PRACTICAL RELIGION: A STUDY OF THE

SALVATION ARMY'S SOCIAL SERVICES FOR WOMEN

1884-1914

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## Abstract

Historians of Victorian Britain have focused on the reclamation of prostitutes as an area which illustrates the tensions between middle class ideology, as exhibited by the rescue workers and their organisations, and the experiences of working class women. However, no rescue society has been studied in depth, and consequently the relationship between theory and practice has not been documented. This thesis examines the Salvation Army's Social Services for Women, one of the largest and most prominent rescue work agencies active in late-Victorian London.

The first chapter analyses the historiography of rescue work. The principle themes identified are the appropriateness of viewing rescue work as a form of social control, or as an inspiration for feminism. Chapter 2 discusses the formative experiences of the founders of the Salvation Army, William and Catherine Booth, and it is argued that their personal experiences and religious beliefs formed the basis of their later philanthropic activities. Following from this, Chapter 3 examines the development of the Booths' ideas into a model for society which placed greatest emphasis on the responsibility of the individual. This involved a social critique which redefined gender and class relationships in terms of moral 'children' and moral 'adults'. Chapter 4 traces the organisational development of the Army's Social Services for Women, during which theory was modified by practice. Chapter 5 deals with the problematic relationship between rescue work and social purity, as evidenced in the 'Maiden Tribute' agitation of 1885, in which the Salvation Army was prominently involved. Chapter 6 investigates the rescued, their social and economic support networks, and their progress in the rescue homes, through an analysis of 1500 case histories drawn from three different periods. Chapter 7 concludes with a discussion of the contrast between the limiations of the religious perspective and the practical context of the social programme which the Booths embarked upon, and assesses its role and value in late-Victorian Britain.

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Chapter One

# THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF RESCUE WORK AND

# THE SALVATION ARMY

Speaking of rescue work in 1874, Arthur Brinckman said:

> Our work (under God) is the reclamation of women from a
> sinful life, their restoration to purity and peace. We
> have not only to try and save those who are now living
> this sinful life, but to warn all, in every way we can,
> that fornication is a sin which ruins body and soul for
> ever, for its punishment is hell. [1]

This quote expresses the basic assumptions of rescue work,
which, as the term implies, necessitates the deliverance of a
person from some evil or harm. The rescue workers, taking
their inspiration from Christian dogma, identified this harm
as eternal damnation. This was the inevitable outcome of the
sin of fornication which was considered an act of defiance
against God, who was believed to have made 'mankind male and
female and it was only in marriage that the two become one'.[2]

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[1]  A. Brinckman, Society and Sin (London, 1874), p. 1.

[2]  G. A. Buttrick et. al, eds., The Interpreters'
Dictionary of The Bible (New York, 1962), Vol. R-Z, p.
571.

Any other act constituted a denial of the unity of the relationship between men and women. Furthermore, the word for fornication was used in the scriptures to refer to every kind of sexual relationship outside marriage, including prostitution,[3] and the word for prostitute could be translated as either 'one who is a harlot' or 'one who commits fornication'.[4] This is particularly significant because harlotry was also a symbol of idolatry due to the association of sexual activity and the worshipping of graven images during Moses' absence while receiving the ten commandments. The abandonment of the worshipping of God was also suggested in other definitions of fornication and adultery, for the latter meant irregular sexual relations between married people and the giving of affection to idols.[5] This means that the word 'adultery' could be used to suggest religious disloyalty, while the word 'fornication' was also used to denote the foresaking of God for idols.[6] Consequently, for the Christian irregular sexual relations were not only a breaking of God's law in themselves and therefore a sin, but also the very words used to describe these acts carried the connotation of abandoning the worship of God.

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[2](continued)
    Dictionary of The Bible (New York, 1962), Vol. R-Z, p. 571.

[3] Ibid., Vol. E-J, p. 321.

[4] Ibid., Vol. K-Q, p. 932.

[5] J. A. H. Murray, ed., A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles (Oxford, 1888-1933), 10 Vols., Vol. 1, part 1, p. 51.

[6] Ibid., Vol. 4, part 1, p 321.

Salvation from this eternal damnation lay in a return to purity through the atonement for sin, which usually involved a period of retreat and penance. Purity as a concept implies 'freedom from moral corruption and sexual uncleanliness' and its earliest sense in English was that of a stainless character: innocent, chaste or ceremonially clean.[7] As in the association of harlotry and idolotry which requires the coupling of irreverence and unsanctioned sexual activity, so the association of unblemished and sexual chasteness necessitates a linkage that is premised on cultural assumptions.

These concepts of sexual irregularity, irreverance and purity deriving from biblical injunctions, do not in theory have to apply to women alone. Both men and women can commit acts of sexual irregularity and both can have pure and chaste characters. However, in practice the admonitions against women have been more strict than those against men. As Keith Thomas has argued, the result has been an idea deeply rooted in England for many centuries,

> that unchastity in the sense of sexual relations before or outside marriage, is for a man, if an offence, nonetheless a mild and pardonable one, but for a woman a matter of utmost gravity.
>
> [8]

This is known as the double standard, and was a particularly important assumption behind rescue work, for it justified the

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[7] Ibid., Vol. 7, part 2, p. 16,622.

[8] K. Thomas, 'The Double Standard', Journal of History of Ideas, Vol. 20 (1959), p. 195.

belief that women required more strenuous efforts on their behalf to remove them from danger and to help them atone for their sins.

The basic premises of rescue work do not necessitate an emphasis on work for women, nor do they suggest a specific class orientation. In practice, rescue workers concentrated their efforts on poorer, younger women without means to support themselves, and prostitutes. This latter emphasis has been singled out by historians to such an extent that one has recently defined rescue work as 'the systematic attempt to remove prostitutes from their habitual haunts'.[9] However, the discrepancies between a theory that was potentially universal in its application and a practice that was severely limited by class and gender considerations has resulted in historians being sceptical about both rescue work and its practitioners. Edward Bristow has called it 'a peculiar form of philanthropy',[10] and Frances Finnegan has said of these workers that

> their undoubtedly sincere efforts were bound to fail,
> since they were attempting to turn individual women from
> a life of prostitution without attacking the fundamental
> economic, social and moral issues involved.
> 
> [11]

In spite of the apparent finality of these judgments, it is still worth asking how this historical impression of rescue

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[9] F. K. Prochaska, <u>Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England</u> (Oxford, 1980), p. 188.

[10] E. Bristow, <u>Vice and Vigilance</u> (Dublin, 1977).

[11] F. Finnegan, <u>Poverty and Prostitution</u> (Cambridge, 1979), p. 211.

work has emerged, and whether our understanding of it is sufficiently complete.

The study of rescue work has been informed by two basic analytical approches: it has been studied as part of an empirical discussion of the issues, based on the accumulation of factual evidence, and it has been used as an example to illustrate different theoretical approaches to the study of human experience in the past. However, the division is by no means so clearly defined, for some of the scholars who have used theoretical constructs have relied on detailed empirical studies for illustration, while it is also arguable that empirical studies are those which do not make explicit the theoretical basis of their selection.[12]

Those who have studied rescue work empirically have not concentrated on it as an entity in itself, but have seen it as a component of larger issues. For example, the studies of Heasman, of Young and Ashton, and of Hall and Howes[13] examine rescue work as an example of the development of social work in Britain, while Prochaska views it in reference to female charitable activity in the nineteenth century.[14] Edward Bristow also examines rescue work from a philanthropic angle by studying it as an illustration of a moral crusade, while Philip Collins is interested in the charitable activities of

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[12] G. Stedman Jones, 'History: The Poverty of Empiricism', R. Blackburn, ed., Ideology in Social Science (London, 1972).

[13] K. Heasman, Evangelicals in Action (London, 1962); A. F. Young and E. T. Ashton, British Social Work in The Nineteenth Century (London, 1956); M. P. Hall and I. V. Howes, The Church in Social Work (London, 1965).

[14] Prochaska, op. cit.

one particular individual, Charles Dickens.[15] Finnegan also has an extensive chapter on rescue work in York in her study of prostitution in that city, but her main emphasis in that work is with prostitution as a social and economic phenomenon, which means that rescue work is viewed as a response to prevailing conditions and evaluated in that light.[16]

In an examination of these studies, five basic themes emerge. The first is rescue work as seen essentially in a progressive light as part of the development of social work. This approach is particularly evident in the work of Heasman, Hall and Howe, and Young and Ashton, who all stress a changing attitude towards the prostitute in the nineteenth century, when more compassion was shown in the methods of rehabilitation. They discuss in detail the development of techniques which are still used today, such as the use of outdoor workers, short and long-stay homes, classification of cases (particularly mother and baby hostels) and the training and professionalisation of workers, especially women. This latter point overlaps with a second theme, the impact of the rescue work experience on women and the implication of this for the development of a feminist consciousness. Prochaska in particular stresses how rescue work heightened a consciousness among middle class women of their position in society, and helped to create a sense of solidarity between them and women of other classes.

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[15] Bristow, op. cit.; P. Collins, Dickens and Crime (London, 1962); P. Collins, 'Dickens as a Social Worker', Social Worker, Vol. 15 (1958), pp. 225-235.
[16] Finnegan, op. cit.

The third theme that is discussed in all these works, except those by Finnegan and Collins, is the relationship between rescue work and preventive work and moral reform. Heasman and Hall both explain the move towards legislative action in the form of the Maiden Tribute campaign and the increasing emphasis on preventive work as a response to the failure of rescue work to attack the causes of prostitution.[17] Young and Ashton, on the other hand, argue that 'in probably no other field have social work and social reform been so closely intertwined'[18] as in moral welfare work, and Prochaska appears to support this view, as he considers the involvement of women in rescue work in the campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts, the Maiden Tribute agitation and the National Vigilance Association to be part of the same activity.[19] Bristow makes no direct link between rescue work and moral reform other than the simple one of a chronological juxtaposition of chapters, although he does see a connection between the repeal campaign and the white slave revelations, which he feels were an attempt to revive the repealers' morale and mesmerise the public.[20]

A fourth theme, hinted at in the discussions of Heasman and of Hall and Howe, is the relationship between the character of prostitution and rescue work as a response to it. Examinations of this theme often begin with a mention of the estimated number of prostitutes[21] or a recitation of the

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[17] Heasman, op. cit., pp. 157-158; Hall and Howe, op. cit., p. 22.

[18] Young and Ashton, op. cit., p. 207.

[19] Prochaska, op. cit., pp. 205, 209, 213.

[20] Bristow, op. cit., p. 86.

causes of prostitution which highlights such factors as 'force of circumstances, abysmal ignorance, and grinding poverty'.[22] The individualistic approach of the rescue workers is then contrasted to this, resulting in an evaluation of the work which either stresses the heroic in view of the magnitude of the task[23] or its foolhardiness due to misguided expectations of success.[24]

The final theme which is implicit in all the studies so far discussed is the assumption that the character of the rescue work is related to the character of the rescue workers. Those who support the view that rescue work is part of the development of modern social work tend to suggest that the rescue workers were benign pioneers, whereas those scholars who see rescue work as essentially ineffective see the rescue workers as eccentrics whose behaviour bordered on the self-centred and hypocritical.[25] The problem with this analysis is that the motives of the rescue workers are being inferred from the outcome of their actions, which does not allow for discussion of how ideas develop and are modified in practise.

The exception to this is Philip Collins' work which discusses the discrepancies between Dickens' fictional

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[21] For example, Hall and Howe mention Mayhew's estimate of 80,000 prostitutes in London, p. 2.

[22] Bristow, op. cit., p. 58.

[23] An interpretation which underlies the work of Heasman, Hall and Howe, and Young and Ashton.

[24] This type of analysis is the basis of Finnegan's work.

[25] See Bristow, op. cit., chapter 3, 'The Repression and Rescue of Prostitutes, 1750-1860'; Finnegan, op. cit., chapter 6 'Rescue and Reform'.

depiction of prostitution and his work for prostitutes at Urania Cottage. Collins concludes that 'the contrast between Dickens the novelist and Dickens the amateur social worker illuminates his unwillingness or his inability to express the whole truth (as he knew it) in his fiction'.[26]

Although Collins is discussing only one individual, his work does alert us to the danger of collapsing the analysis so that there is not sufficient room to examine the interaction of a variety of variables, and this difficulty is inherent in most of the empirical studies of rescue work. While each study argues succinctly that rescue work is either a form of social work, a source of feminism or a Victorian eccentricity, none of the studies has an analytical framework which could account for how rescue work could have several components simultaneously. Their only explanation for the structure of rescue work is premised on certain views of human nature which do not allow for an understanding of how psychological, social and economic factors impinge on the work; nor do they allow any analysis which suggests how rescue work is related to these structures. Consequently, the phenomenon of rescue work is not firmly located within the context of the society in which it functioned. It appears simply to exist, at best, in response to the large and intractable problem of prostitution. Any development is due to a form of natural progression whereby one event follows another with the result that the relationship between rescue work and moral reform is not seen as problematic. This lack of structure and explanation means that there is little scope for assessing the significance of rescue work; for the interrelationships of class and gender are only hinted at in

the broadest of terms.

If the empirical studies provide us with much interesting factual information but little scope for evaluation thereof, do the studies where rescue work is used as an example to support a theoretical construct overcome this problem? The one scholar who falls most clearly into this category is Eric Trudgill, whose book Madonnas and Magdalens attempts to explain the sources of Victorian sexual attitudes and, in particular, the Victorians' view of women. He also tries to trace through the use of 'a complex yet cogent analytical model the gradual evolution of these attitudes'.[27] Within this schema, Trudgill is interested in the depiction of the 'good' and 'bad' woman, particularly in literature, and he discusses rescue work in the context of changing attitudes to the fallen woman. Change for Trudgill is the result of shifting ideas, and his analytical model is structured around the swings he had identified between prudery and fashion, with prudery being associated with the evangelicals. This allows some scope for evaluating the significance of rescue work, for it can be seen as a gauge to society's attitude to the prostitute. However, he is unable to account for the diversity of developments which rescue work suggests, for this analytical framework only allows him to evalute how rescue work is an expression of other cultural ideas, in particular how the prostitute can be seen as a scapegoat for Victorian anxieties about immorality.

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[26] Collins (1962), p. 114.

[27] E. Trudgill, Madonnas and Magdalens (London, 1976), p. xi.

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Trudgill's work is concerned with the psycho-cultural sphere, and although he does not satisfactorily explain the relationship between the two, nor does he suggest how it is related to economic formations, this framework does give him a context within which to evaluate rescue work.

The most serious weakness of Trudgill's work, however, is one that he shares with the empirical studies, namely the handling of sources. All these scholars tend to read their sources as 'given' in that they examine the accounts of rescue work provided by annual reports, memoirs and novels without discussing how these documents were constructed; on what basis was material selected, to what use was it put? The result is that sources are considered to be expressions of reality rather than a selected view of events. This has repercussions for the argument, as the line between prostitution as an intractable social problem and rescue work as an ineffective solution can be clearly drawn because the intermediate variables are not apparent to cause confusion through complexity. This problem is most clearly evident in Frances Finnegan's work, where her careful study of York's prostitutes is drawn from newspapers, court records, reports of the Poor Law Guardians and the York Refuge. From this material she concludes that prostitution was a downward path, although essentially she begs the question as to why some prostitutes appeared in official records while others did not.[28]

Are the problems of explanation and evidence handled more successfully in those studies which combine a theoretical framework with detailed empirical work? The answer to this depends on the sophistication of the

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theoretical base, and the ability with which the evidence is handled. The work of Rowbotham, L'Esperance, Walkowitz and Gorham falls into this category.[29] Sheila Rowbotham and Jean L'Esperance both directly discuss rescue work and they are interested in how the experience of such work affected the consciousness of the women involved, and the implications thereof for feminism. Walkowitz and Gorham respectively are primarily concerned with the campaign to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts and the Criminal Law Amendment Act agitation of 1885. In both these works an understanding of rescue work forms an essential part of their analysis, although they do not discuss it directly as an entity in its own right. However, the methodologies and conclusions of these two historians have been influential in informing how sexuality and social policy are examined,[30] and their work must therefore be considered here. Each underpins her assessment of the significance of the events under discussion with a clear feminist theoretical framework. All are concerned with the oppression of women and how it is

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[28] See Finnegan, op. cit., p. 17 for further discussion.

[29] S. Rowbotham, Hidden from History (London, 1973), pp. 51-55; J. L'Esperance, 'Women's Mission to Women: Some Explorations of the Double Standard and Female Solidarity in Nineteenth-Century England', Histoire Sociale/Social History, Vol. 12 (1979), pp. 316-338; J. Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society (Cambridge, 1980); D. Gorham, 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon Re-examined: Child Prostitution in Late Victorian England', Victorian Studies, Vol. 21 (1978), pp. 354-379.

[30] J. Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society (London, 1981), pp. 81-95.

maintained and resisted. For Rowbotham, women are oppressed by the conditions of production and reproduction and rescue work assists in a realisation of this. L'Esperance further develops this theme by analysing women's resistance to the double standard of sexual morality, and by highlighting how work for the fallen illustrates the development of female solidarity within the women's movement. All stress an element of class in their analysis, and Walkowitz and Gorham use an analytical structure which owes much to Gareth Stedman Jones' work, Outcast London.[31] In that work he examined how the economic structure created a precarious position for the casual labourer in London, and how policies designed to separate and contain the residuum only served to exacerbate already existing problems. Walkowitz's analysis of the Contagious Diseases Acts takes the same view of social policy in that she documents how the Acts served to turn women from casual prostitutes with close links to the surrounding working class community, into a core of professionals who could not so easily move between identities and jobs. Gorham's work also views social policy as misguided, if not actually malevolent, for she argues that the Criminal Law Amendment Act was a symbolic reform which aimed to satisfy middle class anxiety over child prostitution, but had little understanding of the reasons why women became prostitutes. Both evaluate these events in terms of their impact on the lives of working-class women. Their works both use and develop a theoretical understanding of how experience is differentiated by class and gender.

Two models of change are suggested by these four works. The first is that change comes through resistance, which is

the result of an altered consciousness created by experiencing the contradictions of being female in nineteenth-century Britain. This is seen as an important inspiration for female solidarity, both for middle class women working in rescue work and the repeal campaign, and for working class women in their resistance to the Contagious Disceases Acts., The implication is that the contradictions between the revering of women's nature and the realitites of their limited spheres of activity, power and influence were highlighted by experiencing the effects of a social policy which oppressed women by denying them economic freedom and sexuality, or both.

However, the second model of change is suggested in the explanation as to why such social policies were implemented. Both Walkowitz and Gorham exphasise that class prejudice and anxieties over female sexuality were the broad, primary motivations for these Acts. Their arguments, like those of Gareth Stedman Jones, have the implication of polarity, for they suggest that the forces of domination, either male or middle class, were seeking to bolster their position and in doing so they created resistance among those whom they sought to control. However, polarisation between the classes and genders is not a complete explanation for the nineteenth-century experience, for continuity and accommodation were also apparent. This has political implications for twentieth-century historians, who need to account for the move of some feminists towards support for social purity in the 1880's and how the libertarian principles of the repeal movement were surrendered to coersive measures in the social purity movement.[32] Unlike the scholars previously discussed, the

move towards moral reform is fraught with problems for these historians.

While this body of work opens for examination the relationship between the repeal campaign and the social purity movement, it adds little to an explanation of the character of rescue work, for it is seen as an essential part of the dominant structure which sought to coerce young, working class women into non-sexual, respectable behaviour. In doing this, these studies enhance the view that rescue workers were basically misguided if not hypocritical, and that rescue work was ineffective, if not actually repressive. Consequently, rescue work is not seen as an amalgam of relationships and ideas, but rather is still considered as either reactionary in terms of the women being rescued, and potentially, but not always, progressive when discussing the women who did the rescuing. This polarity is related to the view of prostitution inherent in these works, for it is seen as one-dimensional. Walkowitz, who discusses most fully the characteristics of women who moved into prostitution, claims that they were usually single women, local to the area, and had previously been employed in the lower ranks of domestic service. She stresses that they were living outside their families and that they were most likely half or full orphans.[33] For her, as for Gorham, there is no hierarchy of prostitution such as Mayhew suggests,[34] and this stems from

[31]   G. Stedman Jones, <u>Outcast London</u> (Oxford, 1971).

[32]   J. Walkowitz, 'Male Vice and Feminist Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in 19th Century Britain', <u>History Workshop</u>, No. 13 (1982), pp. 77-93.

