “Christ

denominations, the feminization of the churches created a gendered division of religious influence. A masculine space was maintained where men could take authoritative roles as preachers and women could hold socially significant positions in the culture of their congregations.<sup>40</sup> In the Salvation Army, this delineation was more complicated because the Army encouraged women to preach and male officers were required to fundraise and organize events. These activities transgressed conventional gender roles and inherently challenged models of female religiosity and male religious authority.<sup>41</sup>

Most scholars agree that the early Salvation Army challenged gender roles by allowing women to take positions of power. Religious scholars have argued that philanthropic organizations and other church activities offered women an acceptable venue to enter the public sphere. Women supported the daily enactment of the social

---

in the Crowsnest: Religion and the Anglo-Protestant Working Class in the Crowsnest Pass, 1898-1918,” in *Nations, Ideas, Identities: Essays in Honour of Ramsay Cook*, ed. Michael Behiels and Marcel Martel (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2000); Lynne Marks, “‘A Fragment of Heaven on Earth’? Religion, Gender, and Family in Turn-of-the-Century Canadian Church Periodicals,” *Journal of Family History* 26.2 (2001): 251-271; Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Marguerite Van Die, *Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada: The Colbys of Carrollcroft* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

<sup>40</sup> Methodist women were allowed to preach during the early nineteenth century, however, by the mid nineteenth century these women were barred from preaching and the achievements of women who had preached were downplayed. The bar against female preachers continued from this point well into the twentieth century when policies were re-examined. In light of this, Booth's support of female preachers was radical, especially when the Army became more of a bureaucracy and less of a revivalist movement. For a discussion of female preachers see Sharon Anne Cook, “Beyond the Congregation: Women and Canadian Evangelicalism Reconsidered,” in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George Rawlyk, 403-416 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997); Marks, “The ‘Hallelujah Lasses’”; Elizabeth Gillan Muir, “Beyond the Bounds of Acceptable Behaviour: Methodist Women Preachers in the Early Nineteenth Century,” in *Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada*, ed. Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, “Modest, Unaffected, and Fully Consecrated: Lady Evangelists in Canadian Methodism,” in *Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada*, ed. Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Pamela J. Walker, “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*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

<sup>41</sup> The participation of women in philanthropic organizations has a rich historiography that acknowledges the agency that women found in religious institutions. For a prominent Canadian example see Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

gospel, effectively extending female influence beyond the home.<sup>42</sup> Clearly, religion had the power to both confine women to sanctioned roles while giving them avenues to challenge certain limitations by drawing on religious discourses.<sup>43</sup> Lynne Marks argues similarly that the Army offered working-class female soldiers opportunities otherwise barred to them by the social and economic expectations of Christian organizations.<sup>44</sup> At the same time, Salvationist women were judged by non-Salvationists based on these same expectations of acceptable behaviour that they circumvented through Army membership. During the 1880s, the Salvation Army was charged with encouraging uncontrolled sexuality, stemming from fears about the transgression of acceptable female roles.<sup>45</sup> Andrew Easton, however, argues that female Salvationists were limited in their ability to occupy roles of leadership, often relegated to positions of corps ministry and social work that complied more closely with mainstream gender ideology whereas men dominated authoritative roles.<sup>46</sup> This gendered division of labour may have been true of the organization statistically, but his conclusions overlook the opportunities that the Army offered to individual women.

Alongside the above conclusions about femininity in the Salvation Army, Lynne Marks and Pamela Walker have also discussed the ways that masculinity shaped interactions between Salvationists and non-Salvationists. In the late nineteenth and early

---

<sup>42</sup> Christie and Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity*; Hannah Lane, "'Wife, Mother, Sister, Friend': Methodist Women in St. Stephen, New Brunswick, 1861-1881," in *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th Century Maritimes*, ed. Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994): 116.

<sup>43</sup> Lane, "'Wife, Mother, Sister, Friend,'" 117.

<sup>44</sup> Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 15.

<sup>45</sup> Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 176. Cecilia Morgan discusses a similar response to Methodist camp meetings in the early nineteenth-century. Her research found that anti-Methodist discourse contended that Methodism would threaten "the political and social order, a significant [effect] being the overthrow of familial restraints." Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 107-108.

<sup>46</sup> Andrew Mark Eason, *Women in God's Army: Gender and Equality in the Early Salvation Army* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2003), xii.

twentieth centuries, the Army as an institution sought to reform rough masculinity by excluding such activities as drinking and gambling from the definition of appropriate manhood.<sup>47</sup> Rough masculine activities such as these were usually tolerated by society, although distanced from respectable men and women and associated with the working-class men who were the target audience of the Army's message. The Army offered an alternative to rough forms of masculinity by considering typical Salvationists duties, such as marching in parades and preaching, to be masculine professions of faith. Army ideology argued for the replacement of rough activities with prayer and preaching, allowing men to achieve a higher form of "true manliness" and dictating that truly masculine men exuded self-control and purpose, qualities that rough culture diminished.<sup>48</sup>

These rhetorical strategies were important in securing Salvationist masculinity as superior to traditionally masculine leisure activities; the Army wanted to encourage a kind of masculinity distinct from rough culture rather than a turn from masculine activities altogether. Propaganda in *The War Cry* emphasized that rough men were not feminized when they turned from gambling and drinking but became stronger and more responsible.<sup>49</sup> In order to compare favourably to other Christian denominations, the Army portrayed their male members as displaying a "brawnier manliness," while other

---

<sup>47</sup> Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 2.

<sup>48</sup> Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 120.

<sup>49</sup> Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 120. *The War Cry* was the original name of the Salvation Army newspaper (now the *Salvationist*). The Canadian version was first published on 1 November 1884, containing editorial pieces, updates on individual corps, and information on ordering uniforms. *The War Cry* also functioned as propaganda for the Army and as such, much of the newspaper exaggerated successes rather than noting failures. Soldiers sold the newspaper door to door and the Army encouraged sales by running frequent selling competitions.

denominations were “gentle, well-meaning [faiths],” clearly disavowing the perceived effeminate gentility of middle-class dominated denominations.<sup>50</sup>

Not surprisingly, both Salvationist and non-Salvationist Christians used gendered language to assert superiority. Despite the best efforts of the Army to assert that faith was an indication of masculinity, the public did not always agree with this vision of masculine religiosity. Pamela Walker found that in popular songs and publications Salvationist men were often met with cruel treatment, depicting them as “weak, ineffectual, and effeminate.”<sup>51</sup> Attacks on the masculinity of Salvationists stemmed from the socially reinforced conception that piety was a female attribute. Many other Christian denominations exempted male religious leaders from the feminization of piety, however observers saw male Salvation Army officers as possessing little religious authority. The perceived lack of religious authority was not isolated to low-ranking officers – even General Booth was targeted in an illustration that dressed him in a skirt and bonnet.<sup>52</sup>

From the above discussion it is clear that historians have engaged with the implications of gender for Salvationists during the 1880s. This thesis aims to expand established historiography in two key ways. Firstly, it tests the conclusions of historians like Lynne Marks and Pamela Walker in a later temporal period, examining the extent to which Edith and Henry experienced faith and gender differently than Salvationists in the 1880s. It also finds points of continuity, where the core principles of the Salvation Army encouraged Salvationists in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century to approach their lives similarly. Secondly, this thesis focuses on how Salvationists related

---

<sup>50</sup> *Christian Mission Magazine*, March 1874, 71 as cited in Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 120.

<sup>51</sup> Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 122.

<sup>52</sup> Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 123.

to one another more than how they related to non-Salvationists. Salvationists were part of an insular community, meaning that relationships between officers and soldiers were paramount to the experience of Salvationism. This is not to say that established scholarship has not acknowledged the importance of community in Salvationist conceptions of faith and gender, but that Henry and Edith's letters offer a uniquely detailed account of the dynamics between and among Salvationists.

### **Courtship and Marriage**

While large gaps remain in the historiography of the Salvation Army, historians have studied courtship and marriage extensively, though in a more secular context. This thesis examines the intersection of religion and courtship in order to demonstrate the importance of integrating the histories of gender and religion in Canada. Canadianists have recently begun to unpack the religious implications and motivations of courtship and marriage, and the following will highlight works that have previously acknowledged the role of religion in romantic relationships. I also draw from the broad American historiography, which has made particular strides in the study of courtship and marriage correspondence, in order to more fully outline the contours of the field.

Peter Ward's *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada* remains the most comprehensive study of courtship and marriage in Canada, though it has not been beyond critique since it was first published in 1990.<sup>53</sup> Karen Dubinsky, for example, argues that Ward's reliance on letters and memoirs confines him to study primarily middle- and upper-class Canadians, despite his claim to draw "heavily

---

<sup>53</sup> Peter Ward, *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

on ... the diaries and letters written and read by ordinary men and women.”<sup>54</sup> Her own work analyzes court records in order to focus on the gendered understandings of seduction and sexual violence at the turn of the twentieth century. While the criminal prosecutions used in her study cannot be read as “‘authentic’ stories of sexual or romantic truth,” they provide an alternative to the study of letters and an avenue to examine the public telling of rural and working-class sexual encounters.<sup>55</sup> Just as Ward’s monograph sparked Dubinsky’s study of rural Ontario, many other more specialized studies – including works by James Snell, Sarah Carter, Suzanne Morton, and others – elaborate on the racial, class, and gendered dynamics of courtship and marriage.<sup>56</sup> More recently, Tina Block, Catherine Gidney, and Marguerite Van Die have made connections between the study of romantic relationships and the growing social history of religion in Canada.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> Quote from Ward, *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada*, 5.

<sup>55</sup> Quote from Karen Dubinsky, “‘Maidenly Girls’ or ‘Designing Women’? The Crime of Seduction in Turn-of-the-Century Ontario,” in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women’s History*, 27-66 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 52. Karen Dubinsky, *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

<sup>56</sup> Dan Azoulay, *Only the Lonely: Finding Romance in the Personal Columns of Canada’s Western Home Monthly 1905–1924* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2000); Dan Azoulay, *Hearts and Minds: Canadian Romance at the Dawn of the Modern Era, 1900-1930* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2011); Sarah Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008); J.L. Little, “A Fireside Kingdom: A Mid-Nineteenth-Century Anglican Perspective on Marriage and Parenthood,” in *Households of Faith: Family, Gender and Community in Canada, 1760-1969*, ed. Nancy Christie, 77-100 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001); Suzanne Morton, “The June Bride as the Working-Class Bride: Getting Married in a Halifax Working-Class Neighbourhood in the 1920’s,” in *Canadian Family History: Selected Readings*, ed. Bettina Bradbury, 360-379 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitmann, 1992); James Snell, “‘The White Life for Two’: The Defence of Marriage and Sexual Morality in Canada, 1890-1914,” in *Canadian Family History: Selected Readings*, ed. Bettina Bradbury, 381-400 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitmann, 1992); James Snell, “The Gendered Construction of Marriage among the Elderly, 1900-1951,” *Canadian Journal on Aging* 12 (1993): 509-523; James G. Snell and Cynthia Comacchio Abeele, “Regulating Nuptiality: Restricting Access to Marriage in Early Twentieth-Century English-Speaking Canada,” in *Canadian Historical Review* 69.4 (1988): 466-489.

<sup>57</sup> Tina Block, “‘Boy meets Girl’: Constructing Heterosexuality in Two Victoria Churches, 1945-1960,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société Historique du Canada* 10.1 (1999): 279-296; Catherine Gidney, “The Dredger’s Daughter: Courtship and Marriage in the Baptist Community of Welland, Ontario, 1934-1944,” *Labour/ Le Travail* 54 (Fall 2004): 134; Marguerite Van Die, *Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada: The Colbys of Carrollcroft* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005).

Although some hybridity is possible, both Canadian and American studies of courtship and marriage tend to be one of three distinct types: synthesis, period-oriented histories, or microhistories. Many recently published syntheses examining romantic relationships have been written by historians for a popular audience.<sup>58</sup> An important lesson learned from these works is that the North American public is interested in conceptions of courtship, love, and marriage. For a historian, the “golden-age” thinking embedded in some popular works about marriage can lead to uncritical moral assumptions. Despite this limitation, popular synthesis can situate more specific research within a broader time frame. While syntheses examine points of change within a given timeframe, period-oriented studies often focus on continuity between points of change. On the topics of courtship and marriage, this body of literature tends to focus either on the letter-writing culture of the nineteenth century or the shift from courtship to dating in the early twentieth century.<sup>59</sup>

Henry and Edith did not participate in Peter Ward’s conception of formal nineteenth-century courtship in which families supervised the couple within the home to

---

<sup>58</sup> The most prominent Canadian example is a collection of transcribed letters, which has been well received by non-scholarly readers: Paul Grescoe and Audrey Grescoe, *The Book of Love Letters: Canadian Kinship, Friendship, and Romance* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2006). Some American examples include: Elizabeth Abbott, *A History of Marriage* (Toronto: Penguin, 2009); Stephanie Coontz, *Marriage, a History: How Love Conquered Marriage* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005); Rebecca Price Janney, *And Then Comes Marriage?: A Cultural History of the American Family* (Chicago: Moody Publishers, 2010). For more scholarly syntheses of marriage in America, see Kristin Celello, *Making Marriage Work: A History of Marriage and Divorce in the Twentieth-Century United States* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Nancy Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

<sup>59</sup> On letter writing in the nineteenth century: Ward, *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada*; Karen Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).  
On courtship and dating: Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); Denyse Baillargeon, *Making Do: Women, Family and Home in Montreal during the Great Depression*, trans. by Yvonne Klein (Toronto: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1999); Dubinsky, *Improper Advances*; Cynthia Comacchio, “In Love: Dating and Mating,” in *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of a Modern Canada, 1920-1950* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006); Azoulay, *Hearts and Minds*.

inhibit privacy.<sup>60</sup> They were able to create their own space for privacy while courting, despite both familial and non-familial forms of regulation that shaped their interactions. Henry and Edith sought emotional and spiritual intimacy in their correspondence with one another. As Karen Lystra demonstrates, love letters provided couples with “the verbal intimacy of being alone together.”<sup>61</sup> Dubinsky and Lystra provide a thick description of nineteenth-century courtship; couples may have maintained a public image of restricted intimacy, in line with social expectations, but the private realities of their relationships were likely more complicated.<sup>62</sup>

Because letters can offer an intensely personal source material, many studies of courtship and marriage analyze correspondence. This is especially true of historians writing about the nineteenth century, when letter writing was common as a form of courtship and marital communication.<sup>63</sup> Peter Ward and Karen Lystra, for example, both reference extensive collections of nineteenth-century letters, though they approach their sources differently.<sup>64</sup> Ward’s focus is on the social relationships that guided courtship: the family, Christianity, and the division between public and private spheres. The letters and diaries used in his study seem a source of information rather than a subject of inquiry in their own right, giving little sense of how the written form of courtship shaped the relationships he details. Lystra, on the other hand, pays careful attention to the letters cited in her study. She found that couples conceived of letters as an intimate space

---

<sup>60</sup> Ward, *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada*, 1-3.

<sup>61</sup> Lystra, *Searching the Heart*, 4.

<sup>62</sup> The terms thin and thick description are borrowed from anthropologist Clifford Geertz. A thin description merely describes what happened whereas a thick description seeks to understand the cultural significance of a practice, event, or action. Clifford Geertz, “Thick Descriptions: Towards an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

<sup>63</sup> Henry and Edith’s letters are clearly an exception to this generalization.

<sup>64</sup> Ward, *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada*; Lystra, *Searching the Heart*.

“bridg[ing] the silences with ink and pencil.”<sup>65</sup> Lystra also examines the etiquette manuals that provided advice to letter writers and augmented the cultural importance of courtship and marriage letters during the nineteenth century. Her approach clearly illustrates the importance of correspondence in nineteenth-century American courtship, not only as a source of experience but as shaping experience.

Because Henry and Edith’s letters provided a space for identity creation, this thesis follows Lystra’s example by situating the couple’s correspondence within their relationship. This is an important distinction because, as historian Laura Ishiguro writes, “correspondence was a dialogue through which people sought to fashion ‘others’ as well as ‘selves,’ readers as well as writers.”<sup>66</sup> Toby Ditz calls this ongoing process the creation of a ‘plausible self,’ highlighting the ability of a writer to use inclusion and exclusion to shape the reader’s perception, ‘inscribing’ and ‘reworking’ reality rather than simply describing it.<sup>67</sup> Using the frameworks of scholars like Ishiguro and Ditz, we can see that letters should be analyzed more as a text and less as a source of factual information. This thesis aims to illuminate the ways that Henry and Edith each respectively reworked their experiences in their letters to one another. Letters did not merely hold the story of Henry and Edith’s courtship but were instruments through which it was created, shaped, and narrated.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> Lystra, *Searching the Heart*, 12.

<sup>66</sup> Laura Mitsuyo Ishiguro, “Relative Distances: Family and Empire between Britain, British Columbia and India, 1858-1901,” (PhD thesis, University College London, 2012): 16.

<sup>67</sup> Toby L. Ditz, “Formative Ventures: Eighteenth-Century Commercial Letters and the Articulation of Experience,” in *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600-1945*, ed. Rebecca Earle, 59-78 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 61-62.

<sup>68</sup> Analyzing a letter as a factual account has been complicated by Joan Scott’s assertions about the dangers of seeing a clear correlation between evidence and experience. Joan Scott, “The Evidence of Experience,” in *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing After the Linguistic Turn*, ed. Gabrielle Spiegel, 199-215 (New York: Routledge, 2005). For further discussion of evidence and experience in letters, see Frances Porter and Charlotte Macdonald, “Introduction,” in *My Hand Will Write What My Heart*

In order to look closely at the process of identity formation in Henry and Edith's correspondence, this thesis takes a microhistorical approach.<sup>69</sup> Though many scholars have approached the role of gender in romantic relationships in this way, few have sought to understand the influences of religion. For a couple heavily involved in a faith-based organization, religious participation was an important moderator of identity. Drawing on Judith Butler's framework of gender performativity to better understand how identity is constructed, we can see that Edith and Henry were shaped by their relationships with other Salvationists.<sup>70</sup> Gender is understood here as constructed and reiterated by judging ones' own performance against the performance of others. Because individuals defined gender based on the actions of other community members, Salvationists continually amended how they thought about their own gender performance. Faith-based practices were shaped in the same way. Soldiers and officers saw other Salvationists as points of reference that guided the direction of their own performance. For Henry and Edith, the performance of faith was just as important to their identity as gender. Religion was a framework through which Henry and Edith understood themselves and others. Further, they consciously couched their romantic relationship in religious devotion, meaning that their relationship was both an outcome of faith and an outward practice of faith.

---

*Dictates: The Unsettled Lives of Women in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand as Revealed to Sisters, Family and Friends*, ed. Frances Porter and Charlotte Macdonald, 1-22 (Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland, 1996), 11.

<sup>69</sup> Perhaps this reluctance to recognize that religion was influential stems from the argument put forth by some historians that the early twentieth century was a period of secularization. I agree with works like Marguerite Van Die that argue that religion and faith were changing in this period, not disappearing. Van Die, *Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada*. For the foundational work on secularization, see David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

<sup>70</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 178.

Catherine Gidney's microhistory of courtship in Welland, Ontario uncovered the Chetly family, for whom the local First Baptist Church was important socially as well as spiritually.<sup>71</sup> One of two Chetly daughters, Kay Chetly, met Harry Henry through the First Church Youth activities that provided them a semi-supervised venue in which to meet and socialize.<sup>72</sup> While Gidney recognizes that the Baptist community provided a space for courtship, she does not point to the ways that this space was directed by faith and religious language. Connections between religious and romantic conceptions of love in Kay and Harry's relationship could provide evidence that the performance of faith shaped how the couple thought about their relationship. Gidney's ability to address such questions was limited by Kay's diary, which dates from 1934-1944, and was neither introspective nor intimate.<sup>73</sup> Because Henry and Edith's letters are more reflective, they provide an opportunity to illuminate this aspect of courtship and marriage.

Another Canadian study that gives due focus to the role of religion in defining romantic relationships is Marguerite Van Die's *Religion, Family, and Community in Victorian Canada*, which chronicles the Colby family through the nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>74</sup> Using the Colbys as an example, Van Die argues that the family was formative of both religious and gendered discourses.<sup>75</sup> She found that during this period "families began to relocate the myths, rituals, and images of religion from the church to the home," by examining discourse about the home as a redemptive and sacred site.<sup>76</sup>

This argument goes beyond well-developed models for the feminization of religion and

---

<sup>71</sup> Gidney, "The Dredger's Daughter," 134.

<sup>72</sup> Gidney, "The Dredger's Daughter," 137.

<sup>73</sup> Gidney, "The Dredger's Daughter," 122.

<sup>74</sup> Van Die, *Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada*.

<sup>75</sup> Van Die, *Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada*, 3-4.

<sup>76</sup> Van Die, *Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada*, 4.

the secularization of Canadian society to interrogate the ways that Christianity changed during the turbulent period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Van Die argues that the traditional model of secularization overlooks Victorian domestic religion and falsely labels declining church membership as secularization. Christianity may have been losing many of its institutional qualities in the period but remained heavily influential in the home and thus formative of gender roles.<sup>77</sup> Her argument demonstrates that religion was an important thread in the “web of social relations” that wove the lives of Hattie and Charles Colby together in their marriage. Faith was an equally important thread for Henry and Edith, binding them together and connecting them to other Salvationists with whom they served.

This thesis explores the intersection of religion and courtship through the social interactions that connected Edith and Henry’s romantic relationship and their participation in the Salvation Army. The following is broken into four main chapters, each discussing distinct but overlapping elements of Edith and Henry’s relationship.

Chapter One starts from the beginning, providing background information on Edith and Henry. It offers insight into their families and the influences that brought them to the Salvation Army and discusses Saskatoon, where the couple began their courtship and where they returned later in Henry’s career. The cultural landscape of Saskatoon was formative of Henry and Edith’s ideas about their relationship and also about the Army – ideas that would shape their careers and their marriage.

Chapter Two examines the regulatory structures that guided Edith and Henry’s courtship. Army sanction, prescriptive literature, community, and self-regulation all

---

<sup>77</sup> Van Die, *Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada*, 5.

affected the ways that Henry and Edith were able to court. The couple reimagined some of these regulations, finding space for intimacy despite the obstacles to their relationship. Along with the letters, this chapter also utilizes the two main Salvation Army manuals (*The Doctrines and Discipline of the Salvation Army* and *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army*) which represent both Army regulation and prescriptions from the Army's first general, William Booth.<sup>78</sup>

One of the ways that Edith and Henry found intimacy was by using their faith and their letters to create a private space in which to interact. Chapter Three details Henry and Edith's understanding of love and of faith and discusses how their letters allowed them to reiterate these understandings to themselves and their partner. In other words, it unpacks the many functions that their love letters served in the shaping of subjectivity and the conceptualization of their courtship, love, and marriage.

Chapter Four discusses the interplay between the regulatory structures of the Salvation Army and the gendered and religious worlds that Henry and Edith constructed for themselves. It outlines the ways that William Booth imagined the role of husband and wife as well as Henry and Edith's response to these expectations. It also draws conclusions about Henry and Edith's wedding day from planning in their letters as well as wedding announcements in *The War Cry* and secular newspapers.

---

<sup>78</sup> The first editions of these manuals were published in the 1880s. Subsequent editions were published yearly. Changes were gradual, through minor revisions in the yearly printings. William Booth, *Doctrines and Discipline of the Salvation Army, Prepared for the Training Homes* (London: The Salvation Army Headquarters, 1881); William Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (London: Salvation Army, 1886). The main regulatory text used in this thesis is William Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (Toronto: Salvation Army, 1908). Even differences between the 1886 and 1908 editions, printed twenty two years apart, were minor. The wording of the section most used in this work, containing the regulations pertaining to marriage and courtship, was virtually unchanged during this period. The most evident change was the numbering of the regulations which simplifies the passage for the reader. Early editions were printed in London and distributed to overseas corps. By 1908, *The Orders and Regulations* were printed in London, Melbourne, New York, Toronto, and Cape Town to be distributed nationally.

These chapters aim to untangle the relationships that shaped Henry and Edith's subjectivities, including their relationship with one another. Concrete influences such as official Army regulation as well as more abstract social pressures guided Henry and Edith's courtship. Scriptural language and metaphor also molded their conceptualization, as did the gender performance of Christians, both Salvationist and those belonging to more mainstream denominations. Perhaps most subtle was the process of identity building that correspondence facilitated for Henry and Edith. Jointly, the influences of faith, gender, and correspondence formed the basis from which Henry and Edith explored their identities as a courting couple and upon which they ultimately built their life together.

## Chapter One: Edith Willey and Henry Tutte

Henry Tutte was born on 11 September 1881.<sup>79</sup> His father, Alfred (Alf) Tutte, was a pioneer officer of the English Salvation Army, commissioned only five years after the Army's founding.<sup>80</sup> In 1887, Alfred was imprisoned for preaching in the streets. Scholars often cite his diary as a source on the persecution of the Army by the public and by the courts in the 1880s.<sup>81</sup> During Henry and Edith's courtship, Henry's mother, father, and some of his siblings lived in Norwich, England, although it is likely that Alfred's post as a staff-captain necessitated transiency.<sup>82</sup> Henry's parents were a prominent part of his letters to Edith; often Henry wrote to Edith of their health or sent along their love. In one letter, Henry lamented that he did not think he would ever see them again because they lived in England and he in Canada.<sup>83</sup>

Henry immigrated to Canada sometime in 1905 to "prove up" a homestead he purchased in Mayfair, near Saskatoon.<sup>84</sup> After becoming a Salvationist and taking on the post of a clerk for the Saskatoon corps, he sold his unbroken land to his sister Fanny and her husband Jim, who worked the homestead for some time.<sup>85</sup> Fanny and their brother

---

<sup>79</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 24 July 1907, Saskatoon, private collection of Dr. Lynne Marks, Department of History, University of Victoria.

<sup>80</sup> Salvation Army Archives [hereafter SAA], "Stenographer to Special Efforts Secretary: Lieut-Colonel and Mrs. H.C. Tutte, Enter Honourable Retirement," newspaper article from an unknown source, 1946.

<sup>81</sup> Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 104, 222.

<sup>82</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 4 Jan 1910, Montreal.

<sup>83</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 18 May 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>84</sup> The exact date that Henry moved to Saskatoon is unclear. Henry applied for a homestead on a quarter section in October of 1904, emigrating from England some time after his application was processed. Henry did not receive the patent for his homestead and his application for the title was cancelled 20 August 1907. The homestead was located at NE-14-30-12-W3. Saskatchewan Archives, Saskatchewan Homestead Files, File #921813 (NE-14-30-12-W3).

<sup>85</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 15 Dec 1909, Montreal. Early letters stated that Fanny and Jim intended to sell the homestead rather than work it but later correspondence discussed Fanny's loneliness out in the country. It is unclear how long the couple lived on the homestead.

Willie were also members of the Army for intermittent periods.<sup>86</sup> Henry had three other brothers. The oldest, Alfred, was married with two young children and was planning to move his family to Saskatchewan. Edwin moved home to live with his parents so that they were not alone, and the youngest brother worked for the Army's headquarters in London.

As is evident from this description of Henry's siblings, most of the members of his family were involved with the Salvation Army: Fanny and Willie in Saskatchewan, the youngest brother in London, and of course his parents. Henry was the outlier before joining the organization in Saskatoon.<sup>87</sup> After his conversion, his father, Alfred, was a spiritual role model for Henry. In one letter, Henry sent a sermon to his father for "criticism," a request that exemplified the importance of his father's opinion as well as the spiritual authority that Alfred held in the Salvation Army.<sup>88</sup>

Henry's love letters to Edith displayed a high degree of education. He wrote with both sophisticated language and grammatical structure, of which the Army made use by posting him in administrative positions.<sup>89</sup> Edith was also educated but not to the same extent as Henry. She was less confident in her writing skills, regularly ending her letters

---

<sup>86</sup> Fanny likely gave up her involvement in the Army when she married Jim in late 1909 or early 1910, in light of their isolated homestead and the factors discussed in Chapter Four. In early letters she appeared regularly as an officer in Saskatoon and Regina. Willie seemed less dedicated to the organization. Henry often voiced his concerns about Willie's involvement with women or the amount of responsibility he should be trusted with. Willie took Henry's post as clerk in Saskatoon when Henry went to the training college in Toronto. Despite Henry's worries about Willie the two remained close; Willie acted as Henry's best man. Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 5 June 1907, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 20 July 1907, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 22 August 1907, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 12 Nov 1909, Montreal; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 22 March 1910, Montreal.

<sup>87</sup> SAA, "Order of Services: The funeral of Mrs. Lt. Colonel H.C. Tutte (R)," 3 November 1964.

<sup>88</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 30 May 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>89</sup> Henry was also a poet. He wrote poems to Edith and appended them to his letters. He also sent hymns to *The War Cry* for use at Salvation Army meetings. His obituary notes that he wrote over two hundred poems and a number of stories. Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, undated, Toronto; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 7 Dec 1906, Saskatoon; SAA, "Order of Services: The funeral of Lieut. Colonel Henry C. Tutte, R.," 9 June 1950.

with an apology explaining that her “scribbling” was the result of being tired or rushed.<sup>90</sup>

She was also more pragmatic than Henry, describing her duties with the Army in short letters, unadorned with introspection. For example, Edith wrote to Henry wishing that they could attend an open air meeting together:

I would like very much to go with you to the other side to the Large Open Air Meetings [*sic*]. I do love the Open Air work. When you can get people to listen to you. That was splendid. Well dear, I am enjoying the presents [*sic*] of God.<sup>91</sup>

In comparison, Henry’s letters were generally at least three pages, often typed, and included long poetic passages about love and faith. Henry also told stories about the operation of his corps but his language was more vivid than Edith’s. For example, in 1908, Henry told Edith “I announced last night in the Open Air that I would give them Salvation. Hot, sweet, and strong.”<sup>92</sup> Henry’s poetic and emotional prose was closer to letter writing conventions in the period, whereas Edith’s letters took a more conversational tone.

Edith was born to Arthur and Louise Willey in 1882. After Edith’s birth, her family moved from Kansas to Manitoba by covered wagon where her father took up a homestead in Dauphin.<sup>93</sup> Arthur Willey was a Methodist preacher, which was reflected in the religious affiliation of the family listed in the Canadian censuses of 1891 and 1901.<sup>94</sup> Edith was the eldest of seven children. Her siblings, Martha, Ada, Grace, Ruth, Ester and Theo, and mother, Louise, were prominent in Henry and Edith’s correspondence. Henry

---

<sup>90</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 16 April 1907, Regina; Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 26 Sept 1908, Winnipeg.

<sup>91</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 12 Sept 1908, Winnipeg.

<sup>92</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 5 Aug 1908, Morrisburg, ON.

<sup>93</sup> SAA, “Order of Services: The funeral of Mrs. Lt. Colonel H.C. Tutte (R),” 3 November 1964.

<sup>94</sup> Third Census of Canada, 1891. Library and Archives Canada. Manitoba, district 7 (Marquette). Sub-district Riding Mountain, 33. Available <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/census-1891/001081-100.01-e.php>; Fourth Census of Canada, 1901. Library and Archives Canada. Manitoba, district 9 (Marquette). Polling sub-division 1 in Aberdeen, 1. Available <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/census-1901/index-e.html>.

often inquired about the health of the family and sent his “brotherly” love to them.<sup>95</sup> He had visited Dauphin by the time of their marriage, meeting the whole family and forging strong emotional bonds with them.<sup>96</sup> Edith was closest to her sister Martha who was only two years her junior.<sup>97</sup>

Edith joined the Army in 1901, when officers began evangelizing in Dauphin. At the age of nineteen, she was promoted to lieutenant and transferred to a corps in the West.<sup>98</sup> Her father disapproved of her joining the Army at first but eventually gave his blessing.<sup>99</sup> In *The War Cry*, the official Salvation Army newspaper, articles emphasized that Edith was a hard working field officer, who did great work for the Salvation Army and was “popular with all those who [came] to the meetings.”<sup>100</sup> Edith also had a large network of connections in the Army, all of whom spoke well of her to Henry.<sup>101</sup>

Although Edith was often in *The War Cry*, the Saskatoon corps was rarely mentioned. It does not appear to have been a large congregation, or a priority for the organization. In 1909, a brief overview article appeared which outlined the Army’s presence in the city. It asserted that the city, “like most other Western towns has quite

---

<sup>95</sup> While Edith wrote about her siblings in her letters to Henry, the full list of her siblings was obtained from the 1891 census. Third Census of Canada, 1891. Library and Archives Canada. Manitoba, district 7 (Marquette). Sub-district Riding Mountain, 33. Available <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/census-1891/001081-100.01-e.php>.

<sup>96</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 11 Sept 1910, Montreal.

<sup>97</sup> Martha also served as Edith’s maid-of-honour. Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 16 June 1909, Port Arthur, ON; Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 22 March 1910, Port Arthur, ON.

<sup>98</sup> Edith’s obituary states that she was promoted to lieutenant at the age of eighteen but from her birth date she was likely nineteen. SAA, “Order of Services: The funeral of Mrs. Lt. Colonel H.C. Tutte (R),” 3 November 1964.

<sup>99</sup> Edith was the only member of her family to become a Salvationist. The rest of the family remained Methodist, although they supported her position with the Army. Third Census of Canada, 1891. Available <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/census-1891/001081-100.01-e.php>; Fourth Census of Canada, 1901. Available <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/census-1901/index-e.html>; Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 24 Feb 1909, at the camps.

<sup>100</sup> “Prisoners and Police: Meetings at Jail and at Police Barracks,” *The War Cry*, 25 May 1907, 11; “Meant to Stick to It,” *The War Cry*, 29 June 1907, 10; “A Happy Re-Union: Former Officers and Comrades Meet at Regina,” *The War Cry*, 3 August 1907, 10; “War Cry Honour Roll,” *The War Cry*, 14 September 1907; *The War Cry*, Marriage Announcements, 8 Oct 1910, 8.

<sup>101</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 13 Sept 1909, Montreal.

progressive ideas,” an attribute taken to be a positive sign for the Army.<sup>102</sup> The article remembered the Salvation Army’s origins in Saskatoon as humble, beginning with open-air meetings and a small tent. As the city grew, so did the Army, which eventually built permanent barracks using the financial support of community leaders, including two hotel keepers. The article also acknowledged obstacles in Saskatoon – mainly the high transiency rate and the large number of farmers who lived outside of the city itself; however, because of *The War Cry*’s function as Salvation Army propaganda, the piece mainly pointed to the steady growth of the Army in Saskatoon.<sup>103</sup> More recent scholarship has recognized the Salvation Army’s role in Saskatoon as a relief agency, especially during the Great Depression and beyond; however, as indicated in *The War Cry*, the Salvation Army should also be recognized as an important religious organization for at least a minority of Saskatoon residents.<sup>104</sup> *The Saskatoon Phoenix* published an anonymous account that praised the work of the Army in the fledgling town. This observer wrote that

Great interest is being taken every night at their meetings, and souls are continually being brought to the penitent form. It is wonderful the change that has taken place in the lives of some who have joined the army’s ranks. Most of us do not realize the hold strong drink has on some people, and there is nothing but the power of God that will help them... I may add that I am not a Salvationist myself, but I cannot help commending and rejoicing in the good work they are doing.<sup>105</sup>

Clearly, this observer felt that the Salvation Army was improving the respectability and faith of Saskatonians by influencing them to turn from rough behaviour.

---

<sup>102</sup> Whether Saskatoon was truly progressive is unclear but the fact that the Army encouraged Salvationists to think of Saskatoon as progressive may have shaped the Saskatoon corps. “Salvation Strides in Saskatoon: The City Grows and the Army Grows With It,” *The War Cry*, 20 Jan 1909, 2.

<sup>103</sup> “Salvation Strides in Saskatoon: The City Grows and the Army Grows With It,” *The War Cry*, 20 Jan 1909, 2.

<sup>104</sup> Don Kerr and Stan Hanson, *Saskatoon: The First Half-Century* (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1982): 206, 296.

<sup>105</sup> “Good Work of the Salvation Army,” *The Saskatoon Phoenix*, 11 January 1906.

The reliance on religious institutions to encourage respectability was a common form of rhetoric in *The Phoenix*. In 1905, for example, an article proclaimed, “the churches must keep pace with the rush of immigration,” in order to avoid the problems with atheism and materialism that the article claimed had swept both Japan and the United States.<sup>106</sup> Further, Reverend J.W. Churchill recommended, “Get them here, then Christianize them.”<sup>107</sup> The influx of immigrants to Saskatoon in the period, along with the conception that Christianity could help non-Christians to improve themselves, forged an important connection between the network of churches in early Saskatoon and morally driven citizens.

Saskatoon had entered a period of expansion by 1906, when Edith and Henry began to exchange letters. Between 1901 and 1916, the population of Saskatchewan grew seven-fold as immigrants flooded into the province to farm wheat, or “prairie gold,” which fetched a lucrative price in the early twentieth century.<sup>108</sup> This was also a period of high capital investment in the province by the Canadian government, manifest as improvements to infrastructure.<sup>109</sup> As a result of low interest rates, an aggressive propaganda campaign aimed at prospective Prairie farmers, and isolation from other urban trading centres, Saskatoon was a blossoming city by the time Henry and Edith lived and worked there.<sup>110</sup>

When the Army arrived in Saskatoon in August or September of 1905, there were five established Christian denominations. The St. Paul’s Roman Catholic, Knox

---

<sup>106</sup> “Women’s Missionary Society: Churches Must keep Pace with the Rush of Immigrants,” *The Saskatoon Phenix*, April 28, 1905. Note that *The Saskatoon Phenix* became *The Saskatoon Phoenix* in late 1905, and later changed the name to *The Daily Phoenix*.

<sup>107</sup> “Women’s Missionary Society: Churches Must keep Pace with the Rush of Immigrants,” *The Saskatoon Phenix*, 28 April 1905.

<sup>108</sup> Kerr and Hanson, *Saskatoon*, 39.

<sup>109</sup> Kerr and Hanson, *Saskatoon*, 40.

<sup>110</sup> Kerr and Hanson, *Saskatoon*, 40.

Presbyterian, St. John's Anglican, and Nutena Methodist Churches had stable congregations and permanent buildings as early as 1902, while a Baptist church was established in 1904 at the Dulmage Hall.<sup>111</sup> In 1904, St. John's had to be expanded due to the rapid growth of the population even though the building had only been erected two years earlier.<sup>112</sup> Clearly, the Army entered into an area that was well served by existing Christian churches.

Unlike many late nineteenth-century newspapers, *The Saskatoon Phoenix* did not express disapproval of the Army's operation in Saskatoon. While not a monolithic trend, it was common for nineteenth-century editorials to criticize the Army for disrupting Canadian cities with loud parades and for accosting citizens in the streets.<sup>113</sup> The Saskatoon newspaper did not follow this pattern, perhaps a product of the Army's more respectable reputation by the turn of the century, when the Salvation Army was garnering favour in many Canadian cities. This change in the Army's operation could have persuaded Saskatonians to accept the Army more readily. Likely, the Army's reputation for subduing the working-class was also a factor. Citizens expressed concern that 'drunks' were a problem in early Saskatoon, an issue that the Army was vocal in counteracting.<sup>114</sup>

---

<sup>111</sup> *The Saskatoon Phenix* ran a regular column on the front page of the newspaper listing the location and time of the service for each respective denomination. The first Baptist service was held in early May of 1904 and became a permanent fixture in June 1904. *The Saskatoon Phenix*, 6 May 1904, 3 June 1904.

<sup>112</sup> "St. John's Reopens," *The Saskatoon Phenix*, 15 Jan 1904.

<sup>113</sup> See Lynne Marks, "Working Class Femininity and the Salvation Army: Hallelujah Lasses in English Canada, 1882-1892," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, second edition, ed. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 196-197.

<sup>114</sup> *The Saskatoon Phenix*, 17 April 1903. Mariana Valverde argues that the Salvation Army was recognized by other religious and philanthropic organizations for filling "a major gap in the spectrum of moral and social reform work" by targeting the poor, working-class "slums" that others avoided. The Army designed programs to help "the vicious and fallen" and "the criminal" rather than only "the honest poor." Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), 65, 151.

Because of the particularities of Saskatoon, the Army needed to adapt depending on a wide range of contributing factors. Historian Dianne Winston set out to demonstrate “how religion finds new meaning and agency through its interaction with specific places and times.”<sup>115</sup> In Saskatoon the Army had to cater to farmers, who made the trip into the city infrequently. In order to reach out to the growing population of homesteaders, the Army held meetings in the country and attempted to create an environment that would convince farmers to come to town for Sunday meetings.<sup>116</sup> Many other factors may have influenced the Army’s local character: the gender ratio of the population (there was a high proportion of men to women in the area), the diverse nationalities of immigrants, and access to established denominations, for example.

The convergence of these factors dictated that the Saskatoon corps retained a firm focus on spreading the evangelical message. While the late nineteenth century was a “period of consolidation” for the Canadian Salvation Army, when social programs began to take precedence and the organization grew exponentially,<sup>117</sup> we must recognize that a corps in rural Saskatchewan was not analogous to one in urban Ontario. In Saskatoon, revival meetings remained the main activity of the organization, as demonstrated by the soul-saving focus of the letters written by Henry in Saskatoon.<sup>118</sup> The Saskatoon corps did engage in some fundraising activities but these raised money to improve the barracks and to maintain the corps, rather than fund large-scale philanthropic projects. From the

---

<sup>115</sup> Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous*, 9.

<sup>116</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 11 Aug 1908, Morrisburg, ON.

<sup>117</sup> Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada*, 98.

<sup>118</sup> For representative examples see Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 3 Dec 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Dec 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 23 April 1907, Saskatoon. None of the letters in this collection were written by Edith while she was stationed in Saskatoon, although it is evident that the two were replying to one another at the time. Her first letter was dated 16 April 1907 and written while stationed in Regina.

discussion in this correspondence, money was an impetus to projects that extended beyond maintenance costs.<sup>119</sup>

Articles in *The Phoenix* also reported that the Salvation Army took a revivalist role in Saskatoon. The same 1906 article that discussed the great works of the Army in the area, made no mention of social work even though the Army as an institution had been focusing on philanthropy for over fifteen years.<sup>120</sup> This raises a question for future scholars to examine: how did the process of establishing a corps in a new location compare from one location to the next? Were other corps in the West too far behind in their development to have followed the institutional changes in Ontario, as this evidence suggests? Perhaps the conception of a Godless frontier encouraged western corps to continue to focus on salvation by word rather than by social programs. These are questions largely beyond the scope of this work but important questions to ask when expanding the Canadian historiography of the Salvation Army beyond its epicentre in Ontario.

The Army stationed Edith in Saskatoon in 1904 or 1905, retaining her rank as lieutenant.<sup>121</sup> Henry moved to Saskatchewan in the same period, becoming a soldier some time in 1905 and eventually taking a position as clerk for the corps. The success of the Saskatoon corps was variable, following a common pattern for revivalist movements. At some points, Henry and Edith praised God for saving many souls and at other times lamented backsliders and lack of attendance. However, for Henry and Edith the Salvation

---

<sup>119</sup> Henry wrote about finances more often when he was stationed in Montreal, where his position was specifically with the financial department, but also in Morrisburg where his officership required him to attend to finances. Edith discussed financial difficulties when she traveled to the railroad camps to collect donations. Letters about the Saskatoon corps indicate that it was financially unstable, however, the discussion was more peripheral as the couple was firmly focused on the salvation of souls during this time.

<sup>120</sup> "Good Work of the Salvation Army," *The Phoenix*, 11 January 1906.

<sup>121</sup> Because this did not take place during the period of letter writing the exact date is unknown.

Army was a prominent part of their life in Saskatoon. Some members they discussed in their letters remained immersed in the organization for a short period of time – as was the case for Henry’s sister Fanny, for example – while others, like Henry and Edith, maintained a long-term commitment. Regardless of duration, the Army provided an encompassing array of activities for soldiers and especially for officers. Open-air, free-and-easy-meetings, half-nights of prayer, and selling *The War Cry* could occupy a great deal of time. These activities fostered a sense of community between soldiers and officers who spent a majority of time with other members, sharing living quarters, leading meetings, and maintaining the corps.<sup>122</sup> The close bonds formed by these activities were an important part of Army membership. This was not a faith that remained in the church on Sundays but one that Salvationists practiced and reiterated in every aspect of their lives.

---

<sup>122</sup> This community building was an important aspect of regulation that will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

## Chapter Two

### “Giving you a look that would betray our secret”: Official and Unofficial Regulation of Courtship in the Salvation Army<sup>123</sup>

Edith and Henry were neither free to carry out their courtship as they wished nor fully constrained to certain actions. There were many influences that shaped the way that they courted one another, loved one another, and how they felt about their actions. Clearly, one of the most prominent influences on their courtship was religion. Firstly, faith formed the framework for their decision making, based on ideological and moral ideals. Secondly, the Army as an institution directly constrained their actions by regulating the ways that couples could interact. Thirdly, the Army provided a community for young soldiers and officers, which monitored their relationship and, in some cases, augmented or acted in lieu of familial sanction – although in Henry and Edith’s case family was also an important regulatory apparatus. These forms of official and unofficial regulation interacted with one another rather than acting independently. The couple protested some forms of regulation, particularly direct sanction from the Salvation Army, yet followed others that were less overt, like community regulation. In some cases, Henry and Edith reimagined regulations in order to circumvent them, illustrating that while regulation was imposed on them they did not follow blindly.

The Salvation Army attempted to regulate the courtship of members, and especially officers, through direct sanction. *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the*

---

<sup>123</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Dec 1906, Saskatoon, private collection of Dr. Lynne Marks, Department of History, University of Victoria.

*Salvation Army* delineated acceptable behaviour for adherents.<sup>124</sup> Despite the indication in the title that the Army meant this manual for field officers, soldiers likely read the regulations for specific concerns or were introduced to them when bringing matters to their officers. Henry, for example, borrowed the field officer's edition from Brother Saunders, who was an officer in the Saskatoon corps where Henry was a clerk.<sup>125</sup>

While the Army had regulatory procedures in place, the manual was meant to encourage officers to self-regulate. In the "General Order," William Booth wrote that

It has never been intended or thought of for The Salvation Army to be governed by printed Orders and Regulations. A living Army which fights can only be directed from hour to hour through the agency of living men, who make themselves thoroughly familiar with all its regulations and affairs, and act accordingly.<sup>126</sup>

The regulations were also designed to be enforced through community regulation, affirming that "if an Officer sees that a comrade is violating these or any other rules, or is in danger of doing so, he ought to deal faithfully with him; and if there is no other way of gaining him, he ought at once to inform his Divisional Officer of what is taking place."<sup>127</sup> This policy likely translated into procedural practice where commanding officers applied *The Orders and Regulations* on an individual basis. This was true for Edith and Henry, who deferred to a brigadier to sanction their engagement, a process that took much longer

---

<sup>124</sup> William Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908).

<sup>125</sup> It is clear from the chapter and section numbers that Henry gave in this letter that he was reading an early twentieth century edition of *The Orders and Regulations*. The numbering of the paragraphs was one of the only changes made to the manual between the first printing in 1886 and the edition used in this research from 1908. It is difficult to discern exactly which edition Henry was using, given that many yearly editions would have been in circulation simultaneously. Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 5 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>126</sup> Booth, "General Order," in *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908). The procedure for the enforcement of these regulations was unclear. As indicated by this quotation from the General, it seems that cases were investigated on a case-to-case basis. Cases would likely have been passed upwards through the chain of command before discipline was rendered.

<sup>127</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 1, Paragraph 8.

than the couple anticipated because their application had to filter through the chain of command before being processed.<sup>128</sup>

Regulations imposed by this manual were both spatial and temporal. Temporal regulations meant that a couple could only court, become engaged, and be married on a timeline dictated by the Army. This type of regulation, for instance, directed both male and female officers to abstain from courting for at least twelve months after promotion to a commissioned rank and to serve for four years before an engagement.<sup>129</sup> Couples had to obtain sanction from the Salvation Army headquarters before they could finalize an engagement.<sup>130</sup> Sanction would only be considered for male officers of the rank of captain or higher who had served for at least four years and were over the age of twenty two.<sup>131</sup> Female officers were not restricted by age or rank. They were also allowed to marry a male soldier (rather than an officer) while a male officer could only marry a female officer. Female officers who chose to marry a soldier were warned that this would “remove them from a position of great usefulness and honour, such as they will probably never have the opportunity of attaining again.”<sup>132</sup> The blatantly different expectations of men and women likely reflected the conception that marriage was a preoccupation for young women, leading the Army to accommodate female Salvationists.<sup>133</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup> This was a common topic but examples can be found in Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 1 Aug 1907, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 23 July 1908, Morrisburg, ON.

<sup>129</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 1, Paragraph 2.

<sup>130</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 1, Paragraph 1.

<sup>131</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 3, Paragraph 1, 3, and 4.

<sup>132</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 1, Paragraph 6.

<sup>133</sup> This comment is made in reference to many of the letters by General Booth which can be found in *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, vol. II of *Religion for Every Day* (Atlanta, GA: The Salvation Army, 1987). Booth frequently wrote about the urgency with which women viewed marriage,

The reasoning for each of these regulations was provided in full. For the twelve-month period after becoming an officer, *The Orders and Regulations* asserted that a newly appointed officer must avoid distractions that could divide their “thoughts, energies and heart,” in order to focus on the duties of their new “career.”<sup>134</sup> Booth recommended that new officers should learn how to best serve in the field before introducing the distractions of courtship.<sup>135</sup> Further, the regulations affirmed that the year-long abstinence from courting was only a minimum.

Of deferring to headquarters for the sanction of an engagement, the manual asserted a parental stance. *The Orders and Regulations* referred to officers as young people who were “inexperienced” and as such “require some older person to give them counsel in such matters.”<sup>136</sup> In statements such as these, the headquarters was personified as a parental figure who, by virtue of their relationship to young officers, had “the responsibility of watching over their interests in all things which concern personal welfare... [and] closely bears upon their future happiness and usefulness.”<sup>137</sup> It seems that the Army as an organization reinforced mainstream courtship practices in which families regulated the partners and privacy available to young people.