[33]   Walkowitz (1980), p. 19.

their use of sources. Walkowitz has gathered her information from the annual reports of rescue homes, social commentaries, and prison surveys. She assumes that the same type of women will appear in the different records, and that all these women were actually prostitutes, although it has never been ascertained what types of women came to the rescue homes. In this way, the prostitute is firmly located among the casual poor and the significance of rescue work and moral reform is evaluated within the context of how appropriate it was in meeting the needs of this segment of the female population.

To date, the historiography of rescue work has delineated certain themes for discussion and has documented important details about its chronological development and the approaches used, as well as passing judgements through the interpretation of material. The 'benign pioneer' model aligned to a study of 'progressive techniques' in tackling social problems has given way to the view of rescue work as ineffective and associated ideologically with policies that sought to coerce women into non-sexual behaviour and to contain them within the sphere of domestic respectability. The impact of the work on the rescuers themselves is also open to debate, for it is no longer seen as just an inspiration for the women's movement because the essential ambiguity of feminist support for social purity has been revealed.

It is arguable, moreover, that the case is by no means closed, for no rescue society has been studied extensively as

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[34] H. Mayhew, London Labour and London Poor (London, 1862), vol. 4, pp. 210-246.

an entity in itself. Consequently, the range of ideas and relationships encompassed in rescue work have not been identified and examined. Rescue work is an umbrella term which covers activities that touch on the economic, the cultural, the personal, and the political. It enters the economic sphere because it is about providing material support and work for women by rerouting them from prostitution to the more respectable employment of service; this also means, however, that it is an embodiment of cultural ideas, for it is premised on assumptions about the place of women and the meaning of sexual activity. The process of being rescued involved a series of personal relationships, and this face-to-face contact provided the opportunity for the manipulation of power relationships and resistance to them. In this sense, rescue work involved the personal as political, but it also had a broader political dimension, for it was connected to policies about what women, and particularly working women, should be doing. It was also associated with the development of techniques to confront the problems of urban poverty. It is therefore possible to see that rescue work embodied a significant number of Victorian concerns and that any evaluation of it must acknowledge this.

While it is important to unscramble the relationship within rescue work itself, it is also necessary to examine how it related to other formations. Certain themes have been delineated, such as how the attitudes of the rescue workers influenced the nature of their work; how the work was a response to the problems it confronted; and how rescue work related to other campaigns with similar concerns, but only in the last instance have the assumptions behind these themes

begun to be explored even tentatively. It could then be argued that there is a case for examining one major rescue society in depth in order to explore the links between ideas, people, and practices, before returning to an evaluation of the general issue of the process by which philanthropic institutions and legislative action in Victorian England structured and perpetuated different experiences along class and gender lines. It is within this context that the present study of the Salvation Army's social work for women is placed.

II

Founded in 1884, the Salvation Army's social work for women suggests itself as a case study for rescue work because it was one of the largest rescue societies in late nineteenth-century London.[35] It is hoped that by concentrating on a specific geographic location such as London, the opportunity is afforded to study the work in

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[35] For comparison see H. Fry, The Royal Guide to the London Charities (London, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1900-01, 1902); H. Fry, The Shilling Guide to the London Charities (London, 1863, 1865); W. F. Howe, First Annual Edition of the Classified Dictionary to the Metropolitan Charities (London, 1876); S. Low, The Charities of London (London, 1850, 1854, 1862, 1863); The People's Directory to the Charities of London (London, 1868).

relationship to the economic and social experiences of the women concerned. In 1887, the Army already had five homes in London; by 1906 there were six, including a training institution and a receiving home. By the time of their thirtieth anniversary in 1914, they could boast of accommodation for two thousand women and girls throughout Britain in sixty-two rescue homes and other institutions.[36] While the founder of the Salvation Army, William Booth, always insisted that no department of his mission could do without the others, and that the social side was interwoven with the evangelical side, he also maintained that 'unity does not of necessity imply similarity'.[37] For this reason it is possible to separate the women's social work from the Salvation Army's evangelical mission for purposes of analysis, because in organisational terms it was an entity in its own right with its own specially trained officers, its own 'Orders and Regulations', and, from the autumn of 1887, its own headquarters at 259 Mare Street, Hackney.[38]

Although much valuable information was lost when the Salvation Army's headquarters were damaged by bombing during the Second World War, sufficient material remains to allow

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[36] F. Booth, Rescue Notes (London, 1889), p. 3; Salvation Army Year Book (London, 1906), p. 22; Salvation Army Year Book (London, 1914), pp. 46-47.

[37] Aspects of the Social Work of the Salvation Army: Papers Read at the International Social Council, London: Conducted by the Founder, 1911 (London, 1917), p. 1; W. Booth, Orders and Regulations for the Social Officers of the Women's Social Work of the Salvation Army (London, 1916), p. 1.

[38] J. Fairbanks, Booth's Boots (London, 1983).

the construction of a comprehensive picture. A wide range of
official publications have survived, including annual reports
and newspaper coverage of the work. For the purposes of this
study, the periodicals The Deliverer (1889-), The Social
Gazette (1895-), and All The World (1884-) were used more
extensively than the War Cry (1899-), The Officer (1893-) and
The Field Officer (1901-), for the latter three were more
concerned with the evangelical work. Apart from the official
publications, 1,500 individual cases have been studied. These
document the histories of the women who came to the Salvation
Army's receiving home and were accepted into their long-stay
rescue programme. The existence of these records makes
possible an analysis which establishes the links between the
actuality of Army work and how they structured the
presentation of that work in their official publications. At
present, the private correspondence of the Booths is not
available for research, but extensive material relating
to the key personalities has been published in both memoirs
and biographies, which have drawn heavily on these private
sources. As a result, there is sufficient material to
reconstruct the ideas and experiences of the Booths, and to
document how these ideas were modified in practice. This is
due to the centralised structure of the Salvation Army, and
the continuity of leadership within the Booth family during
this period. This makes possible documentation of the
interaction between the private idea and the public practice.
This wealth of source material makes possible the exploration
of a single rescue society from a variety of perspectives, in
order to evaluate how its work as a voluntary organisation
resisted or perpetuated the existing class and gender

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categories.

Does a study of the Salvation Army's social work for women 'break the mould' of the *historiography of rescue work?* Before this question can be answered, it is necessary to place the discussion within a theoretical context of the relations between the sexes. Such a framework is premised on the assumption that men and women form distinct sociological groups for which there are established patterns of behaviour, customarily defined roles, and special legal restrictions. It includes the corollary that women's roles are not based on rational criteria or physiological dictates, and assumes a process of indoctrination from childhood by overt or covert means.[39] However, such a framework needs to allow for variation and change and for this reason it must avoid a simple definition of women as downtrodden victims or men as patriarchal stereotypes. This is not to suggest that women have not held secondary status in different societies at different times, but it cannot be assumed that this is the case for all women at all times, for considerations of class, race and age cut across gender. Men's and women's experiences are different, whilst being interrelated.[40] A theoretical framework of the social relations of the sexes must allow an understanding that some male/female relationships are not

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[39] H. Smith, 'Feminism and Methodology of Women's History', in B. A. Carroll, ed., Liberating Women's History (Urbana, 1976), p. 370.

[40] For a discussion of some aspects of this complex situation, see the essays in M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere, eds., Women, Culture and Society (Stanford, 1974).

oppressive, that men can be dependent on women, and that there are times when the sexes have worked together for class interests and have put sexual antagonisms aside.[41] It must realise, as Sheila Rowbotham has argued, that it is not sexual differences which are the problem, but rather the social inequalities of gender: the different kinds of power societies have given sexual differences and the hierarchical forms these have imposed on human relationships.[42]

An historical concept of the relationship between the sexes must appreciate that gender relationships have developed over time in the same way that class and race relationships have. What then are the forces which have shaped gender relationships? Attention is drawn first to considerations of class, as there are connections between class and gender relationships and it is tempting to conclude that the respective roles of women and men change as the relationships of production change. The classic example of this is the home-centred role of Victorian middle class women, which developed as Britain industrialised.[43] However, it is not simply a case of the mode of production shaping the mode of reproduction, for there is a flow in the other

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[41] For example, J. Humphries, 'Protective Legislation, the Capitalist State and Working Class Men: The Case of the 1842 Mines Regualtion Act', Feminist Review, No. 7 (1981), pp. 1-34.

[42] S. Rowbotham, 'The Trouble with Patriarchy', New Statesman, 21-28 December 1979, p. 970.

[43] L. Davidoff, J. L'Esperance, and H. Newby, 'Landscape with Figures: Home and Community in English Society', J. Mitchell and A. Oakley, eds., On The Subjection of Women (London, 1976), pp. 139-175.

direction - the relations of the sexes within the family has an impact on other social formations and through them influences the mode of production.[44] As Engels pointed out, there seems to be a connection between the subordination of women and the emergence of class inequalities and private property.[45] Anthropological studies have shown that where familial activity coincides with social and economic activities, the status of women is equal or higher than men; where production for exchange is slight and private property and class inequalities are underdeveloped, sexual inequalities are also underdeveloped. In these societies, there is little sexual division of labour and the social organisation of work and the rituals and values that develop from it do not serve to separate one sex and place it in authority over the other.[46] At the other end of the scale, where the domestic and the public are clearly distinguished (as in Victorian Britain), women lose control over property, production and themselves as surplus wealth increases, private property develops and the communal household becomes a private economic unit. In these societies, the family becomes the woman's sphere and is subordinated to the public order which is governed by the state and dominated by men.[47] These two models suggest that gender relationships are

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[44] C. Hall, 'Gender Divisions and Class Formation in the Birmingham Middle Class 1780-1850', in R. Samuel, ed., People's History and Socialist Theory (London, 1981).

[45] F. Engels, The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State (London, 1884).

[46] J. Kelly-Gadol, 'History and the Social Relations of the Sexes', Signs, Vol. 1 (1976), pp. 813-819.

[47] Ibid., p. 819.

socially constructed and that the forms they take are somehow derived from or related to the modes of production, although it may be impossible in the first instance to determine how the chain of development began. It is therefore particularly important to understand how gender relationships are maintained or altered. It is necessary to know how women and men are turned into social creatures by being situated in the domestic order for which women are primarily responsible. The character and relationships of the family construct our consciousness, and through this consciousness the world is perceived.[48] To understand this in an historical sense it is necessary to study how women and men are born into relationships in families that are not of their own making and how their concepts of themselves, others, work and sexuality are shaped by these relationships.[49]

While familial relationships are shaped by class and race and age, it is also important to realise that gender affects race and class identities and that the significance of gender relationships is not confined to the home, for 'we are not sex beings at home and class beings in the community, the state and at work; gender like class permeates every aspect of life'.[50] Gender relationships also influence how people participate in organisations, their response to authority, religion and the state; such relationships

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[48] Ibid,. p. 823; N. Chodorow, 'Family Structure and Feminine Personality', in Rosaldo and Lamphere, op. cit., pp. 43-67.

[49] S. Rowbotham, Women's Consciousness, Man's World (London, 1973).

[50] Rowbotham (1979), p. 971.

influence how people express their creativity in art and culture.[51] For these reasons, gender relationships affect all forms of social organisation and therefore profoundly influence the way in which members of a society produce for and reproduce themselves.

Gender relationships, like class relationships, have both public and private configurations. For example, most societies have a concept of marriage. The union between a man and woman is publicly acknowledged as symbolising the formation of a new emotional and/or economic unit, but how that marriage is experienced on a personal level is a different matter; it is at this personal level that new practices, new meanings and new values are continually being created or resisted. Due to this dual perspective, a study of gender relationships is a necessary complement to social history, for it is important to understand not only the broad contours of social structure, but also *how people lived out* their lives within its interstecies.

How then does a study of the Salvation Army's Social Services for Women contribute to a study of rescue work and its impact on class and gender relationships? Chapter 2 will begin this analysis by discussing the ideas of the founders, Catherine and William Booth, on class, gender and religion, and how their personalities and experiences modified and enriched their beliefs. Particularly important here will be their views on family life, for they first put their theories into practice within their own family circle. It will then be necessary to understand how these private views were put into public practice by first analysing the continuity between Catherine's ideas and the philosophy of the Salvation

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[51]  Loc. cit.                              25

Army's Social Services. Chapter 3 examines Salvationist
ideology, while Chapter 4 discusses the way in which
Catherine's beliefs became translated into a programme for
outcast women, and will document the facilities that the
Salvationists made available. This will show how the Booths'
ideas were translated into practice. The perceptions which
shaped this development can then be analysed. Particular
attention will need to be paid to the Salvation Army's
involvement in the 'Maiden Tribute' campaign of 1885; because
of the importance of this in the development of the Women's
Social Services the agitation will be examined in detail.
Chapter 5 also assesses the legacy of this campaign for the
Salvation Army. In spite of the emphasis in this study on
understanding the process by which ideas are created and
translated into practice, it cannot be assumed that these
attitudes were directly manifested in the Salvation Army's
Social Services. Such a correlation would beg the question of
why women and girls participated in their own rescue process.
Chapter 6 will attempt to answer this by examining the
reasons why women turned to the Salvation Army for help,
which will illuminate the response of the Salvationist work
to the needs of the women of London - for without women to
rescue, there would have been no rescue work. Throughout the
study, the discussion will divide between ideas and
practices. However, it must be borne in mind that these
artificial categories were not necessarily apparent to those
who were involved in these events.

# Chapter Two

## THE FORMATIVE EXPERIENCES OF CATHERINE AND WILLIAM BOOTH

The previous chapter suggested that rescue work was a
set of personal, cultural, political and economic
relationships which played a part in structuring the meaning
and experience of class and gender in late Victorian and
Edwardian Britain. These formations were socially
constructed, and the assertion was made that gender
relationships, along with those of class, race and
generation, helped to construct and were constructed by
individual consciousness and experience. In this process the
private, domestic order of the family played a crucial role.
This chapter seeks to test this assumption by examining the
formative experiences of Catherine and William Booth in order
to understand how their consciousness, beliefs, and
activities were shaped by growing up within the context of
relationships that were not of their own making. It will then
go on to examine how the Booths forged this inheritance of
belief and experience into a viewpoint that was uniquely
their own.

William Booth was born on April 10, 1829 in Nottingham.
He was the third child of Samuel and Mary Booth, but the
early death of his elder brother Henry meant that William

grew up the only son of the family. There is some contention among the biographers of Booth as to the exact wealth and social standing of his father, Samuel.[1] Harold Begbie claims that he was a nail manufacturer who later added to this business the trade of builder and the profession of architect. Begbie suggests that he earned a fortune which enabled him to live as a 'gentleman', sometimes as a 'yeoman'; his second wife was Mary Moss, daughter of a well-to-do farmer, and the family did not move to Nottingham until Samuel had impoverished himself by speculation.[2] This conveys the picture of a substantial middle-class family falling on hard times. Ervine, on the other hand, suggests that William was born of a labouring-class family which had enjoyed a little prosperity for a few years before his birth. He states that Samuel Booth was an illiterate speculative builder of houses for artisans and that his wife was the daughter of a cottager who may have been a farm labourer, but was more probably a hawker. Both had little education and for the whole of William Booth's childhood and youth, his family were desperately poor.[3] Perhaps the specific material conditions of his parents are less important in understanding Booth's character than an appreciation of their response to this poverty and the impression this made on William. His

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[1] The two biographies of William Booth which are the most helpful from the scholarly point of view are H. Begbie, The Life of William Booth, Founder of The Salvation Army, 2 Vols. (London, 1926), and St.J. Ervine, God's Soldier William Booth, 2 Vols. (London, 1934).

[2] Begbie, Vol. 1, p. 3.

[3] Ervine, Vol. 1, p. 11.

father has been described as personable and proud, most particularly purse-proud, for he had no standards that could not be measured in money.[4] When he found himself impoverished he pretended to be a gentleman in reduced circumstances, and increasingly , isolated himself from his family and neighbours.[5] In later life Booth wrote that his father 'knew no greater gain or end than money...early part of his life spent in making money, latter part in losing it ... a very unsatisfactory life'. In speaking of his childhood, Booth also said he 'never received any help from his father and that his early years were blighted and made more or less wretched by the ruinous condition of his father's affairs'.[6] His mother aspired to genteel habits and responded to the family's poverty by making a mystery of their affairs. She also shrank from contact with the people around her, as the family moved into less respectable districts, and maintained her distance from new neighbours by being cold and silent.[7] She seems to have been kind to her children but not overly concerned with them, for Booth later confessed, 'She had no time to attend to me'.[8]At the age of thirteen, due to further financial misfortunes on the part of his father, William was apprenticed to a pawnbroker, a career chosen by Samuel for his son as it promised to be a particularly lucrative one. Shortly after this Samuel Booth died, leaving William with the responsibility for his mother and sisters. Booth had

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4    Ibid., p. 3.
5    Ibid., p. 29.
6    Begbie, Vol. 1, p. 10.
7    Ervine, Vol. 1, p. 29.
8    Begbie, Vol. 1, p. 10.

always had a fiery temper and impetuous will and he was something of a ringleader among his friends, who nicknamed him 'Wellington' on account of his long nose,[9] and perhaps also as a reflection of his nascent leadership qualities. It is also tempting to speculate how much of Booth's sense of his right to lead stems from his experience of being the only male child in a family with three sisters, but undoubtedly the image of the male as responsible provider was re-inforced for him due to the dependency on him of his mother and sisters after his father's death. At that time, Mary Booth moved to a poorer part of Nottingham called Goose Gate and tried to make a living by opening a small shop and selling toys, tapes, needles and cotton.[10] However, William's financial contribution to the family was important in sustaining them as was the belief that his career was the most likely way that the *family's social position* would be raised. Even after his conversion, Booth continued to regard himself as a layman for he considered that his first responsibility was to support his mother and sisters and Begbie asserts that 'he was stung with bitterness by the pitiful position in which he found himself placed - a position of bound apprentice to a niggardly employer, earning but a small wage, and forced to witness, he, the only son of his mother, the calamitous poverty of the shabby smallware shop in Goose Gate'.[11]William Booth's early years were spent in an atmosphere of increasing material deprivation which was

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[9] Ibid., p. 9.

[10] Ervine, Vol. 1, p. 32.

[11] Begbie, Vol. 1, p. 73.

overlaid by a sense of sorrow and loss. This was precipitated by the disregard of his father and a lack of warmth in his mother's response to him. He felt keenly the disadvantagious position that poverty had placed him in, but he never considered himself one of the poor, perhaps because his family did not consider that poverty was their natural condition but rather saw it as a state that had been forced upon them by adversity. However, Booth did identify intensely with the poor for he felt that he was one with them if he was not one of them. This attitude was already apparent in 1842 when he flirted with politics and supported Feargus O'Connor and the physical force Chartists for he reasoned, 'the Chartists are for the poor, therefore I am for the Chartists'.[12] Booth never sustained an interest in political reform, but this episode is interesting because it illustrates how Booth at the age of fourteen had infused his own sense of dissatisfaction with a compassion for the poor in general, even though he focused on individualistic solutions for his own difficulties. He craved business success and a degree of social recognition for about this time he told a friend, Walter James, 'I intend to be something great; I don't mean to belong to the commonality'.[13] The conflict which was thus generated between service to others and the individualistic goals of entrepreneural success and social recognition was exacerbated before being resolved by religious commitment.

There was little religious feeling in William's

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[12]   Ibid., p. 27.

[13]   Ibid., p. 68.

immediate family, so unlike his wife, Catherine, religious convictions were not interwoven into his personality and life-style since childhood. This meant that the religious life was one of choice for him, which raises questions about what he found attractive in it and about the alternatives. As a child, William had been impressed by the separate and spiritual life of a Methodist cousin named Gregory, and he had occasionally attended a Wesleyan chapel with a lady and gentleman who had befriended him because William reminded them of their dead son. After the death of his father in September, 1842, Booth began attending the Wesleyan chapel more regularly. Although the services did not seem to make a deep impression Booth claims to have begun gradually to realise the 'superiority of the religious life over the purely worldly form of existence.'[14] William was converted in 1844 and soon afterwards he began lay preaching. However, he did not resign from the business community to become a preacher until 1852 and he was not accepted as a minister for the Methodist New Connection until 1854. Why then did William hesitate before becoming a full-time preacher? Begbie claims that above all Booth found happiness in his religion because for him,

> religion was happiness - an uprush of feeling from
> obstruction towards the central pivotal sense of
> unity with God, a triumphant and penetrating
> blessing, a victorious and suffusing of all
> sorrows, trouble, and spiritual confusion.
> [15]

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14   Ibid., p. 45.
15   Ibid., p. 38.

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The explanation for this apparent contradiction lies in Booth's need to resolve the claims of his financial needs, his ambitions for recognition and his emotional desire for acceptance. The choice was further complicated by William's conception of what he considered to be his special religious sphere - preaching to the poor. This need to reach out to the poor, first apparent in his early teens, continued after his conversion. He became anxious to bring them the message of salvation, as he considered the preaching of the Methodist church to be inadequate in this respect.