The most prominent spatial regulation forbade officers from courting a soldier enlisted in the corps that they were commanding. This regulation was enforced on the

---

often when telling Salvationists to wait to be married, or avoid marriage all together. His letters will be discussed more fully in this chapter and others.

<sup>134</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 1, Paragraph 2.

<sup>135</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 1, Paragraph 2.

<sup>136</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 1, Paragraph 1.

<sup>137</sup> This is an interesting assertion given that officers found an alternative community in the Army, which replaced or augmented familial control of courtship and marriage. Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 1, Paragraph 1b.

grounds that “the influence of any Officer is destroyed in a Corps upon its becoming known that he or she has become engaged to any Soldier within it,” pointing to the importance of reputation and the ramifications if that reputation were sullied.<sup>138</sup> Henry took warnings about losing the respect of one’s corps seriously. Before beginning at the training college, he told Edith that he would not be telling the newest cadets about their engagement.<sup>139</sup> *The Orders and Regulations* assured Salvationists that the regulation of courtship within local corps was based on “many years’ observation” and would be “self-evident to any experienced person.”<sup>140</sup> However, this regulation contradicted the most basic expectation – that Salvationists should only marry other Salvationists. While the latter regulation was meant to ensure that believers marry someone with the same convictions, the former regulation was problematic because officers were unable to court a potential partner from acquaintances at a current posting. The only way for a couple to adhere to both of these regulations was to court a soldier or officer from a previous appointment after transferring to a new one. Indeed, *The Orders and Regulations* asked that officers who might have a problem adhering to both regulations ask to be farewelled to another corps.<sup>141</sup> In reality, it is probable that couples courted in secret, waiting until they were separated to publicize their relationship, as Henry and Edith did.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, individual corps attempted to control the amount of contact between male and female adherents in order to limit the space

---

<sup>138</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 1, Paragraph 3a.

<sup>139</sup> “Perhaps it would be as well to keep our engagement from the Cadets unless they have already got to know, as some of them may not take it as well as they ought to, and I shall have to live with them for six months.” Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 24 July 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>140</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 1, Paragraph 3a.

<sup>141</sup> The term ‘farewell’ was commonly used by Salvationist to mean reassignment. Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 1, Paragraph 3b.

available for courtship. A guidebook for sergeants produced by the American Salvation Army specifically mentioned that a core duty of a sergeant was to disallow “any sweethearts to go with you together, or anything like courtship to be done at or on the way to and from service.”<sup>142</sup> A similar sentiment caused the corps in Kingston, Ontario to forbid male soldiers to walk female soldiers home after meetings, although this was an accepted custom for many other denominations.<sup>143</sup>

The restriction of courtship opportunities likely responded to widespread nineteenth-century allegations that young Salvationists were negotiating space for flirting and sexual activity at meetings. Many enthusiastic revivalist religious movements have been the targets of such scrutiny. Upper Canadian newspapers, for example, associated emotional Methodist camp meetings with irrational behaviour and sexualized disorder. Young women were seen as especially vulnerable to charismatic preachers.<sup>144</sup> Similarly, nineteenth-century observers argued that the Army and its methods bred immoral activity, often citing some combination of unfettered emotion, lack of supervision, and youthful ignorance. One Anglican cleric speculated that “excited meetings held up to late hours led to licentiousness.”<sup>145</sup> Scholars such as Jeffery Weeks and Pamela Walker suggest that moral panic can develop in response to fears about broad social change and societal disorder.<sup>146</sup> Accordingly, allegations of Salvationist immorality likely reflected

---

<sup>142</sup> William Booth, “Regulations for Sergeants: Things Not to Be Done,” in *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Salvation Army With Orders and Regulations for Sergeants, Prepared for the Training Homes* (New York: The Salvation Army, 1885), 13. This version of the manual has an added section – “Regulations for Sergeants” – which was likely added only to the American printing.

<sup>143</sup> Marks, “The ‘Hallelujah Lasses,’” 81.

<sup>144</sup> Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women*, 107-108, 118.

<sup>145</sup> *Dominion Churchman*, 10 May 1883 as quoted in Marks, “The ‘Hallelujah Lasses,’” 82.

<sup>146</sup> Jeffery Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800* (London: Longman, 1981), 14, 92; Walker, *Pulling the Devil’s Kingdom Down*, 130.

the Army's challenge to mainstream gender roles rather than overwhelming evidence that soldiers were acting contrary to social conventions.<sup>147</sup>

It is likely that the Army's system of regulation was born from general rumours such as the above, however, individual directives may have also responded to specific cases. Historian Karen Dubinsky found that rural Ontario couples who wanted to negotiate unsupervised meetings were able to do so while walking in the woods or in the fields; her research also uncovered one couple who routinely had sex in the buggy on the way home from Salvation Army meetings.<sup>148</sup>

While rumours of licentiousness linked to Salvation Army meetings were no longer common by the early twentieth century, this particular moral panic still affected Henry and Edith. Because of regulations put forward in the nineteenth century, the couple was prevented from spending time together while Edith was a lieutenant and Henry a soldier in the Saskatoon corps. Henry's letters lamented that he could only look at Edith during the meetings, rather than talk to her and express his love for her. He wrote that he was distracted: "not to be able to look at you as I'd like to nor speak one word of the love I feel."<sup>149</sup> For a period, Salvation Army meetings provided their only contact outside of written correspondence. Their forced separation only augmented Henry's longing to be with Edith. In one letter, he wrote that he could not wait to see her at the meeting the next day in order to "speak to you again for a minute or two."<sup>150</sup> That Henry and Edith were unable to spend time together outside of meetings, having to settle for stolen glances and

---

<sup>147</sup> These kinds of allegations were not unique to the Salvation Army but were commonly directed at other revivalist faiths. See, for example, Cecilia Morgan's work on early Methodism in Upper Canada. Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women*, 104-108.

<sup>148</sup> Dubinsky, *Improper Advances*, 117.

<sup>149</sup> Quote from Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 3 Dec 1906, Saskatoon. For other letters that discuss distraction, see Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Dec 1906, Saskatoon and Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 5 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>150</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

short conversations for fear of discovery, suggests that both social and official regulation were effective constraints on their relationship.

It should also be mentioned that the Army only sanctioned relationships between men and women. The definition of flirting given in *The Orders and Regulations* considered only heterosexual pairings to be courting. It read: “officers should never allow themselves in any intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex other than those that mean straightforward engagement.”<sup>151</sup> The use of “opposite sex” makes clear that only heterosexual couplings could be considered intimate in a romantic or sexual sense. Scholars have identified the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as the period in which homosexual and heterosexual became socially defined categories.<sup>152</sup> It is difficult to determine whether Salvation Army soldiers in the early twentieth century conceived of the homosexual-heterosexual binary, but it is clear that the Army as an organization did not discuss the possibility of same-sex attraction even in order to condemn it. With that said, it is possible that the Salvation Army offered men and women a venue in which to form close same-sex friendships and romantic relationships. Male and female officers often spent much of their time with a confined group of same-sex peers, while performing the duties associated with their position, and during their off time.<sup>153</sup> Training homes may have offered female Salvationists, in particular, the opportunity to form close bonds that would have been more difficult to maintain as working-class servants.

---

<sup>151</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 3, Paragraph 4.

<sup>152</sup> For two foundational books on the differentiation between homosexuality and heterosexuality, see George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994) and Jonathan Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (New York: Dutton, 1995).

<sup>153</sup> The letters often mentioned other soldiers or officers that Henry and Edith spent time with. Edith, in particular, spoke of a group of female peers with whom she lived and worked. Henry also mentioned his male peers but seemed to live as a single billet in a home more often than with other male officers.

Contemporary middle-class women attended boarding schools and universities that provided a similar venue for affectionate female friendships.<sup>154</sup>

As indicated above, the regulations laid out in the 1908 manual were not particularly malleable for Edith and Henry. Instead, the couple evaded regulation through secrecy, enabling them to circumvent many direct rules and avoid official disciplinary consequences. The couple courted secretly while Henry was a soldier at Edith's corps and during the first year of Henry's commissioning. As mentioned above, in Saskatoon the couple kept their relationship a secret because of restrictions against courting within one's local corps. In one letter, Henry explained that it was a "drain" on him to avoid looking at Edith in a way that would betray their "secret," highlighting his worry that they would be reported to a commanding officer.<sup>155</sup> They were, however, forced to follow temporal regulations, waiting nearly three years after Henry became an officer to get married.<sup>156</sup>

Another way that Henry and Edith were able to bend the regulations was by finding places of liminality. In these spaces, they were able to redefine some concepts in order to stay within the broad confines of Army sanction. The written form of their courtship offered some ambiguity as to its transgression of Army policy. Upon finding the regulations about courtship in *The Orders and Regulations*, Henry repeatedly noted how "downhearted" he was about the constraints on their relationship.<sup>157</sup> While the regulations

---

<sup>154</sup> Marks, "The 'Hallelujah Lasses.'" Also, see Caroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.)

<sup>155</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>156</sup> The manual also stipulated that the engagement of a male lieutenant would not be permitted, therefore the couple had to wait until Henry had been promoted to captain before their request for engagement could be approved.

<sup>157</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Dec 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 7 Dec 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 7 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

expressly disallowed their interactions, Henry asked Edith whether they were breaking the rules, suggesting that for him letter writing occupied a moral grey area in comparison to other activities that were obviously not allowed.<sup>158</sup> In one letter Henry clarified his opinion stating that their correspondence was not courting, merely “[getting] to know each others [*sic*] opinions on things.”<sup>159</sup> Through justifications like this, Henry and Edith negotiated a way to continue to “get to know each other” without feeling that they were defying the regulations laid out by the Salvation Army.

Official regulations functioned in tandem with prescriptive literature and social practice to define the acceptable parameters of courtship and friendship. Prescriptive works included the previously mentioned *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army*, *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Salvation Army*, as well as a collection of articles about love and marriage, all penned by the Army’s founder, William Booth.

The General and his wife Catherine Booth were integral to the image of the Army during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. William Booth’s popularity was evident in *The War Cry*, which featured a “Weekly Letter by the General” on the front page in the 1890s. By the time of Edith and Henry’s courtship, *The War Cry* published regular articles detailing William Booth’s travels around the world.<sup>160</sup> While Catherine Booth was also mentioned in *The War Cry*, perhaps the most telling expression of her influence was the reaction to her death in 1890. Thirty thousand people joined in her funeral procession through the streets of London and one eulogy stated that she was “the

---

<sup>158</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 5 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>159</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>160</sup> See, for example, “General in Japan,” *The War Cry*, 29 June 1907, 3 and “Triumphant Finish to General’s Motor Campaign,” *The War Cry*, 14 Sept 1907, 8.

most famous and influential Christian woman of the generation.”<sup>161</sup> Her influence continued posthumously. Catherine Booth remained a strong voice in support of female preaching and female authority in religious organizations. Her many works on the subject validated female officers, arguing that their role was not in defiance of the Bible but actually in support of it.<sup>162</sup> Some historians have also speculated that Catherine’s death encouraged her husband to write *In Deepest Darkest England, And the Way Out*, which arguably sparked the philanthropic aspects of the Army that now dominate its public identity.<sup>163</sup>

Both Booths recognized that their writing had the power to influence the actions of Salvationists around the world, as reiterated in a 1987 forward by American Commissioner James Osborne: “Our Founder recognized a tireless truth: the pen is mightier than the sword!”<sup>164</sup> Here, Osborne confirmed that well into the twentieth century William Booth remained an important figure in the organization – “The Founder still speaks!”<sup>165</sup>

While Henry and Edith did not directly mention either Booth in their letters, it is likely that the ideas about love and courtship publicly displayed by Catherine and

---

<sup>161</sup> *Bible Christian Magazine* 69 (Nov 1890), as quoted in Walker, *Pulling the Devil’s Kingdom Down*, 235.

<sup>162</sup> William and Catherine Booth did not hold modern notions of equal opportunity. Rather, their support of female preaching rested on the assumption that the goals of both religious and gendered roles were compatible rather than oppositional. They saw women as naturally religious and caring for others. These were also desirable qualities for Salvation Army officers to possess. Some works by Catherine Booth include Catherine Booth, *Aggressive Christianity* (London: The Salvation Army 1880); Catherine Booth, *Church and State* (London: The Salvation Army, 1881); Catherine Booth, *Godliness* (London: The Salvation Army, 1881); Catherine Booth, *The Salvation Army in Relation to the Church and State, and Other Addresses: Delivered at Cannon Street Hotel* (London: S.W. Partridge, 1883); Catherine Booth, *Life and Death* (London: The Salvation Army, 1883); Catherine Booth, *Popular Christianity* (London: The Salvation Army, 1887); Catherine Booth, *Practical Religion* (London: The Salvation Army, 1891). Many of these documents were originally delivered as sermons. For a detailed discussion of the justification for allowing female officers, see Walker, “A Chaste and Fervid Eloquence.”

<sup>163</sup> William Booth, *In Deepest Darkest England, And the Way Out* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1890).

<sup>164</sup> James Osborne, “Forward,” in *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*.

<sup>165</sup> Osborne, “Forward,” in *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*.

William Booth were influential for the couple. Henry and Edith had ready access to *The War Cry*, which often featured articles by the General and his wife. Henry also mentioned that the weekly letters from the General were read at meetings in Saskatoon.<sup>166</sup>

The Booths were not merely figureheads but acted as role models for soldiers. During the late nineteenth century, William Booth produced a series of articles on love, marriage, and courtship published in *The War Cry* and *The Social Gazette*. In them, Booth discussed a variety of topics from choosing a partner to raising children. In 1902, these letters were compiled into a volume intended to instruct soldiers on how to become “both good Saints and good citizens.”<sup>167</sup> Of interest here are letters that relate to courtship, entitled “Courtship,” “The Choice of a Partner,” “Keeping off the Rocks,” “Let God Guide You,” “The Proper Partner,” and “How to Make Love.”<sup>168</sup> In his preface to this publication, Booth highlighted his intention to cater to working-class adherents, who he called the “common people.”<sup>169</sup> He wrote in plain language with a direct message on the assumption that working-class individuals had “a very imperfect knowledge of the obligations of family and social life, much less of its refinements.”<sup>170</sup> Booth emphasised in this preface that he was providing guidance not to control soldiers but because they expressed the need for guidance, assuring readers that the letters were not perfect but written “from their General’s heart to his dear people, with the assurance of my love, and of my confidence in God for them. Let them remember that the best way to test my advice is to practice it.”<sup>171</sup>

---

<sup>166</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 22 January 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>167</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*.

<sup>168</sup> Note that the expression “making love” carried no sexual connotation in the period.

<sup>169</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 5.

<sup>170</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 5.

<sup>171</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 6-7

Throughout his letters, Booth reiterated that the choice of partner was paramount. He included such attributes as character, religiosity, and financial stability as important when considering engagement and marriage. *The Orders and Regulations* provided a checklist to deduce compatibility. A partner must be a Salvationist and “possess a godly, spiritual character.”<sup>172</sup> Further, partners should be more than husband and wife but also fellow soldiers in the war for salvation, “companion, counsellor, and friend.”<sup>173</sup> The *Orders and Regulations* warned that to avoid life-long regret, one should know the true character of a partner before marriage. Part of Booth’s advice involved deciding on desirable qualities beforehand rather than entering into a relationship with no idea of who would be a suitable marriage partner.<sup>174</sup> On the same note, he cautioned that some men and women deceive others, so it was important to understand the difference between reality and an act.<sup>175</sup> This emphasis on discovering a potential partner’s true nature extended to physical appearance. General Booth encouraged Salvationists to choose a partner because of inner beauty rather than good looks; he considered love based on physical appearance akin to idolatry.<sup>176</sup> Instead of following trivial reasoning, William Booth assured Salvationists that God would guide them to an appropriate partner.<sup>177</sup> In this sense, God was to be a third party in the relationship of two Salvationists.

Throughout his letters, the General highlighted that courtship was not a predestined path, but a series of decisions guided by God’s hand. He also encouraged courting

---

<sup>172</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 2, Paragraph 2a.

<sup>173</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 2, Paragraph 2c.

<sup>174</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 2, Paragraph 3; Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 25.

<sup>175</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 44.

<sup>176</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 35.

<sup>177</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 31.

couples to be patient and logical, not rash. Speaking particularly to young soldiers, he encouraged Salvationists to avoid making “plenteous misery for those connected with them, spoil their own lives, and sacrifice possibilities of great usefulness by foolish or unsanctified Engagements.”<sup>178</sup> Salvationists were urged not to rush into marriage, but to wait for God to bring a partner into their lives. William Booth argued that this was especially true for women, for whom pursuing a partner was improper. If no man asked for her hand then she “must conclude it to be the will of Divine Providence that she should not marry at all.”<sup>179</sup> The General’s message tells us much about the gendered standards in the Salvation Army. He argued that a woman could harm her chance of finding a marriage partner by actively searching for a husband-to-be, explaining that “good men are afraid of loud, bold, and man-like women who are ever pushing themselves upon their notice.”<sup>180</sup> In being too bold, a woman could overstep the parameters of appropriate female behaviour. In contrast, a man who went “wife-hunting” would overlook “the very woman he needs, and fasten on the one he ought to have seriously avoided.”<sup>181</sup> Booth also expressed that patience was important when considering material concerns. He wrote that couples “should exercise a little patience” before entering into an engagement if they were financially unable to support life together.<sup>182</sup>

The most clear and uniformly accepted regulation was that soldiers were only to marry other Salvationists. William Booth justified this regulation, listing the reasons why religion was paramount in the choice of partner. He considered courtship with a non-

---

<sup>178</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 13.

<sup>179</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 38-39.

<sup>180</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 43.

<sup>181</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 43.

<sup>182</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 17.

Salvationist “religious madness” as “only really spiritual persons can fully comprehend each other.”<sup>183</sup> This statement by the General underlines that faith was supposed to shape one’s views on all matters, not just those that were directly religious. William Booth also saw a non-Salvationist partner as motivation to backslide. Salvationists believed that salvation was earned through conversion but had to be maintained through ongoing participation. If backsliders joined another Christian denomination and especially if they stopped participating in a faith, they were acting against their conversion.<sup>184</sup> Booth urged Salvationists to avoid a “Christless life” which could only lead to “Christless families.”<sup>185</sup> Henry and Edith did not question this regulation, accepting that they could only be happy together as Salvationists.

Both prescriptive literature and official sanction made clear that young couples should only participate in courtship with marriage in mind. Pleasure-based relationships were not condoned. *The Orders and Regulations* relayed that while courting, soldiers were to “act as much in the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ in this matter as in the most spiritual part of their duties.”<sup>186</sup> In other words, they were to approach courtship with the same reverence as they did their faith.

*The Doctrines and Discipline of the Salvation Army*, a pedagogical text developed to train officers in the emerging system of training homes, stated that conversion was to “[destroy] all interest in worldly pleasure and ambition.”<sup>187</sup> As a by-product of such a prescription, the Army specifically targeted flirting as a sign of immorality. Defined by

---

<sup>183</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 27.

<sup>184</sup> Note that lapsed Salvationists were permitted to rejoin the Army on the condition that they took seriously the responsibilities accompanied by their conversion.

<sup>185</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 28.

<sup>186</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 2, Paragraph 1.

<sup>187</sup> Booth, *Doctrines and Discipline of the Salvation Army, Prepared for the Training Homes*, Section 20, Paragraph 2 VI.

*The Orders and Regulations* as “intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex” with no intention of marriage, flirting was a sign that pleasure was the primary goal of an interaction.<sup>188</sup> *The Doctrines and Discipline* pointedly noted that flirting would result in dismissal.<sup>189</sup> In both manuals, jilting was also taken as a sign that pleasure was the primary motivation for a relationship. The consequence for “any [Field Officer] guilty of shameless or heartless jilting” ranged from the reduction of rank to dismissal in dishonour.<sup>190</sup>

Booth attempted to set out concrete guidelines for Salvationists to follow during the courtship process. He identified two stages of courtship. During the introductory stage, a man and woman were to act as friends, getting to know one another intimately through conversation and correspondence. If, after some time (the manuals suggested one to three months), either party wished to end their friendship, this was an acceptable stage at which to part ways. The second stage began with engagement. Whereas friendship could be broken with little repercussions, engagement was a formal commitment, much more serious than a friendship. During engagement, partners were instructed to plan their futures with one another, having “reached a point at which both parties are so far satisfied with the knowledge they have gained of each other.”<sup>191</sup>

Booth referenced his personal experiences to reinforce his position of authority. He confessed that he “wasted some of my early days in trifling with this subject,” until he was saved “keeping me from the further evils to which such foolish conduct might so

---

<sup>188</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 2, Paragraph 4.

<sup>189</sup> Booth, *Doctrines and Discipline of the Salvation Army, Prepared for the Training Homes*, Section 34, Paragraph 12 I.

<sup>190</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 2, Paragraph 5, 6.

<sup>191</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 48.

easily have led.”<sup>192</sup> Booth wrote about his courtship with Catherine, saying that during their engagement “the way in which she conducted herself... was so pure and so beautiful.”<sup>193</sup> It is evident from this statement that Catherine held a primary position in the cultivation of their courtship according to standards of propriety. Henry and Edith followed this pattern in that Henry was less reserved in the expression of his passion, while Edith maintained a decorum that suggests she was more concerned with avoiding exchanges that others might consider immoral.

The first biography of Catherine Booth, published in 1900 by W.T. Stead, is of particular interest here because it was roughly contemporaneous with Edith and Henry’s relationship.<sup>194</sup> From the chapter titles it is clear that Catherine Booth’s defining characteristic was her gender. Each chapter discussed a stage of her life, highlighting her role as a single woman, as a wife, and as a mother, both to her biological children and to the Salvation Army itself.<sup>195</sup> Catherine Booth’s biography by her granddaughter Catherine Bramwell-Booth, subtitled *The Story of her Loves*, tied her relationship with her husband to her religious convictions. Bramwell-Booth wrote in the preface, “it is invidious and fruitless to try to discern how much [of the Army] was William Booth’s share and how much was Catherine’s. As I see it they were so completely one, their loves and aims were fused.”<sup>196</sup> Excerpts from love letters sent from Catherine to William during their courtship further cement the connection between Catherine’s love for her

---

<sup>192</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 12.

<sup>193</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 12.

<sup>194</sup> Stead, *Mrs. Booth of the Salvation Army*.

<sup>195</sup> Catherine Booth continues to be remembered as the “mother of the Salvation Army,” a moniker which also emphasizes that her leadership role in the Army was tied to her gender. Hannah Lane discusses the ways that social roles, like mother and friend, were a marker of identity for women in St. Stephen New Brunswick during the late nineteenth century. Her article offers a poignant commentary on the intersection of religion and community in the lives of Methodist women. Lane, “Wife, Mother, Sister, Friend.”

<sup>196</sup> Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth*, 7.

husband and her conception of religious love. She wrote, for example, “that you love me so well, now you love the Lord better, makes me rejoice, and I feel now that I may love you as much as I like.”<sup>197</sup>

Catherine Booth wrote many works quoted by Stead and Bramwell-Booth. Throughout, she echoes many of the themes that her husband highlighted. She saw love as a necessity in a marriage, yet believed that choosing a partner should be rational rather than driven by passion, and that faith should be the paramount point of commonality between two partners. The Booths’ use of common phrases meant that Salvationists received a unified message from both, suggesting that their view of courtship was more than personal opinion; it was a tenet of Salvationism.

In both Henry and Edith’s correspondence as well as prescriptive writings by General Booth and Catherine Booth, privacy was a paramount issue. Whereas Henry and Edith negotiated privacy while courting through secrecy, William Booth asserted that couples should maintain privacy as a way to avoid being boastful about an engagement. He urged couples not to “talk about [your engagement] to every stranger that crosses your path,” because doing so would only make one seem “ridiculous,” in the same way that young lovers were seen as foolish.<sup>198</sup>

Although public spaces were much easier to regulate, private spaces were not unbound. Prescriptive literature emphasized that officers were supposed to regard their private interactions as public knowledge.<sup>199</sup> The section of *Doctrines and Discipline* titled “The Duty of an Officer,” stated that “because this *private* talking is felt to reveal the *real* life, the public talking being only a *performance, put on* for the occasion. Be in *private*

---

<sup>197</sup> As quoted in Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth*, 58.

<sup>198</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 51.

<sup>199</sup> Lystra, *Searching the Heart*, 7.

what you are in *public*.”<sup>200</sup> From this powerful quotation, we can see that the Army expected officers to live their faith in every aspect of their life, not only while carrying out their public duties. Even more telling is that this strong statement directly preceded the discussion of marriage and courtship expectations.

In his letters, William Booth tried to constrain private actions by delineating moral and immoral behaviour. The restriction of sexual intimacy was implied but never plainly stated; however, his letters clearly associated premarital sex with sin. Many of the most telling sections speak of sexual intimacy in the silences.<sup>201</sup> Booth avoided using directly sexual language by stepping delicately around the subject. He stated that soldiers should conduct themselves with “a dignified restraint... with pureness of word and thought, and with the principles and usages of modesty.”<sup>202</sup> This communicated the message that unwed couples were not permitted sexual intimacy while carefully avoiding the use of language that would have been considered unseemly or obscene. Booth’s cautions reminded readers that whether someone was actually watching them or not, even their private actions were potentially under surveillance. In the end, God was the constant observer, encouraging soldiers to remain chaste.

In addition to regulation by prescription and by official sanction, the Salvationist community constrained Edith and Henry’s actions. As illustrated by Henry and Edith’s correspondence, Salvationists formed an insular community. They spent most of their time with Salvationists at their corps, selling the latest edition of *The War Cry*, attending

---

<sup>200</sup> Emphasis in original text. Booth, *Doctrines and Discipline of the Salvation Army, Prepared for the Training Homes*, Section 34, Paragraph 9.

<sup>201</sup> This phrase draws on Michael Foucault’s assertion that silence is a form of discourse rather than the “absolute limit of discourse.” Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume I: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990): 27.

<sup>202</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 51.

meetings, and, in many cases, living together. In addition to proximity, Salvationists formed strong bonds because of common religious beliefs, the emotional nature of meetings and prayer, commitment to the Army, and separation from family.

These bonds functioned on the local level to form a community of believers in one corps, but also on a national level. The transiency of the Army was key to the formation of social networks. It was common for officers to maintain friendships with Salvationists that they worked alongside at their various appointments, meaning that they could correspond with members who had been reposted all over the country. While stationed in Saskatoon, Henry frequently wrote about close friendships with other Salvationists. Early letters discussed the wellbeing of mutual friends, the most prominent being a young woman that they called ‘Cadet.’<sup>203</sup> Henry referred to Saskatoon as home because of the relationships he had formed there.<sup>204</sup> After leaving Saskatoon, mutual acquaintances reappeared in the letters periodically, noted for their achievements in the Army or for their weddings.<sup>205</sup>

The frequency with which Henry and Edith exchanged information about other officers suggests that other friends and romantic partners participated in the same kinds of interactions. In other words, gossip was a common form of communication.<sup>206</sup>

---

<sup>203</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 21 Jan 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 27 Jan 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>204</sup> For examples see Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 21 Jan 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 27 Jan 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 26 March 1910, Montreal.

<sup>205</sup> For discussion of mutual acquaintances, see Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 19 Oct 1907, Saskatoon; Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 8 July 1908, Winnipeg; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 25 Aug 1908, Morrisburg, ON; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 26 March 1910, Montreal.

<sup>206</sup> Historians have studied gossip both as a form of social control and as a punishable offence. The majority of this historiography has been written by Europeanists or Americanists. B.S. Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Karen V. Hansen, “The Power of Talk in Antebellum New England,” *Agricultural History* 67.2 (1993): 43-64; Steve Hindle, “The Shaming of Margaret Knowsley: Gossip, Gender, and the Experience of Authority in Early Modern England,” *Continuity and Change* 9.3 (1994): 391-419; Susan Juster, *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics and Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England* (Ithaca and

Historian Melanie Tebbutt defines gossip as “talk about other people... [which monitors the] behaviour and development of social relationships.”<sup>207</sup> Tebbutt acknowledges gossip as a means of moral regulation and thus important in the formation of community values. She argues that by unpicking the topics and form of gossip we can better understand the unspoken discourses that governed the behaviour of individuals within a group.<sup>208</sup> These conclusions are important because gossip was a strong regulator of social relationships for Salvationists. As Tebbutt contends, gossip was most effective within a closed system that allowed members to most effectively regulate the behaviour of other members.<sup>209</sup> The Salvation Army, at both the local and the national level, was a closed system. Members were clearly delineated from non-members by way of behaviour and outward appearance.

Historians have also found that gossip was heavily influenced by gendered understandings of behaviour. For example, despite negative perceptions of gossip as a woman’s sin, public talk allowed women a stage for social influence.<sup>210</sup> Existing historiography has focused on gossip as an oral tradition, as a way to uncover the voices of women that were silent in other written records and also to demonstrate that oral

---

London: Cornell University Press, 1994); Jane Kamensky, *Governing the Tongue: The Politics of Speech in Early New England* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York, Vintage Books, 1993); L.R. Poos, “Sex, Lies, and the Church Courts of pre-Reformation England,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 25.4 (1995): 585-608; Pamela Stewart, *Witchcraft, Sorcery, Rumours, and Gossip* (New York : Cambridge University Press, 2004); Melanie Tebbutt, *Women’s Talk: A Social History of ‘Gossip’ in Working-class Neighbourhoods, 1880- 1960* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 1995). For a Canadian example see Lynne Marks, “Railing, Tattling, and General Rumour: Gossip, Gender, and Church Regulation in Upper Canada,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 81.3 (2000): 380-420.

<sup>207</sup> Tebbutt, *Women’s Talk*, 1.

<sup>208</sup> Tebbutt, *Women’s Talk*, 1.

<sup>209</sup> Tebbutt, *Women’s Talk*, 1-2.

<sup>210</sup> Hansen, “The Power of Talk in Antebellum New England”; Marks, “Railing, Tattling, and General Rumour,” 387; Tebbutt, *Women’s Talk*, 74.

communication was an important aspect of society that historians rarely analyze.<sup>211</sup> This discussion departs from this goal, instead illustrating that written gossip was also a powerful form of social control.

While historians have studied various forms of religious regulation, few have acknowledged the effects of gossip in religious communities.<sup>212</sup> The important word here is *community*. Community is arguably a primary function of Christianity, and certainly was so in the Salvation Army. One work that examines the role of gossip in religious communities is Lynne Marks' article "Railing, Tattling, and General Rumour: Gossip, Gender, and Church Regulation in Upper Canada." Marks demonstrates that gossip was used in some denominations to control behaviour. In seeing gossip as proof of misconduct, denominational regulatory courts validated gossip as a legitimate testament to transgression. The courts also differentiated between false rumour, which was opposed by Upper Canadian evangelical churches, and other forms of public talk that pointed out the unacceptable behaviour of members. Marks notes that certain offences were more likely to be proved by gossip and that gender impacted whether disciplinary action would be pursued and for which offenses.<sup>213</sup> Her work highlights the ways that gossip was particularly powerful in the regulation of religious congregations.

In the Salvation Army, gossip was officially discouraged but carried social importance because of lax enforcement. Because the Army's regulatory system was

---

<sup>211</sup> Marks, "Railing, Tattling, and General Rumour," 387; Tebbutt, *Women's Talk*, 74.

<sup>212</sup> Some Canadian works focusing on regulation include Nancy Christie, "Carnal Connection and Other Misdemeanours: Continuity and Change in Presbyterian Church Courts," in *The Churches and Social Order in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Canada*, ed. Michael Gauvreau and Ollivier Hubert (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006); Lynne Marks, "No Double Standard? Leisure, Sex and Sin in Upper Canadian Church Discipline Records, 1800-1860," in *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*, ed. Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestell, 48-64 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>213</sup> Marks, "Railing, Tattling, and General Rumour," 386, 388.

meant to be socially implemented rather than strictly imposed, gossip functioned differently in reality than was laid out in prescription.

Edith and Henry clearly wanted to avoid the propagation of gossip about their relationship. In the first year of their courtship, they tried to keep their interactions a secret. As their web of acquaintances grew, it was more difficult to prevent or stifle rumours. In the latter years of their courtship, officers all over Canada knew about Henry and Edith's relationship. Early in 1909, Edith wrote to Henry worried because "the Brigadier seems to know everything about us. I don't know where he got his information but he teases me. He knows your father well and I guess the whole family from what he said. You know him I suppose."<sup>214</sup> Even in 1907, the couple began to monitor who knew about their relationship. Edith mentioned their "affairs" to an ensign – "I didn't tell her much, just gave her to understand that you were going in the work and that I knew all about it" – so that if this woman heard rumours she would recognize which were false.<sup>215</sup> In another instance, Henry was socially sanctioned by a lieutenant who had seen a letter on which he had drawn "certain hieroglyphics" beside his signature, presumably hearts or x's and o's. The lieutenant comically replied with a letter to Henry that exaggerated the drawings on the original letter. Henry did not take well to this ribbing, stating "I did that in all seriousness, and would not put it on a letter to anyone else for the world, so I do not see the point of her remark."<sup>216</sup> These exchanges demonstrate the importance of gossip in the Salvationist community as a form unofficial regulation able to alter the behaviour of soldiers and officers. Through instances like these, Henry and Edith learned how to best

---

<sup>214</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 1 Feb 1909, Port Arthur, ON.

<sup>215</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 16 April 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>216</sup> This was an example of the power that female officers held in the Army. It was acceptable for a female lieutenant to informally reprimand the actions of a male soldier. Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 15 May 1907, Saskatoon.

carry out their courtship. Henry, for example, likely thought twice before drawing on his letters again. The main message was that gossip could harm his and Edith's reputation in the community, providing a strong incentive to avoid being the topic of conversation.

Henry and Edith's letters acknowledged that both male and female Salvationists gossiped. In one letter, Henry expressed his disgust with a male and female member who had been "going about" together. When asked about their involvement, the couple had lied despite being seen at the public venue, leading Henry to scoff at their immoral behaviour.<sup>217</sup> A few days later, Henry insinuated that another male soldier was acting inappropriately with a young woman he brought to a meeting. Henry heard from fellow soldiers that the two were "getting on too well."<sup>218</sup> Marriageable age was another topic of gossip: in one letter Henry disapproved of a brigadier's daughter who married before she turned 18.<sup>219</sup> In these examples, gossip delineated acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.

The function of gossip as a form of social censure was not actively encouraged by the Army; however, regulation by gossip was in the best interest of the organization. Gossip enforced many of the Army's official regulations, diminishing the need for a stringent apparatus to reprimand noncompliance. With that said, the Army did not officially condone gossip in the community, only allowing public talk by failing to closely regulate it.

Community regulation was also enacted by the family. Historiography has emphasized the role of the family in the regulation of pre-marital relationships. Some have seen the family as an important part of a larger regulatory apparatus. Catherine Gidney, for example, asserts that familial regulation was important as a component of

---

<sup>217</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 15 Aug 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>218</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 19 Aug 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>219</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 9 May 1910, Montreal.

regulation by community, along with other influences like faith.<sup>220</sup> Others have emphasized how the physical presence of family members regulated behaviour. Peter Ward and Beth Bailey argue that the family played an integral part in regulating courtship by the expectation that most courting would take place within the family home.<sup>221</sup> While other historians have attempted to show the ways that women were able to carve out a space for agency in their courtships, Ward's assertion that family played an important role in regulation rings true.<sup>222</sup> Families had the advantage of influence. Even if they were not able to overtly regulate the partners chosen by their children, they were influential in the construction and maintenance of gender and marital standards within the home. Important here is Marguerite Van Die's conclusion that religion was "relocated" to the family home during the Victorian period, resulting in an "increasingly sacred" domestic sphere.<sup>223</sup> The redefinition of the home as a site of "redemption" indicates that moral regulation was a heightened aspect of family life.

Young courting couples in the Army were often physically removed from their families, which was atypical for couples in the period. Nevertheless, as exemplified by Henry and Edith, familial regulation was still present. While neither Henry nor Edith expressly stated that their family's approval was an important factor in their engagement, they did mention at various times the close connection that they maintained with their respective families. Each corresponded with various family members regularly and indicated that the opinion of their family was important in their decision making. Henry consulted his father in regards to financial decisions and thought of him as a religious

---

<sup>220</sup> Gidney, "The Dredger's Daughter," 122.

<sup>221</sup> Ward, *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada*, 171.

<sup>222</sup> For a discussion of agency, see Mary Olson, "Wielding the Power of Popular Sentiment: Woman's Agency in Courtship and the Love Letters of Anna Todd," *Women's Studies* 37 (2008): 790-814.

<sup>223</sup> Van Die, *Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada*, 5.

mentor.<sup>224</sup> In one letter, Henry explained that he sent a photo of Edith to his parents with which they were “delighted,” but that “they will be more satisfied” when they see her in person.<sup>225</sup> These and other exchanges between Henry and his parents illustrate that even though Henry’s parents were in England, their approval of his relationship with Edith was still important to him. Henry was in contact with his brother Willie and sister Fanny, who lived in Canada and were involved in the Salvation Army. Henry remarked to Edith that his brother Willie was courting a non-Salvationist of whom he disapproved.<sup>226</sup> In this case, Henry used gossip from the Salvationist community to justify his disapproval of Willie’s relationship. Given that the Army facilitated gossip about the inappropriate courting behaviour of Willie, it makes sense that Henry would restrict knowledge of his own relationship lest his siblings hear rumours about his behaviour.

Edith’s family also constrained their interactions. As Henry knew Edith’s family personally, often corresponding with them independently, Henry and Edith’s relationship was directly within their sphere of influence. While neither Henry nor Edith expressed worry about her family’s disapproval of their courtship, the couple did discuss the wide influence of Edith’s family. In one letter, Henry mentioned that Edith’s mother was beginning to worry about her involvement in the Army, wishing that she would take up clerical work instead.<sup>227</sup> No such worries appeared about Henry and Edith’s relationship; it is likely that if her family had reservations about Henry they would not hesitate to share them.

---

<sup>224</sup> For discussion of Henry’s homestead, see Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 1 Dec 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 1 Dec 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 7 Dec 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 1 Nov 1909, Montreal. For discussion of spiritual guidance, see Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 30 May 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>225</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 23 April 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>226</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 22 Aug 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>227</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 19 Oct 1907, Toronto.

Lastly, Henry and Edith regulated the behaviour of one another. This was particularly evident in letters where Henry expressed anxiety about how other male Salvationists interacted with Edith. While he repeatedly stated that he was not speaking out of jealousy, Henry was obviously protective of Edith. On two separate occasions, Henry mentioned specific men that he had heard were approaching Edith too forwardly.<sup>228</sup> On another occasion, Henry warned Edith against getting too friendly with the men in the band, accusing them of keeping their eyes on Edith for too long.<sup>229</sup> Henry constructed these phrases in a way that conveyed his irritation with the actions of others while passively implicating Edith: this was a subtle form of regulation but one that was important in defining the bounds of their relationship. In the following example, John was the object of Henry's rage, yet Edith likely understood that she should avoid these kinds of interactions in the future. This example is also poignant because Henry found out about John through rumour. Henry wrote,

It is certainly very comical, about John; but I tell you, the best thing that could happen to him would be for someone to punch his head, (Please excuse my strong language, but I feel strongly on that subject.) However, I am not the least bit jealous, that is one thing I am well saved from.<sup>230</sup>

Clearly his anger would have prompted Edith to avoid contact with John and to prevent similar rumours from developing in the future.

The couple did not always react favourably to the regulation of their relationship. Both Henry and Edith wrote enraged letters to one another questioning the Army's control of their relationship. Henry resented the restrictions that made it difficult for male and female officers "to be able to fathom the character of the more intricate personalities"

---

<sup>228</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 4 Jan 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 18 May 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>229</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 29 April 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>230</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 18 May 1907, Saskatoon.

in order to assess their compatibility with one another.<sup>231</sup> This criticism seems valid, given that prescriptive literature emphasized the need to know a partner before marriage, yet, as Henry explained, the Army placed many obstacles in the way of this goal.<sup>232</sup> When Henry first read *The Orders and Regulations*, finding that he and Edith were breaking some key regulations, he wrote, “I will admit some of them come as a disagreeable surprise. I had an idea what the regulations were but they seem an awful lot more severe when they apply to ourselves.”<sup>233</sup> Henry felt that while many of the regulations were sensible in theory they were too restrictive in his own case, a central contradiction between regulatory bodies and self-interest. Further, Henry felt that a couple who were serious about their relationship should not have to hide their love for one another. He expressed that he “cannot see anything wrong or silly or undignified about kissing someone who you love and everyone knows you are engaged to,” indicating that he felt physical expressions of love should not be rejected on grounds of morality but taken as an indication of a meaningful connection between two people.<sup>234</sup> Edith, who was generally mild mannered in her letters, expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of information she and Henry received about their engagement. In 1909, she wrote displeased that “I can’t help but feel it is not right the way they are treating us. We are both loyal Salvationists and they ought to sanction our engagement, with out [*sic*] any

---

<sup>231</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>232</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>233</sup> Henry took issue with certain regulations rather than all of the regulations. He was most adamant in his disapproval of regulations that directly constrained his relationship with Edith. He highlighted three regulations in particular: that the Army must sanction all engagements, that officers must not court from within their corps, and that male lieutenants were not allowed to marry. In the same letter, Henry wrote that he agreed with the section of *The Orders and Regulations* that asserted courtship should be serious and carried out under God’s guidance. Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 5 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>234</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 20 July 1907, Saskatoon.

trouble.”<sup>235</sup> At the same time, the couple’s only protest concerned Army policy. They appear to have followed prescriptions from family and the Salvationist community with less resistance, perhaps because social sanction was less overt or restrictive.

Edith and Henry were not entirely constrained by any of the forms of regulation. Their search for privacy was complicated by official and unofficial regulation, to which they responded by negotiating a meaningful relationship despite constraints. Official policy attempted to define courtship and forbid forms of romantic interaction that were outside of those bounds. Prescriptive literature was a prominent form of regulation; written works by William and Catherine Booth modeled the correct way to foster a loving partnership and gave advice on the best way to bring that to fruition. Public forms of community regulation consisted of gossip and familial approval, while privately Henry and Edith shaped their own interactions. They were influenced by societal and community constructions of faith and respectability as well as by more direct regulations. We can conclude that Henry and Edith were not free to act as they wished within their relationship; however, they found ways to negotiate spaces for privacy and to bend regulations without breaking them. The letters proved to be an important way for the couple to create intimacy despite their physical separation. By restricting public knowledge of their private space, the couple seemingly escaped social regulation in the early stages of their courtship, reimagining some regulations, while ignoring others. Some regulations were at odds with one another. Membership in the Army encouraged romantic feelings to develop within the community but also barred couples from being married if they did not meet the regulations imposed on them. Henry and Edith were able

---

<sup>235</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 23 April 1909, Port Arthur, ON.

to navigate contradictory regulations in order to build their relationship through their faith and their correspondence.

### Chapter Three

## “I loved Jesus in you darling”: Religion, Love, and Letter Writing<sup>236</sup>

Historians have acknowledged that letters serve multiple functions for both writers and readers. Letters are communicative, facilitating the exchange of information. Letters are also socially powerful, allowing the writer to better understand their own point of view through the creation of a personal narrative. As historian Lynn Abrams notes, narrative is “one of the ways by which people make sense of their experiences and communicate it to others.”<sup>237</sup> Letters also reinforce the expectations of the reader through directly mentioning and by indirectly influencing behaviour. We can see that Henry and Edith’s letters functioned in all of these ways simultaneously. Their correspondence communicated both general information about daily life and specific details about their relationship. The letters also shaped Henry and Edith’s understanding of love, marriage, and gender through metaphor and direct sanction. This chapter aims to unpick these multiple functions of Edith and Henry’s correspondence to better understand the effects, both conscious and unconscious, of the letters on their courtship. We can see, for example, that their correspondence cemented the connection between romantic love and religiously motivated love. Because the Army restricted their intimacy elsewhere, Henry and Edith found privacy in the pages of their letters. Faith amplified this intimacy, allowing Henry and Edith to create a life together through their shared worldview.

---

<sup>236</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 2 Aug 1910, Montreal, private collection of Dr. Lynne Marks, Department of History, University of Victoria.

<sup>237</sup> Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 106.

As we have seen, membership in the Salvation Army affected the logistics of courtship. Firstly, officers were required to move often, sometimes several times a year. If a couple met during an assignment, it was not likely that they would remain at that post together for more than a few months. Secondly, as discussed in the previous chapter, the *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* forbade officers from courting a soldier from their own corps; as Henry and Edith proved, however, this regulation was not easily enforced.<sup>238</sup> Both of these attributes contributed to the necessity of letter writing in the Salvation Army.

Soldiers and officers were prolific letter writers, frequently using correspondence as a way to continue a courtship over long periods of separation. The importance of written correspondence is evidenced by Henry and Edith's discussions about fellow officers.<sup>239</sup> On 10 December 1906, Henry noted that a letter received by a Brother Tom from his wife was more cheerful than usual and on 19 February 1910 he wrote of an officer from Montreal who was meeting with his bride a week before their wedding to "pull up the time [they] have gone behind in their courting."<sup>240</sup> Clearly, spatial constraints imposed by the Army forced officers to communicate with romantic partners by correspondence.

William Booth recognized the need for written communication in a letter published in *The War Cry* titled "How to Make Love." He advised readers to "let your communication, whether in speaking or in writing, be rational, religious, and

---

<sup>238</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 1, Paragraph 3.

<sup>239</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>240</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Dec 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 19 February 1910, Montreal.

profitable.”<sup>241</sup> Interactions were to be “useful as well as interesting” so as to best “strengthen and instruct one another.”<sup>242</sup> Booth also insisted that couples write at regular intervals so that letters would be received on regular days.<sup>243</sup> This was a system that Henry and Edith attempted to implement, but were not always successful in maintaining.

Henry and Edith’s courtship was affected by their membership in the Army, but it also followed many conventions common to early twentieth-century Canadians. Letter writing became a popular method of courtship during the nineteenth century as postal service grew more reliable and less expensive. Historian David Henkin argues that by the mid nineteenth century a “culture of post” was developing in America by which “new practices, attitudes, norms, discussions, and crucially, habits – of communication, inquiry, and expectation – [grew] around a modern postal system.”<sup>244</sup> As letter writing became engrained in social convention, writers could imagine a much larger web of social connection.<sup>245</sup> Henkin argues that this new system of communication encouraged a collective mentality by which people became “aware of their interconnections and interdependencies.”<sup>246</sup> Membership in the Salvation Army fostered a similar collective mentality based on written communication. As indicated by Henry and Edith’s

---

<sup>241</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 51-52.

<sup>242</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 52.

<sup>243</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 52.

<sup>244</sup> David M. Henkin, *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 5.

<sup>245</sup> Scholars have investigated this phenomenon in discussion of correspondence across the British Empire. For examples see Charlotte MacDonald, “Intimacy of the Envelope: Fiction, Commerce, and Empire in the Correspondence of Friends Mary Taylor and Charlotte Brontë, c. 1845-1855,” in *Moving Subjects: Gender Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*, ed. Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, 89-109 (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009) and Elizabeth Vibert, “Writing ‘home’: Sibling Intimacy and Mobility in a Scottish Colonial Memoir,” in *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*, ed. Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, 67-88 (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

<sup>246</sup> Henkin, *The Postal Age*, 7.

correspondence, members remained in contact with officers and soldiers from each of their appointments by mail.

Historians of the Victorian period have argued that men were prompted to retain rationality in public by distancing themselves from emotional expression.<sup>247</sup> This can explain why, as Stephanie Coontz notes, Victorian men tended to be more effusive in their letter writing than in their public lives.<sup>248</sup> In private, men could be more expressive of their emotions. Karen Lystra argues that privacy was foundational to nineteenth-century relationships. When couples could not negotiate physical privacy because of the standards of respectability, they would create private spaces in the pages of a letter.<sup>249</sup> Men and women experienced letters as a physical extension of the loved one, allowing the couple to be intimate in an unsupervised venue.<sup>250</sup> Because their letters expressed emotional vulnerability, couples guarded them closely.<sup>251</sup>

Henry and Edith's letters created a private space in which they could interact by facilitating emotional exchanges. Henry cautioned Edith against allowing his sister Fanny to read them and warned her to "mind you do not leave letters lying around."<sup>252</sup> Henry also avoided writing when others were present, afraid that they would read what he was writing.<sup>253</sup> At one point, he even suggested that they create a code so that the telegraph

---

<sup>247</sup> For an example see Lystra, *Searching the Heart*, 155. While the Victorian period officially ended in 1901, historians often periodize the nineteenth century as the long nineteenth century, which can extend to World War I. I subscribe to this periodization, especially in light of the fact that Henry grew up in England during Victoria's reign.

<sup>248</sup> Coontz, *Marriage, a History*, 178.

<sup>249</sup> Lystra, *Searching the Heart*, 3-5.

<sup>250</sup> Lystra, *Searching the Heart*, 4.

<sup>251</sup> Lystra, *Searching the Heart*, 3.

<sup>252</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 13 Aug 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>253</sup> Henry wrote about his fears often, but a good example can be found in Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

operator could not understand their messages to one another.<sup>254</sup> Despite the value of these emotional exchanges, it should be mentioned that a distinction between the letters and a physical visit was maintained. When nearing the date of their marriage, and thus the end of their written courtship, Henry noted that while he enjoyed writing letters to Edith over the years they have been no substitute for the “real thing.”<sup>255</sup> Edith was even more direct stating that she did not write more often because she preferred talking with Henry directly.<sup>256</sup>

Henry’s vulnerability regarding their separation manifested in the anxiety he expressed in his letters. In nearly every letter, Henry asked Edith to reassure him of her love. Among the most common causes for his doubt was the infrequency of her letters. Edith wrote much less frequently than Henry, especially when she was posted in Port Arthur where she was required to travel out to the railroad camps to collect financial donations for weeks at a time. During one of those trips, Edith was unable to write a letter for more than two weeks. Henry responded by expressively speculating about the many things that could keep Edith from writing, although “one thing I will not believe and that is that your love for me is growing cold, the very thought makes me shiver.”<sup>257</sup> In Edith’s next letter she responded more pragmatically: “I am sorry dear that you have worried over not getting a letter from me...but dear my love is not growing cold.”<sup>258</sup> These kinds of exchanges were common between the couple, and most often it was Henry who expressed his separation anxiety.