During the periods in his early life when Booth's personal prospects seemed particularly uninviting, the appeal of the religious life made itself felt. The first instance of this was after the death of his father when William was left with the responsibility of contributing to the support of his family. His decision to begin lay preaching was taken while recovering from an attack of fever in 1846. He decided to become a full time preacher after experiencing a year of unemployment at the end of his apprenticeship. Despite having moved to London, he came to the bitter realization that pawnbroking was the only career that was open to him. It was also after a distressing period of dwindling opportunities for evangelical work that William took the decision to move to the East End of London in 1865 and to found the Christian Mission, which later became the Salvation Army. This is not to suggest that Booth saw religious involvement just as an escape from his own difficulties, for each decision necessitated considerable financial and personal stress. After his conversion, Booth was ridiculed by his friends and briefly dismissed by his employer for refusing to work on the

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Sabbath, and he earned the censure of his religious elders by his unorthodox methods of preaching to the poor. Dr. Samuel Dunn first urged William to offer himself for the ministry in 1848 but he refused because of his family responsibilities, and perhaps also because he was still considering a secular sphere in which to make his mark. When he did decide to become a full time preacher his only source of income was the promise of a stipend for three months donated by a wealthy lay methodist, Mr. Rabbitt. In 1865, when the decision was taken to remain in London, the Booths' only source of income for their growing family was the revenue from their books and pamphlets and the collections taken at their services. Work among the very poor meant that this latter source would no longer be available to them. A life of religious commitment not only meant financial hardship but Booth's understanding of his mission to the poor increasingly brought him into conflict with the Methodist church. This was only resolved when he left their ministry and by doing so he apparently surrendered the opportunity for recognition within an established community. This final move was the culmination of other decisions taken to relieve the tension between his intense emotional response to the poor with a corresponding belief that he could bring them the salvation that they needed, and his own desire for acceptance and recognition. However, it is arguable that William was able to make these choices due to the presence in his life of certain individuals whom he loved and respected and who gave him support and encouragement. The first person in William's life who seems to have made a profound impression on him and suggested to him that the spiritual as opposed to the

temporal life was more appealing was a lay preacher called Isaac Marsden. There is little exact information as to the form of the relationship between Booth and Marsden, but Begbie claims that the lay preacher, whom Booth met just after his father's death and before his conversion, gave Williaam his 'notion of vital religion'.[16] The second important individual in Booth's emotional life was his boyhood friend, the deeply religious Will Sansom, the son of a well-to-do lace manufacturer. It was with Sansom that William first ventured into social work, when the two lads raised money for the support of an old beggar woman. It was also Sansom who started an open-air mission in the slums of Nottingham and suggested that Booth help him, thus giving the evangelist his first opportunity to preach to the poor. Will Sansom has been described as William's 'friend of the soul and the supremest human inspiration of his missionary labours',[17] so when he died of consumption at the age of nineteen he left a place in Booth's life which remained unfilled until he met Catherine Mumford in 1851.

Catherine and William met when they were both twenty-two years old and even at that time William must have seemed a striking young man. He was a charismatic preacher with an intense sense of his religious mission and an increasing awareness of his own moral righteousness. While they had been introduced by Mr. Rabbitt, they actually realised their love for each other on the very day that Willam gave up pawn-broking to train as a minister for the Reform

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[16]  Ibid., p. 44.
[17]  Ibid., p. 87.

Methodists.[18] He would probably have distinguished himself as an Evangelical preacher, though likely to be at variance with his religious elders due to his unorthodox methods. The originality of thought and action required to found the Salvation Army was not yet clearly apparent. He had not yet begun to evaluate the relationship between economic hierarchies and spiritual divisions of saved and unsaved while his emotional needs for acceptance made him tolerant of authority structures for it was difficult to reject that in which he wished to be included. It was Catherine's more independent spirit which was essential in moulding William's religious mission into the Salvation Army. This may seem surprising as early Victorian girlhood has not been considered resplendent in opportunities for personal autonomy[19] and also because William has been considered the driving force in the organization.[20] Salvationist hagiography, however, has accorded Catherine a central, although somewhat inspirational role, as the Army's Mother.[21]

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[18] Ibid., p.115; F. de L. Booth-Tucker, <u>The Life of Catherine Booth</u> (London, 1892), Vol. 1, p. 63.

[19] D. Gorham, <u>The Victorian Girl and the Femine Ideal</u> (London, 1982).

[20] For example Owen Chadwick's discussion of the Salvation Army depicts it as a development of William's ideas, and while he acknowledges that Catherine had remarkable powers as a preacher his only other reference to her is that she was 'a masterful and able girl ... she supplied a certain knowledge of the world and of books, and a wider sense of religion than he had yet met'.
O. Chadwick, <u>The Victorian Church</u> (London, 1970), Vol. 2 p. 288.

[21] Bramwell Booth, <u>These Fifty Years</u> (London, 1929), p. 9,
(Footnote continued)

Undoubtedly her death in 1890, just as the public's perception of the Army was beginning to change, meant that her impact did not seem to be as great as that of her husband, who lived until 1913. However, Catherine's influence was crucial in the early years of William's ministry for it was then that the decisions were taken which precipitated an independent course of action.

What then were the sources of Catherine's independence and how was it integrated into the dynamics of her relationship with William? The basis of this independence seems to have been a moral strength derived from an acute awareness of what she believed to be right and wrong, or as her son, Bramwell put it, she 'was intensely aware of evil'.[22] Combined with this conviction was a determination to act upon her beliefs which showed itself in her countenance: 'always there was an expression betokening firmness and exalted passion'.[23] However, in order to understand the content of her morality it is first necessary to define the term. In this context, morality is taken to mean the culturally constructed distinction between right and wrong with particular reference to one's obligations to others. This allows the formulation of rules by which the individual can begin to mediate between inclination and duty. These rules are premised on moral ideologies which are perceived to be justified by moral truths.[24] The work of Carol Gilligan,

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[21](continued)
      p. 22.

[22]  Ibid., p. 14.

[23]  Ibid., p. 10.

[24]  D. Wright, The Psychology of Moral Behaviour
      (Footnote continued)

in seeking to refine these ideas, has noted a basic distinction between how women and men understand what is the fundamental truth upon which moral ideologies are based. She defines male morality as an ethic of rights springing from an experience which stresses separation and autonomy, while the female ethic is one of care and responsibility deriving from an orientation towards relationships and interdependence. When describing the two moral ideologies, she argues that:

> the morality of rights is predicated on equality and centered on the understanding of fairness, while the ethic of responsibility relies on the concept of equity and the recognition of differences in need. While the ethic of rights is a manifestation of equal respect, balancing the claims of other and self, the ethic of responsibility rests on an understanding that gives rise to compassion and care.
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However, it is not only the content of the moral ideologies which differ between men and women but their structures as well. Gilligan's vision of maturity for both women and men necessitates the development of autonomous thought and action but she suggests that for women autonomy is placed in the context of relationships and 'is defined as modulating an excessive sense of responsibility through the recognition that other people have a responsibility for their own destinies'.[26] The male, or rights, conception of morality is 'geared to arriving at an objectively fair or just resolution

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[24](continued)
   (Harmondsworth, 1971), pp. 13-18.
[25]   C. Gilligan, In A Different Voice (London, 1982), pp. 164-65.
[26]   Ibid., p. 21.

to moral dilemmas upon which all rational persons could agree'.[27] Consequently, for Gilligan, the highest stage of moral development for both women and men requires moral judgement to be exercised independently. Women will retain an appreciation of their responsibilities to others which enhances their understanding of the limitations of any solution to moral problems; while men who exercise moral autonomy will seek to uphold an abstract and uncompromising moral principle premised on a respect for individual rights.

Undoubtedly, Catherine developed an independent moral stance for she acted upon her beliefs regardless of whether they were sanctioned by conventional moral strictures. For example, Bramwell described her early writing as revealing a 'conservative mind on many matters' which was caused no little concern by the unconventional methods of the Salvation Army, which she sometimes felt had the appearance of irreverence.[28] However, in this case, as in others such as her ambivalence about her own preaching, she not only came to accept the appropriateness of these methods in extending the work of the Holy Spirit but she enlarged her own views to develop a theoretical underpinning to support her judgements. These moral judgements were informed by a great sense of responsibility for she once said:

> If I were asked for the main characteristics that
> have helped me through life I should give a high
> place among them to the sense *of responsibility*
> which I have felt from earliest days in regard to
> everyone who came in any way under my influence.
> [29]

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[27]  Ibid., pp. 21-22.

[28]  B. Booth, <u>These Fifty Years</u>, p. 23.

Combined with this awareness of responsibility to others,
Catherine's moral judgements became tempered by
considerations of the extent to which people were limited in
the degree to which they could be seen to be responsible for
their actions, and Bramwell has argued that as his mother
realized:

> the awful depths of weakness and selfishness and
> darkness to which men sink in their sin, there came
> to her heart the tender compassion of God. Love ...
> came to hide many deplorable frailties, and ... to
> cover a multitude of sins. 'Judgement', she would
> say of some of whom we had high hopes and who had
> failed us, 'must be not merely according to the
> wrong they did but according to the light they
> had'.
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Catherine's independence of moral judgement places her at the
summit of Gilligan's schema and her sense of responsibility
for others and her awareness that people have different
capacities for righteousness suggests the female model of
moral development. However, Gilligan has suggested that young
women see a conflict between a conventional construction of
femininity which stresses sensitivity and compassion and
adulthood which is seen as hurtful because it involves
judgement of others.[31] Because women face a dilemma
constructed in these terms they experience difficulty in
valuing their own perceptions, but where Catherine is
concerned, the evidence suggests that from her early teens

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[29]   Ibid., p. 21.
[30]   Ibid., pp. 43-44.
[31]   Gilligan, op. cit, p. 97.

she came to rely on her own judgement and she does not seem to have experienced a conflict between femininity and individuality. To explain this it is first necessary to account for her strong sense of her own identity which sprang from her belief in her principles and perceptions.

Nancy Chodorow's attempt to account for 'the reproduction within each generation of certain general and nearly universal differences that characterize masculine and feminine personality and role'[32] is seminal to Gilligan's thesis about the different moral voices of men and women because it allows her to account for the way in which women have a greater sense of relationship with responsibility for others. According to Chodorow, girls are able to fuse the experience of attachment with the process of *identity* formation in a continuing relationship because the primary caretaker in early life is usually female. This results in girls emerging from this period of life with a basic empathy built into their primary identification of self which allows them to have a stronger basis of experiencing another's needs, or of regarding those needs as their own. Catherine's early childhood experiences conform to this pattern. She was born on 17 January 1829 at Ashbourne in Derbyshire. Her father, John Mumford, was a coach builder, and his business was prosperous enough to allow her mother not to work outside the home.[33] Mrs. Mumford was her primary caretaker and the relationship was particularly close, even intense. The

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[32] N. Chodorow, 'Family Structure and Feminine Personality', in Rosaldo and Lamphere, op. cit, p. 43.

[33] C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth (London, 1970), p. 22.

Mumfords welcomed each of their children and the loss of three sons in infancy meant that Catherine was treasured as a special gift even though another son was born to them in 1833.[34] Mrs. Mumford also had strong views about the undesirability of leaving children too much in the care of servants so that Catherine was not relegated to a nursery but spent much of her time in the company of her mother.[35] Not surprisingly, if the Gilligan/Chodorow model is accepted, Catherine developed a strong sense of responsibility for others which was apparent first in the care she took of her dolls for she felt that she must feed them, make them clothes and pray for them.[36] As she grew older, this intense sense of responsibility meant that her emotions could be aroused so that she would act in a forthright manner contrary to her natural reticence when she saw suffering and injustice. She was particularly distressed by any cruelty to animals[37] and at the age of nine, she was so upset by a noisy crowd hounding a drunken man being dragged along by a policeman that she walked along with him because 'there was no-one on his side so she must be'.[38] 'Catherine never needed to pray for compassion', her grand-daughter has written, 'it welled up unbidden and would have flowed forth, whatever the manner of her life'.[39] Unlike her husband whose identification with

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34  Ibid., p.17.
35  Ibid., p.18.
36  W. T. Stead, Mrs. Booth of the Salvation Army (London,1900) pp. 20-21.
37  Ibid., p.24; C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, p. 21.
38  Loc. cit.
39  Loc. cit.

the sufferings of others is first clearly apparent at the age of fourteen, Catherine seems to have always had the capacity of empathy. According to Gilligan, as Catherine entered her teens we should expect to see a continuing sense of right and wrong being evaluated within the context of relationships but combined with a diminishing sense of self, as adolescent girls distrust their inner voices and feel that considering the self is selfish and wrong.[40] However, Catherine does not conform to this pattern. She showed definite signs of developing the capacity of reflective thought but rather than distrusting her inner voice, she began the process of relying on her own independent judgement. In contrast with William, Catherine was always aware of the spiritual and she claimed to have 'had the strivings of God's Spirit all my life, since I was about two years old.'[41] Often as a young child she would be found crying and when questioned she claimed she 'was crying because I had sinned against God'.[42] Yet at the age of twelve she passed through an experience which she later described to William as

> such an ordeal of fiery temptation for about the space of three months as but to reflect on makes my soul recoil within me ... I frequently watered my couch with my tears, and the billows of the Almighty seemed to go over me. Many a time my whole frame has trembled under the foul attacks of the adversary, and his attacks were so subtle and of such a nature that I could not then on pain of death have revealed them to anyone ... So I endured alone.
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[40] Gilligan, op. cit, p. 51.

[41] C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, p. 32; Booth-Tucker, op. cit, p. 12.

[42] C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, p. 32.

Both her son Bramwell and his daughter, Catherine believed
that this crisis concerned the questioning of the very
existence of God, which accounts for her reluctance to
confide her doubts in those around her. This isolation was
exacerbated because Mrs. Mumford so feared the contaminating
influence of other children that Catherine had no playmates
but her brother. Forced in upon herself, 'what she believed
and what she thought in the inner realm of her being began to
loom large'.[44] This crisis passed, and she not only came
through it believing in God with more conviction, but she
also grew in self-confidence. As Catherine Bramwell Booth has
argued:

> After this conflict Catherine was no longer a
> child. She had discovered herself... Catherine
> emerges from this encounter with the evil one,
> aware of herself in a new way. She sees herself as
> being able to stand erect and 'enter into judgement
> with the Almighty'; she uses that expression of
> herself in the same letter as that inwhich she
> tells of the conflict. Henceforth God is not merely
> taken for granted as the perfect, all-powerful,
> all-loving Father in heaven of childhood days. He
> became in a growing sense the all-pervading
> Presence who gives meaning to life and death; the
> One who claims her love and confidence, and with
> whom all other loves are brought into harmony.
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Catherine emerged from this period of doubt with an
awareness of herself as an autonomous being capable of making
independent moral judgements; however, this necessitated the

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[43] Ibid., pp. 32-33.

[44] Ibid., p. 25.

[45] Ibid., p. 34.

articulation of moral principles upon which to premise her decisions. This she began to do by ostensibly studying theology and church history while taking treatment for curvature of the spine. Catherine described the process as one of developing 'a harmony between innate perception and faith, between reason and belief'. She seems to have felt the need to reconcile her emotions with her intellectual principles because she believed that her inner feeling or 'the light of the Spirit in the Soul' must be one with God's word in the Bible.[46] This meant that her moral judgement sprang from her own vision of what was right or wrong regardless of whether this coincided with more conventional dictates. She felt confident to do this because she reasoned that 'all that is in me akin to goodness and truth God has put there, and I will never believe that what God has put in me contradicts what He has put in the Bible'.[47] The result of this experience was that Catherine forged an independence which was based on the confidence she developed in her own perceptions.

At the age of seventeen, Catherine went through another period of doubt when she became concerned that she did not know God by personal revelation for she did not feel that she had experienced the change of heart known as conversion. This may seem a contradiction given her earlier crisis and it has been suggested that this was the outcome of Methodist teaching which emphasized the doctrine of conversion. Her grand-daughter rejects this interpretation for she argues

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[46] Ibid., p. 34.
[47] Ibid., p. 34.

that Catherine would have needed the 'assurance of her individual acceptance with God'.[48] It seems that this crisis was centered around an emotional rather than an intellectual acceptance of God for she later wrote, 'saving faith is not intellectual perception of the truth ... it is committal, the giving over of the soul and of the whole being'.[49] From June 15, 1846 Catherine believed herself to be a 'child of God' and yet she had achieved an independence of judgement and a harmony of thought and feeling remarkable for a woman still in her teens.

What then were the factors which contributed to this autonomy? Catherine always believed that one must 'choose God' and Gilligan maintains that 'the essence of moral decision is the exercise of choice and the willingness to accept responsibility for that choice'.[50] However, for Catherine her decision to choose God was intimately woven into her relationship with her father. John Mumford was an attractive man with a lively and original mind. He was a Methodist lay preacher who also had an interest in politics and Catherine was particularly fond of him. He always took an interest in her and explained the great political and religious controversies of the day to her at mealtimes and these conversations grew into debates as Catherine developed opinions of her own. They were both concerned with temperance questions and these shared interests made Catherine feel that her father was her companion who understood her in contrast

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[48]   Ibid., pp. 35-36.
[49]   Ibid., p. 37.
[50]   Loc. cit.; Gilligan, op. cit., p. 67.

to her mother who was a somewhat stern, rather distant woman.[51] When she was twelve, Catherine's father shot her pet dog in a moment of haste and anger.[52] This incident initiated a period where father and daughter became strangers to one another, and this estrangement was intensified because it coincided with her father's declining involvement with Methodism and his turning to drink because of business pressures.[53] This was also the time of her first spiritual crisis and the two incidents were most likely connected,[54] if for no other reason than the fact that Catherine was beginning to evaluate the premises upon which her childhood world was based. This is not to suggest that Catherine associated God with her father and that dislike or distrust of the latter necessitated rejection of the former. It is more likely, as her own words suggest, that she felt that she could no longer take God, and, by implication, her father, for 'granted', and that she must 'enter into judgement' with them.[55] Extrapolating from the evidence and Catherine's later pre-occupations it seems that the dilemma she faced centred around the extent to which she was not only aware of herself but the importance she would give to her own perceptions. This was resolved by allowing for her own individuality within the context of a relationship. She came to see herself

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[51] C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, pp. 22-24; Stead, op. cit, pp. 16-18, 21-22.

[52] C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, p. 25; Stead, op. cit, p. 25.

[53] Ibid., p. 21.

[54] C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, p. 26, 33.

[55] Ibid., p. 34.

as being 'able to stand erect and enter into judgement with the Almighty', who was seen as the 'all-pervading Presence who gives meaning to life and death'.[56] This interpretation is further supported by Catherine Bramwell Booth's comment on her grand-mother's resolve to continue her relationship with God after this period of doubt:

> Nothing so reveals to man his own importance as a person as does his individual recognition of God, no matter at what age that avowal takes place. Once God is consciously admitted into man's universe that man ceases to be an ant in the ant heap, a grain of sand tossed by blind forces; he becomes a creature related to his creator.
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Why then was it possible for Catherine, when confronting the issue of her own separateness, to maintain a sense of self without sacrificing an awareness of others? This was because Catherine had always been encouraged to see herself as a self-determining individual whose individuality only received credence in proportion to how it was used as an instrument to enhance her relationship with God. From an early age Catherine was encouraged by her mother to take issues of conscience seriously, for even the smallest child in this family was considered capable of making the decision to be good.[58] This was intensified by the fact that her mother was a woman of the 'Puritan type' as described by William Booth who also considered her to be 'a woman of the sternest principles he had met and yet the very embodiment of

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[56] Loc. cit.

[57] C. Bramwell-Booth, <u>Catherine Booth</u>, p. 34.

[58] Ibid., p. 19.

tenderness'.[59] It is also interesting to note that Derek Wright has written that

> The nature of the identification process is such that the conditions of family life most likely to produce children with strong consciences are first that there is a close affectionate bond between parents and child, and secondly that the parents set high standards and consistently express displeasure when the child fails to live up to them.
> [60]

Furthermore, Mrs. Mumford was intensely aware of spiritual matters, 'heaven seemed quite near... it was a positive joy to her that her three eldest children were there'.[61] Consequently, Catherine had always been encouraged to consider the state of her soul to be a matter of prime importance. Her conflicts did not take the form of a choice between on the one hand inclination as self-gratification and on the other duty as service to others. Rather, they revolved around the question of how she should love God in her own way. For her religious commitment necessitated self-determination but the individuality which this implies was only validated because it was within the context of a relationship - one was an individual because one related to God.