---

<sup>254</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 23 April 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>255</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 5 Oct 1910, Montreal.

<sup>256</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 7 April 1910, Port Arthur, ON.

<sup>257</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 7 Nov 1908, Saskatoon.

<sup>258</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 12 Nov 1908, Winnipeg.

It is not surprising that love is central to understanding Henry and Edith's courtship; however, love is not an easy concept to define. While couples often talked about their love for a partner, they rarely defined what the term meant to them. Love was not, as Peter Ward has suggested, "timeless, almost universal. When it came to love, things seem to have changed very little during the [nineteenth] century, and they differed surprisingly little from one couple to the next."<sup>259</sup> Rather, love was nebulous in that one person may have multiple meanings for the concept depending on the context.

William Booth wrote extensively about love in his letters to Salvationists. He emphasized that only couples in love should marry, writing "If there is no Love, in the names of all that is sacred and righteous, in earth and in Heaven, "I FORBID THE BANNIS!"<sup>260</sup> He did little to define love, but presumably he thought it was the culmination of his many prescriptions: health, harmony, affinity, affection, and happiness.<sup>261</sup> Booth also warned that love would change over time. While "the love of Courtship was precious to you...the pure and mature love of marriage should be more precious still."<sup>262</sup> Should love wither, Booth wrote the following passage to encourage Salvationists to stay true to their partner:

Love is a tender plant, and like all tender plants it will die without attention. If you do not find that you are able to give all the love that you think you ought to give...hold your heart true to your pledges, and do not permit yourself to entertain any thoughts of unfaithfulness...If you continue true, in all probability the love and warmth of the past will come back again, and will increase as the days go by.<sup>263</sup>

---

<sup>259</sup> Ward, *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada*, 167.

<sup>260</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 31.

<sup>261</sup> In a letter titled "Keep off the Rocks," William Booth wrote "there must be Love – that is, there must be not merely a passing regard, but a deep affection." Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 37.

<sup>262</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 96.

<sup>263</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 53.

These passages make clear that firstly, General Booth expected couples to be thinking about the possibility of marriage throughout their courtship, and secondly, that he understood love to take many forms, while retaining some common characteristics.

Historians have argued that in the early twentieth century, love was understood as a desire to “reciprocally [further] the happiness of each other,” by way of emotional intimacy.<sup>264</sup> This type of love was increasingly understood as a requirement for a couple as they courted; it figured prominently in a companionate marriage, the established model for an early twentieth-century union. Within a companionate marriage love, intimacy, and happiness formed the conceptual framework. Individuals and groups of Canadians did not subscribe to the ideal of companionate marriage equally or imagine it in the same way. Even ideals were contextually dependent. Henry and Edith’s understanding of love was influenced by their relationships with other Salvationists, with their family, and by their religious beliefs. Even so, Henry and Edith operated under the assumption that they would be companions in marriage and that their love for one another indicated the success of their courtship.

Despite Edith’s lack of introspection in her letters, Henry often noted that Edith was gentle and loving.<sup>265</sup> Henry also reiterated his ability to be emotionally intimate, even though he felt it was less natural for him as a man. On many occasions he made statements to assure Edith that “I may not have a very gentle looking exterior but my heart is tender”<sup>266</sup> and further, that it was Edith’s influence that allowed his heart to be

---

<sup>264</sup> Anya Jabour, *Marriage in the Early Republic: Elizabeth and William Wirt and the Companionate Ideal* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998): 8.

<sup>265</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 7 Dec 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 7 Dec 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 16 Aug 1910, Montreal.

<sup>266</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 29 Nov 1906, Saskatoon.

“tender.”<sup>267</sup> These assurances were largely uncalled for, given that the majority of Henry’s letters directly expressed his love for Edith. Edith also assured Henry of her love for him, although in a more prosaic form than Henry’s florid prose. Edith wrote, for example, “I have been real lonely for you and it has been hard to content myself with not seeing you sometime soon.”<sup>268</sup> In one letter, responding to Edith’s self-doubt about her letter writing abilities, Henry assured Edith that “what constitutes a good letter in my estimation is; when a letter contains what I like, when it tells me plainly that you still love me with a great love.”<sup>269</sup> It seems, however, that the ways that Edith expressed her love were more reserved. In most letters, she occupied the body of the letter telling Henry about the progress of her corps with the only indication of affection being in her valediction, which most often read “with fondest love, Edith” or “your girl, Edith.” Of course, Edith’s reserved letters were in keeping with Booth’s requirement that letters be spiritually useful.

While love was important in conceptions of early twentieth-century marriage, it was also a core tenet of Salvationism, as was true of many evangelical faiths. Early nineteenth-century Methodist ideology, for example, emphasized Christ’s love for his followers. Itinerant preachers understood that they were sharing God’s love, knowing that it had the power to bring non-believers to the faith.<sup>270</sup> Likewise, Henry Alline, a central figure in the late eighteenth-century Nova Scotian New Light movement, wrote extensively about his conversion experience and subsequent years preaching the Word. In one such entry, his journal read “my whole soul that was a few minutes ago groaning

---

<sup>267</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 15 Feb 1910, Montreal.

<sup>268</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 12 Sept 1908, Winnipeg.

<sup>269</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 13 Aug 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>270</sup> Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women*, 113, 150.

under mountains of death... was now filled with immortal love, soaring on the wings of faith,” demonstrating that the spiritual love of God brought him to salvation.<sup>271</sup> Religious or spiritual love was grounded in the idea that the love of God or Christ was a gift to the faithful, something that one received which fostered spirituality and well-being. In return, believers were instructed to have a “*real abiding love* for Holiness.”<sup>272</sup>

Similarly, Henry confirmed that love as an important aspect of his faith. He felt that “love is the very first fruit of the Spirit.”<sup>273</sup> Further, Henry affirmed that spiritual love formed the basis of his faith and that love and religion built on one another. In 1910 he wrote, “love is religion and religion is love, and one could not sing about God without singing about Love for God is Love.”<sup>274</sup>

William Booth also emphasized the role of religious love in Salvationist conceptions of faith, prompting Salvationists to reiterate the importance of love in other aspects of their lives. For example, love was seen as necessary for a successful corps. In one letter, Edith lamented that her new corps in Regina was not functioning as well as she had hoped because the new officers “haven’t got to love [the soldiers] yet.”<sup>275</sup> William Booth reiterated this sentiment in *The Orders and Regulations*, stating

the first and most important duty for the F.O. [field officer] with regard to his Soldiers is to love them. No matter what other qualifications he may possess, unless he has this one, he will be comparatively powerless in dealing with his Corps...They will regard him as a mere performer, and look upon all his efforts as only so much work done to gain a livelihood or a position, and have as little

---

<sup>271</sup> Henry Alline, *The Life and Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Alline*, ed. James Beverley and Barry Moody (Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press, 1982), 199 as cited in George Rawlyk, *The Canada Fire: Radical Evangelicalism in British North America, 1775-1812* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 27.

<sup>272</sup> Emphasis in original text. Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter I, Section 3, Paragraph 4.

<sup>273</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Aug 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>274</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 15 Feb 1910, Montreal.

<sup>275</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 16 April 1907, Regina.

communication with him as they can help. He must love them in order to make them love him and help the War.<sup>276</sup>

William Booth emphasized that an officer should seek to love the soldiers of his or her corps “like the master” – loving both the faithful and the wayward alike, and in so doing he or she will earn the love and loyalty of those he or she commands.<sup>277</sup> In another example, *The Doctrines and Disciplines* noted that “brotherly love” between officers was a “special fruit of Sanctification noticed in the Officers of The Salvation Army.”<sup>278</sup> Clearly, this was a different kind of love than the love of God; however, we can see that the revivalist emphasis on spiritual love was related to both Edith and William Booth’s conception of love as a tool to foster loyalty and success within a corps. We can also see that prescription created a hierarchy between different types of love. Officers should love their soldiers in a paternalistic sense, like a loving but firm parent, but love one another as brothers.

Another manifestation of the revivalist focus on love was Edith and Henry’s emphasis on love in their relationship. For the couple, love was a primary marker of the God-willed success of their courtship and the happiness they fostered in one another. This was, however, another form of love: romantic love.

For Henry and Edith, romantic and religious love were so closely tied that they were inseparable: neither could exist without the other. Henry often articulated the connection plainly in statements such as “[there is] nothing to separate my love for God

---

<sup>276</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part III, Chapter II, Paragraph 1-2.

<sup>277</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part III, Chapter I, Paragraph 2-10.

<sup>278</sup> Booth, *Doctrines and Discipline of the Salvation Army, Prepared for the Training Homes*, Section 20, Paragraph 4 III.

and my love for you.”<sup>279</sup> At other times, Henry less consciously entangled love and religion by equating his love for Edith with Christian symbols and concepts such as heaven, salvation, or God’s love for Salvationists. In one example, Henry wrote “I feel put into my breast a deep lasting, overwhelming Love for you, My Darling, God has put some of His own Great Love into my heart for one of His own Lambs.”<sup>280</sup> Even more powerful than finding similarity between romantic and religious forms of love, Henry expressed in this passage that his romantic love for Edith as a vehicle for God’s love to reach Edith.

Henry articulated the reciprocation of romantic love as a precious gift, in much the same way that he conceived of God’s love. He wrote “I cannot see for the life of me...why either should love me so much as you do, nor why God did not pick out someone for you who was great and noble, and talented.”<sup>281</sup> This protestation is part of a common trope of humility used by Christians to debase themselves while simultaneously exalting God. Henry’s use of these Christian rhetorical structures to describe his relationship with Edith clearly incorporated religious language as a way to understand romantic interactions.

Henry and Edith also conveyed their love for one another through scripture.<sup>282</sup> Henry’s poetic prose lent itself to the use of symbolism more than Edith’s unadorned language. Edith, however, more often included scriptural passages, indicating the same connection between her conception of God’s love and her love for Henry. Edith began a

---

<sup>279</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 28 Oct 1909, Montreal.

<sup>280</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 29 Nov 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>281</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 8 Nov 1909, Montreal.

<sup>282</sup> Scripture was an important component of the Salvation Army, as it was in other evangelical faiths. As David Bebbington argues, evangelical Christianity generally follows four main beliefs: conversionism, biblicism, crucicentrism, and activism. David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 3.

letter with the passage “delight thyself also in the Lord and he shall give the desires of thine heart.”<sup>283</sup> In his preceding letter, Henry doubted his ability to be faithful to the Lord and to Edith simultaneously. Edith’s inclusion of this scripture seems to confirm that the only way to love Edith – clearly the ‘desires of thine heart’ – was to deepen his faith in the Lord. In this exchange, scripture acted not only to express their love but also to understand it more fully.

Despite commonalities in the ways that Henry and Edith wrote about romantic love, differences are also present which stemmed from both personal preference as well as Salvationist and mainstream understandings of gender. Perhaps one of the most prominent manifestations of these differences was the lack of detailed discussion of romantic love in Edith’s letters. Edith was much more likely to simply write that she missed spending time with Henry rather than vividly unpacking her feelings. This tendency can partially be attributed to her lack of confidence in her writing ability. In response to Edith’s feelings of inadequacy, Henry wrote “I must say I think you are mistaken (If you will allow me to be so bold as to say so, dearest) when you say you are not gifted in letter writing for it gave me the most exquisite joy to read it and one sentence just thrills me thro’ and thro’.”<sup>284</sup> Despite Henry’s encouragement, it is likely that her feelings of inadequacy inhibited her motivation to write longer letters.

The differences in their writing style meant that Henry expressed romantic love using more vivid language than Edith, while she wrote passionately about God and her work with the Army. In a description of a meeting the previous night Edith wrote that she was “enjoying the presence of God...but I am craving for more forever and a greater love

---

<sup>283</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 28 November 1906, Saskatoon. The passage quoted in this letter is Psalms 37.4.

<sup>284</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 3 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

for souls.”<sup>285</sup> Her visceral language – for example, the word craving in the above – to describe a form of religious love is comparable to Henry’s use of such terms in discussion of romantic love. Henry wrote of Edith, “you cannot imagine how I yearn for you, you have become to me more than life; more than all the world holds, in fact, you are the whole world to me.”<sup>286</sup> In comparison, Edith wrote plainly, “I was feeling a little lonely and was wishing for a letter.”<sup>287</sup> Each of these passages conveyed that they missed one another but Henry and Edith had distinctive ways of expressing their ‘yearning.’

Henry and Edith indicated that Christian understandings of rationality guided their physical interactions. Henry confirmed that he loved Edith for her soul rather than her body, emphasizing that his love was based on Edith’s abstract qualities not hedonistic desires. When writing about seeing Edith after a year apart, Henry assured her “you will have changed a little in appearance, but you may rely on one thing that my heart will not have changed towards you.”<sup>288</sup> In keeping with the belief that the soul transcended the body – a core tenet of Christian theology – Henry also wrote to Edith that “my love will never die with my body.”<sup>289</sup> In doing this, Henry elevated his feelings from irrational, physically-driven young love to a more rational, abstract love. Henry distanced himself from young love, which can “get a little foolish sometimes,” suggesting that maturity was also considered a positive attribute for a romantic relationship.<sup>290</sup> The mature form of romantic love aimed at the ultimate goal of courtship: marriage. This does not mean that Henry and Edith did not act ‘foolishly’ (see for example when Henry was scolded for

---

<sup>285</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 12 Sept 1908, Winnipeg.

<sup>286</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 7 Aug 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>287</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 18 April 1910, Port Arthur, ON.

<sup>288</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 22 Aug 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>289</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 22 Aug 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>290</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 29 Nov 1906, Saskatoon.

drawing hieroglyphics on a letter, as discussed in the previous chapter). Rather, they valued rational behaviour despite their occasional lapses. In fact, Henry wrote that “personally, I would rather be thought foolish ten thousand times (of course by anyone except for you I mean) than not love you.”<sup>291</sup> In this early stage of their relationship, before he became an officer, Henry was willing to sacrifice the opinion of others to show Edith the depth of his feelings for her. Four years later, when Henry was an officer serving in Montreal, he may have felt differently about looking foolish.

At the same time, the letters suggest that their romantic love was physically manifest in certain ways. Henry more than Edith expressed a physical connection between them. For example, Henry assured Edith plainly, “I am completely yours as the sweet smile on your face.”<sup>292</sup> At other times, Henry was more expressive about his physical yearning to hold and kiss Edith because he was “intoxicated with love.”<sup>293</sup> In some letters he emphasized that he craved physical contact: “I long for the time when I shall see you, that I will enfold you in my arms.”<sup>294</sup> Although his stated desires never went beyond kissing or holding, clearly these statements contradicted Henry’s assertions that his love for Edith was pure and spiritual: even this language would have been morally suspect if others had read the letters. Henry’s expression of his physical longing for Edith in his letters indicates an assurance that the letters were truly a private space.

These physical manifestations of romantic love are interesting in light of Pamela Walker’s observation that Salvationists understood religion to be physical as well as spiritual. Walker examines conversion narratives as an example of this physicality, noting

---

<sup>291</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 29 Nov 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>292</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 7 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>293</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 29 Nov 1906, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 7 Aug 1907, Saskatoon; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 28 August 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>294</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 28 August 1907, Saskatoon.

that men in particular experienced conversion as a physical change. Narratives reflected this by detailing the smell, taste, sound, and sight of God as evidence of their turn to Salvationism.<sup>295</sup> Further, Walker asserts that the bodily experience of salvation was necessary to “dissolve the body’s boundaries” in order to be saved.<sup>296</sup> The physical manifestation of faith was not merely a positive sign but a necessity within Salvationist understandings of faith. That romantic love was experienced physically is not surprising given Henry and Edith’s interwoven conception of romantic and religious love.

The connection between romantic love and religion had far-reaching implications. Henry and Edith made clear that they understood love as the motivation for engagement, happiness as the goal for marriage, and physical and emotional intimacy as the source of both love and happiness.<sup>297</sup> Because Henry and Edith entangled religious love and romantic love, only faith and marriage in tandem could lead to happiness. In this way, the concept of companionate marriage was complicated by the intersection of Salvationist ideology that emphasized the love of Christ alongside the cultural importance of romantic love.

The interconnection of romantic and religious love also meant that each strengthened the other rather than competing with it. As an example, Henry wrote to Edith, “the more I love God and desire to serve him; the more my heart warms to you.”<sup>298</sup> In this passage, Henry conveyed that his romantic love for Edith and his conception of religious love were not only compatible, but mutually reinforcing. The couple did,

---

<sup>295</sup> Walker, *Pulling the Devil’s Kingdom Down*, 88-90.

<sup>296</sup> Walker, *Pulling the Devil’s Kingdom Down*, 91.

<sup>297</sup> For an example of the interconnected nature of happiness and love, see Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 7 Sept 1909, Montreal. “I never was more sure that we shall be the very happiest couple alive, for where there is whole hearted love, and forbearance there cannot be anything but the most exquisite happiness.”

<sup>298</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 3 Aug 1908, Winnipeg.

however, consider that their courtship and their work with the Army might cause tension between competing goals. William Booth cautioned that courtship and marriage could distract officers and soldiers from salvation, emphasizing that officers should not sacrifice their duties to the Army in favour of spending time with companions.<sup>299</sup> Henry and Edith heeded this warning by attempting to create boundaries between their relationship and their work with the Salvation Army.<sup>300</sup> If Henry's plea "I love you to distraction" was any indication, it seems their attempts were only moderately successful.<sup>301</sup> Their discussions about limiting the time they spent writing likely represented guilt about the time each had to take from their tight schedules to write the many letters that were exchanged over their five-year courtship.

Edith and Henry's courtship was an outcome of their faith – religion acted as a lens through which Henry and Edith viewed their relationship. This lens influenced the ways that they understood their prescribed roles and social conventions, shaping how they saw themselves and their relationship to others. Henry and Edith's courtship was also a function of their faith. By serving the Army despite the conflicts between their personal desires and Army regulations, Henry and Edith proved to themselves and to others the depth of their religious conviction. In some cases, this involved negotiating and reimagining Army regulations while in others it meant incorporating faith into their time together.

One of the most public ways that Henry and Edith's relationship displayed commitment to the Army was by following, or appearing to follow, Army regulations. As

---

<sup>299</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 14.

<sup>300</sup> For example, Henry and Edith tried at multiple points in their relationship to write to one another once or twice a week on regular days, to ensure that they would not spend every day waiting for a letter.

<sup>301</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 21 Sept 1908, Morrisburg, ON; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 4 Nov 1909, Montreal.

discussed in the previous chapter, the couple demonstrated to other Salvationists that they were willing to bend to the organizational bureaucracy of the Salvation Army by waiting to be married. In postponing their wedding, they showed that were invested in their religious mission, rather than blinded by their personal desires. Henry, for example, wrote to Edith saying that he knew that they could be married immediately if they left the Army but “I feel that when I persuade, or try to persuade you to leave the Service of God, in the Army, then I will deserve to lose your love.”<sup>302</sup> Remaining faithful to the Army despite policies intervening in their wish to be married was an important way that Henry proved that he was committed to the organization.

Henry and Edith’s relationship allowed each to deepen and strengthen their spirituality. Both their obituaries emphasized that Edith personally saved Henry and continued to enhance his faith through their relationship.<sup>303</sup> By reiterating Edith’s salvation of Henry, these biographies supported William Booth’s assertion that “the husband will find, in a true wife, a spiritual director and guide.”<sup>304</sup> In statements such as “I loved Jesus in you,” Henry made clear that Edith’s religious conviction drew him to her.<sup>305</sup> Henry felt that he could learn much from Edith’s spiritual maturity. He wrote, “there is nothing in me to draw the love of so spirited a soul as ours, dear, for I feel you are head and shoulders above me in spiritual matters...I believe with your prayers and hand in hand with you I shall climb nearer to my precious Redeemers [*sic*] side.”<sup>306</sup>

---

<sup>302</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 4 Jan 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>303</sup> SAA, “Order of Services: The funeral of Lieut. Colonel Henry C. Tutte, R.,” 9 June 1950; SAA, “Order of Services: The funeral of Mrs. Lt. Colonel H.C. Tutte (R),” 3 November 1964.

<sup>304</sup> Booth wrote about the natural ability of a wife to listen and aid the “trials and struggles of [her husband’s] spiritual life.” Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 109-110.

<sup>305</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 2 Aug 1910, Montreal.

<sup>306</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 1 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

Henry even compared Edith's holiness with that of Christ: "I desire above all things to be like Him and so incidentally to be like you."<sup>307</sup>

We can see that Edith's role as 'spiritual director' evolved during their relationship. Early letters indicated that Henry thought of Edith as a teacher or mentor because she was an officer while he was a newly saved soldier. Later in his letters, as he grew more confident in his spiritual knowledge, Henry began to assert a possible role as mentor to Edith. Henry wrote, "I desire with all my heart to be a help to you spiritually if I possibly can."<sup>308</sup> Less than a month before asserting his desire to spiritually encourage Edith, Henry had already begun to take on this role. When Edith was posted to Regina, Saskatchewan, she found it difficult to leave her position in Saskatoon. Her first letter to Henry made clear that she was unsatisfied with the condition of her new corps and that she wished to be back in Saskatoon: "I never knew that I was so attached to Saskatoon until I got away. We have all had a good cry every day since [*sic*] we have been here."<sup>309</sup> In response, Henry encouraged Edith to focus on the good that she could do in Regina and to turn to her faith for strength. He replied:

if I do not go straight to Jesus with my troubles I soon get into low spirits, but I am glad because we have a Saviour who does not only help us in the great trials of our lives, but is every [*sic*] ready to cheer and encourage us in the small trying things of every day life [*sic*].<sup>310</sup>

By 1907 Henry was beginning to feel more secure as a Salvationist. He maintained that Edith would teach him things in the future, although he suggested that these lessons would be more about being a good husband than being a good Salvationist. In 1910, Henry further reiterated that Edith would show him how to be a good husband, writing

---

<sup>307</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 2 Aug 1910, Montreal.

<sup>308</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 15 May 1907, Saskatoon.

<sup>309</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 16 April 1907, Regina.

<sup>310</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 23 April 1907, Saskatoon.

“seeing as I am an apt pupil, and so anxious to learn to be all that I ought to be, you may be able to change me for the better very quickly.”<sup>311</sup>

Just as the letters formed a private space for the couple to interact, so too did their faith. In one letter, Henry suggested they should pray at the same time every day: “we will get on our knees and give our affairs into His hands and I am sure He will listen to the combined prayers of His children rising up to him, and altho’ separated down here He will see us kneeling before him together and bless us.”<sup>312</sup> Henry’s plan created a space for the couple to utilize faith to forge intimacy. Even though they were physically separated, Edith and Henry were able to be spiritually united, an extension of the intimate space prayer created between God and a believer.

The couple was driven by necessity to court primarily through correspondence. While they would have preferred to be posted in the same corps, they chose to remain faithful to the Army rather than leave the organization in order to marry. The written form of their courtship changed the nature of their relationship. Their letters served multiple purposes, many of which were interconnected and functioned simultaneously in each letter. Just as Henry understood that love was written between the lines, so too were faith and spirituality, the creation of self, and the exploration and reiteration of gendered understandings about courtship. Henry and Edith’s letters were a venue for the creation of a personal narrative. In each letter, Henry and Edith wrote about their relationship to one another, to the Salvation Army, and to society as a whole. The letters illustrated that faith shaped the way they understood their courtship, but also that their courtship served as an outward indication of their faith. Edith and especially Henry wrote about how they

---

<sup>311</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 2 Aug 1910, Montreal.

<sup>312</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 13 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

thought of romantic love and how it related to other forms of love. Love was an abstraction, but it was also physically manifest; romantic love was tied to religious love, and love was

...a great gift, a natural gift... I feel I ought to Love you a thousand times more but I will do that when my heart is enlarged and expanded as it will be when we cross to the Heavenly World. In the meantime count on me,

Your very devoted lover,  
H. Chas. Tutte<sup>313</sup>

---

<sup>313</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 March 1910, Montreal.

## Chapter Four

### “A letter from my little wife (to be that is)”: Gender and the Expectations of Marriage<sup>314</sup>

An extensive historiography has investigated the marriages of specific couples, drawing conclusions about gender, religion, and family from their love letters.<sup>315</sup> This chapter differs from many of these works in that it focuses on the expectations surrounding marriage rather than the realities: the focus here is not the structure of a marriage but the instructions on how the building blocks should fit together. During their nearly five-year courtship, Henry and Edith often discussed their expectations of married life. The couple wrote, directly and indirectly, about the roles that they expected to take and those that they expected their partner to take. They thought about the ways that marriage would change their lives and the ways life would remain the same. Sometimes their expectations reflected an unattainable ideal of marriage, constructed both by the Army and by the couple, rather than a probable reality. Other letters revealed that Edith and Henry knew marriage would pose challenges but reiterated that they would work through these challenges together. The letters show Edith and Henry attempting to negotiate prevailing social and cultural notions of the home, the body, and employment, creating a complicated understanding of how their marriage would be contextualized within the Army and within mainstream society. Because Edith and Henry appear to have left no correspondence from their married years, we know little about the ways that their

---

<sup>314</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 10 Dec 1906, Saskatoon, private collection of Dr. Lynne Marks, Department of History, University of Victoria.