Given Catherine's strong sense of her own individuality, what were her views on femininity and the position of women? The clearest statement of this is to be found in a letter that she wrote in 1853 to her pastor, Dr. David Thomas.[62] She argued that women were equal to men in their being and were

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59 B. Booth, These Fifty Years, p. 20.

60 D. Wright, op. cit, p. 38.

61 B. Booth, These Fifty Years, p. 20.

62 Booth-Tucker, op. cit, pp. 83-86.

not naturally inferior; however, the truth of this, revealed to her by reading the Bible, was obscured by custom and prejudice. 'All man-made religions', she claimed, 'neglect and debase woman, but the religion of Christ recognizes her individuality and raises her to the dignity of an independent moral agent'. She admitted that woman may be intellectually inferior due to inadequate education which tended to 'render her a serf, a toy, a plaything rather than a self-dependent, reflecting intellectual being'. Nevertheless, Catherine challenged the notion that woman was 'morally more remote from God than man or less capable of loving Him ardently or serving Him faithfully'. Proof of this, she maintained, lay in the fact that God had placed woman on the same moral footing as man by making her subject to the same penalties for immorality. However, while woman was not inferior by nature she was in a position of relative subjection. God, as a penalty for woman's sin, had defined her social and domestic situation as one of relative subjection but only in the specific relationship of subjection to her husband. But for Catherine, even this specific subjection was not a permanent state for Jesus had made love the law of marriage and therefore a wife could realize a 'blissful and perfect oneness' with her husband if she reverenced him and he loved her as 'Christ loves the Church'. She ended the letter with a rhetorical question as to why the influence of woman was so under-estimated especially as the New Testament stated that 'in Christ Jesus there is neither male or female, and the promise of the outpouring of the Spirit is no less to the handmaidens than to the servants of the Lord'. This question was combined with the suggestion that perhaps the failure of

the Gospel was connected to the circumscribed sphere of woman's religious labours.

Catherine's belief in the essential equality of the male and female being reflects the premises of nineteenth century liberal feminism.[63] In particular, her concern that women might be intellectually inferior to men due to an inadequate education which was making them 'toylike' echoes Mary Wollstonecraft's criticism of female education.[64] Her statement that 'no argument ... can be drawn from past experience ... because the past has been false in theory and wrong in practice' is also similar to arguments advanced ones made by John Stuart Mill in The Subjection Of Women.[65] Her ideas also mirrored the pre-occupations of Victorian Liberalism, one example of this being her argument that barriers against women, in this case in the matter of preaching, were artificial and the result of the prejudice and custom. A further example was her belief that women should be independent moral agents. However, her support for the idea that women have a mission to spread the Gospel combined with the assertion that 'never till woman is estimated and educated as man's equal... will the foundation of human influence become pure, or the bias of mind noble and lofty' suggests the idea of a moral mission for womankind

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[63] O. Banks, Faces of Feminism (London, 1981), pp. 28-29; Z. R. Eisenstein, The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism (New York, 1981), p. 4.

[64] M. Wollstonecraft, Vindication of the Rights of Woman (London, 1792).

[65] J. S. Mill, The Subjection of Women (London, 1869), p. 21.

whose radical content inspired Evangelical feminists such as Josephine Butler.[66] Furthermore, her insistence that she had 'no sympathy with those who would alter woman's domestic and social position from what is laid down in the Scriptures' is essentially anti-feminist, for it supports a circumscribed sphere for women. While it is interesting to note the connections between Catherine's attitudes to women and those of other Victorians, there is no evidence to suggest that she was directly influenced by the writings of feminists or political economists. Nor did she come into contact at this time with anyone whose outlook could be described as Evangelical feminist. Her inspiration was strictly personal, and this accounts for both the scope and limitations of her ideas. Catherine stated that it was reading the Bible which led her to develop her views and as long as she premised her beliefs on the Gospels she would be unable to dismiss the statement that God decreed, because of Eve's implication in the Fall, that 'he shall be over thee'.[67] Unlike many of her contemporaries, Catherine was unable to accept that this implied the passive subordination of women to men for her insistence that women were equal in being and could be independent moral agents potentially accords them autonomy. Nevertheless, the exercise of morality implies not only independence but also responsibility for one's actions and this necessitates the development of principles upon which to base one's behaviour. Catherine knew that in her own life she

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[66] B. Taylor, Eve and the New Jerusalem (London, 1983), p. 128, p. 277.

[67] C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, pp. 53-54.

was able to do this because of the seclusion of her childhood
for she later stated:

> Being so much alone in my youth, and so thrown on
> my own thoughts and those of the mighty dead as
> expressed in books, has been helpful to me... I
> cannot tell you the gratitude I sometimes feel to
> God for having shielded me in childhood and early
> youth from giddy, flirty pleasures of the world. I
> have to mourn many disadvantages and grievous ones,
> but oh I do feel the value of those I possessed. I
> do see the effects they have had on my heart and
> character. [68]

These comments imply that she saw a link between seclusion,
study and the development of character. Catherine did not
make this connection explicitly in her letter to Dr. Thomas
although she did say that woman needed 'to cultivate habits
of seclusion, meditation and thought' if she was to develop
intellectually which was construed as a compliment to moral
development. By commenting that woman's 'training since
babyhood ... has hitherto been such as to cramp and paralyse,
rather than to develop and strengthen her energies' Catherine
showed the beginnings of a challenge to liberal
individualism; that is, 'the view of the individual pictured
as atomized and disconnected from the social relations that
actually affect his or her choices and options'.[69] This is
because she was coming to the realisation that there were
factors at work in the social structure which could constrain
an individual's potential for human development. She also
showed some awareness that there were constraints applying
specifically to women, such as the prohibition on their
preaching and their inadequate education. Her use of the
singular 'woman' as opposed to the plural 'women' suggests

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[68] Loc. cit.

[69] Eisenstein, op. cit, p. 114.

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some awareness of women as a collective group or caste. However, there is no analysis of patriarchy as a political structure which privileged men,[70] nor any criticism of the division between public and private realms of social activity. Catherine argued that it was abstract concepts such as prejudice which obscured the truth, and thus she implied that the reasons for women's restricted activities were not determined by any material base but were the result of self-generating ideas. While she did draw a distinction between 'man-made religion' and the religion of Jesus Christ, she did not seem to be aware that ideas and practises not only influence but are also created by human endeavour. However, the idea that prejudice could prevent right action and truth was to be developed later within the Salvation Army as a criticism of conventional life. Catherine accepted the ideological division of the world into public/male and private/female spheres. In doing so she did not examine how women's domestic and social position actually contributed to making them less self-dependent, and in particular there was no suggestion that women's lack of economic power prevented them from being responsible for themselves. The explanation for this may lie in the fact that when Catherine developed her views economic self-sufficiency was not a issue for her.

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[70] While it is acknowledged that the concept of patriarchy has a variety of different meanings, the term is being used here in its broadest sense of a theory which 'attempts to penetrate beneath the particular experiences and manifestations of women's oppression and to formulate some coherent theory of the basis of subordination which underlies them.' V. Beechey, 'On Patriarchy', Feminist Review, Vol. 1 (1979), pp. 66-82.

As a young, unmarried woman, she had not been expected to
earn her own living, although there were times when she and
her mother experienced financial difficulties as a result of
her father's failing business. Her younger brother emigrated
to America at an early age and her father's lapse into
intemperance meant that Catherine lived in an environment
where female activities and attributes as exemplified by her
mother seemed stronger than those of the male as exhibited by
her father. In fact, William Stead went so far as to suggest
that:

> The spectacle of the man who stumbled and fell,
> while the woman not merely kept her own footing but
> went after and reclaimed the sinful wanderer,
> deepened and hardened into the adamant conviction n
> the child's mind of the absurdity of the
> conventional nonsense about the natural superiority
> of the stronger sex. [71]

For the young Catherine being female may have prevented her
initially from preaching the Gospel, but it did not exclude
her from possessing what she considered to be the fundamental
attribute of humanness - that of being an independent moral
agent. How then was it possible for Catherine to be a
self-dependent moral agent when in the lexicon of Victorian
values moral independence was associated with economic
self-determination? Catherine never sought economic
independence for she did not feel that money gave greater
scope for morality. For her, every act of everyday life was
an opportunity to choose good and she recognized no division
between 'larger concerns and home ...in the humble duties of

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[71] Stead, <u>Mrs. Booth</u>, p. 23.

the kitchen table, her hands busy with food, or in the
nursery when the children were going to bed, or at the
bedside of a sick child, she was working for God's glory'.[72]
However, it was the way in which domestic tasks were
performed that made them moral, as Catherine believed that
one chose to be good by living in a simple, sincere manner,
which in turn she considered to be the essence of the
Christian way of life. Writing to William at the time of
their engagement she described how she envisaged this life:

> God bless us and crown our fellowship with His
> smile and let it approach as near the bliss of
> angels as mortals have on earth...what a happy home
> we will have...How kind and cheerful I will be if
> we live in love, as Christ has loved us...what a
> little heaven below - for I believe in training
> children Christians from babyhood... I have made up
> my mind to dress as simply and elegantly as
> possible - to cut off all unnecessary trappings and
> to appear like a Christian ... and our sweet babes
> we will dress like children in all simplicity and
> loveliness. [73]

The inspiration for this inter-weaving of the concerns of
Christianity and domesticity must be seen in Catherine's
personnal experience. As an intensely moral but also
conventional young woman, the only sphere open to her was the
domestic one which she in turn infused with opportunities to
demonstrate her moral independence by structuring choices for
herself between simple, sincere endeavour and comfortable
self-indulgence. Upon marriage, the choice for God and
goodness took on larger implications for she believed that
following God's will meant allowing William the opportunity

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[72]  B. Booth, These Fifty Years, p. 25.
[73]  C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, p. 130.

to evangelize the poor. In practical terms this meant allowing William's mission to come above all other considerations including earning a sufficient income for their needs. But Catherine was always adamant that William's work for God must come first and she set the tone of their relationship when she expressed her views before their engagement by writing to William that:

> I thought I had assured you that a bright prospect could not allure me nor a dark one affright me, if we are only one in heart... I dare not enter into so solemn an engagement until you can assure me that you feel I am in every way suited to make you happy, and that you are satisfied that the step is not opposed to the will of God. [74]

After their marriage, Catherine was as disappointed as William when the Methodist conference refused to allow him to continue his revivalist campaigns and she completely supported his resignation, even though it meant surrendering their assured position and income. This same lack of concern over material considerations was apparent in 1865 when Catherine fully encouraged William to settle in London and work among the poor of Whitechapel, although her support was given with an awareness of the difficulties involved.[75] A glimpse of her struggle can be seen in a letter Catherine wrote to her mother in 1861 when the Booths were considering leaving the Methodist church:

> It caused me many a struggle to bring my mind to it, but once having done so I have never swerved from what I believe to be the right course, neither dare I...If my dear husband can find a sphere where he can preach the Gospel to the masses I shall want no further evidence of God concerning him...but I cannot believe that we ought to wait till God

[74] Booth-Tucker, op. cit, p. 66.

[75] C. Bramwell-Booth, <u>Catherine Booth</u>, p. 228.

> guarantees us as much salary as we are now
> receiving. [76]

This placing of moral duty over material considerations meant that Catherine continued her pattern of structuring choices between spiritual ideals and creature comforts. Because human life needs basic material requirements to be satisfied, if it is to be sustained, a gap existed for her between following ideals and fulfilling material necessities. This gap was bridged by a faith that God would provide for those who trusted in Him. While for some this could become a circular argument that those who trusted in the Lord would be cared for, for Catherine maintaining this faith required considerable personal courage as the material difficulties faced were considerable. For example, not only did the Booths have to support themselves and their children, they also contributed to the welfare of William's mother and at times they assisted Catherine's parents. These financial responsibilities became an *acute problem* after William resigned from the Methodist Church and discovered that all chapels were closed to him. Combined with this was the difficulty of having no settled home in the early years of their married life. For only three years between their marriage in 1855 and the purchase of London house in 1866 did they have a house to call their own. The rest of the time they moved between lodgings and stayed with their friends. Even the purchase of the Gore Street house in Bethnal Green did not ensure either peace or privacy, for they needed to take in two lodgers in order to finance the household. After

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[76] B. Booth, These Fifty Years, p. 43.

the foundation of the Salvation Army the house became a centre of organization. Describing this time, Catherine said:

> every bedroom has been an office, and from the attic to the kitchen every available scrap of space has been occupied with correspondence and secretaries ... Only too glad would I have been if I could have retired to some little cottage corner, where I could have buried myself in the privacy which the more I loved the less I seemed able to obtain. [77]

This need for peace must have been acute for a woman who bore eight children during the first twelve years of marriage and who suffered constantly from ill health. Bramwell claimed that the Devil, unable to disturb her faith, turned upon her body and Catherine said during her last illness, 'it seems to have been my special lot to suffer... I can scarcely remember a day in my life which has been free from one kind of pain or another'.[78] Against this background of material uncertainty and physical suffering, Catherine's active support of William's work suggests the determination it required to choose that course of action.

Although she always considered that William, as the husband and father, was the head of the household, her belief that women were to be morally self-determining meant that the wife should not passively acquiesce in the husband's wishes. Catherine did not consider that this would generate conflict because she believed that women exercised their moral judgment by determining the tone of family life:

> The woman who would serve her generation according to the will of God ... must make moral and

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[77] Booth-Tucker, op. cit, pp. 414-415.

[78] B. Booth, These Fifty Years, p. 15.

intellectual culture the chief business of life. Doing this she will raise to the true dignity of her nature, and find herself possessed of a wonderful capacity for turning the duties, joys and sorrows of domestic life to the highest advantage, both to herself within the sphere of her influence. [79]

It was the woman's ability to influence which Catherine saw as an important ingredient for female moral self-expression. Influence meant the active presentation of moral arguments through example and persuasion. If women were to exercise moral power over others they needed to be aware of their own principles and to have a manner which inspired respect. Evidently Catherine herself impressed others in this way, for her daughter-in-law, Florence, claimed that:

> You couldn't help wanting to do what she wanted. It wasn't only that I felt she was so wise and *right* and seemed always to know how a thing ought to be done; it was that wanting to please her seemed more important than the thing itself. [80]

Catherine also felt that it was possible for women to influence decisions because of what she considered to be the balance of the relationship between husband and wife: 'if he loves her as God loves the church' then the couple are one. [81] Given this, she believed that women influenced decisions through discussion and she considered a fundamental principle of her own married life to be:

> in matters where there was any difference of opinion, I would show my husband my views and the reasons on which they were based, and try and

[79] C. Bramwell-Booth, <u>Catherine Booth</u>, p. 145.

[80] Ibid., p. 317.

[81] Booth-Tucker, op. cit, p. 85.

> convince him in favour of my way of looking at the subject. This generally resulted in either his being converted to my views, or in my being converted to his, either result securing unity of thought and action. [82]

However, this only gave the wife power to influence if her husband was willing to consider, and by implication respect, her judgment. Again, this was Catherine's personal experience for William is described as having 'a humble, admiring reverence for her judgement and ability'.[83] Above all, and enhancing this interchange of ideas, was their love for one another. There are many testimonies to the depth and sincerity of this love. Miss Short, who lived with the Booths for several years described William's love for Catherine as:

> an exquisite thing ... Mrs. Booth was a great invalid. Her suffering, at times, made her irritable and exacting - the least noise on some occasions would almost distract her. Well, it was at such times as these that the love of the General shone out most beautifully. Never once did he say a harsh word, never once did he try to rally her with rough encouragement; no he would be more courteous and chivalrous than ever; he would make love to her as tenderly and sweetly as if she were his sweetheart; and he would wait upon her, and nurse her with the devotion that I have never seen equalled. [84]

In turn, Catherine believed that 'the real value of true love is not merely that it sanctifies the endearments and tender intimacies of a complete union, or that it produces transient ecstasies, whether of body or soul, but that it permeates and transfigures commonplace life and everyday service'.[85] It was

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[82]  Ibid., p. 97.

[83]  C. Bramwell-Booth, <u>Catherine Booth</u>, p. 175.

[84]  Begbie, Vol. 1, p. 281.

the combination of Catherine's determination to follow her own moral principles and the love and respect that were the basis of her relationship with William which proved so important in her development as a preacher in her own right. While she had argued that women should be allowed to preach as early as 1853, she did not initially desire to do so herself. She and William discussed the issue during their courtship and his view was: 'you should preach if you felt moved thereto ... although I should not like it'.[86] After her marriage, Catherine involved herself in many of the religious activities of the Methodist New Connection, such as praying with members of the congregation, taking female Bible classes, and addressing the Band of Hope. However, she was reluctant to extend her activities to public preaching because she felt herself to be unworthy and timid.[87] As Olive Anderson has suggested, changing practices in popular religion in the mid-century made female preaching more acceptable.[88] Even so, the decision to begin preaching presented women such as Catherine with a moral dilema. On the one hand, she believed that her role was to serve God and to be an 'intellectual and spiritual companion...to encourage, advise and to help'.[89] Public preaching seemed to negate this for it necessitated a degree of independent thought and

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[85] B. Booth, These Fifty Years, p. 19.

[86] C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, p. 187.

[87] Ibid., p. 135.

[88] O. Anderson, 'Women Preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain: Some Reflections on Feminism, Popular Religion & Social Change', Historical Journal, Vol. 12 (1969), pp. 467-484.

[89] C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, p. 173.

action. On the other hand, those who loved God could not remain silent and allow sinners to remain in darkness without the hope of eternal life through salvation. How then to resolve this conflict between two paths of righteous action? Catherine took the second course and began speaking in public in the spring of 1860 just after the birth of her fourth child, Emma. This decision was arrived at after a period of considerable anguish,[90] but once Catherine had chosen to follow what she considered to be her call to preach she went on to become renowned and was even asked to fulfill her husband's duties as Superintendant of the Circuit when he was absent due to illness.[91] After the Booths left the Methodist Church, Catherine's earnings from writing and preaching almost completely supported the family,[92] and later the success of her West End meetings did much to win recognition for the Salvation Army.[93] However, these achievements were won at a price. She felt acutely the criticism she incurred for being 'unseemly, immodest' and desiring 'unsavoury notoriety',[94] and her already precarious health meant that preaching rendered her exhausted so that sometimes she had to be carried 'from her bed to the cab, and from the cab to the platform'.[95] She justified her move into the public sphere on the grounds that she 'had to come forth as a messenger of Christ before large audiences... and to show them the love of

[90]    Ibid., pp.184-187.
[91]    Ibid., pp.189-190.
[92]    C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, p. 227.
[93]    Ibid., p. 234.
[94]    B. Booth, These Fifty Years, p. 14.
[95]    Ibid., p.11.

God as interpreted by a woman in whose heart that love was a living fountain'.[96] This suggests a continuity with her concept of the female role in which love and influence were such important components. She also maintained ties with her original definitions of femininity by developing a public manner which was noted for its 'simplicity and modesty'[97] and she felt 'a deep sense of responsibility to offer her very best when preparing for her public utterances'.[98] On theological grounds, she justified her right to preach by an interpretation of the scriptures which stressed that certain Biblical passages had been misinterpreted resulting in the practice of forbidding women to preach. It was, therefore, custom and not nature which made a female ministry seem unacceptable.[99] She never allowed her home responsibilities to be neglected at the expense of her public duties,[100] as she felt that her greatest moral challenge lay with her own children. She believed that parents were 'responsible to God for preparing their children for life on earth and in heaven',[101] but the essence of Christianity is choice. This meant that although children could be trained to be Christians, they must ultimately choose Christ for themselves. Catherine felt that the training required was a moral training, 'an inspiring of the child with the love of

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96   Ibid., p.14.
97   Ibid., p.40.
98   Ibid., p.40.
99   C. Booth, 'Female Ministry; or Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel', in Papers on Practical Religion (London, 1884), pp. 95-123.
100   B. Booth, These Fifty Years, p. 25.
101   C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, p. 301.

goodness, truth and righteousness, and the leading him to its practice and exercise in all duties and emergencies of life'.[102] The parents were placed in the best position to do this, due to the closeness of family life which allowed them to become acquainted with 'each child's peculiarities of disposition, entering into all their joys and sorrows and taking the opportunities offered daily for pruning, correcting, inspiring, leading and encouraging them as the case may require'.[103] In spite of her delicate health, and numerous engagements, Catherine spent as much time as possible with her children, and especially encouraged the exchange of confidences between herself and the children by appealing to their love of her and 'dear Papa'.[104] Coupled with this sense of intimacy was a strong emphasis on obedience, because she felt that 'obedience to properly constituted authority was the foundation to all moral excellence, not only in childhood, but all the way through life'.[105] Bramwell Booth later wrote of his mother that, 'to disobey, however small the matter, was to incur her highest displeasure'.[106] The emphasis on obedience and goodness was further impressed upon the children by Catherine, who used to pray in their presence that, 'she might rather have to lay them in an early grave than to mourn over one who had deserted the path of righteousness'.[107] Not surprisingly,

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[102] C. Bramwell-Booth, Bramwell Booth (London, 1933), p. 7.