<sup>315</sup> Gidney, “The Dredger’s Daughter”; Jabour, *Marriage in the Early Republic*; Phyllis Rose, *Parallel Lives: Five Victorian Marriages* (New York: A. Knopf, 1983); Theresa Strouth Gaul, *To Marry an Indian: the Marriage of Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

expectations were fulfilled or deflated. It is possible, however, to infer that Edith's role as an officer in the Army changed significantly after marriage. *The War Cry* documented Henry's increasingly prestigious career in Western Canada and Edith's philanthropic work, illustrating that Edith was required to adhere more closely to mainstream gender norms in taking on a role in the home after marriage.

Henry and Edith's courtship slipped so seamlessly from courtship to engagement that it is difficult to discern when the transition took place. The letters begin in early 1906, at a point when they had known one another for some time but were not yet engaged. They do not tell an elaborate story of betrothal where Henry got down on one knee; there was no clear point where either a family member or Edith gave consent to marriage. By December of 1906 Henry had started to refer to their engagement and by May of 1907 he was making steps to apply for a place in the training home, knowing that he had to be promoted to a commissioned rank before he would be permitted by the Army to marry Edith.<sup>316</sup> It seems that during the late months of 1906, their relationship progressed from friendship, William Booth's previously mentioned first stage of courtship, to engagement, the second.

The timeline and lack of family involvement indicate that engagement had a temporally and socially specific cultural meaning for Henry and Edith. Engagement was not required to take place at a fixed moment. Rather, Henry and Edith's engagement took place over a longer period, likely because they discussed it in written form rather than in person. Their engagement also went unnoticed by many because it took place in private

---

<sup>316</sup> For discussion of Edith and Henry's engagement, see Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 5 Dec 1906, Saskatoon and Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 30 May 1907, Saskatoon.

and was held in secrecy for years. They considered themselves engaged long before the Army gave them permission to be engaged.

While historians have previously focused on gender within the Salvation Army, few have discussed its implications for marriage and courtship. As exemplified by Edith and Henry, marital status should be an important consideration in a gendered analysis of the Army because single female officers were able to transgress boundaries of acceptability in ways unavailable to married female officers. While the Army offered single women the opportunity for freedom from male relatives, a paid position, authority, and the opportunity for religious expression, married women gained few of these advantages. Married women were not barred from holding an active posting with the Army. *The Orders and Regulations* state clearly that women were allowed to hold “any position of authority or power in The Army, from that of a Local Officer to that of The General.”<sup>317</sup> However, once married, Salvationist women were expected to take on the responsibilities of the home, including cooking, cleaning, and raising children just like any other Canadian woman. William Booth cautioned that the expectations of the home often meant that women had to step back from their duties of public preaching in favour of a domestic role supporting their husbands’ ongoing position as an officer.<sup>318</sup> Booth recognized that the domestic duties expected of married Salvationists meant that it was more difficult for female officers to continue to hold an active position.

Historian Pamela Walker argues that the Army neither discouraged nor encouraged but *regulated* marriage.<sup>319</sup> As previous chapters have illustrated, the Army

---

<sup>317</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part IX, Chapter V, Paragraph 1 and 4.

<sup>318</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 65.

<sup>319</sup> Walker, *Pulling the Devil’s Kingdom Down*, 124.

certainly regulated the relationships formed by officers and soldiers. Likewise, Booth's prescriptive literature was biased as to the benefits and disadvantages of marriage.

William Booth's message in these works, however, was far from straightforward. While he outwardly stated that marriage should be a positive goal for young Salvationists, his discussion illustrated that marriage came with both negative and positive consequences.

Booth wrote that "it is according to God's order for young people to look forward to Marriage as a proper condition of life."<sup>320</sup> Among positive outcomes, Booth emphasized that a good marriage formed a lifelong friendship, which could "brighten the dismal journey to the grave."<sup>321</sup> The need for friendship was especially true for men, for who a wife would be "a friend to whom he can unreservedly confide all the secrets of his soul."<sup>322</sup> This comment says much about expectations which dictated that men reserve their secrets from other men, to share them only with a wife. Booth made a similar argument for women, though the phrasing implied that women more naturally sought a companion.

Booth felt that men and women naturally approached courtship differently. For example, he wrote that marriage "meets the yearning of the woman's soul for a closer human communion than she can ordinarily find elsewhere."<sup>323</sup> Indeed, "she was made for association, for friendship, for love."<sup>324</sup> While Booth emphasized marriage as a natural goal for women, he prodded men to consider the friendship of a wife as a positive reason to be married, perhaps against their natural inclination. The language Booth employed also highlighted the things that men could gain from marriage, among them the

---

<sup>320</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 14.

<sup>321</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 107

<sup>322</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 108.

<sup>323</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 145.

<sup>324</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 146.

possibility of a family, the “joys of home life,” and the ways that a wife could balance her husband’s masculine characteristics.<sup>325</sup> Booth encouraged men to look forward to fatherhood and “the pleasure he will reap from [children’s] society, the profit they may bring to him in business, and the credit they will confer upon him in the little world in which he moves.”<sup>326</sup> This encouragement reinforced that paternal masculinity could be just as fulfilling as forms of masculinity accepted of single men in the period. For women, Booth emphasized that through marriage women could fulfill their obligations to be a wife and mother. Marriage was considered the “fulfilment of the Divine Order,” which dictated that women would “regard the unmarried state as an unfinished work.”<sup>327</sup> Only in marriage could she find a partner who would make her “one complete whole” and allow her to satisfy her natural instinct to be a mother.<sup>328</sup>

General Booth also wrote at length about the possible negative consequences of marriage, highlighting two outcomes: that choosing an incompatible partner could result in lifelong unhappiness, and that marriage could draw officers and adherents away from their faith and their duties to the Army. Booth demonstrated that the disadvantages and advantages differed according to gender, plainly arguing that women faced far more disadvantages than men did.<sup>329</sup> He pointed to a husband’s privileges, duties, and responsibilities, while only to the duties of a wife. For some women, Booth felt that getting married was equivalent to “throwing away their lives and gifts.”<sup>330</sup> Single women, he argued, were free to work diligently for the Army, whereas married women were

---

<sup>325</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 115, 116.

<sup>326</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 115.

<sup>327</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 145.

<sup>328</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 145, 148.

<sup>329</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 55.

<sup>330</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 66.

restricted from traveling and from devoting all of their time to evangelism.<sup>331</sup> Marriage obligated women to fulfill responsibilities to their husband and children that could turn them into “little better than that of a beast of burden.”<sup>332</sup> Booth also pointed to extra dangers that married women had to consider, for example, health risks associated with childbearing or the possibility that a husband might be cruel to his wife.<sup>333</sup>

In an entirely different line of argument, Booth suggested that more women than men would need to remain single, owing to the fact that “there are more women in the world than men.”<sup>334</sup> Whether this was true or not, Booth made it seem as though women should be aware that singlehood could have been a more positive possibility than they wanted to admit: if God steered them to a single life, they should accept it happily. In this way, William Booth’s letters subtly discouraged marriage, for women especially, despite openly endorsing neither marriage nor singlehood.<sup>335</sup>

As a corollary, Booth encouraged Salvationists to think of the advantages of single life, constructing singleness as a viable alternative to marriage. Many of General Booth’s instructions encouraged young people to see singlehood as normal, a surprising prescription given the positive attitude towards marriage held by most other Christian denominations in the period. He argued that it was possible to lead a “happy, holy, and useful life” in an unmarried state.<sup>336</sup> Remaining single would lead to more time for prayer and reflection, less anxiety to cloud the soul, and more independence to travel and

---

<sup>331</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 20, 65.

<sup>332</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 64

<sup>333</sup> Booth emphasized that, in theory, husbands were permitted to be cruel but that women could avoid having a cruel husband by the careful choice of partner. Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 59-60.

<sup>334</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 55.

<sup>335</sup> Although present in both, Booth’s approval of singlehood was more noticeable in his letters to Salvationists than in *The Orders and Regulations*, perhaps because they were written with a more personal message.

<sup>336</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 14.

devote time to preaching the Word.<sup>337</sup> In terms of faith, remaining single was portrayed as the only way for some to reach a “perfect union with the mind and will of God” – free of earthly relationships that could prove an obstacle to faith.<sup>338</sup> In an effort to metaphorically fill the void women might have seen in singlehood, Booth wrote that salvation was considered an “engagement and marriage with the Lord Jesus Christ, the husband of their souls.”<sup>339</sup> Women who chose to remain untied to a husband would still be married to the Lord, lessening the stigma of singlehood.<sup>340</sup> Both male and female Salvationists were instructed to *choose* a single life “when they can plainly see that, by so doing, they can render some remarkable benefit to their fellow-creatures,” emphasizing that the decision should benefit both their faith and the salvation of others.<sup>341</sup> Some were urged that it was a “stern duty” to remain unmarried, rather than a choice. The ill, those with responsibilities to relatives, and men who were financially unable to support a wife should refrain from marriage and remain single.<sup>342</sup>

Despite William Booth’s mixed message about the desirability of marriage, the Salvation Army as an organization reinforced marriage as an important step in the religious life of a soldier or officer. As *The Orders and Regulations* stated, “few questions are more important to the F.O. [Field Officer], or more intimately concern his

---

<sup>337</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 19-20.

<sup>338</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 67.

<sup>339</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 2, Paragraph 1.

<sup>340</sup> The imagery of God as a husband is a reoccurring Christian image, especially in evangelical movements which often normalized the use of sexual language when speaking about the effect of God of Jesus on the faithful. For an example of this language see Henry Alline’s journals. Henry Alline, *The Life and Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Alline*. George Rawlyk discusses Alline’s worry that his explicitly sexual dreams would offend God. Rawlyk, *The Canada Fire*, 9.

<sup>341</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 16.

<sup>342</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 15-16, 19.

holiness, happiness, and usefulness, than that of marriage.”<sup>343</sup> This quotation confirms that finding a partner was connected to faith and to the Army. The Army required that soldiers remain true to their faith after their marriage and, above all, that marriage should be useful, rather than frivolous. Like courtship, marriage was to be useful for spreading the Christian message, accomplished by way of evangelism, mutual encouragement, and the raising of Salvationist children. William Booth asked husbands to encourage their wives to continue to preach as they did before marriage. A husband should not attempt to hamper his wife’s zeal for Salvation, for “the hand of God will be against the husband who stands in the way of her [work with the Army]!”<sup>344</sup> Booth acknowledged that some men would want to confine their wives to the home, but encouraged husbands to think beyond that notion.

Married couples were also urged to care for the “spiritual wellbeing” of their spouses by singing hymns, discussing the Bible, and praying together, as a way to deepen both their knowledge of one another and their faith.<sup>345</sup> Edith and Henry affirmed that their relationship would always serve the Army, perhaps as a way to justify bending Army regulations. At the beginning of their relationship, Henry struggled to justify his continued devotion to the Army. He knew that if Edith gave up her position that they could be married immediately. In the end, Henry demonstrated that his devotion outweighed even his desire to circumvent the regulations that postponed their engagement because “when I turn my thoughts to the great sacrifice that Jesus made for

---

<sup>343</sup> Booth, *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Part I, Chapter VI, Section 1, Paragraph 1.

<sup>344</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 141.

<sup>345</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 142, 53-54.

me. Oh! Edith, Darling, it would be a poor return after all the good things he has done for us.”<sup>346</sup>

In addition to setting out the advantages and disadvantages of marriage, William Booth wrote about the ways that Salvationists should relate to one another and the specific roles that husbands and wives should take within that relationship. It is clear that in some cases Edith and Henry agreed with William Booth, while in others they refashioned Booth’s prescriptions to express their own expectations. It is also clear that in some cases Booth reinforced dominant conceptions of marriage while in others his views were more surprising. Certainly, his support of female preachers was very unusual for the period, as were his arguments supporting the choices of women to remain single rather than have a family. However, Booth also encouraged companionate marriage, which was a common way for Canadians to think of marriage in the period. In other cases, Booth emphasized the exceptional stance of the Army on a particular issue, as was the case with Booth’s opinion of servitude, even though his stance was more mainstream than he would admit.

Many of Booth’s prescriptions on marriage were meant to guide a husband’s thinking about his relationship to his wife. It is important to note that in framing his discussion like this, Booth implied that a husband should define the dynamics of his marriage. A common scriptural analogy proposed that a husband should take the position of the head and the wife the rest of the body. Naturally, the body should follow the head’s direction.<sup>347</sup> In this analogy, the couple is one body but the husband holds a superior

---

<sup>346</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 4 Jan 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>347</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 130. William Booth also argued that wives should obey their husbands. The only way to avoid bowing to a husband was to remain single. Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 148-149.

position. Henry seemed to have held a belief in this analogy. Early in their courtship, he asked Edith “do you dread being bound?”<sup>348</sup> The implication is clear. Henry expected marriage to limit Edith’s freedom.

In one example of a husband’s ability to define the parameters of a relationship, Booth made clear that a wife should not be considered property or a servant but a partner.<sup>349</sup> He argued that treating a wife in this way denied her the opportunity to use her talents and could allow for a husband’s “own unfaithfulness or debauchery” to continue without accountability.<sup>350</sup> Moreover, Booth characterized this sort of treatment as backward and outdated. He maintained that laws and religious institutions that maintained ideals of proprietorship were flawed.<sup>351</sup> The use of servant in this case implied a forced servitude, rather than a chosen devotion.

Henry spoke of being a servant in the devotional sense. He clearly thought the role of a servant to be an honourable position. In the following passage, he indicated that he would serve Edith in their marriage in order to prove that love “transforms all desire for authority.”<sup>352</sup>

A husband will boss his wife and sometimes vice-versa, but it is all a mistake. The finest thing in the world it to be the Servant, and not the ‘Boss’... I was saying in both our Love, for God and our Love for another person, there is only one correct motto and that is the motto which the Prince of Wales uses and has used for many hundreds of years, and that is ‘Ich Dein’ which translated means ‘I serve.’<sup>353</sup>

In this passage, Henry indicated that he did not want his marriage with Edith to be authoritarian. He expected that he would serve Edith and she him, so that neither would

---

<sup>348</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 24 Jan 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>349</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 83-93

<sup>350</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 83-85, 93.

<sup>351</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 86-87.

<sup>352</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 9 May 1910, Montreal.

<sup>353</sup> Emphasis in original text. Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 9 May 1910, Montreal.

be in a position of power over the other. This draws on the Christian understanding that believers should aspire to serve God, influencing Henry to think of his relationship with Edith in the same terms and encouraging him to serve her as a sign of his love.

Henry's Christian conception of servitude was compatible with William Booth's insistence on partnership. Partnership, Booth maintained, was "the guiding purpose in a true Salvationist's Marriage," and furthermore, set it apart from other marriages.<sup>354</sup> The first attribute of partnership, complementarity, meant that each partner had natural roles within a marriage, both of which were necessary for a marriage to function successfully. Partners were to balance the strengths of one another, employing the instinctual talents of women for faith, the maintenance of the home, and emotional complexity and the masculine aptitude for reason and worldly understanding.<sup>355</sup> Because each partner was necessary in a marriage, a husband should consider her when making decisions on behalf of the family. Booth wrote "the realization by the husband of the wife's equality will lead him to make every provision within his power for the promotion of her happiness and comfort, and treat her, when alone and in the presence of others, with all due respect and affection."<sup>356</sup> While a husband should naturally lead, he must take his wife's "happiness and comfort" into account because her role was as valuable as his. In this same letter, Booth asked men "to seek a wife who is strong on those points on which he is weak. If, for instance, he is careless in the use of money, he will try to find a woman who is careful. If he is a doubter, he will look for a woman who is strong in faith."<sup>357</sup> General Booth wanted Salvationists to think about a complementary relationship in the beginning

---

<sup>354</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 92.

<sup>355</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 92.

<sup>356</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 93.

<sup>357</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 92.

stages of courtship in order to ensure that any marriages that resulted would maintain this attribute of partnership.

Booth also maintained that partners should be supportive, both emotionally and spiritually. Above all, the General wanted partners to spend time together, sharing one life rather than leading two separate lives. Booth encouraged partners to make time at the end of each day to talk to one another, sharing intimate details, conversations about faith, and stories of day-to-day life.<sup>358</sup> This communication was seen as the cornerstone of a well functioning partnership because it allowed partners to maintain a connection with one another despite busy Army schedules.

The standards of marriage that Booth laid out for Salvationists were not always reiterated in Henry and Edith's conception of their future. The contradictions between the realities they expected and the standards they aspired to illustrate that although the couple supported the parameters of Army membership, they anticipated that they would fall short. In other cases, Booth provided conflicting advice, which Edith and Henry had to navigate as they formed a vision of their future together.

Power dynamics, for example, were an area of conflict between their ideals and reality. While Henry and Edith wrote about partnership without hierarchy, this was not an ideal that they realistically expected to follow. Some comments in Henry and Edith's letters contradicted stereotypical notions of power relations of the period, particularly letters in which Henry indicated submission to Edith. In one case, Henry wrote that he would change his behaviour once they were married, "when you take charge of me."<sup>359</sup>

---

<sup>358</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 101-103.

<sup>359</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 26 April 1910, Montreal.

In another letter, Henry said to Edith “you’re the boss you know.”<sup>360</sup> It is possible that Henry meant these comments to be ironic, meaning to be comical in his indication of submission. In this case, Henry’s above comments would have communicated to Edith that he intended to maintain authority in their relationship. These passages could also reflect that Henry felt he would be subject to his wife’s direction, which is equally plausible given Henry’s frequent insistence on Edith’s superiority in spiritual and emotional contexts. These passages most likely expressed both humour and intent. Henry intended to maintain some level of authority in their relationship and – drawing on conceptions of companionate marriage – he recognized that Edith’s strengths would help guide him in the future.

There was a limit to the amount of power that Henry was willing to surrender to Edith. In the spring of 1910, he wrote to Edith that “Of course I do not mean that, I should want to be silly, and run to you like a child before I would do anything but without being unmanly, have your very highest happiness as the object of my concern.”<sup>361</sup> Here, Henry had a clear understanding of what he considered ‘manly’ behaviour and having his wife dictate his actions would not be included under this banner. At the same time, Henry indicated that he respected her input when he was making a decision. These elements of power were consistent with William Booth’s conception of partnership. Henry knew that Edith’s strengths would help him to improve on his faults, and thus she should be considered a partner in their marriage. All the same,

---

<sup>360</sup> This example seems to contradict the above passage that Henry wrote about avoiding being “the boss,” however the tone in this letter was much more jovial and less careful of wording. Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 19 Feb 1910, Montreal.

<sup>361</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 9 May 1910, Montreal.

his natural role was to lead their marriage – a role which he knew was connected to his ability to maintain authority through ‘manly’ behaviour.

Henry and Edith’s positions with the Army affected the power dynamics of their relationship. In early letters, Henry implied that he respected Edith’s authority within the organization. At that time, she was an officer in the Saskatoon corps where he was a soldier and later a clerk. In 1906, Henry explained “I like to call you my Captain because if my captain then your [*sic*] my leader, if my leader you are my ruler, and if that then why not my Queen.”<sup>362</sup> In this passage, Henry acknowledged Edith’s standing within the Army and equated it with her authority over him. Three years later, when the couple wanted to be married but had not received permission from headquarters, Edith was promoted from captain to ensign. Henry seemed unsure how her elevated rank would affect the power dynamics of their relationship. He speculated that the Army might lower her rank when they got married so that they would both be captains.<sup>363</sup> The Army did not stipulate that a groom must be of higher or equal rank to his bride. Likely, Henry’s comment speaks to his anxiety about how Edith’s authority in the Army might affect his manliness in the eyes of his wife and of others Salvationists. In another example, while writing about his future with Edith, Henry downplayed her role as an officer. He wrote “I believe you are all that is wanted and more to make an officer in the SA a good wife. You would help me spiritually and as we were saying last night I’m sure Joy would be duty and Love would be law. In fact already it is.”<sup>364</sup> The construction of the first sentence implies that his position as an officer would be primary in their relationship: he would be

---

<sup>362</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 5 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>363</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 1 May 1909, Montreal.

<sup>364</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 5 Dec 1906, Saskatoon.

the officer and she his wife. The phrasing is telling, given that at the time this letter was written she was the only commissioned officer in their relationship.

It is evident that ‘work’ also complicated the power dynamics in Henry and Edith’s relationship. Henry’s initial position as an Army clerk was paid. It is likely Henry considered this a job because he took the position primarily for the pay rather than as a religious calling. This distinction was less clear after both Henry and Edith became officers. While officers were paid, presumably income was a secondary motivation to encouraging the Salvation of non-believers.<sup>365</sup> A field officer’s pay was modest and often depended on the generosity of donations made in a given week. This is not to say that officers were mendicant but that their pay was not always reliable, making it more likely that men and women followed religious rather than economic rationales for pursuing commissioned ranks. Despite the tenuous relationship to income, Henry indicated that he thought of his time in a commissioned rank as a ‘career.’<sup>366</sup> Perhaps Henry emphasized that his position in the Army was a form of employment to satisfy societal pressure to be employed. It is unclear whether Edith thought of the Army as her career, although she never wrote about her position in the same way as Henry. Instead, she emphasized that she was called to serve as an officer. Edith wrote about her commitment to the Army as proof of her love for God, feeling that the challenge of being an officer “is good for me perhaps, and I am going to do my very best and leave the rest with God.”<sup>367</sup>

---

<sup>365</sup> Lynne Marks discusses nineteenth-century allegations that female officers joined as an alternative to more difficult or less lucrative employment. She found no evidence to suggest that monetary gain was a primary factor for many officers. The earnings of female officers were generally comparable with wages in other working-class occupations, meaning that women were unlikely to see the Army as a means for financial advancement. Marks, “The ‘Hallelujah Lasses,’” 92.

<sup>366</sup> In this letter, Henry also wrote about his previous employment as a painter, from which he made a good living. Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 4 Jan 1906, Saskatoon.

<sup>367</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 5 Feb 1910, Port Arthur, ON.

Marriage further complicated Henry and Edith's relationship to work because of gender expectations that did not support the paid labour of married women. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, shifting gender expectations meant that single women were able to transgress social boundaries preventing women working outside of the home, although they were often met with ill treatment, low wages, and were channelled into the few acceptably 'feminine' positions.<sup>368</sup> Married women, however, were less likely to find employment in a factory or other business because of the responsibilities they held in the home. Working-class wives, driven by necessity, generally earned pay by taking in boarders or doing piecework, both of which were compatible with housework and child rearing.<sup>369</sup> These standards evolved during the twentieth century, by the 1950s and 1960s allowing married women to work before having children or after their children were grown; however, these changes were gradual and would have had little effect on how others viewed Edith's early marital employment.

After her wedding, Edith's role as a field officer ended abruptly, indicating that others considered her officership employment. After moving to Vancouver, British Columbia, Edith did not hold an active position as an officer. Articles in *The War Cry* listed her as 'Mrs. Tutte,' suggesting that her rank of ensign was no longer recognized.<sup>370</sup>

During the remainder of her career, Edith played a supporting role for her husband as he

---

<sup>368</sup> Ruth Frager and Carmela Patrias found that young women tended to be concentrated in factories producing textiles, clothing, boots or shoes, tobacco products and those engaged in food-processing. The majority of these women, however, worked in clothing production. Ruth A. Frager and Carmela Patrias, *Discontinued Labour: Women Workers in Canada, 1870-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995): 31.

<sup>369</sup> Bettina Bradbury, "The Home as Workplace," in *Labouring Lives: Work and Worker in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, ed. Paul Craven, 412-478 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). For a detailed discussion of women's work in this period, see Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993) and Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

<sup>370</sup> See "Regina Northside," *The War Cry*, 30 April 1927, 10.

took increasingly prestigious positions in the Army.<sup>371</sup> In one article from Henry's time as Southern Saskatchewan Divisional Commander, Edith was noted as leading special meetings with her husband. The article emphasized Henry's role in this event through an explanation of an "interesting talk" he gave to the children and praising him for his "address [that] made a deep impression on those present." Edith was noted for singing during the event with a female soldier.<sup>372</sup> Her role, however, was supportive rather than authoritative. Because Henry and Edith only wrote to one another until their wedding, it is unclear whether Edith was dissatisfied with the change in her position. It is clear that Edith's role as a wife and mother was primary in her married identity. Perhaps the authority and freedom that she gained as a single field officer was replaced with her domestic role, which historians have discussed as a culturally authoritative position.