[103] C. Booth, 'The Training of Children', in Papers on Practical Religion, p.3.

[104] C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, p. 278.

[105] C. Booth, 'The Training of Children', p. 8.

[106] B. Booth, These Fifty Years, p. 29.

love of their parents and the desire to please them became

identified in the children's minds with the worship of God

and the desire to be good.[108] As the children grew older they

were set to watch over the younger ones in order to foster

their sense of responsibility for others and Emma, when in

charge of the younger children, used to imagine that, 'Mama

was in the room all the time and could see everything that

was done'.[109] This is not to suggest, however, that the Booth

home lacked laughter and fun. Catherine felt that 'happiness

was a condition of health'[110] and wherever they went, the

children had their own nursery in which to play and plenty of

pets to care for and love.[111] There was no differentiation by

gender in this nursery. Brother and sister were given the

same chance for moral development and Catherine taught her

sons that 'their sisters were just as intelligent and capable

as themselves'.[112] Above all, Catherine felt that children

learn by example.

> If you want to train your child you must practise
> what you teach ... for children judge not so much
> from what we say as how we feel, they are not
> influenced so much by our teaching as by our
> example.                                          [113]

Not only did the Booth children have the living example of

their parent's deep and joyous faith, but Catherine feared

[107] Booth-Tucker, op. cit, p. 212.

[108] B. Booth, These Fifty Years, p. 246.

[109] C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, pp. 276-277.

[110] Ibid., p. 272.

[111] C. Bramwell-Booth, Bramwell Booth, p. 24.

[112] C. Booth, 'The Training of Children', p. 12.

[113] Loc. cit.

the contaminating influence of bad companions as her mother had done before her. Consequently, these children lived a sheltered and somewhat isolated life. The aim of this Christian training was to lead the children to realize that they belonged to God and were under a solemn obligation to do everything in a way which would please Him. Catherine lived to see each of her eight children become converted to God but it must be stressed that each child was treated as an individual and made to feel loved and cherished because of that individuality. While Catherine and William longed for their children to give themselves to God and to dedicate themselves to preaching his gospel, each child had to make this decision in her or his own time.

Chapter Three

THE MORAL FAMILY:

THE IDEAS OF THE SALVATION ARMY

The question of how people could be trained to make moral choices was to become central to the Salvation Army's Social Work for Women, but the problem was a complex one. For Catherine Booth, with her dedication, strength of character, and intelligence, the decision to live a moral life as she constructed it was not necessarily easy but her personal circumstances, and in particular her relationship with William, made the decision feasible. But how applicable were her standards for women who did not share her material or emotional advantages? Was it possible to translate Catherine's personal vision and code of conduct into a plan for salvation? These were the issues that needed to be confronted if the Salvation Army was to have a viable message for the outcast women of London. To illuminate this, the philosophy of the Army's Social Work for Women will first be examined, in order to evaluate the continuity between it and Catherine's ideas.

What then was the nature of woman and her position in the world, according to the theoretical pretexts of the Salvationists, and where does this ideal find expression? The answer to the latter question is more readily discernible for the ideals of the Army permeated their publications from memoirs and magazines to the Orders and Regulations for Officers. The following discussion is drawn from an examination of this literature. In fact, the most concise statements were often to be found in those Army publications which were penned by members of the Booth family. It seems evident that while Army personnel drew on the Booths ideas, the fundamental expression of policy was most often articulated by members of the family.

As might be expected of an organization founded by Catherine Booth, the premise of their work was:

> Our Father, which art in heaven,
> Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come.
> Thy will be done in earth,
> As it is in heaven. [1]

Texts such as these justified the belief that God had created the world according to His divine plan which reflected the Heavenly ideal. While the scriptures were adamant that human society was ultimately to correspond to this blueprint, its exact nature was open to interpretation. While the Salvationists challenged the view that the middle class capitalist orthodoxy of late Victorian Britain was without question the divine plan, they considered that God's order was that of the natural order.[2] Central to this was the human

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[1]   Book of Common Prayer (Oxford, 1856).

[2]   For a skilfull attack on the status quo as inaccurately

(Footnote continued)

being, female and male, privileged to be granted life from God. Conversely, because life was seen as precious, the uniqueness of each individual was valued and young people were exhorted to be 'original, natural human beings' and not distort themselves into 'this mould, or into that, to please anybody'.[3] Despite this emphasis on developing distinct personalities, the model individual would be notable for certain traits. For example, there would be a 'nobility of character and physique',[4] the basis of which was a healthy constitution. There were no concessions on the grounds that women were more delicate than men, nor that gender was an excuse for neglecting healthy exercise.[5] Complimenting the physique was to be a countenance that was 'open and happy' and in the case of women, 'the conventional timidity and shrinking' were 'discouraged equally with forwardness' and replaced with a 'union of courage and modesty'.[6] Self-consciousness was to disappear and the personality would have a clarity and sincerity reflected in outward and inward cleanliness, for those whose heart and life had been brought into harmony with the Divine character would be able to

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[2](continued)
    representing the nature of divine order, see C. Booth,
    'Female Ministry'.

[3] C. Booth, 'Notes on Three Addresses on Household Gods',
    in Popular Christianity (London, 1887), p. 166.

[4] F. Booth, 'Marriage and Motherhood', The Deliverer,
    August 1905, p. 211.

[5] Anon., 'Condition versus Coddling', The Deliverer,
    February 1900, p. 125.

[6] J. Butler, 'Army-made Women', The Deliverer, November
    1904, p. 78.

cleanse themselves of 'all filthiness of the flesh and of the spirit'.[7] The result was that the soul ruled the body through an enlightened intelligence but the mind was not to be cultivated at the expense of the heart for they were to be blended creating a love of honour and truth, patriotism and a devotion to duty. It was this latter quality of duty or service to others which formed the cornerstone of life for the model Salvationist. Each individual 'belonged to God and was under an obligation to do everything in a way which would please Him'.[8] This was interpreted as the need to 'work for His interests, to look after His lost ones, to extend His kingdom, and to live for His glory',[9] or in other words, to promote the coming of His kingdom on earth.

The basic social unit of this Heavenly kingdom on earth was the family. Although the entire human race was visualized as one family, this greater family was composed of smaller units located in homes. 'Just as Heaven's doors', wrote Florence Booth, 'are barred against all that defileth, all that is out of keeping with its spirit and government, so must be those of the home where love and beauty and order are desired'.[10] The basis of this order was marriage which was considered 'the natural state for men and women, and, for the average woman, the God-appointed plan of her life'.[11] As

[7]  W. Booth, 'The Man For 1891', All The World, January 1891, p. 2.

[8]  C. Booth, 'The Training of Children', p. 20.

[9]  C. Booth, 'Addresses on Household Gods', p. 168.

[10]  F. Booth, 'Women as Home-Maker', The Deliverer, December 1909, p. 183.

understood by the Salvationists, marriage was a 'sanctified companionship for mutual comfort and the extension of the Kingdom of God on earth'.[12] It was to be based on love which was seen as a principle: the 'choice to do good to others, to will for them that which is highest and best'.[13] Salvationists did not deny the sexual instinct for it was considered a necessity of human nature and part of God's arrangement for the world. However, the pleasures of physical love were only a manifestation of one's love of God for 'a man and woman who love God and love each other, can and do glorify Him in the happiness of that very closest union and oneness of flesh as well as spirit'.[14] Nevertheless, the pleasures of sexuality were incidental compared to that of procreation or the begetting of sons and daughters for God. 'Motherhood is wonderful!', wrote Florence; 'where parents are united in true love, which means love to God and love to one another in God, motherhood is a great vocation and is the crowning gift of god to our womanhood, as is fatherhood to manhood'.[15] The ideal of motherhood favoured was 'a pure, a sheltered, an instructed, and a free mother'.[16] This might

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[11] F. Booth, 'Woman's Service in the Kingdom of God', in Mothers and the Empire, and Other Addresses (London, 1914), p. 47.

[12] 'Consecration Love', The Deliverer, October 1907, p. 157.

[13] F. Booth, 'Mother and Empire',in Mothers and the Empire, p. 10.

[14] C. Bramwell-Booth, Bramwell Booth, p. 179.

[15] F. Booth, 'My Life Story', Sunday Circle, 11 December 1935.

appear to be contradictory, as it is difficult to envisage a sheltered yet free woman. The Salvationists considered the sexes to be equal but different, as Florence explained:

> I believe God's plan was to make them in many ways dissimilar; and just as I believe the man is endowed with a force of will and a virile energy of character which is especially adapted for his part in life, so I believe the woman has been endowed with powers more susceptible of moral training, and that her character generally is of a more sensitive and delicate type, that the higher qualities of the soul - love, courage, faith, compassion - are especially hers, and that her moral and spiritual organization altogether moves on a higher plane. But I believe this is all quite possible without claiming any superiority of the one sex over the other.
>
> [17]

This difference meant that the sexes were to compliment one another as they supposedly did within the character of Jesus Christ, who was held to combine 'all the tenderness, sublime devotion, and self-sacrifice of the woman with the intellect and strength of the man'.[18] However, these differences were not seen as a source of tension as each sex was to take responsibility for the other: the man to provide for and protect while the wife nurtured and trained. It was because of these special tasks that a woman needed to realize 'her responsibility for the blessings of the world, to realize amongst other things that her tender, impressionable nature

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[16] F. Booth, 'The Vocation of Motherhood', in Mothers and the Empire, p. 14.

[17] F. Booth, 'How women and children suffer through drink', The Deliverer, July 1907, p. 99.

[18] C. Booth, 'Addresses on Household Gods', p. 180.

had been given to her in order that it may be stirred to effort for the righting of what is wrong, and for the helping of those who suffer'.[19] It was, therefore, essential for a woman to be 'free in the disposal of her own person; free as regards her own thoughts and convictions; free in the very highest sense of the word'.[20] Ultimately each woman had to realize that she was 'an independent, responsible being, whom God will call to as severe a reckoning for the use and abuse of her talents as that of her brother man'.[21] It was in this sense that the sexes were:

> alike equal in the value of the soul and the capacity for joy and sorrow; alike equal before God, and in the love of the Heavenly Father; alike equal in their share in the redemption of Jesus Christ; alike equal in responsibility for spreading salvation and extending the Kingdom of God; alike equal in accountability at the Judgment Day; alike equal as citizens of the Celestial City; and alike equal in capacity for the employments and enjoyments of the eternity to come.
>
> 22

What was to be the social organization of this earthly Eden? Florence believed that it was 'God's arrangement that we should live in a community' because 'the only way in which each individual can develop and rise to what God intended for it, is in this life amongst others; and the sphere of action which such a life provides is the only one in which our highest powers can be fully developed'.[23] The premise for

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[19] F. Booth, 'Women's Service in the Kingdom of God', in Mothers and the Empire, p. 42.

[20] F. Booth, 'The Vocation of Motherhood', p. 15.

[21] C. Booth, 'The Training of Children', p. 21.

[22] 'Women - From the Army standpoint', The Deliverer, October 1908, p. 147.

this was the belief that one cannot love God without truly loving one's fellows: 'he that doth not loveth his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?'.[24] Love was the force which would link social as well as familial relationships, but 'no gossamy chain is love - rather a strong band which refuses to be broken'.[25] Did this 'strong band' allow for differences of wealth and ability? According to Florence, the natural law or the 'law of the woodland' was 'mutual accomodation' because trees that were planted close to one another grow up straight and even, reaching towards the light so that 'if we desire to increase in those graces which bring us near to the sky, and be free from the knots and hard places and little branches that stick out where they are not wanted, we must learn to adapt ourselves to the community, and to give way when it is right to do so'.[26] Because of this mutuality, competition was defined as 'striving to do one's best' and progress was seen to come from this and 'maintaining one's standards'. Futhermore, within this social order of care, it was seen as 'more blessed to give than to receive' and those who had goods or talents were considered 'stewards for God' and would be expected to give an account to Him of their stewardship according to God's order. This was defined by the injunction

23    F. Booth, 'How to Be a Successful Rescue Officer', The Deliverer, June 1909, p. 82.

24    Loc. cit.

25    'Come Home', The Deliverer, May 1897, p. 359.

26    F.Booth, 'How to be a Successful Rescue Officer, Part II', The Deliverer, July 1909, p. 98.

'look not every man on his own things, but also on the things of others'.[27] Leadership, like wealth, became a hierarchy of responsibilities for a leader was one 'who is able to find and develop the capabilities' of those 'for whom he or she is responsible'.[28] However, responsibilities were complimentary as each task was a link in a chain so each person needed to perform their work to the best of their ability as others were depending on them. This interdependence did not mean that the individual was not free, for the ultimate responsibility was for oneself - to be self-reliant and to train and develop one's character. For this isolation was needed, but also life within the community where contact with others helped to develop the capacities of generosity and sympathy.[29] The archetypal class relationship for the Salvationist was that of mistress and servant; in fact, to serve was seen as the task of all regardless of their social standing for it was believed that God required 'of all His people that they should be absolutely His servants'.[30] The household servant most exemplified this ideal for she could serve the family, not slavishly but willingly, choosing to do her tasks well and thinking of those extra considerations which made her work as much nurturing as service. The reward for this was not only the knowledge of fulfilling important responsibilities, but she was considered to have, through the

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[27] C. Booth, 'Addresses on Household Gods', p. 171.
[28] F. Booth, 'How To Be a Successful Rescue Officer, Part II', p. 98.
[29] Ibid., p. 98.
[30] C. Booth, 'Addresses on Household Gods', p. 167.

example of her own conduct, influence over the spiritual, as well as the material, welfare of the family. For the Salvationists, the servant was thought to be free or morally responsible for she could choose how to approach her work, yet she was interdependent with others for they relied on her and she could influence them.[31]

However, the one relationship that the Salvationists did not consider should be equal and free was that of parent and child and the very idea of self-determination for children shocked Florence into exclaiming that 'to put the responsibilities of adult life on babies is altogether a contradiction of God's plan'.[32] This was considered appalling because the Salvationists believed that the ability to sustain choice between good and evil required training and the best basis for this was discipline to parental authority. Only through obedience would the young citizen 'descend into the world's arena, not only possessed by the steady purpose of resolute men, but ready, where seeking freedom for themselves to observe the laws of equal freedom for others.'[33]

If the ideal social relationship for the Salvationists was responsible yet free, did they consider that this ideal

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[31] 'How to Be Happy Through Service', The Deliverer, June 1903, p. 181.

[32] F. Booth, 'The Care and Training of Children', The International Social Council 1921 (London, 1921), p. 115.

[33] F. Booth, 'Alcohol in Relation to The Home', in Mothers and the Empire, p. 104.

was not realized and if so, how did they account for this?

Fundamentally, they believed that 'wherever men and women

live under conditions which are out of harmony with nature,

the results are inevitably the same'[34] - the breaking of

God's plan. Evidence of this was everywhere around them, as

can be seen from William Booth's initial reaction to East End

London life:

> I saw multitudes of my fellow-creatures not only
> without God and hope, but sunk in the most
> desperate forms of wickedness and misery that can
> be conceived. I went out and looked on the wretched
> sons and daughters of debauchery and vice and crime
> who were all about me. The drunkenness, and
> harlotry, and pauperism, and slumdom, and
> blasphemy, and infidelity of these crowds had a
> fascination for me ... I not only saw but
> compassionated the people sunk in the sin and
> wretchedness that I beheld, and the everlasting woe
> that I knew must follow.
>
> 35

However, the Salvationists believed that one must 'recognize

the evil of sin apart from its results'. Although the

wretchedness of the material condition of human life could be

appalling, the greater evil was the 'sinful condition of the

heart, which is the root and cause of the breakdown'.[36]

Furthermore, a distinction was made between the appearance of

the sinner and sin itself. Florence wrote:

> it is not the appearance of a sinner, no matter how
> disgusting that appearance may be, which makes sin

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[34] 'Who Recruits the Rescue Ranks?: Domestic Servants', The Deliverer, May 1894, p. 173.

[35] Begbie, Vol. 1, p. 311.

[36] F. Booth, 'True Rescue Work', in Mothers and The Empire, p. 69.

> really base. The inward nature of sin - what it is
> in deliberation, motive, thought, and feeling -
> constitute its greatest danger. This is found in
> its force of inward malignity, the foulness of its
> inward desire, the stringent pinch of inward
> meanness and selfishness, and the gloat of inward
> passion and lust.
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> 37

For the Booths and their followers, it was the individual

state of the heart and not the social forces of economic laws

or material conditions which was the root cause of Eden's

destruction. From this develops the question as to whether

there was an impasse between this nineteenth century

individualism and the scientific socialism of the twentieth

century. Did the Salvationists develop a theory to account

for the way in which the corrupt heart created poverty, vice

and crime?

God's plan could be destroyed within the individual

heart because that was the source of motivation. When

describing the influence of alcohol, Florence also explained

how evil germinated:

> Its use weakens the ability to discern between that
> which is evil and that which is good. It sets up
> false standards of duty and ambition; standards,
> that is, which are warped and dwarfed by the claims
> of indulgence. Alcohol confuses conscience until it
> calls right wrong, and wrong right. It exalts
> present advantage, and dulls the power of noble
> ambition. In short, alcohol is the handmaid of the
> life of sensation, of passion, of fleshy
> gratification, leading to the downfall and eventual
> destruction of the higher life of self-denial and
> sacrifice.
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[37] F. Booth, 'A Plea for the Woman Inebriate', in Mothers
and the Empire, p. 140.

However, drink was not the only source of sin:

> There is an intemperance of the life as well as of
> the lip. There is an intoxication of greed as well
> as of gluttony, and of sensuality as well as of
> inebriety. Intemperance is a general term too often
> applied to one particular form of self-indulgence.
> [39]

It was this self-indulgence or the choosing of self over
others which was seen as the meaning of sin regardless of the
form that it took. The cause of this selfishness was
identified as lack of will power and those people who had
weak wills were described as:

> domineered over, and moved by their emotions and
> feelings. They have long ceased to do the things
> they ought because they ought. They are simply
> moved by their emotions.
> [40]

The malformed will was the fundamental problem for the
Salvationists, but they identified different varieties of
poorly constituted willpower. At one end of the spectrum were
those who chose to be evil and according to the Salvationists
'their consciences are seared with a red-hot iron; they are
up to all the tricks of the road and the trade; and they
laugh where others would weep'.[41] This choosing of evil was
seen as a different problem from those whose wills were
ungovernable. One such was Nance, who was described as:

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38  F. Booth, 'Alcohol in Relation to the Home', p. 107.

39  'The Drink Question', The Deliverer, May 1890.

40  The Deliverer, August 1889, p. 20.

41  'Submerged Womanhood', The Deliverer, November 1906, p.
163.

> one of those self-willed ones, and her imperious,
> haughty wilfulness carried her by easy and
> successive plunges into the heaving sea of woman's
> shame and destruction.
>
> [42]

But Nance's problem was different again from those who lacked

willpower and were swayed by the moment into self-indulgence.

It was believed that these people succumbed to temptation

more easily. Once an individual had allowed herself to

indulge, it became easier to do so again. It was for this

reason that activities such as the reading of novels and the

wearing of fashionable clothes were considered to be as much

a vice as drink, as they made one live 'in a world of fancies

whilst really important things are made to look of no

importance, and therefore neglected or badly performed'. This

was a sin because by 'continually dwelling on false views of

life you will come to call good evil and evil good'.[43]

However, the breaking down or the loss of willpower was a

different aspect of the problem from never having will power

through heredity. The Salvationists acknowledged that 'for

whole generations sin has been rife among some families, and

nobody has ever thought of anything but avoiding its

unpleasant consequences'.[44] This could result in children not

having sufficient moral training, although there was also the

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[42] 'Glances at Rescue Cases: Our Failures and Successes',
The Deliverer, March 1897, p. 322.

[43] 'The Vice of Novel Reading', The Deliverer, August 1904,
p. 26.

[44] Talks with Rescuers; Annual Report of the Women's Social
Work, (London, 1898), p. 19.

implication in their writings that the Salvationists considered that sinful natures could be inherited, as for example in the case of a child 'one or other of whose parents is given to drink, and in the very warp and woof of whose nature has thus been implanted the ghastly appetite for this dreadful stuff'.[45] The Salvationists also used a final category to describe the malformed will. This was feeble-mindedness; those who not only did not know the moral code, but also may not have even been able to comprehend the implications of choice. They were often seen as "victims of their surroundings; or of callous scoundrels'[46] and this was the opposite end of the spectrum from those who deliberately choose to be evil. But even in these extremities, the Salvation Army would never deny that these people were ultimately responsible for their own moral actions.

What then did the Savationists consider to be the relationship between the malformed will and adverse social conditions? The weak or undisciplined will resulted in individuals thinking only of themselves which meant that the sense of responsibility was negated for the self was placed before others. The result was deplorable conditions. A writer in The Deliverer explained:

> The adage of 'Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost', carried out widely has resulted in such glaring abuses in the relations of employer and employed, as to necessitate, from time to time, various national reforms. As long as the 'Prince of

[45] F. Booth, 'How Women and Children Suffer through Drink', The Deliverer, July 1907, p. 99.

[46] 'The Prevention of Destitution', The Deliverer, August 1911, p. 124.

this world' reigns in the world this kind of oppression, against which God had steadfastly set His face, will prevail, except where fear of consequences restrains; but the growth of selfishness will be always appearing where it dare show its head, until the root, which is at the bottom of all sin, is removed by the change over of government to the 'Prince of Peace'.

[47]

This implies that those who had economic power but did not use it responsibly were selfish and therefore sinful. As the Salvationists believed that everyone had to be morally responsible for themselves, the question remains whether they believed that material conditions could ever excuse immorality? While always being aware that the final decision to choose good or evil lay with the individual, the Salvationists acknowledged that some conditions could be so adverse that choosing the greater good over personal interest was almost impossible. In speaking of the sweated industries, Florence described this process as 'the atrophy of the moral instinct'.[48] She argued that individuals placed under severe material distress came to believe ' that necessity knows no law; that force is the greatest thing in human life, greater than right; that it has been finally settled that it is of absolutely no avail to attempt to do what you ought; that you do what you can'.[49] Under such circumstances, people ceased to cultivate their moral natures as they had no time for the

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[47] Mrs. Staff Captain Stitt, 'Factory Acts: Women's Work, Wages and Hours', The Deliverer, April 1896, p. 149.

[48] F. Booth, 'The Moral Effects of Sweating', The Deliverer, December 1907, p. 179.

[49] Ibid., p. 179.

worship of God, the display of affection, or the discharge of parental duties. Instead, they were worn out with fatigue which broke down the physique and left unsustained the inner person. This suggests that the Salvationists understood that certain conditions were necessary for moral development and the correct exercising of the will, and in their publications they developed a critique of how the living conditions of the poor impaired their moral will. They acknowledged that heredity and environment influenced a child's perceptions,[50] and that over-crowding made a mockery of home-life,[51] as did low wages and insecurity of employment.[52] What is perhaps more surprising is that their critique included discussions of the adverse circumstances which inhibited the morality of the rich. Analysis would often take the form of identifying a particular problem and then noting its manifestation among all classes. Such a problem was gambling which was noted to be taking place 'in large mansions and for high stakes', as well as in 'shops and mills, among Post-office employees and domestic servants'.[53] Particular temptations for the rich included seeking their own comfort at the expense of duty to others, following fashion, and extorting money from the poor through high rents and low wages. In fact the entire ambience

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[50] 'The Workhouse Child', The Deliverer, April 1899, p. 153.

[51] 'The Evils of Overcrowding', The Deliverer, December 1904, p. 90.

[52] 'Heart-Breaking Industries', The Deliverer, June 1906, p. 83.

[53] Arch-Deacon Diggle, 'Women Gamblers', The Deliverer, August 1902, p. 28.

of society life was seen as unconducive to morality for:

> Wealth is the biggest curse on the earth, unless
> possessors are wise stewards of it... the customs
> of the wealthy and aristocratic classes form the
> time of rising to retiring to rest, from the time
> the boy goes to school and returns from Eton, from
> the time the girl begins till she finishes her
> education, seriousness, responsibility, and the
> greater business of life are absolutely kept in the
> background.
>
> 54

No matter how much the Salvationists appreciated the impact

of social conditions on the individual, in the final analysis

that individual was held to be responsible for their own

actions. Nevertheless, there is discernible an apparent

ambiguity in their discussions of the specific circumstances

of women. For example, an article in The Deliverer entitled

'Women and Children First!' described the Salvation Army's

Social Work for Women as the 'Rescue Life-boat' where 'night

and day her gangways are down and her life line uncoiled that

none need stretch desparing hands in vain'.[55] This implies

that women needed help and protection, but the article goes

on to state that many women 'have laid hold of the life-line

and are working out their own salvation morally and

physically'. This suggests that it was the women themselves

who had the difficulties. The dichotomy is evident throughout

the literature where the condition of women is often likened

to that of slavery. The solution called for was to give women

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[54] Colonel Nicol, 'Marriage in the British Isles', The
Deliverer, November 1895, p. 74.

[55] C.F.O, 'Women and Children First!', The Deliverer,
January 1907, p. 5.

more freedom, while men were enjoined to take up their responsibilities. However, given the premises of Salvationist thought, their attitude to women was not as inconsistent as it may appear. Fundamentally, they never swayed from the belief that women were as responsible as men for their actions, but they recognized that the way that their society was constituted meant that women were often placed in a position which made it difficult for them to choose others over self. This was because they saw women as 'the weaker members of the community - weaker, that is, both in their powers of self-preservation and in their means of voicing need or danger'.[56] Salvationists were also aware that women's vulnerability stemmed from their economic dependence on men. Male lack of employment was 'productive of the most awful results - the most heart-rendering ruin - to the poor women and children they drag about with them'.[57] Low wages, insecure employment, and poor housing oppressed women as much, if not more, than men because of this female economic dependency and their responsibility for childcare. For wealthier women, the lack of legal rights and economic dependency was also problematic for it meant that wives were bound to immoral husbands,[58] and this line of argument was extended to suggest that women's circumscribed sphere was responsible for their vulnerability to the immoral actions of

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[56] F. Booth, 'Women and the Law', The Deliverer, May 1911, p. 75.

[57] 'The Outcast and Helpless', The Deliverer, March 1909, p. 43.

[58] F. Booth, 'Women and the Law', p. 75.

men. This implies that the Salvationists subscribed to the belief that there were some circumstances which were beyond a woman's control, and which made her a victim rather than a willing, and therefore moral, participant. One such circumstance was prostitution and their understanding of the causes of this demonstrates the extent to which they would allow extenuating circumstances to exonerate an individual from moral responsibility. William Booth, in an article entitled 'Who is responsible?', described prostitution as 'this heartless arrangement' and claimed that 'a very large proportion of this pitiable crowd have been lured into it, snared as men snare the free creatures of the woods ... they had no intention of becoming Harlots, but fell into the uncovetable position before they knew the extent of the evil they were doing, or the terrible consequences which that evil-doing was bringing upon them'.[59] However, in spite of Booth's attempt to represent the position of these women as sympathetically as possible, he still had to acknowledge that:

> it does not seem to me that any expatiation of the blameworthiness of the women themselves can be considered as a sufficient or satisfactory reply. That they are deplorably faulty - yes, very guilty - will be granted without a moments hesitation, although a good deal might be said on their behalf in this respect. [60]

Innocence, or not knowing that something was wrong, was not

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[59] W. Booth, 'Who is Responsible?', The Deliverer, December 1896, p. 280.

[60] Loc. cit.

considered by the Salvationists as an excuse for choosing evil over good. Although they realized that there were adverse conditions which applied only to women, in the final reckoning, these women were responsible for their actions regardless of their reasons for committing them.

For the Salvation Army, innocence was not an inherent state of childhood, but an adverse circumstance like poverty which inhibited an individual's ability to make moral choices. Evil was defined as choosing self over others, which meant that as soon as the child was conscious of itself, it was conscious of others and, therefore, could choose between self and others, good and evil. However, it was recognized that the child's ability to make such choices was not innate, and so it was believed that 'God has laid it on parents to begin the work of bringing the will into subjection in childhood'.[61] An improperly formed will was the cause of selfishness. It was essential for this process to begin early, and until the will was properly formed young people needed to be under 'effective control'[62] and 'proper restriction and oversight'.[63] Without adequate training, the individual remained a moral child regardless of his or her chronological age. Catherine Booth and the Salvation Army believed that 'the mass of people are only children, morally and intellectually, swayed any way by their interests and

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[61] C. Booth, 'The Training of Children', p. 8.
[62] 'The Rising Generation: Our Responsibility Towards It', The Deliverer, November 1909, p. 163.
[63] F. Booth, 'The Housing of Homeless Women', in Mothers and the Empire, p. 76.

their feelings'.[64]

While the Salvationists were adamant in their belief in individual moral responsibility, their insistence that most people were childlike, in that their primary concern was for themselves, enabled them to develop a critique of contemporary class and gender relationships which went some way to acknowledging that unbalanced inter-dependence greatly limited an individual's freedom to make moral choices. They were assisted in this analysis by their understanding of social relations as mutual responsibilities. As a result, an article in The Deliverer could include the somewhat surprising statement to 'be kind to the selfish by opening their eyes to see the needs of the poor'.[65] This was because 'selfishness - no matter what form it takes - is bad all round; a Nemesis which never fails is associated with it, and whether it be in matters of government or in matters of commerce and trade it never pays'.[66] The nemesis referred to was the spiritual damnation of the irresponsible who condemned themselves by choosing self over others. Inadvertently, they also placed others in moral danger by limiting their opportunities. Mrs. Staff-Captain Stitt explained this process with reference to home-workers when describing how 'the cloven foot of selfishness is indulged at the expense of others'.[67] Selfishness was evident in 'the

[64] C. Bramwell-Booth, Bramwell Booth, p. 191.

[65] 'Who Recruits the Rescue Ranks: Sack-sewers', The Deliverer, March 1894, p. 142.

[66] F. Booth, 'The Moral Effects of Sweating', p. 179.

employer of labour who grinds down his employee so that he may have cheap goods for the market, as well as a good profit for himself, and the purchaser in retail shops whose one aim is to study his own purse by getting as much as is possible for little value'.[68] This resulted in the long hours, low wages, and intermittent work of the women and girls who depended on these sweated trades for their livelihood. This was also condemned: 'it cannot be right that so great a mass of human beings should receive such a grudging permission to live in the world God created for His creatures' good and happiness'.[69] Furthermore, if these workers did not realize how precious God's gift of life was, they were denied one of the central motivations for morality.

In time, those who were treated irresponsibly became irresponsible themselves and the Salvationists believed that this caused a chain of selfishness, and by implication, immorality. Bessie, one of the Rescue cases described in The Deliverer, illustrated this point.[70] She was depicted as lacking parental care and training which meant that she had not 'been taught those habits of self-control and self-denial which are the "fundamentals" of all right living'.[71] However, the blame for this did not lie solely with her parents, for:

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[67] Mrs. Staff-Captain Stitt, 'Factory Acts: Women's Work, Wages and Hours', The Deliverer, April 1896, p. 149.

[68] Loc. cit.

[69] Loc. cit.

[70] 'Who Recruits the Rescue Ranks: Domestic Servants', The Deliverer, May 1894, pp. 173-174.

[71] Ibid., p. 173.

> their lives are such a continual struggle for
> existence that they have neither time nor heart to
> do more than fill the hungry mouths with "the bread
> that perisheth". "Spirits in prison" may we not
> call them, who have never grasped the fact that
> outside the foul alleys and dingy courts, "there is
> a world which God, not man, has made", whose beauty
> and knowledge they and their children have a right
> to enjoy, "as well as its rest, for the health of
> their body and soul".
>
> 72

Bessie entered service when fifteen years old, having become, 'a too expensive article to keep at home', but she was lonely and inexperienced, and her mistress found her sulky and thought that her wages were too expensive. A rift developed between maid and mistress which led Bessie to console herself with Bob, the milkman, and the reader was told that there was nothing in 'her home training, nor the influence of her mistress' to 'make her shrink from such companionship', and 'at the end of twelve months Bessie finds herself dismissed "without a character" and homeless!'. Such a story, the Salvationists would argue, illustrated the interconnection of immoral irresponsibilities. The central character was the 'backboneless' figure of Bessie, but her ability to make moral choices, which in this case was defined as being able to do her work well and to please her mistress, was inhibited by lack of proper parental training. In this area, her mother was irresponsible for she did not fulfill her duty of providing a home environment where her daughter could be protected while being trained. Home was the women's

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72    Loc. cit.

responsibility and 'the home, no matter how humble, was designed to be the sheltered harbour of innocence, the temple of love for one woman by one man, and the field in which appetite is subjected to reason and controlled by affection'.[73] However, the failure to perform this moral duty could have been partly precipitated by the father's inability to provide financially for his family's needs which in turn could stem from irresponsibility, especially if his money was being spent on drink, or the selfishness of his employer if he paid inadequate wages in order to increase his own profit. On the other hand, Salvationists would also claim that Bessie's mistress was irresponsible. Her immorality lay in not concerning herself with Bessie's needs or providing her with the training which she lacked. 'How many mistresses', Florence wrote, 'seem quite careless as to the safety of their young maids, when a very little interest and attention on their part would go far to protect them from designing men.'[74] This irresponsibility was seen to be as almost immoral as the neglect of Bessie's mother for:

> Every woman has before her an open door of
> influence over the young. Every woman can, in some
> measure, at all events, exercise her maternal
> instincts, even though she be not a mother herself.
> Oh, how degrading and sad it is to see these
> God-given qualities thrown away upon lap-dogs, or
> some other trifling interest!
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> [75]

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[73] F. Booth, 'Alcohol in Relation to The Home', p. 105.

[74] F. Booth, 'The White Slave Traffic', in Mothers and the Empire, p. 95.

[75] F. Booth, 'Women's Service in the Kingdom of God', p. 49.

While Bob, the milkman, was more sympathetic towards the
difficulties of Bessie, he too was selfish in that he
'contrives to woo Bessie' in order for her 'to spend her
leisure with the companions of the milkman's choosing'.
Furthermore, when she was dismissed, he did not accept
responsibility for her homelessness, and Bessie was sent out
into the world less able to meet challenges of moral choice.
At this point, the Salvationists argued, society in general
and women in particular had a special responsibility to offer
a helping hand. Too often:

> If an unquenched spark of desire for purity and
> rightness flicker into a flame, and lead them to
> knock trembling for admittance into
> respectability's dwelling, it is all too speedily
> quenched by the brutal cynicism of so-called
> morality. Even from professed followers of Christ
> how rarely do they meet with the assistance of true
> forgiveness, generosity and love, which can avail
> to lead them back to virtue, and which He offers
> them?

[76]

According to the Salvationists, the cure for these ills was
for every individual to surrender the childish morality of
selfishness and become a moral adult by fulfilling her or his
allotted tasks.

Throughout their writing there can be traced the
uncompromising sense that for the Salvationist responsibility
meant service, and that this could only be achieved through
self-denial:

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[76] F. Booth, 'Woman's Place and Work', The Deliverer, July
1892, p. 8.

Ever since the day when our first parents chose self-gratification for self-denial, the fruits of disobedience for the blessed rewards of fidelity, man has required the ceaseless operation of the self-denial principle, in order to reach that state of perfection which alone can allow him to be king and master of himself and his circumstances, a benefit to the world, and honor and praise to his Maker. Bodily comfort, animal propensities, human sensibility and natural desires, being more on the surface of his nature than the profounder instincts of the soul, will, unless brought into a state of unconditional servitude, monopolize his chief solicitude, or even occupy the whole of his attention. The intrinsic difference between a 'man of God' and a 'man of the world' is, that the former recognizes no claim of the body ... With the latter, his body and earthly circumstances are his supreme thought.

[77]

The 'man of God' was the Salvationist ideal of a moral adult, while the 'man of the world' was the moral child. A world composed of moral adults would be an earthly Eden because the Salvationists believed that if you 'settle it that everybody within your reach shall be happier and better because you are there', then 'your own good time will be taken care of'.[78]

It was because of this emphasis on moral adulthood that the Salvationists placed such stress on the parental relationship. Training within a protected environment was the best method of moral development. However, they were confronted with a 'fait accompli' of a world consisting of individuals who had grown beyond the restraining care of their parents, but who were still moral children. How could

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[77] H. E. Sampson, 'The Position of Self-Denial in The Spiritual Life', All The World, November 1891, p. 363.

[78] 'How To "Have Your Fling" at Christmas', The Deliverer, December 1907, p. 188.

these people be made moral adults? Next to parental training, development through a change of attitude was most applauded, but Florence warned against this change being superficial for she saw a danger in 'a disposition to rest in some reformation of conduct, as distinct from a real change of character; or as we would say, change of heart'.[79] This was essential as the heart was believed to be the source of motivation, and that 'it is only when the fountain is made pure that the stream can become so'.[80] Consequently, the cultivation of correct motivation was a concern for the Salvationists and they felt that example was an important ingredient in moral development for 'the mind is so constituted that all that comes in its vicinity is attracted to it, whether bad or good; and whatever adheres to it is gradually absorbed and assimilated, till, by an imperceptible process, it reproduces itself in action, speech and feeling'.[81] Influencing others was seen as a responsibility, but the extent to which influence could be brought to bear was problematic. If intervention was too extensive the individual's range of choices would be limited, and so too would the opportunities for exercising one's morality. By implication, people had to be allowed to resist temptation on their own accord in order to exercise their moral adulthood. However, the issue was further complicated in that the

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[79] F. Booth, 'True Rescue Work', p. 70.

[80] Talks with Rescuers: Annual Report of the Women's Social Work, p. 19.

[81] H. E. Sampson, 'The Law of Captivity in the Spiritual Life', All The World, February 1892, p. 105.

Salvationists considered that many people were moral children who were in need of protection from temptation until their moral faculties had been developed. This implied that the Salvationists were in favour of restraint, but Florence argued that 'the mere limiting of opportunity for evil is useless while the desire for evil remains ... force is no remedy by which to correct the choices of an evil mind'.[82] On the other hand, the Salvationists also believed that some people's moral capabilities were so limited that they needed to be compelled to be placed under restraint regardless of whether they had consented or not,[83] while others were so selfish that only the fear of punishment acted as a check.[84] However, this did not appear to the Salvationists as a contradiction because of their concept of child and adult morality and their belief in moral development. Everyone, regardless of age or social position, was considered capable of moral maturity and it was only if the individual persisted in childishness that containment was necessary. While the Salvationists were optimistic about the potential for moral growth in the society around them, they were, nevertheless, keenly aware of how deeply rooted the moral childishness of selfhood was. It was for this reason that the supreme power of Jesus Christ was necessary in bringing about a change of

[82]    F. Booth, 'A Plea For Voluntary Homes', in Mothers and The Empire, p. 82.

[83]    Ensign Sowdon, 'Temperance Legislation as it affects Women', The Deliverer, May 1896, p. 172.

[84]    Mrs. Staff Captain Stitt, 'Factory Acts: Women's Work, Wages, and Hours', The Deliverer, April 1896, p. 149.

heart:

> He alone is able fully and instantly to search our
> hearts, revealing to us not only every wrong, but
> every danger. Only those who walk in the light as
> He is in the light can see how to keep quite clear
> of every selfish snare.
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> <div align="right">85</div>

Without a sense of religion, people did not have the incentive to do what was right, as they 'do not do wrong because they do not know what is right, but because they have no proper motive to do it'.[86] Conversion was the essential basis of moral development. A person needed first to be saved and to be spiritually reborn. However, this was a task which required more than mere human endeavour. Like the giving of life itself, it was 'a divine work, supernatural and miraculous'.[87] Because of the importance of salvation for morality and the association of morality with Godliness, conversion was the primary task of the Salvation Army. William Booth, when speaking to his Officers of work among the lost, claimed that they:

> should not think that with the great bulk of them,
> it is possible for you to bring them into the paths
> of virtue without red-hot Salvationism. They must
> go the whole way, and either be all or nothing.
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> <div align="right">88</div>

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[85] Commissioner Railton, 'Selfishness and How To Fight It', The Deliverer, April 1896, p. 153.

[86] 'Wool Gathering Martha', The Deliverer, April 1909, p. 60.

[87] 'Our Principles: Salvation', The Deliverer, May 1899, p. 185.