The Army allowed single female officers to enter male-dominated environments. Edith's single life was exemplary of this access as she was able to travel to isolated rural railroad camps, which were male-dominated spaces. Edith described the camps as hard places, almost exclusively male, save the few nurses, nuns, and "lady callers" that visited occasionally.<sup>373</sup> Army officers who travelled to the camps found it difficult to drum up enthusiasm for the meetings and often had to speak to men individually about faith and salvation; Edith expressed hopes that the men would be more likely to attend meetings in

---

<sup>371</sup> After their wedding, Henry was posted in Vancouver. His letters to Edith explain that this was a financial position, similar to the position he held in Montreal before the wedding, while his obituary further elaborated that he worked in the Public Relations Department. During the 1920s Henry became the Divisional Commander for Southern Saskatchewan and later Northern Saskatchewan. As his last appointment before retirement, Henry was promoted to Special Efforts Secretary for the Territorial Headquarters. As Special Efforts Secretary he worked closely with the Red Shield and created an advisory board for "prominent citizens throughout the Dominion to assist the work of the Salvation Army." Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 5 Oct 1910, tourist car, QC; SAA, "Order of Services: The funeral of Lieut. Colonel Henry C. Tutte, R.," 9 June 1950.

<sup>372</sup> "Regina Northside," *The War Cry*, 30 April 1927, 10.

<sup>373</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 25 Jan 1908, at the camps; Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 10 Feb 1910, at the camps.

the spring when they went into town, although perhaps her optimism was wishful thinking.<sup>374</sup> Even though it was a difficult place to operate, Edith and other officers returned to the camps periodically to raise funds to support their local corps, sometimes finding success and at other times leaving disappointed.

Henry did not seem pleased that Edith was sent to the camps. In one letter, he worried that she was leaving civilization to preach to men who were not the “gospel hardened folk” who normally attended Army meetings.<sup>375</sup> Henry’s response is consistent with broader anxiety about the intrusion of women into such masculine spaces. The Army enabled Hallelujah Lasses to push boundaries further than non-Salvationist women, but there were still limitations on their actions. While the Army condoned the role that Edith and others took in traveling to remote, male-dominated areas, male officers who had a vested interest in the respectability of female fiancés or friends likely expressed the same kinds of anxieties that Henry did, however little effect their concerns had on the actions of single female officers. Once married, however, Edith was not able to enter spaces such as the camps.

Her former position was replaced by participation in the League of Mercy, an Army-facilitated philanthropic organization. Edith’s social work was remembered as a great accomplishment in her obituary, although it overshadowed her previous positions as a field officer. Her role in the League of Mercy would have been more widely accepted than her preaching because it was akin to the philanthropic roles that Christian women took in many other denominations; however, her withdrawal from fieldwork was especially surprising in light of the written discussions that she had with Henry about

---

<sup>374</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 5 Mar 1910, at the camps.

<sup>375</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 15 Feb 1910, Montreal.

their future. She wrote, for instance, "I am glad that you prefer the field...I didn't like to say any thing but some times [*sic*] I have felt that I could not be satisfied out of the field."<sup>376</sup> Henry responded to Edith's request a few weeks later. He told Edith that the major in charge of the Montreal corps was so impressed with Henry's work that he wanted for Henry to stay on after the wedding. In response to Edith's earlier comment about fieldwork, Henry replied "I know you would prefer [field work] dearest, but I am sure you will find that we shall be able to find lots of work for you to do in the corps, and I am sure you would work just as hard as a soldier in a corps as you would in your own."<sup>377</sup> After the wedding, Henry was transferred to a financial department in Vancouver but it is unclear whether Edith was also offered a posting. She may have become part of the local corps as a soldier, as Henry suggested would be her role if they remained in Montreal.<sup>378</sup>

Before her marriage, Edith appeared in *The War Cry* independent of Henry, often for selling an outstanding number of newspapers or for visiting other corps.<sup>379</sup> Between the date of their marriage in 1910 and her death in 1964, she appeared in *The War Cry* less frequently, and was noted as the wife of Henry Tutte rather than as an officer in her own right. In fact, owing to naming practices, Edith was listed in her obituary as Mrs. Lieutenant Colonel Henry Charles Tutte rather than by the sergeant-major ranking she held in the League of Mercy.<sup>380</sup>

---

<sup>376</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 1 June 1910, Port Arthur, ON.

<sup>377</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 14 June 1910, Sherbrooke, QC.

<sup>378</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 15 Feb 1910, Montreal.

<sup>379</sup> "Prisoners and Police: Meetings at Jail and at Police Barracks," *The War Cry*, 25 May 1907, 11; "Meant to Stick to It," *The War Cry*, 29 June 1907, 10; "A Happy Re-Union: Former Officers and Comrades Meet at Regina," *The War Cry*, 3 August 1907, 10; "War Cry Honour Roll," *The War Cry*, 14 September 1907; Marriage Announcements, *The War Cry*, 8 Oct 1910, 8.

<sup>380</sup> SAA, "Order of Services: The funeral of Mrs. Lt. Colonel H.C. Tutte (R)," 3 November 1964.

The Salvation Army hall and the home were linked spaces where Henry and Edith defined and performed their roles as husband and wife. William Booth made clear that one of the main duties of a wife was to maintain the home, caring for and loving both her husband and children.<sup>381</sup> He made the above-mentioned distinction that a wife should not be treated as a servant, nor see herself as a servant. Her role in a marriage should be to assist rather than please her husband in the maintenance of their home.<sup>382</sup> Henry agreed with these expectations. In one letter, for example, he wished that Edith was with him in Montreal so that he could come home to her cooking and company after a long day of collecting donations.<sup>383</sup> His tone was loving, not demanding, but also delineated his expectations of Edith's domestic role.

As has been established, Edith's role as a single woman with the Army was clearly incompatible with the role of wife and mother. We can see the tension between commitment to salvation and to the family in other evangelical groups. The Bible Student movement's *Zion's Watch Tower* – a magazine similar to *The War Cry* which functioned as promotional and spiritually inspirational material – emphasized that committed male students should share the goal of “reaping the harvest” with their wives, thereby eliminating the possibility of conflict between wifely and religious duties.<sup>384</sup> However, if such conflict did arise women were instructed to “remember, our first obligations are to our heavenly Bridegroom; and where his counsel is called into

---

<sup>381</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 150-151.

<sup>382</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 89.

<sup>383</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 1 Nov 1909, Montreal.

<sup>384</sup> The metaphor of “reaping the harvest” was commonly used by Bible Students to mean bringing nonbelievers to salvation. For more information, see T.R. Noddings, “Reapers of the Harvest: Gender, Ritual, and Metaphor in the Bible Student Movement, 1879-1916” (Honours thesis: University of Victoria, 2011), 26.

question, there is but one proper course...loyalty to him at any cost."<sup>385</sup> No such directive encouraged Salvationist women to challenge a husband's authority if tension arose between her role as Salvationist and wife.

Emphasis was placed instead on prevention. Returning to earlier discussion, William Booth repeatedly commented that choosing a motivated Salvationist as a partner was the best way to fulfil the duties of a wife and an officer. If, however, a woman's zeal was hampered by her husband, Booth offered little advice. He emphasized that by agreeing to marriage women had also agreed to take up their "natural obligation" of maintaining the home, a duty that would necessarily change their relationship to the Army. He did not advise that married female officers neglect salvation, but described their role as supportive of her family rather than active in the public. In order to support this position, Booth utilized a scriptural reference to Paul which reads: "The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord that she may be holy, both in body and in spirit; but she that is married careth for the things of the world how she may please her husband."<sup>386</sup> In contrast to the example of the Bible Student movement, which emphasized continuity in the religious role of single and married women, Booth's reference to Paul illustrated that wifely duty necessitated a different role than singlehood.

A wife's role in keeping the home was supposed to complement her husband's care for their temporal needs. By temporal needs, William Booth meant providing food, shelter, and facilitating overall health, although he also stated that in writing for Salvationists he felt he did not have to warn husbands against shameful behaviour such as

---

<sup>385</sup> Maria Russell, "As Becometh Women Professing Godliness No. 4," *Zion's Watch Tower*, March, 1889, R1105 as cited in Noddings, "Reapers of the Harvest," 26.

<sup>386</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 65.

idleness and debauchery, which would detract from caring for one's family.<sup>387</sup> The roles of officer and husband were more obviously compatible than those of officer and wife. In maintaining a paid officership with the Army, a man could support his wife and children both financially and spiritually. Henry felt the weight of his role as provider. He criticized other married officers for failing to provide for their wives. After hearing a story about a male Salvationist who had his wife beg, "so that the wife is virtually keeping her husband," he deplored that either husband or wife should have to beg for subsistence.<sup>388</sup> Henry's tone indicated that failing to provide for his wife would be a fundamental violation of marital expectations. He may have even believed, as William Booth did, that if a man knew he could not support a wife he should not propose marriage in the first place.<sup>389</sup>

As was common in other contemporary Christian denominations, wives were charged with maintaining the purity of marriage. William Booth asserted that sexual purity was especially important for women, of whom "a higher standard of purity and rectitude in all that concerns the sexual relations, has been set up."<sup>390</sup> The expectation that a wife should encourage purity in her husband was not antithetical to the freedom that the Army offered single women. Indeed, Booth's belief that women were naturally pure supported his inclusion of female officers. Although nineteenth-century observers assumed that allowing female officers would lead to sexual immorality, Booth argued that purity strengthened female Salvationists, allowing them to better serve God.

---

<sup>387</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 129-133.

<sup>388</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 11 Aug 1908, Saskatoon.

<sup>389</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 17.

<sup>390</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 150-151. This is the only sentence in the sources examined here that explicitly mentions expectations of sexual conduct. The sexual purity of women was particularly important because of societal standards that sought to control the sexuality of women more heavily than men.

In addition to the home and the Salvation Army meeting, both William Booth's prescription and Henry and Edith's letters establish the body as an important site where marriage was defined. The female body in particular was referenced in respect to its ownership, its protection, and its frailty. Historians have argued that Victorian medicine defined popular nineteenth and early twentieth-century notions about the physical weakness of the female body, imparting that physical health was a normal state for men while sickness was a normal state for women.<sup>391</sup>

We can see the discourse of female frailty in Henry's worry. He continually asked if Edith had been feeling well and urged her not to overwork herself.<sup>392</sup> Exchanges about Edith's health would not stand out in the letters if not for their frequency and often grave tone. In some cases, Edith's perceived physical weakness justified Henry's control over her actions. In one exchange, Edith wrote to Henry saying that she had spent many hours doing housework. Henry responded,

Really dearest, I trust that you have not worked too hard at the house-cleaning. You should have taken into account all the S.D. [self denial] work to do and then you might have taken it easier and got some of the women Soldiers to come and help you. However, I shall be able to direct your habits in the direction when the time comes, and shall see that you do not over-work yourself.<sup>393</sup>

This letter expressed that Edith's fragility was cause for Henry to oversee her work in the home. Henry likely meant this passage to be chivalrous, assuring Edith that he would protect her from harm; however, the passage implies that that she was prone to bodily

---

<sup>391</sup> John S. Haller, Jr. and Robin M. Haller, *The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University press, 1974); Wendy Mitchinson, *The Nature of Their Bodies: Women and Their Doctors in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 51; James Opp, *The Lord for the Body: Religion, Medicine, and Protestant Faith Healing in Canada, 1880-1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 48.

<sup>392</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 7 Sept 1909, Montreal; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 8 Jan 1910, Montreal; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 22 Dec 1909, Montreal; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 9 May 1910, Montreal; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 4 Jan 1910, Montreal.

<sup>393</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 9 May 1910, Montreal.

injury from daily tasks and lacked the judgement to know her limits. In response to Henry's inquiries about her health, Edith often assured Henry that she was "quite well in body and am having victory in my soul," indicating that discourse about the body, and Edith's 'natural' tendency to fall ill, was a fixation in their correspondence.<sup>394</sup>

In addition to medical discourses, religious understandings of the female body informed conceptions of female frailty. James Opp's *The Lord for the Body* seeks to understand how religion affected bodily discourse through faith healing. He concludes that during a period in which medicine and Christianity were vying for a place within "modern society," faith healing served as a space where female-lead functions of faith overcame male-controlled notions of medicine.<sup>395</sup> Through faith healing, Protestant women were able to renegotiate the meaning of their own bodies, challenging prevailing medically-defined female frailty, by participating in and leading faith healing ceremonies. Opp's asserts that "women were not simply a part of the divine healing movement, their bodies were the movement."<sup>396</sup> Women were able to reassert control over their bodies through faith healing by actively participating in their wellness, rather than being passively acted on by male medical experts.

Although *The War Cry* emphasized the power of faith healing as an affirmation of faith for Salvationists, this practice did not seem to mitigate the discourse of frailty in Edith's case. Instead, William Booth confirmed social expectations that the female body was weaker than the male. Booth specified that caring for his wife's bodily needs was a husband's duty; he drew on the scriptural justification that "God has made him the master

---

<sup>394</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 7 April 1910, Port Arthur, ON. Edith repeated this and similar phrases often. For another example see Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 21 Sept 1909, Port Arthur, ON.

<sup>395</sup> Opp, *The Lord for the Body*, 3-4.

<sup>396</sup> Opp, *The Lord for the Body*, 205.

of her body.”<sup>397</sup> Booth’s understanding of the body was twofold. Firstly, he supported medical ideas about the weakness of women’s bodies, stating that “the natural buoyancy of spirit possessed by many women, too often lead them to conceal their pains and maladies.”<sup>398</sup> This section of Booth’s letter encouraged women to make use of modern medicine to address their frailty rather than hide illness and allow it to worsen. In this case, Booth encouraged women not to harm themselves through self-sacrifice. Booth also went on to encourage husbands to employ capable physicians if their wives fell ill.<sup>399</sup> His insistence that husbands intervene in the ill health of their wives clearly instructed men to take charge of the female body due to its frailty. Both of these examples highlight the frailty of women rather than emphasizing the frailty of people more generally. Secondly, Booth required husbands to manage the amount of work that their wives performed, specifying that this management did not mean women should be idle, but that the hours spent working and the kind of work should be appropriate to a woman’s natural abilities.<sup>400</sup> By encouraging husbands to supervise their wives on account of female weakness, Booth rested male authority on the physical frailty of women.

Henry and Edith transitioned from thinking about their future roles to living as husband and wife on 19 October 1910.<sup>401</sup> Sources discussing Hallelujah Weddings – as the marriage of two officers was colloquially known – generally derive from the late nineteenth century. Because *The War Cry* articles about weddings were less common by

---

<sup>397</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 128-130.

<sup>398</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 128.

<sup>399</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 128.

<sup>400</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 129.

<sup>401</sup> The wedding announcements in *The War Cry* list inconstant dates. The confusion about the date likely reflects the problems that Edith and Henry had in setting a date, due to the length of time they had to wait for permission to be married. The final date was confirmed in a letter from Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 14 Sept 1910, Montreal.

1910, details written in Henry and Edith's letters can provide important clues about the ways that Salvationist weddings changed between 1880 and 1910.

The late nineteenth-century Hallelujah Wedding was a prominent part of the Salvation Army's image. *The War Cry*, as well as local secular newspapers, described Salvationist weddings as large-scale celebrations. Articles emphasized the size of the gathered crowd, the high profile attendees, and described the bands and parades that entertained guests.<sup>402</sup> Parades and music amplified the excitement, creating a "bright and cheerful" event.<sup>403</sup> They also incorporated many of the militaristic elements that made the Army unique, such as brass band performances, flags, and uniforms.<sup>404</sup> Articles about Salvationist weddings highlighted them as a venue for the advancement of the Army and the local corps. William Booth also recognized that Hallelujah Weddings had the power to draw men and women who would not otherwise consider attending a Salvation Army meeting. Booth wanted these weddings to be a venue for salvation rather than frivolous

---

<sup>402</sup> For an example see "The Hallelujah Wedding," *The War Cry*, 1 November 1884. This article announced the marriage of Staff Captain Wass, D.O. and Captain Theresa Hall at the Richmond Street barracks in Toronto. This was an unusual wedding, drawing a reported crowd of 3000 to 4000 people, but the article was typical in that it discussed the parade, the attendees, and the "monster marriage supper." This article also appeared on the front page of the issue, which was the first published by the Canadian version of *The War Cry*. Clearly, weddings were of great importance to the organization and were able to draw readers to the newspaper.

<sup>403</sup> William Booth emphasized that weddings should be bright and cheerful without being frivolous. "Determine that the occasion shall, as far as possible, be a season of gladness. If there is any period in the life of a man or woman that should be bright and cheerful, surely it is their Wedding-day." Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 69.

<sup>404</sup> Brass bands have been identified by historians as an important facet of the Salvation Army's militarism as well as a tool for increasing public awareness. For information on Salvation Army Brass Bands, see Trevor Herbert, "God's Perfect Minstrels: The Bands of the Salvation Army," in *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Horridge, *The Salvation Army*, 45-46; Susan Neylan and Melissa Meyer, "'HERE COMES THE BAND!': Cultural Collaboration, Connective Traditions, and Aboriginal Brass Bands on British Columbia's North Coast, 1875-1964," *BC Studies* 152 (2006): 36. The majority of *The War Cry* articles mentioned a parade before or after the wedding service. In one example, a marriage in Victoria, B.C. was accompanied by a band which "continued to swell as it passed though the town." "Another Hallelujah Wedding," *The War Cry*, 27 June 1891, 12. In another, *The War Cry* recounted that "the troops were marshalled for the great parade immediately after the wedding ceremony was finished." "The Great Parade," *The War Cry*, 1 November 1884, 1.

self indulgence.<sup>405</sup> The hope was that the ceremonies would convert non-Salvationists through scripture and song. Hallelujah Weddings also encouraged a sense of community by bringing together Salvationists from all over the country, reinforcing the bonds between officers and soldiers who had previously been stationed together.

The service portion of the wedding was standardized by 1886 when *The Orders and Regulations* were first published. The ceremony appeared similarly in the 1908 edition as it had in 1886, suggesting that the procedure of the service had not changed significantly.<sup>406</sup> The detailed service outline it included began with a song and a reading of scripture, for which appropriate passages were provided. Following the scriptural reading, the bride and bridegroom stood while the officer performing the ceremony read aloud the Articles of Marriage, which the couple had to agree to uphold before the Army officially recognized them as husband and wife.<sup>407</sup> The Articles consisted of seven commitments affirming that marriage was sought in order to better serve God and the Army in bringing about salvation. Couples also vowed to continue working for the Army once married by preaching to non-Salvationists, to strengthen one another's faith, and to raise children in a Salvationist home.<sup>408</sup> By eliciting a commitment from the couple, the Articles of Marriage further reinforced the place of faith in the marriage of two

---

<sup>405</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 71.

<sup>406</sup> Booth, "Appendix," in *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1886); Booth "Appendix: Marriages," in *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908).

<sup>407</sup> The Articles of Marriage were adopted by the Army in 1882. Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 124.

<sup>408</sup> Booth, "Appendix: Marriages," in *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Paragraph 11.

Salvationists. Following the Articles were the vows, the exchange of rings, and a final song.<sup>409</sup>

The legality of an Army wedding was sometimes questionable. Although, the Army had a presence in Canada beginning in 1882, the first legal Army ceremony was performed in 1891.<sup>410</sup> It seems, however, that Hallelujah Weddings were performed before this date but were accompanied by a ceremony in a licensed establishment. If a marriage could not be legally performed in an Army hall, prescriptive literature encouraged soldiers to have an Army ceremony in addition to the legal ceremony, rather than moving the ceremony to a church of another denomination.<sup>411</sup> Because the Army ceremony differed notably from other denominational services, a Salvation Army wedding was preferred.<sup>412</sup> *The Orders and Regulations* emphasized that the bride and bridegroom “should be made to understand that they cannot have a Salvation Army Wedding without agreeing to the Articles [of Marriage],” indicating that this pledge was considered the definitive portion of a Salvationist ceremony.<sup>413</sup> Army weddings were legalized in most of Canada in the late nineteenth century, but as Henry noted, the law in Quebec did not allow Salvation Army officers to perform marriages until well into the twentieth century, which was a deciding factor in their choice to be married in Dauphin, Manitoba rather than Montreal, where Henry was stationed.<sup>414</sup>

---

<sup>409</sup> Booth, “Appendix: Marriages,” in *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Paragraph 17.

<sup>410</sup> This marriage ceremony wed Captains Ashton and Harris. Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada*, 261.

<sup>411</sup> Booth, “Appendix: Marriages,” in *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Paragraphs 1-5.

<sup>412</sup> Booth, “Appendix: Marriages,” in *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Paragraph 4.

<sup>413</sup> Booth, “Appendix: Marriages,” in *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army* (1908), Paragraph 11.

<sup>414</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 9 April 1910, Montreal.

Henry and Edith's wedding plans appeared sporadically throughout the letters in the year before their wedding. They exchanged questions and expectations of the venue, clothing, guest list, and invitations. It seems, though, that most of the planning took place in the late months of 1910, rather than far in advance. The ceremony was held in the Salvation Army Hall in Dauphin, although the original invitations had listed the Dauphin Methodist Church as the location, due to its larger capacity. The couple changed the location to the Army Hall late in September, citing their desire to draw non-Salvationists to the service.<sup>415</sup>

Henry and Edith followed some aspects of the nineteenth-century Hallelujah Wedding format but they also incorporated outside influences. While it is likely that they adhered to the procedural elements outlined in *Orders and Regulations*, Henry and Edith were influenced by the changing culture of the Army, specifically the encroachment of middle-class religious standards. This meant that the events surrounding the ceremony (the parade and the reception for example) were more subdued, but did not mitigate the importance of religion in their wedding. Henry and Edith made clear in their correspondence that elements of faith emphasized by the Army were also important in their personal faith. As discussed above, scripture was a common tool that both Edith and Henry employed to express their love and devotion to God and to one another. Giving testimony was a common evangelical practice in which believers would speak about their conversion experience and talk about their personal faith. Salvationists were expected to give testimony at meetings on a regular basis, and Henry emphasized the role that testimony played in his devotional life while he was a soldier in Saskatoon. Because

---

<sup>415</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 24 Sept 1910, Montreal.

testimony was an important part of Henry's experience as a Salvationist, it is likely that his testimony was included in the wedding reception.

One of the most distinct elements of Hallelujah Weddings was their incorporation and encouragement of public participation. Henry and Edith's letters did not mention whether a band or parade was a part of the wedding, although this seems odd given that both were musically inclined.<sup>416</sup> They discussed charging admission, a common Salvationist practice that helped to pay for the wedding, while also emphasizing that everyone was welcome to attend. Henry decided he would rather give free tickets to family and friends, which would have limited public participation.<sup>417</sup> Their wedding was included in the "Social Events" column of the *Dauphin Herald* as a congratulatory message. It read "Mrs. A. Wiley [*sic*] wishes to announce the marriage of her daughter Ensign Edith A. to Capt. Henry C. Tutte on October 19<sup>th</sup> at 8 pm in the Salvation Army hall."<sup>418</sup> This was the only mention of the wedding in the local newspaper, indicating that the wedding was small and did not attract the attention that many nineteenth-century Hallelujah Weddings elicited.<sup>419</sup> If Henry and Edith's wedding was a small affair without a parade and large crowds, this would be congruent with changes in the Army around the turn of the century. Because the organization needed to foster a more amicable

---

<sup>416</sup> Henry enjoyed conducting a musical group called the Songsters while posted in Montreal and Edith played a guitar, which she occasionally incorporated into Salvation Army meetings. On the Songsters, see Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 27 Sept 1909, Montreal; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 13 Oct 1909, Montreal; Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 14 Sept 1910, Montreal. On Edith's guitar see Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 20 Jan 1909, Mattain, ON.

<sup>417</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, undated, Montreal.

<sup>418</sup> "Social Events," *Dauphin Herald*, 13 October 1910.

<sup>419</sup> The local newspaper on 13 October 1910 included a marriage announcement section, an unusual inclusion for *The Dauphin Herald*. Edith and Henry's wedding was not listed in this section with the two other weddings that took place in the week before and after this publication. The Dauphin corps of the Salvation Army was clearly well established as evidenced by the hall that Henry and Edith were married in. However, the Army did not appear to have been a prominent part of the religious landscape of early twentieth-century Dauphin. *The Herald* made frequent mention of Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist Churches but did not discuss the presence of the Army.

relationship with middle- and upper-class Canadians, the more disruptive activities of the traditional Army were discouraged. Though bands remained an important part of the Salvation Army's identity into the twentieth century, wedding parades, at least on the scale reported in the late nineteenth century, were seen as disruptive.

Some of Henry and Edith's wedding planning was more worldly than the Army encouraged. Salvationists were taught to "avoid all vain display and unnecessary expenditure" in favour of modesty.<sup>420</sup> This prescription emphasized that Salvationists were to avoid signs of worldly attachment. Salvationists believed that men and women had to separate themselves from vanity and frivolous spending in order to be fully devoted to God. Worrying about personal appearance and fashion, for example, was targeted as a lack of commitment to the Army.<sup>421</sup> While Henry and Edith do not seem to have been vain, they did worry about how others would perceive their wedding. Perhaps this was a case where Salvationists were unable to live up to the ideal encouraged by William Booth; perhaps by the early twentieth century Salvationist weddings began to take on elements of mainstream weddings.<sup>422</sup> Henry and Edith's wedding was an amalgam of both of these influences, reflecting both the increasing respectability of the Army in Canadian society and the stringency of Booth's prescriptions.

One explicit contradiction of Salvationist regulations was the clothing Henry and Edith wore. Rather than wearing their uniforms, Henry and Edith had new garments

---

<sup>420</sup> Booth, *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home*, 71.