Futhermore, conversion, character and conduct were synonomous

to the Salvationists because they signified a change of

heart, and therefore of life. When effected this was believed

to produce 'truthfulness, honesty and industry - qualities

which seldom fail to secure work, comfort and friends for

all'.[89] However, the Salvation Army came to realize that:

> the experience of repentence and pardon, the first
> stage of the new life, is not an end but a
> beginning. When such slaves break away from sin and
> desire to lead a new life, they have no concept of
> the extent of their own weakness or the tenacity of
> the power of sin.
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> 90

Consequently, the idea evolved that while the re-birth of the

individual was fundamental for a new life, the moral adult

had to be trained. The Salvationists discussed this in terms

of regeneration, and argued that:

> What we are asked to do is to reconstruct their
> human nature. As a rule, it takes twelve months
> before a baby can walk; but some of these poor
> souls have stumbled so often, and so many people
> have given them up in despair, that more than
> twelve months is necessary for their thorough cure
> - physically, morally, and mentally.
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> 91

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[88] W. Booth, 'How to Save the Lost', The Deliverer, February 1890, p. 107.

[89] B. Booth, Orders and Regulations for Officers of the Women's Social Work of the Salvation Army (London, 1916), p. 9.

[90] F. Booth, 'My Life', Sunday Circle, November 1933.

It was these images of childhood and nurture which exemplified the Salvationists' concept of their social work, and it was in their programme for the rescue of fallen women that their philosophy found its fullest expression.

The rescue process was envisaged as a form of moral rejuvenation. The fundamental premiss was that the women were to be provided with a home and family which would give them the chance to 'grow up' morally. Of course, this reflected the Booth's belief that the masses were childlike. Florence wrote in the annual report of the Women's Social Work in 1898: 'you have to make up to these girls for the lack of a real mother's love ... that is one of the greatest problems we have to deal with'.[92] While the Booths had definite ideas on how to bring up children in order to facilitate character formation, this could be accomplished within a family environment under parental supervision. Although the moral training of childlike adults would seem to present a completely different range of problems, the Booths saw the solution in the same light. If each child was a gift from God then so was each individual, and each case was to be dealt with on its own merits.[93] If children needed a proper home environment in which to mature, then so did these 'moral children', and was for this reason that the rescue homes were to be homes in every sense of the word. The best type of rescue home was a voluntary one, having five essential

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[91] A.M.N, 'Principles of Regeneration', The Deliverer, June 1907, p. 67.

[92] Talks With Rescuers, p. 19.

[93] F. Booth, 'A Plea for Voluntary Homes', p. 33.

elements. First, it had to be conducted solely for the benefit of the inmates. Second, it was to be a true home in that responsibility was to be accepted for all who passed out from it, until they were thoroughly established in the proper path. Third, the staff of the home had to be specially trained and qualified to handle moral disorders. Fourth, the staff were to be sufficient in number so that every individual could during waking hours be kept under the direct influence of one of these qualified workers. Finally, not only were the women's physical and temporal requirements to be supplied, but their higher needs must also be met.[94] The emphasis was on creating an environment where complete responsibility was taken for the inmate and every opportunity was used to lead and encourage the women in their new lives. This new life was obtained not just by example, but by reformation; the breaking down and rebuilding of a new personality. Describing this process as it applied to a case study for the Annual Report of 1904, a rescue worker wrote: 'I realized that she had no mind of her own, I must be her mind and press the force of my personality upon her until she could grow one of her own'.[95] While the closeness of family life meant that the parent could know their children's characters intimately and correct their faults, the child would respond to the parents' standards because there was a bond of affection. This same relationship was to

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[94] Ibid., pp. 84-85.

[95] Betsy Bobbett: Annual Report of The Women's Social Work, (London, 1904), p. 13.

100

reconstructed in the rescue home between officers and inmates. In the place of the parental bond was the power of influence and the Salvationists put great emphasis on this, not only because they felt that people were influenced by their surroundings, but also because they maintained that people copied the lives and characters of those they loved. It was because of this that great stress was put on the character of the rescue workers themselves. Florence was emphatic that 'the character of the individual worker reproduces itself in the work', and 'this was especially true in the most difficult task of morally reforming young and depraved women.'[96]

What sort of person was regarded as the ideal rescue worker? She was to be a combination of mother, housekeeper, business woman and soul-winner.[97] The attributes of motherhood were to be exhibited first and foremost in their great faith in and sympathy for the women whom they were trying to help. No matter how desperate the case, the rescue worker was not to give up hope even if the woman herself did.[98] It was also believed that the heart of the rescue worker would go out to the girls once they associated with them in the homes, and that this would create the special sympathy which was so important for the care of souls.[99] While no specific age limit was set for women entering into

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[96] F. Booth, 'True Rescue Work', pp. 66-67.
[97] M. Unsworth, Maiden Tribute (London, 1954), p. 60.
[98] F. Booth, 'True Rescue Work', pp. 70-71.
[99] W. Booth, 'What Should A Rescue Officer Be?', The Deliverer, July 1889, p. 8.

this type of work, a mature personality was required. Gravity, weight of character, and dignity were considered indispensable for influencing the women. Workers were cautioned that many of the inmates 'wished to have an easy time of it. They want the advantages of this angelic home with their devilish feelings.' Consequently, 'it will be a question whether they are going to manage you or you them.'[100] Like all good mothers, the rescue worker was to feel responsible for her charges, not only in a general sense but specific responsibilities were to be considered as well. Every officer was not only to feel responsibility for keeping the rules and regulations, but was responsible for seeing that other people kept them as well.[101] This was important not only for the smooth running of the institution and for setting an example, but also because it tied in clearly with the Salvationist belief in the importance of obedience in moral training. Officers were enjoined to support each other's authority for the same reason. The ideal rescue worker was to be industrious and eminently practical. Sentimentality was abhorred.[102] The training of the rescue officer stressed the spiritual, for it was designed to make the officers 'consumed with the all-important desire to get the people converted,'[103] and to create:

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[100] W. Booth, 'What should A Rescue Officer Be?', The Deliverer, August 1889, p. 19.

[101] W. Booth, 'What Should A Rescue Officer Be?', The Deliverer, July 1889, loc. cit.

[102] Loc. cit.

[103] 'The Training Institute for Women Social Officers', The
(Footnote continued)

a pure, stable, and sincere spirit who is not
distracted, though it may be employed in many
works; for that it doeth all to the Glory of God,
and, being at rest within, seekest not itself in
anything it doeth.

104

Finally, the rescue workers were to have clean hearts. They were counselled: 'you have a deal of dirty work to do, you must keep your own garments unspotted from the world and walk with Him in white.'[105]

Given the ideal of a home setting and substitute parental figures, how was the process of moral regeneration to take place? When a woman first entered the home she was to be subdued with kindness. Personal interviews were considered important in making the woman feel that the officers were concerned with her for her own sake. The officers were to 'look right past the tiresome, brainless woman to the soul which should one day arise to love and worship God.'[106] The interviews were to be used to win the confidence of the woman and to create bonds of attachment between officer and inmate. However, the rule that love shall conquer all was not to imply lack of rules. Part of the interview involved challenging the woman so that she would reflect on the state of her soul. She would be told things such as 'Do you know

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[103](continued)
Deliverer, November 1904, p. 67.

[104] The Deliverer, July 1890, p. 15.

[105] W. Booth, 'What Should A Rescue Officer Be?', July 1889, Loc. cit.

[106] Betsy Bobbett, p. 14.

you are a great black wicked sinner? Wake up and look at yourself as you actually are.'[107] Great skill was required in such interviews to achieve the successful balance of compassion and sternness deemed desirable by the Salvationists. It was felt appropriate that the women were first to be treated with tenderness and kindness until they became accustomed to the home and were willing to partake of the activities, thereby readjusting their perceptions of what was required of them. Once the women had voluntarily entered into their own rescue process, it became important to foster their willpower. While compassion characterized the Salvationists' approach throughout the entire program, the element of sternness was further infused into the relationship and the women were encouraged to strive harder and to achieve more. If a woman seemed unable to voluntarily adjust her behaviour to what was considered appropriate, an officer would then wrestle with her 'willfulness' in a personal interview. In these situations, the dedication and force of character of the Salvationist was considered to be indispensable. However, it would be incorrect to focus exclusively on the sternness of these 'motherly chats'. If an inmate emerged from the interview repentent with a tear-stained face she would be given a cup of tea and, as in the correct exercise of parental authority, she would be readmitted, lovingly and completely, into the family circle.

Discipline was considered an essential element of the rescue process. It was not a discipline that concentrated on penalizing those who broke rules and regulations, but one that strove to foster in the women their own sense of

self-discipline. This was considered an important ingredient in developing the women's ability to enter into their salvation through work, but it was realized that it was 'not an easy matter for a girl who has led a lazy life through indulgence in sin, to fight her way back into respectability by means of actual manual labour.'[108] Work was not only to be done in the home, but it was to be done well and with energy.[109] The aim was to encourage the women to commit themselves to something and by becoming interested and involved develop a new sense of awareness. Work was seen as a healthy, refining and ennobling physical sacrement.[110] Giving themselves physically to their work was practice in over-coming selfish desires and would help the women give themselves spiritually to God. Like salvation, work was to be entered into voluntarily, so any suggestion of drudgery or bondage was discouraged in the homes. Women were asked to do certain tasks and the example of other women singing as they went happily about their jobs was considered important in persuading women that work could be fulfilling.[111] Fixed standards of production were set so that each worker knew what was expected of her and ambition to reach the standard deemed necessary to spur them on.[112] Women were also

[107] Loc. cit.

[108] Quencher: Annual Report of the Women's Social Work, (London, 1895), p. 7.

[109] Loc. cit.

[110] 'Principles of Regeneration: Discipline', The Deliverer, April 1907, p. 35.

[111] Loc. cit.

[112] Loc. cit.

encouraged by good conduct money or small gratuities, fixed according to work done each week, and placed to the credit of the worker. The work done was usually of a domestic character, particularly laundry work, but knitting, needlework and book-folding were also tasks that the women were set.[113] The work was chosen on the basis of what would best help their moral elevation and encourage their future independence. Discipline of the body was important because it developed discipline of the mind and while the women were learning new tasks they were also learning new attitudes. The new life had to begin in the soul but this involved self-examination and a concern for the future which was seen to result in the birth of 'true ambition.'[114] The officers were to hold up to the women new vistas of pleasures, new possibilities, and new rewards. This vision was to centre on the creation of true self-respect, and with this self-respect, duty was to have a new meaning. The emergence of this self-respect meant that the women were supposed to become more reflective, regretting past indiscretions and lost opportunities, while in turn being fired with ambition to perform their daily tasks with new enthusiasm. The religious services in the home aimed at the cultivation of new principles, while intensifying spiritual hunger. Introspective yearnings were stirred, whilst opportunities were afforded for individual prayer, for testimony, and for

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[113] Loc. cit.

[114] 'Principles of Regeneration: Ambition', The Deliverer, September 1907, p. 131.

confession. The latter was considered important because it was felt that:

> the moral sense in human nature when once outraged, cannot be readjusted without a full admission of the fact to some tribunal vested with authority to either administer justice or mercy.
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> <div align="right">115</div>

The officer was not to encourage confession for the sake of sensation, nor was she to allow the idea that there was any absolute virtue attached to her office as warden of souls, but confession was to be made as an expression of sorrow and a seeking of forgiveness for having broken God's laws.[116] It was felt that in a natural family, parents, spouses, and loved ones counselled distracted spirits and the rescue officer was to fulfill this function. When the women felt downcast by their transgressions they were to rejuvenate themselves by confession, but the rescue officer was not only to listen but also to sympathize, so that the women would know that someone suffered with them. The sense of support was extended throughout the rescue process. Companionship was considered essential. The Booths soon realized that converts entered a new life emotionally as well as spiritually, and sisterly and brotherly love was stressed in the homes as much as parental models. Recreation was an important part of the day in the rescue homes, as was work. On holidays and special occasions little 'family parties' were arranged, with games,

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[115] 'Principles of Regeneration: Confession', The Deliverer, August 1907, p. 115.

[116] Loc. cit.

singing, tea and a service.[117] Old girls were encouraged to come back to the home for these occasions, or to spend their free time or holidays there. After they left the home, great trouble was taken to visit the women or to correspond with them. They were also encouraged to refund the actual cost of their maintenance while in the homes, not only to foster their sense of responsibility,[118] but also to enhance their feeling of belongining to a family.

In theory, the rescue process aimed to recreate the individual both internally and externally. The woman, on entering the home, was bathed, given clean clothes and set to work. Simultaneously, her conduct was modified by reason, example and influence. She was encouraged to look into herself and recognize her shortcomings so as to be able to work on overcoming them. However, she was not to feel that in this she was alone, for she was surrounded by people who genuinely cared for her well-being, were distressed at her lapses, and rejoiced at her achievements. The aim of the process was to rejuvenate not only the spiritual individual, but also to create in her the ability to cope realistically with the challenges and choices she would face. An encapsulated view of the process and the hoped-for end result can be seen in this brief description, printed in The Deliverer in 1889:

> Mrs. H. came for a servant and I sent for R., who walked in looking every inch a housemaid, she was

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[117] F. Booth, 'My Life Story', Sunday Circle, November 1933.
[118] Broken Fetters: Annual Report of the Women's Social Work (London, 1894), p. 17.

so pleased with her bright manners. Oh, what a
transformation! When R. came here she was in the
most filthy condition through being out in the
streets, her clothes had to be burnt and her
beautiful hair closely cut. She had no mother, and
worse than no father, was thrown out on the world
at 14 years old, but now 'mothered' happy and
proving Jesus able to save.

119

Like Catherine herself, the philosophy of the Salvation
Army's Social Work for Women was essentially practical in
that its pretexts were grounded in action rather than
speculation. As will be demonstrated in the following
chapter, this was due in part to the organizational
development of the Army. Much of their work appeared to be
the result of responding, in the most useful way, to already
existing needs. However, the problems which they perceived to
require remedial action were the product of their analysis of
how society was constituted. In this their ideas were formed
by Catherine's personal experience which was translated into
theoretical and practical dictates by her daughter-in-law,
Florence. Catherine's belief that women were not morally or
spiritually inferior to men was clearly seen in the
Salvationists' belief that women were independent moral
agents responsible for their actions, and that like men, they
were equally capable of moral development. However,
Catherine's understanding of women as a collective group or
caste, experiencing disadvantages in comparison to men,
remained. This goes some way to explaining how the
Salvationists were able to sustain an analysis which accorded
women moral responsibility while acknowledging that
circumstances often inhibited their ability to make decisions

for themselves. This resulted in the view that women were less able to choose self over others, while at the same time they were being applauded as the more sensitive and spiritual of the two sexes. This stemmed from the Salvationists' concept of ideal and reality. This was also apparent in Catherine's thought, as she believed that it was the role of women to nurture and inspire. At the same she criticised the limited opportunities available to them, and in particular the restricted scope of female education which rendered them intellectually inferior. Like their founders, the Salvation Army accepted the division between public and private, male and female, and did not challenge the culturally assigned roles of men and women, or of *owners of capital* and labour. What they sought to do, however, was to ennoble the disadvantaged, both women and workers. In their Social Work for Women, this came to mean the woman worker, and in particular the servant. They also sought to harness the advantaged - both employers and men - through their belief in selfishness as sin, and their recognition of every individual's responsibility to those around them. This sense of interdependence meant that their critique went beyond a simple concept of individualism, and it echoed Catherine's belief that one only attains a sense of individuality through a relationship with God. In other words, the Salvationists believed that individuality implied relating to others. The sense that morality was to be exercised through daily decisions remains, above all in choosing others over self. So too did the belief that fulfilling one's allotted tasks was a moral gesture. Catherine had no wish to redefine her role,

rather she sought to infuse the domestic sphere of women with opportunities for spirituality and morality, and this became the aim of the Salvation Army. This is not to suggest that they did not recognize inequalities, but that they did not consider them to be an inherent condition of human affairs. Rather, they were aberrations of human nature. They expressed the issues of inequality and oppression in terms of family motifs, such as child and adult, growth and nurture. These allowed them to accept the realities of class and gender which they labelled as 'childish', whilst maintaining a utopian vision which was supposedly 'adult'. Eventually, the Salvationists came to see themselves as 'God's nursery'. They claimed that the discrepancies between child and adult needed to be bridged by 'development' which required 'training' within a protected environment.

While the previous discussion has concentrated on the philosophy of the Salvationists' Social Work for Women, similar views influenced their Social Work for Men, and found expression in William Booth's scheme, In Darkest England and The Way Out. The rich were to be given the opportunity to be responsible by providing the financial support for the scheme, which would regenerate the destitute by placing them on the ladder 'which leads upwards from the black gulf of starvation to competence, character, usefulness and heaven'.[120] Booth estimated that in England alone there were

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119 The Deliverer, July 1889, p. 5.

120 W. Booth, In Darkest England and The Way Out (London, 1890), p. 61.

three million men, women, and children who were sunk in destitution and spiritual darkness.[121] This amounted to one-tenth of the population. While he felt that 'the primary responsibility must always rest upon the individual', society 'by its habits, its custom, and its laws, has greased the slope down which these poor creatures slide to perdition.'[122] This implied criticism of social convention, which once again became cast as an adverse circumstance inhibiting individual morality, was combined with the continuing theme of the advantaged being made to take responsibility for the disadvantaged. However, this moral responsibility was refined into giving support for the Salvation Army. This was justified because by this time, Booth had come to present himself to the public as a mediator between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. He considered himself and his Army to be independent of both in order to serve both. This he hoped to achieve by establishing a series of colonies through which the poor would pass. These were to be established in the city, the country, and overseas. They echoed the Booths' belief in the family, as these colonies were to be like homes, providing shelter, food, clothes and training within a protected environment. The Army Officers were to take the roles of parents, with William as the supreme father-figure. The poor were to be treated with love, defined as respect and dignity, and given responsibility through work. Under these conditions, they would reform and develop their characters,

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[121] Ibid., p. 23.
[122] Ibid., p. 48.

and thus take their places as useful members of society and followers of Christ. This scheme, like other Salvationist social work, revolved around the transformation of character, 'the regeneration of the heart and life which is essential to their future happiness and well being'.[123] It was thought this would be best achieved through a combination of spiritual re-birth and moral training. The latter stressed a commitment to work and great emphasis was laid on an applicant's eagerness to work. The project assumed that the poor were able and anxious to do so, and that they would find contentment through the ennobling experience of hard work and their lowly position in society. As in Salvationist ideology in general, this dignifying of individual endeavour accepted the 'status quo' and did not regard itself as being in any sense political. Their lack of refinement was also apparent in their moral philosophy of self before others. Here there were no subtleties through which to evaluate moral dilemmas, such as the question of abortion in cases where the mother's life was in danger. For the historian, however, the issue becomes one of evaluating the implications of their views. Theoretically, the Salvationists believed that many people, rich and poor, old and young, were in need of salvation and moral training. Why then did their work become associated with helping the destitute and outcast?

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[123]  Ibid., p. 110.

Chapter Four

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF

THE SOCIAL SERVICES FOR WOMEN

While it has been argued that on an ideological level,
the Salvationists subscribed to the view that the young and
innocent needed protection and control in order to foster
their moral development, it cannot be assumed that this
attitude was directly manifested in the Salvation Army's
social work. Such a correlation begs the question of the
relationship between theory and practice, ideals and
facilities. In evaluating the Salvation Army's Social
Services, it is necessary not only to appreciate how the work
itself reflected the ideals of the Booths and their
organisation, but also to understand how the work developed
under the constraints of personality and circumstance. This
chapter addresses these issues by first documenting the
services and facilities made available by the Salvationists.

Elizabeth Cottrill, a soldier of the Whitechapel corps,
became interested during 1881 in the 'poor, fallen girls who
sometimes came to the penitent form'.[1] Realizing that these

women could not return to their former lives if they wished to 'be good', this Salvationist began taking them into her own home.[2] As she soon found herself accommodating four or even eight women as well as her husband and six children she 'began to pray for a bigger house'.[3] Eventually she approached Bramwell Booth, Chief-of-Staff, and after careful enquiries, Bramwell asked his father, the General, to open a small refuge and to officially recognize the work.[4] Mrs. Cottrill was sent to rent rooms and after some difficulty she found a five room cottage in Hanbury Street, Whitechapel.[5] Bramwell took overall responsibility for the work on 22 May 1884,[6] and on the morning of 18 July 1884 his wife, Florence, went to superintend the refuge. The General had decided that 'Flo had better go down and see what she can do in her spare time'.[7]

The first few days were spent interviewing those already in the cottage which had accommodation for fifteen girls. Florence described them as 'young girls just in their

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[1] For a fuller examination of the chronological development of the Salvation Army's Social Work for Women see M. Unsworth, Maiden Tribute (London, 1954); R. Sandall, The History of The Salvation Army (London, 1955), 3 Vols.; J. Fairbank, Booths Boots (London, 1983).