<sup>421</sup> Lynne Marks discusses *The War Cry* articles that chastised women for adding lace, ribbon, or jewellery to their uniform. This adornment was taken as a sign of worldly attachment. *The War Cry*, 13 Dec 1884, 1 Aug 1885, 12 Nov 1887, 24 Dec 1887, and 25 May 1889 as cited in Marks, "The 'Hallelujah Lasses,'" 111.

<sup>422</sup> Peter Ward argues that Canadian weddings became more centered around pretence as the nineteenth century progressed. In the early nineteenth century, weddings were usually intimate, small-scale occasions, sometimes involving a dance or other celebration afterward. By the late nineteenth century, an elaborate wedding became a sign of both wealth and status, utilized by those who could afford to put on a performance of their abundance. Ward, *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century Canada*, 105-109.

made with Army crests sewn on them.<sup>423</sup> Their wedding dress maintained a connection to the Army while also indulging in fashion trends. In another example, Henry and Edith wanted to seem more urbane than a wedding in Dauphin would appear. Originally, Edith wanted to hold their wedding in Montreal rather than her hometown.<sup>424</sup> Because that was not possible, Henry offered to have the invitations printed in Montreal at the “high class printers” rather than at the local print shop in Dauphin.<sup>425</sup> Salvationists were supposed to avoid gestures that emphasized luxury, but Henry and Edith knew their guests would recognize that they had paid for quality if the invitations were made in Montreal. Clearly, Henry and Edith understood that their wedding was a performance that they could manipulate.

On 18 December 1909, Henry wrote to Edith that he had a dream about their wedding:

I dreamed that we were being married at Dauphin and I remember some of the details very well, although one of the chief ones was that I had a very fine new suit of uniform. I woke with the nice sensation that one only gets when they have the most pleasant of dreams.<sup>426</sup>

In this letter, Henry was constructing for himself and for Edith a vision of their wedding day. As William Booth emphasized, one’s wedding day was important, both for the couple and for the Army. It signalled a major shift in the relationship, from courtship through engagement to marriage.

Edith and Henry also built a vision of their marriage in their letters to one another. In some letters, they explicitly stated their expectations for themselves and for their future

---

<sup>423</sup> Edith sewed her dress while Henry ordered a new suit for the occasion. Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 24 Sept 1910, Montreal and Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 14 Sept 1910, Montreal.

<sup>424</sup> Edith Willey to Henry Tutte, 7 April 1910, Port Arthur, ON.

<sup>425</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 14 Sept 1910, Montreal.

<sup>426</sup> Henry Tutte to Edith Willey, 18 Dec 1909, Montreal.

spouse. In others, gendered understandings of marital roles were more subtle. Henry noted that he would act as Edith's servant but also expected her to take care of him both spiritually and domestically. Edith accepted her future role in the home but expressed an expectation that she would continue to serve the Army. They negotiated spatial and social notions of the home, the Army meeting, the body, and work. In some cases, this negotiation meant accepting the Army's prescription, and in others, it meant bending William Booth's ideal conceptions of husband and wife to fit with the realities of their lives. There is no doubt, however, that Edith and Henry's wedding on 19 October 1910 profoundly changed the nature of their relationship and their respective social positions. While the Army offered single women many unaccustomed opportunities, these did not extend to married women. Despite Edith's desire to remain a field officer she seems to have withdrawn from active duty to raise children and keep her home, while Henry took on more and more prestigious positions. Thus, Henry and Edith's written courtship explored and expressed their expectations of married life, but also illustrated the disjuncture between the ideal marriage they imagined and the reality they experienced.

## Conclusion

Edith and Henry moved to Vancouver after their wedding. From Vancouver, they returned to Saskatchewan where Henry served as the Southern Saskatchewan Divisional Commander and Northern Saskatchewan Divisional Commander. In 1940, his promotion to the rank of lieutenant-colonel was published in *The War Cry*, which applauded both his prestigious positions and his devotion to his wife.<sup>427</sup> During this time, Henry and Edith had five children, some of whom became officers in the Army themselves. By 1949, Henry and Edith retired, moving back to Vancouver where they began their marriage nearly forty years earlier.<sup>428</sup> Henry passed away on 6 June 1950 at the age of 69. His funeral was held in Toronto. After Henry's death, Edith moved to Toronto where she continued philanthropic work. She was "promoted to glory" on 31 October 1964. Her obituary remembered her as a "gracious Christian lady, sweet in disposition and friendly to everybody."<sup>429</sup>

It is clear that Henry and Edith had two loves in their lives, just as Catherine Booth did. They were equally devoted to their marriage and to the Army. These two loves were connected, building on one another, forming the foundation of Henry and Edith's relationship. Because the companionate ideal was supported by the Army, Henry and Edith thought of one another as partners, fellow soldiers, and friends. They did not think of marriage economically but emotionally and spiritually. While they did not leave

---

<sup>427</sup> *The War Cry*, 18 May 1940, 9.

<sup>428</sup> This information was part of an obituary for Edith's father Arthur, who was noted as a friend of the Army. *The War Cry*, 24 Sept 1949, 12.

<sup>429</sup> The phrase "promoted to glory" was a commonly used by Salvationists to mean death. *The War Cry*, 21 November 1964, 16.

correspondence from their married life, we can imagine that they heeded William Booth's instructions in forming a supportive and loving marriage.

Henry and Edith's relationship was shaped by the Army while they courted, and continued to be so after they married. Before being married, the couple secretly courted through correspondence in order to circumvent Army regulations that would have prevented them from getting to know one another. However, through an extensive network of communication, Salvationists all over Canada knew that Edith and Henry wished to be engaged long before they had received sanction from the Salvation Army headquarters. Clearly, Edith and Henry's relationship was foremost in their unmarried reputation. After being married, *The War Cry* generally discussed Henry and Edith in tandem. Though Henry was often the focus of articles, Edith was usually mentioned in a supporting role. Marriage had changed Edith's role in the organization. She did not appear to hold a position in Vancouver but eventually earned a field position with the League of Mercy – a social program sponsored by the Army – rather than with a corps. This position was not primary in her married reputation, although it was mentioned in her obituary.

While Canadian historians have begun to recognize the Army as a socially significant denomination, there is much room for future scholars to investigate the Salvation Army in Canada. This research raises questions about the transition of the Army from a revivalist movement to a religious organization with a focus on social work, offering evidence that the Army in the west remained revival-oriented into the twentieth century. Between 1906 and 1907, when Edith and Henry lived there, the Saskatoon corps was geared towards evangelical revival. The question is whether this was true in other

newly established outposts in Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. Because Henry and Edith only provided a snapshot of the corps for a year it is unclear how long Saskatoon remained a primarily revivalist corps. It is possible that after being established for a few years, the corps followed the Salvation Army's movement towards social work.

The conclusions from this thesis also raise questions about the periodization of the Army in Canada. Established scholars have focused on the late nineteenth century, examining the class and gender dynamics of the early Canadian Army. These kinds of demographic observations need to be extended into the twentieth century before historians can understand how the Army evolved from an evangelical sect to an established denomination. Did middle-class Canadians begin to outnumber working-class Canadians engaged in the Army by the early twentieth century? Were women as active as officers and soldiers as they had been in the 1880s and 1890s, and what roles were they allowed to assume? This can also be applied to questions about the east-west differences in the Canadian Army. What was the nature of the transitional period between the 1890s and start of the First World War? While Saskatoon clearly lagged behind institutional developments, did the corps in Ontario and Quebec, closer to the Canadian Army headquarters in Toronto and longer established, take on social work more readily? How important was geography and distance in the determination of local Army character and how did the differences between rural and urban corps dictate the local operation of the Army? The answer to many of these questions may be dependent on who is asked. As I have suggested here, Henry and Edith, as field officers trained in a small western corps, may have thought about the Army differently than officers working for the Canadian headquarters in Toronto.

There is also evidence that around the turn of the twentieth century, married, established officers became more common. Many of the officers that Henry and Edith talked about in their letters were married, although none had children, suggesting most were newly married. Were married officers still outnumbered by single Salvationists or were they becoming more common as the Army developed into an established church? If so, how did the higher proportion of married officers affect the operation and gendered culture of the Army in Canada? While this thesis argues that marriage necessitated a change in Edith's role in the Army, it is also unclear whether this was true more generally.

Lastly, Henry and Edith illustrate that religious perspectives need to be better integrated into gender history and the history of sexuality in order to understand the influence of either gender or religion in the lives of religious Canadians. In many cases, both religion and faith were influential components of courtship and marriage, but religion has been noticeably absent from Canadian historiography. Official systems of regulation, social sanction, and evangelical conceptions of love functioned with gendered standards to guide Henry and Edith's courtship and marriage. Without acknowledging the connection between gender and religion, we cannot begin to recognize how love, courtship, and marriage were understood by Salvationists or by the members of other evangelical denominations that have been so central to Canadian history.

## Bibliography

### Published Secondary Sources

- Abbott, Elizabeth. *A History of Marriage*. Toronto: Penguin, 2009.
- Abrams, Lynn. *Oral History Theory*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Azoulay, Dan. *Only the Lonely: Finding Romance in the Personal Columns of Canada's Western Home Monthly 1905–1924*. Calgary: Fifth House, 2000.
- . *Hearts and Minds: Canadian Romance at the Dawn of the Modern Era, 1900-1930*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2011.
- Bailey, Beth L. *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
- Baillargeon, Denyse. *Making Do: Women, Family and Home in Montreal during the Great Depression*. Translated by Yvonne Klein. Toronto: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1999.
- Bebbington, D.W. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Bederman, Gail. "The Women Have Had Charge of the Church Work Long Enough': The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911-1912 and the Masculinization of Middle-Class Protestantism." *American Quarterly* 41.3 (1989): 432-465.
- Block, Tina. "'Boy meets Girl': Constructing Heterosexuality in Two Victoria Churches, 1945-1960." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 10.1 (1999): 279-296.
- Bradbury, Bettina. *Working Families: Age, Gender and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993.
- . "The Home as Workplace." In *Labouring Lives: Work and Worker in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, edited by Paul Craven, 412-478. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Capp, B.S. *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

- Carter, Sarah. *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008.
- Ceello, Kristin. *Making Marriage Work: A History of Marriage and Divorce in the Twentieth-Century United States*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009
- Chauncey, George. *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940*. New York: Basic Books, 1994.
- Christie, Nancy. "Carnal Connection and Other Misdemeanours: Continuity and Change in Presbyterian Church Courts." In *The Churches and Social Order in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Canada*, edited by Michael Gauvreau and Ollivier Hubert. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.
- Christie, Nancy and Michael Gauvreau. *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.
- . *Christian Churches and their Peoples, 1840-1965: A Social History of Religion in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- Clark, S.D. *Church and Sect in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948.
- Collins, Robert. *The Holy War of the Sally Ann: The Salvation Army in Canada*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1984.
- Comacchio, Cynthia. *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of a Modern Canada, 1920-1950*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006.
- Cook, Sharon Anne. "Beyond the Congregation: Women and Canadian Evangelicalism Reconsidered." In *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, edited by George Rawlyk, 403-416. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.
- Coontz, Stephanie. *Marriage, a History: How Love Conquered Marriage*. New York: Penguin Books, 2005.
- Cott, Nancy. *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Coutts, Federick. *The Better Fight: The History of the Salvation Army, 1914-1946*, Volume 6. London: Salvation Army, 1973.
- . *Weapons of Goodwill: The History of the Salvation Army, 1946-1977*, Volume 7. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986.

- Ditz, Toby L. "Formative Ventures: Eighteenth-Century Commercial Letters and the Articulation of Experience." In *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600-1945*, edited by Rebecca Earle, 59-78. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture*. New York: Knopf, 1977.
- Draper, Kenneth. "A Peoples Religion: P.W. Philpott and the Hamilton Christian Workers' Church." *Social History* 36.71 (2003): 99-121.
- Dubinsky, Karen. "'Maidenly Girls' or 'Designing Women'? The Crime of Seduction in Turn-of-the-Century Ontario." *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, 27-66. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- . *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Eason, Andrew Mark. *Women in God's Army: Gender and Equality in the Early Salvation Army*. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2003.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
- Fragar, Ruth A. and Carmela Patrias, *Discontinued Labour: Women Workers in Canada, 1870-1939*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Gariepy, Henry. *Mobilized for God: The History of the Salvation Army, 1977-1994*, Volume 8. Atlanta: Salvation Army, 1999.
- . *Christianity in Action: The International History of the Salvation Army*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans. 2009.
- Gaul, Theresa Strouth. *To Marry an Indian: the Marriage of Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.
- Gavin, Lettie. *American Women in World War I*. Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1997.
- Geertz, Clifford. "Thick Descriptions: Towards an Interpretive Theory of Culture." In *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 3-30. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Gidney, Catherine. "The Dredger's Daughter: Courtship and Marriage in the Baptist Community of Welland, Ontario, 1934-1944." *Labour/ Le Travail* 54 (Fall 2004): 121-149.

- Grescoe, Paul and Audrey Grescoe. *The Book of Love Letters: Canadian Kinship, Friendship, and Romance*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2006.
- Haller Jr., John S. And Robin M. Haller, *The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University press, 1974.
- Hansen, Karen V. "The Power of Talk in Antebellum New England." *Agricultural History* 67.2 (1993): 43-64.
- Herbert, Trevor. *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Henkin, David M. *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Hindle, Steve. "The Shaming of Margaret Knowsley: Gossip, Gender, and the Experience of Authority in Early Modern England." *Continuity and Change* 9.3 (1994): 391-419.
- Horridge, Glenn K. *The Salvation Army: Origins and the Early Days: 1865-1900*. Surrey, UK: Ammonite Books, 1993.
- Jabour, Anya. *Marriage in the Early Republic: Elizabeth and William Wirt and the Companionate Ideal*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.
- Juster, Susan. *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics and Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Kamensky, Jane. *Governing the Tongue: The Politics of Speech in Early New England*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Katz, Jonathan. *The Invention of Heterosexuality*. New York: Dutton, 1995.
- Kerr, Don and Stan Hanson. *Saskatoon: The First Half-Century*. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1982.
- Knowles, Norman. "Christ in the Crowsnest: Religion and the Anglo-Protestant Working Class in the Crowsnest Pass, 1898-1918." In *Nations, Ideas, Identities: Essays in Honour of Ramsay Cook*, edited by Michael Behiels and Marcel Martel, 57-72. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Lane, Hannah. "'Wife, Mother, Sister, Friend': Methodist Women in St. Stephen, New Brunswick, 1861-1881." In *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th Century Maritimes*, edited by Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, 93-117. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994.

- Leier, Mark. "Solidarity on Occasion: The Vancouver Free Speech Fights of 1909 and 1912." *Labour/ Le Travail* 23 (1989): 39-66.
- Little, J.L. "A Fireside Kingdom: A Mid-Nineteenth-Century Anglican Perspective on Marriage and Parenthood." In *Households of Faith: Family, Gender and Community in Canada, 1760-1969*, edited by Nancy Christie, 77-100. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.
- Lystra, Karen. *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Marks, Lynne. "Working Class Femininity and the Salvation Army: Hallelujah Lasses in English Canada, 1882-1892." In *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, second edition, edited by Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, 182-205. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- , "The 'Hallelujah Lasses': Working-Class Femininity and the Salvation Army in English Canada, 1882-92." In *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, edited by Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, 67-117. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- , *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in Late Nineteenth Century Small Town Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- , "No Double Standard? Leisure, Sex and Sin in Upper Canadian Church Discipline Records, 1800-1860." In *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*, edited by Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestell, 48-64. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- , "Railing, Tattling, and General Rumour: Gossip, Gender, and Church Regulation in Upper Canada," *The Canadian Historical Review* 81.3 (2000): 380-402.
- , "'A Fragment of Heaven on Earth'? Religion, Gender, and Family in Turn-of-the-Century Canadian Church Periodicals." *Journal of Family History* 26.2 (2001): 251-271.
- Marshall, David. *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- Macdonald, Charlotte J. "Intimacy of the Envelope: Fiction, Commerce, and Empire in the Correspondence of Friends Mary Taylor and Charlotte Brontë, c. 1845-1855." In *Moving Subjects: Gender Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*, edited by Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, 89-109. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009.

- McKinley, Edward H. *Marching to Glory: The History of the Salvation Army in the United States of America, 1880-1980*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980.
- Mitchinson, Wendy. *The Nature of Their Bodies: Women and Their Doctors in Victorian Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Morgan, Cecilia. *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Morton, Suzanne. "The June Bride as the Working-Class Bride: Getting Married in a Halifax Working-Class Neighbourhood in the 1920's." In *Canadian Family History: Selected Readings*, edited by Bettina Bradbury, 360-379. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitmann, 1992.
- Moyles, R.G. *The Blood and Fire in Canada: The History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion 1882-1979*. Toronto: Peter Martian Associates, 1977.
- .The Salvation Army in Newfoundland: Its History and Essence*. Toronto: Salvation Army, 1997.
- . The Salvation Army and the Public: Historical and Descriptive Essays*. Edmonton: AMG Publications, 2000.
- . Come Join Our Army: Historic Reflections on Salvation Army Growth*. Alexandria, Va.: Crest Books, 2007.
- . I Knew William Booth: An Album of Remembrances*. Alexandria, VA: Crest Books, 2007.
- . "The Salvation Army's Mountaineers: Evangelizing the Interior of British Columbia."* *British Columbia History* 43.2 (2010): 36- 40.
- Muir, Elizabeth Gillan. "Beyond the Bounds of Acceptable Behaviour: Methodist Women Preachers in the Early Nineteenth Century." In *Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada*, edited by Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, 161-182. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Neylan, Susan. "Encountering Spirits: Evangelical and Holiness Revivals in Victoria, BC, and the 'Colonial Project.'" *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 36.71 (2003): 175-204.

- Neylan, Susan and Melissa Meyer, ““HERE COMES THE BAND!: Cultural Collaboration, Connective Traditions, and Aboriginal Brass Bands on British Columbia's North Coast, 1875-1964,” *BC Studies* 152 (2006): 35-66.
- Norton, Mary Beth. *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society*. New York, Vintage Books, 1993.
- Olson, Mary. “Wielding the Power of Popular Sentiment: Woman’s Agency in Courtship and the Love Letters of Anna Todd.” *Women’s Studies* 37 (2008): 790-814.
- Opp, James. *The Lord for the Body: Religion, Medicine, and Protestant Faith Healing in Canada, 1880-1930*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.
- Parr, Joy. *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Poos, L.R. “Sex, Lies, and the Church Courts of pre-Reformation England.” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 25.4 (1995): 585-608.
- Porter, Frances and Charlotte Macdonald. “Introduction.” In *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates: The Unsettled Lives of Women in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand as Revealed to Sisters, Family and Friends*, edited by Frances Porter and Charlotte Macdonald, 1-22. Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland, 1996.
- Price Janney, Rebecca. *And Then Comes Marriage?: A Cultural History of the American Family*. Chicago: Moody Publishers, 2010.
- Putney, Clifford. *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Rawlyk, George. *The Canada Fire: Radical Evangelicalism in British North America, 1775-1812*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- Rose, Phyllis. *Parallel Lives: Five Victorian Marriages*. New York: A. Knopf, 1983.
- Sandall, Robert. *The History of the Salvation Army, 1865-1878*, Volume 1. London: Salvation Army, 1947.
- . *The History of the Salvation Army, 1878-1886*, Volume 2. London: Salvation Army, 1950.
- . *Social Reform and Welfare Work: The History of the Salvation Army, 1883-1953*, Volume 3. London: Salvation Army, 1955.
- Scott, Joan. “The Evidence of Experience.” In *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing After the Linguistic Turn*, edited by Gabrielle Spiegel, 199-215. New York: Routledge, 2005.

- Smith-Rosenberg, Caroll. "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America." In *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Snell, James. "'The White Life for Two': The Defence of Marriage and Sexual Morality in Canada, 1890-1914." In *Canadian Family History: Selected Readings*, edited by Bettina Bradbury, 381-400. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitmann, 1992.
- . "The Gendered Construction of Marriage among the Elderly, 1900-1951." *Canadian Journal on Aging* 12 (1993): 509-523.
- Snell, James G. and Cynthia Comacchio Abeele. "Regulating Nuptiality: Restricting Access to Marriage in Early Twentieth-Century English-Speaking Canada." *Canadian Historical Review* 69.4 (1988): 466-489.
- Stewart, Pamela. *Witchcraft, Sorcery, Rumors, and Gossip*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Tebbutt, Melanie. *Women's Talk: A Social History of 'Gossip' in Working-class Neighbourhoods, 1880- 1960*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 1995.
- Taiz, Lillian. *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses: Remaking the Salvation Army in America, 1880-1930*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Valverde, Mariana. *The Age of Light Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991.
- Van Die, Marguerite. "'The Marks of a Genuine Revival': Religion, Social Change, Gender, and Community in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario." *Canadian Historical Review* 79.3 (1998): 524-563.
- . *Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada: The Colbys of Carrollcroft*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.
- Vibert, Elizabeth. "Writing 'home': Sibling Intimacy and Mobility in a Scottish Colonial Memoir." In *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*, edited by Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, 67-88. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009.
- Walker, Pamela J. "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*, edited by Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker, 288-302. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- . *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001.

Ward, Peter. *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.

Watson, Bernard. *A Hundred Years' War: The Salvation Army: 1865-1965*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965.

Weeks, Jeffery. *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*. London: Longman, 1981.

Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860." *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151–174.

----- . "The Feminization of American Religion." In *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976.

Whiteley, Marilyn Fardig. "Modest, Unaffected, and Fully Consecrated: Lady Evangelists in Canadian Methodism." In *Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada*, edited by Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, 183-200. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

Wiggins, Arch. *The History of the Salvation Army, 1886-1904*, Volume 4. London: Salvation Army, 1964.

----- . *The History of the Salvation Army, 1904-1914*, Volume 5. London: Salvation Army, 1968.

Winston, Diane. *Red-Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1999.

### **Unpublished Sources**

Dunton, Jefferson D. "The Origins and Growth of the Salvation Army in Newfoundland, 1885-1901." MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1996.

Ishiguro, Laura Mitsuyo. "Relative Distances: Family and Empire between Britain, British Columbia and India, 1858-1901." PhD thesis, University College London, 2012.

Noddings, T.R. "Reapers of the Harvest: Gender, Ritual, and Metaphor in the Bible Student Movement, 1879-1916." Honours thesis, University of Victoria, 2011.

### Published Primary Sources

Alline, Henry. *The Life and Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Alline*, ed. James Beverley and Barry Moody. Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press, 1982.

Booth, Catherine. *Aggressive Christianity*. London: The Salvation Army 1880.

------. *Church and State*. London: The Salvation Army, 1881

------. *Godliness*. London: The Salvation Army, 1881.

------. *The Salvation Army in Relation to the Church and State, and Other Addresses: Delivered at Cannon Street Hotel*. London: S.W. Partridge, 1883.

------. *Life and Death*. London: The Salvation Army, 1883.

------. *Popular Christianity*. London: The Salvation Army, 1887.

------. *Practical Religion*. London: The Salvation Army, 1891.

Booth, William. *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Salvation Army, Prepared for the Training Homes*. London: The Salvation Army, 1881.

------. "Regulations for Sergeants: Things Not to Be Done." In *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Salvation Army With Orders and Regulations for Sergeants, Prepared for the Training Homes*. New York: The Salvation Army, 1885.

------. *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army*. London, Salvation Army, 1886.

------. *In Deepest Darkest England, And the Way Out*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1890.

------. *The Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of the Salvation Army*. Toronto, Salvation Army, 1908.

------. *Letters to Salvationists on Love, Marriage, and Home. Volume II of Religion for Every Day*. Atlanta, GA: The Salvation Army, 1987.

Bramwell-Booth, Catherine. *Catherine Booth: The Story of her Loves*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970.

Stead, W.T. *Mrs. Booth of the Salvation Army*. London: James Nisbet and Co., 1900.

## Archival Sources

National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

*Third Census of Canada, 1891*. Manitoba, district 7

(Marquette). Sub-district Riding Mountain, 33. Available

<http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/census-1891/001081-100.01-e.php>

*Fourth Census of Canada, 1901*. Manitoba, district 9 (Marquette). Polling sub-division 1 in Aberdeen, 1. Available

<http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/census-1901/index-e.html>

Letters of Edith Willey and Henry Tutte. 1906-1910. Private collection of Dr. Lynne Marks. Department of History, University of Victoria.

Salvation Army Archives (SAA). Toronto.

“Order of Services: Funeral of Lieut. Colonel Henry C. Tutte, R.” 9 June 1950.

“Order of Services: Funeral of Mrs. Lt. Colonel H. C. Tutte, R.” 3 November 1964.

Secular newspaper files.

Saskatchewan Archives. Saskatoon.

Saskatchewan Homestead Files. File #921813 (NE-14-30-12-W3).

## Newspapers and Periodicals

*Christian Mission Magazine*, 1874.

*Dauphin Herald*, 1910

*Dominion Churchman*, 1883

*The War Cry*, 1882-1964. Available at <http://salvationarmy.phippsinc.com/warcry/>.

*The Saskatoon Phoenix (The Saskatoon Phenix)*, 1902-1910.

*Zion's Watchtower and Herald of Christ's Presence*, 1889.