[2] Unsworth, Maiden Tribute, p. 4.

[3] The Deliverer, May 1921, p. 37.

[4] F. Booth, 'My Life Story', Sunday Circle, 18 March 1933.

[5] Fairbank, Booth's Boots, p. 13.

[6] The War Cry, 29 January 1887, p. 8.

[7] F. Booth, 'My Life Story', p. 33.

[8] Loc. cit.

teens',[8] and this emphasis on young women continued throughout the remainder of that year for Florence later wrote that 'the large proportion of young girls who come is a hopeful fact, as our chance with these is much greater than with older women, because drink has not such a firm hold on them'.[9] However, there does not seem to have been any definite policy concerning the type of women helped, for in November of 1884 Rebecca Jarrett, a brothel keeper in her late thirties who described herself as 'too old to be reclaimed ... and almost dying with the drink',[10] was admitted. Rebecca was to play a major part in the Maiden Tribute campaign of 1885 which in turn did much to promote both the image and the work of the Salvation Army.[11] As a result of this and the combination of cramped conditions and the hostility of the neighbours, another house was taken at Dalston in north London fifteen months later. This had accommodation for twenty-five women.[12] Soon after this two large adjoining houses were also added and the three became known as Dalston I, II, and III. By the beginning of 1887, six hundred women and girls had passed through the five homes which had by then been established in London; four accommodating twenty women each and a fifth similar home for special cases.[13] As this suggests, diversification in types

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[9] The Salvation War (London, 1884), p. 146.

[10] Rebecca Jarrett's unpublished memoirs, Salvation Army Archives.

[11] For further discussion see Chapter 5.

[12] Unsworth, Maiden Tribute, p. 43.

of homes was already apparent at this early stage. Describing

the next development a historian of the Salvationists' Social

Work has written:

> When Dalston I, II, and III were transfered to three
> bigger and better houses in separate North London
> suburbs, one of these - in Stamford Hill - became the
> 'special place' for women drunkards. The second, at
> Whipps Cross, received the 'Rescue' girls ... The third
> house - in Amherst Road, Clapton - became the first
> 'Receiving House', where all comers were 'sorted out' by
> Mrs. Reynolds and passed on to homes which she judged to
> be suited to their special needs.
> 14

Complimenting this specialization was an impetus towards

developing an organisational structure, and in 1887 a Social

Work Headquarters was opened at 259 Mare Street, Hackney.[15]

Recognition that the social work for women was a 'definite

department', and not merely a 'sort of side issue', was

emphasized by the commissioning of the first rescue officers

by Florence Booth in 1888.[16] This was followed by the

establishment of a rescue training programme for Salvation

Army officers in 1889.[17] July of the same year saw the

publication of The Deliverer, a monthly magazine concerned

with Salvationist rescue activities which was to become an

invaluable record of their work as well as a vehicle of

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[13]  Ibid., p. 47.

[14]  Ibid., p. 55.

[15]  The War Cry, 26 October 1887, p. 8.

[16]  The War Cry, 26 July 1888, p. 9.

[17]  Fairbank, Booth's Boots, p. 24.

publicity.[18] By 1892, procedures had become systematised sufficiently to allow for the issuing of 'Orders and Regulations' for rescue homes,[19] which again suggests a degree of organizational proficiency.

Although Salvationist social services expanded and diversified during the thirty years under examination, rescue work remained an important component of their activities. After the establishment of the Hanbury refuge and with it the initiation of a policy of rescue work, the next major development which involved a new direction was the foundation of a refuge at Piccadilly Circus in August 1893.[20] This was followed by the establishment of a similar 'midnight post' at Kings Cross in 1899.[21] While this work was directed specifically at the West End prostitute, other Salvation Army activities sought to ameliorate different types of female distress. Foremost among these was Salvationist maternity work. The inception of this was closely linked with the career of Major Caroline Frost. This Salvation Army officer was a qualified midwife who had been living in the Channel Islands when Florence Booth invited her to come to London to help with this work.[22] The Salvation Army was helping mother and baby cases at an early stage of their Women's Social Service Work,[23] and seems to have established a special home

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[18] Sandall, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 52.

[19] Orders and Regulations for Rescue Homes (London, 1892).

[20] The Deliverer, April 1894, p. 152.

[21] The Deliverer, January 1900, p. 107.

[22] The War Cry, 29 June 1889, pp. 3-4.

for them in Chelsea as early as August 1886, with the first confinement taking place there on 24 February 1887. This distinction between mother and baby cases and confinements remained when the work was transfered to larger premises in 1889. The former were then located at Number IV Home in Notting Hill, and the later at Number V Home at 27 Devonshire Road, Hackney.[24] The work was to be moved yet again, so that for the major part of the period covered by this study hospital care for maternity cases was provided at Ivy House, which was officially opened on 2 June 1890.[25] Located in Hackney, Ivy House had facilities for twenty-one women and babies, but these were not exclusively Salvation Army rescue cases, for Mrs. Frost began branching out with district maternity nursing among the poorest married women of the neighbourhood.[26] Combined with this was a training programme for Salvationist nurses under the jurisdiction of Adjutant Sowden. After a probationary period lasting six months, which included experience of district nursing as well as hospital and private work and the passing of the doctor's examination, the successful candidate became a qualified nurse. These nurses were then employed, not only in Salvation Army hospital and district work, but also among private, fee-paying cases where their services were much in demand.[27]

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23  Fairbank, Booth's Boots, pp. 29-30.

24  The Deliverer, July 1889, p. 11.

25  The Deliverer, September 1890, p. 42.

26  The War Cry, 23 May 1896, p. 4.

This work of training Salvationist nurses began in 1891,[28] and Ivy House maternity home became a hospital in 1894.[29] This branch of Salvationist social services culminated with the opening of the Mothers' Hospital, Hackney on 18 October 1913.[30] A description of its layout suggests the functions for which it was designed and the degree of specialization which had taken place during these thirty years. The hospital was built

> with a view to special care being taken of each mother according to her requirements, these wards are all complete hospitals in themselves. At present it is proposed to use one bungalow for special cases, another will be reserved exclusively for married women, and one will, it is hoped, be used by Jewess mothers, for whom special arrangements are made.
>
> [31]

Interwoven with the development of Salvationist rescue and maternity work was the care of children. From the earliest days of the Salvation Army, orphans, especially of Salvationists, were entrusted to their care,[32] and this necessitated the establishment of facilities for them. These

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[27]  'The Salvation Army's Nursing Work', The Deliverer, January 1900, p. 99.

[28]  The Deliverer, September 1891, p. 40.

[29]  The Deliverer, May 1894, p. 168.

[30]  'Royal Opening of Our New Mothers' Hospital', The Deliverer, December 1913, p. 181.

[31]  Ibid., p. 183.

[32]  B. Booth, Echoes and Memories (London, 1925), pp. 166-167.

were initially provided in four rooms in the Women's wing of the training home, under the superintendence of Emma Booth, the fourth child of Catherine and William.[33] However, it was not only the children of Salvationists who needed care. Maternity and rescue work, by its very nature, meant that there were babies requiring homes. An Adoption Department was founded in the rescue work headquarters at Mare Street and was in operation by 1891.[34] This became the Children's Aid Department, which 'gave special attention to affiliation cases by establishing the paternity and maintenance responsibility for illegitimate children'.[35] Because of their involvement with unmarried mothers from the initial stages of their work, Salvationists had been providing accommodation for mothers and babies in a Notting Hill nursery home In 1894 this was moved to larger premises at Grove House, where there were 'seventeen rooms, spacious tree-lined grounds, and ... accommodation for thirty mothers with children'.[36] This work was again moved in 1898 to Lanark House in Lower Clapton and to Shore Road in Hackney.[37] It continued to expand until, somewhat reluctantly, Florence Booth decided to establish homes for little girls. As a result, 'the Nest' was opened in Upper Clapton in 1902 for girls from four to fourteen. Some of these 'had suffered hideous and agonising wrongs at the

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[33] Fairbank, Booth's Boots, p. 54.

[34] The Deliverer, December 1891, p. 89.

[35] Fairbank, Booth's Boots, p. 53.

[36] Sandall, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 217.

[37] Loc. cit.

hands of depraved men', whilst others were in some sort of moral danger, such as exhibiting a prelediction for pilfering.[38] Besides preventive work with children, the Salvation Army sponsored several creches in association with their slum work. The first of these was opened in Borough in 1887, and the children were kept from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. for a charge of threepence a day.[39] Another creche was located in Marylebone[40] and a third was opened in Whitechapel in 1890. The latter was under the jurisdiction of Florence Booth and the Women's Social Services, while the Borough and Marylebone creches were organized by the slum workers.[41]

The Cellar, Gutter, and Garrett Brigade (the official name for Salvationist slum work) was distinct from routine Salvation Army Corps work. It had developed separately from the Women's Social Services, although their activities came to some extent to be interwoven. Slum work had begun in 1884 when Emma Booth had allowed some of her women cadets to take a room in Drury Lane, Seven Dials and to live among the poor of the district in order to minister to their needs.[42] While not designed specifically for women, this work had particular relevance to their lives, as the following description suggests:

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38  Ibid., p. 219.
39  Ibid., p. 21.
40  Loc. cit.
41  Fairbank, Booth's Boots, p. 59.
42  Sandall, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 98.

They go forth in Apostolic fashion, two-and-two living
in a couple of the same kind of dens or rooms as are
occupied by the people themselves, differing only in the
cleanliness and order, and the few articles of furniture
which they contain. Here they live all the year round,
visiting the sick, looking after the children, showing
the women how to keep themselves and their homes decent,
often discharging the sick mother's duties themselves;
cultivating peace, advocating temperance, counselling in
temporalities, and ceaselessly preaching the religion of
Jesus Christ of the Outcasts of Society.

[43]

It was an officer engaged in slum work who made the first

official suggestion that special facilities should be

provided for women inebriates.[44] This was in 1890, but it was

not until six years later that this project came to fruition

when temporary premises were opened in April 1896.[45] When

Grove House in Upper Clapton became vacant as a result of the

removal of the nursery to Lanark House in Lower Clapton, the

former became the Salvation Army's official home for women

inebriates in June 1889. [46] These premises were considered

most suitable for this type of work as the house was 'airy

and bright' with a 'quiet garden affording ample exercise and

pleasure within our borders'.[47] Applicants for admission were

expected to sign an agreement to remain twelve months, and it

was intended that some should be fee-paying with 'twenty

cases, each paying one guinea weekly, and ten free cases to

[43] W. Booth, In Darkest England and The Way Out, p. 159.

[44] The War Cry, 27 September 1890, p. 4.

[45] The Deliverer, April 1896, p. 152.

[46] The Deliverer, June 1896, p. 187.

[47] The Deliverer, October 1900, p. 54.

do the rougher housework'.[48] No rescue cases were taken but the inmates were drawn from a variety of sources 'and include the wives of independent gentlemen and medical men, trained nurses, hotel manageresses, Post Office clerks, barmaids, book-keepers, upper servants, and the wives of mechanics and tradesmen'.[49]

Other Salvationist facilities for women that were not directly connected to rescue and preventive work were the shelters, metropoles, Eventide homes, and servant registries. The first women's shelter in London was located next to the Hanbury Street refuge in Whitechapel and was opened in 1889.[50] The charge was twopence per night and many of the women who used the shelter were described as 'utterly destitute and degraded, old and struggling to keep out of the workhouse',[51] Although not all the clientele were of this type for the Army also claimed that

> Here, you will find, are all ages and representatives from all positions in society ... hardly a night passes but some young girl comes in whose only crimes are poverty and friendlessness ... Young mothers come; young widows too, who, in their desolation, know not where else to go ... All are alike in one feature that commends them to our love and care - namely, that they are homeless and in need.
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> 52

[48] Loc. cit.

[49] 'Sense and Salvation as applied at our Inebriates' Home', The Deliverer, June 1903, p. 187.

[50] Unsworth, Maiden Tribute, p. 56.

[51] Report of the Committee of Inquiry upon the Darkest England Scheme (London, 1892), p. 11.

By 1891, the Social Services felt able to open a lodging house, known as a metropole, next to the Whitechapel shelter. This had accommodation for twenty-six as permanent lodgers and was intended 'for women who have now risen, and are able to pay fourpence or sixpence for a proper bed'.[53] Need for a women's shelter in the West End also became evident and this project reached fruition when MacKirdy House in Great Titchfield Street was officially opened on 2 November 1911.[54] This hostel held fifty beds and six cots and was intended as an establishment for young women alone in London. Work among women who were young, respectable and without friends or family in the city was an integral part of Salvationist social services from their earliest days. Such work grew from the needs of these women to find suitable employment particularly in domestic service. Salvationist publications regularly carried enquiries for employment and eventually a situation department was established at the Mare Street headquarters.[55] From this, and the need to place women who had passed through the rescue homes, developed the Salvationist servants' registry. Associated with this was a

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[52] An Army Friend, 'Women's Shelter', The Deliverer, February 1891, p. 130.

[53] Colonel A. Cox, 'Daylight Our of Darness', The Deliverer, December 1891, p. 87.

[54] Duchess of Albany, 'Opening of MacKirdy House', The Deliverer, December 1911, p. 183.

[55] The Deliverer, July 1889, (no pagination).

servants' home, opened in 1892 at 90 Ladbroke Grove Road.[56]

Here servants were boarded and lodged for eight shillings a week and while they rested and looked for work they were waited on by young girls, aged from eleven to fourteen, who were being trained by the Salvationists 'to climb up to the ideal set before them in shape of the tidy, respectful, efficient nurses or parlormaids and cooks and "generals" upstairs'.[57]

However, the Salvationists realised that not all women were suitable for domestic service and this meant that they were anxious to find other areas of suitable employment. Bookbinding was considered appropriate because 'it is sheltered, it is fairly paid, it is quickly learned, and it requires a concentration of thought and attention which is an invaluable shield and discipline'.[58] As early as 1888, bookbinding workshops were in operation at Devonshire House, Hackney, and in Whitechapel.[59] Knitting, text washing, upholstery and sewing were all industries undertaken within the rescue homes.[60] However, it was not until 1891 that Florence agreed to the establishment of a Salvationist laundry. This was located in Stoke Newington and initially employed 'twenty-three women ... coming from the slums, the

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56   The War Cry, 27 February 1892, p. 16.

57   All The World, August 1892, pp. 107-108.

58   All The World, February 1888, pp. 64-65.

59   Fairbank, Booth's Boots, p. 105.

60   The Deliverer, September 1891, p. 45; January 1892, p. 120; August 1891, p. 24; October 1891, p. 56.

shelter, the rescue homes and stray workers who come on their own account'.[61]

Another branch of Salvationist social work which developed from their involvement with needy but not necessarily fallen women were the Eventide homes for the aged. Slum officers often encountered respectable, elderly women, without family support, struggling to keep out of the workhouse. In response to this, the Army opened a home for ten of these women at Highams Park in Essex in 1910,[62] and another home for twelve 'old dears' formed part of their Hampstead Garden Suburb complex founded in 1913.[63] These homes were intended to provide care for elderly women who were, by then, in receipt of the old age pension but who lacked family support which would have rendered them still dependent on the workhouse.[64]

Finally, mention should be made of the Enquiry Department which both developed from and contributed to Salvationist rescue work. The War Cry had carried notices for missing persons since 1882,[65] and these appeals were becoming a regular feature by the time of the Maiden Tribute campaign

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[61] All The World, July 1891, p. 504.

[62] 'Our Lonely "Joans"', The Deliverer, April 1911, pp. 51-52.

[63] 'Three Picturesque Cottages in Hampstead Garden Suburb', The Deliverer, March 1913, p. 35.

[64] M. A. Crowther, 'Family Responsibility and State Responsibility in Britain before The Welfare State', Historical Journal, Vol. 25 (1982), pp. 136-137.

[65] Fairbank, Booth's Boots, p. 41.

of 1885. Because of the Army's involvement in this agitation with its emphasis on helping young women and girls believed lost in the city, services designed to locate women seemed to be a desirable part of their programme. Consequently, invitations were issued in the <u>War Cry</u> to parents or relatives wishing to apply for information concerning lost girls,[66] and in 1888 a Help and Enquiry department was established at the Social Services headquarters at Mare Street.[67] A description of this claimed that:

> Its object is to prevent those who are on the road to ruin from precipitating themselves into the awful lake which burns with fire and brimstone. One of its principle features is to restore missing friends to their sorrowing relations, ... [and] when parents have been troubled by vicious and wayward children, this institution has come to their help and prevented calling in the aid of either the reformatory or the penitentiary.
>
> [68]

Another branch of this work was to 'assist the police mostly in criminal cases, where girls have been ruined by men in good positions, under the promise of marriage, deserted and left to the mercy of the world'.[69] This complimented the Salvationists' work of affiliation in cases where there were illegitimate children. As a rule, the cases handled by the

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66   <u>The War Cry</u>, 18 July 1885, p. 1.
67   'Help and Enquiry Department', <u>The Deliverer</u>, January 1890, p. 87.
68   Major G. P. Ewens, 'Enquiry and Help Department', <u>The Deliverer</u>, April 1891, p. 165.
69   Loc. cit.

Enquiry and Help department were those of people who could not afford to employ a detective agency, but when possible a charge was made of between 2s.6d and 3s.6d., towards the expenses of searching and advertising.[70] In 1902, this department was transfered to the Men's Social Work headquarters and from December of that year, advertisements for missing persons in the War Cry appeared in two sections, corresponding to this organisational arrangement. All enquiries were to be directed to the Men's Social Work headquarters, except those for missing husbands which were to be handled by the Women's Social Work Department. Associated with their work for missing persons was the Salvationist Anti-Suicide Bureau established in 1907,[71] and a short-lived matrimonial bureau, proposed by William Booth in his 'Darkest England' scheme, which was in operation in the early 1890s.[72]

By 1914, thirty years after the work had begun, The Salvation Army's Social Work for Women's Directory listed thirty-one establishments in London. These included the Headquarters, the Training Institute, the Mothers' Hospital and Receiving Home, as well as six industrial homes, two inebriate homes, three homes for mothers and children, two homes for children only, two shelters, and twelve slum

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[70] Loc. cit.

[71] 'The Anti-Suicide Bureau', The Deliverer, March 1907, p. 39.

[72] W. Booth, In Darkest England and The Way Out, pp. 233-236; Fairbank, Booth's Boots, p. 46.

[73] About A Thirty Years' War: Annual Report of The Women's

(Footnote continued)

posts.[73]

This brief description of the historical development of the Salvation Army's Social Work for Women has sought to highlight several characteristics which are essential for any understanding of the form and function of this organisation. The work sprang, like much evangelical social work, from the spontaneous gesture of an individual responding to a perceived need; in this case, a Salvationist wishing to rescue a fallen woman. The initial stages lacked forethought, and Florence when describing those early days claimed: 'I had no plan at all, the work was given to me, and I went to it feeling entirely unfit. I had not then even realised that there were such people as prostitutes nor defined to myself what this evil was'.[74] Others drawn to this work also had no idea of the extent to which it would develop. Elizabeth Sapsworth, sole accountant and cashier during the first seven years admitted that she 'never foresaw to what proportions the Women's Social Work would grow'.[75] In the same interview, Lieut.-Colonel Sapsworth also described the difficulties encountered in the first Hanbury Refuge:

> We learned that the kitchen was diminutive, and
> that its fire always smoked when the wind was a certain
> way; that the larger room beyond was liable to be

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[73] (continued)
    Social Work (London, 1895), pp. 30-31.
[74] 'A Chat With Mrs. Bramwell Booth', The Deliverer, July
    1904, p. 2.
[75] 'A Chat With Lieut.-Colonel Sapsworth - Largely
    Reminiscent', The Deliverer, January 1906, p. 6.

invaded by rats; and that bedroom accommodation was so limited that, when all the eight beds upstairs were full the solitary Officer in charge had to sleep in the sitting room!

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From these humble and somewhat chaotic beginnings, the work developed and diversified relatively quickly so that its major characteristics were established during the first decade, between 1884 and 1894. However, it was not only the substance of the work which grew. The tone used to describe it also changed from one of hesitancy to one of assurance. This was evident when the Women's Social Work Headquarters in Hackney was opened in 1911. It was described as:

The new handsome and commodious Headquarters which, with its gold-lettered, red-bricked front, salutes the Town Hall from the opposite side of the way ... there are five floors, counting the basement as one, and there is not an inch of superflous space. On entering the building one has an instant sense of airiness and lightness ... Light green is the predominating colour, and the whole atmosphere is restful and refreshing.

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Nevertheless, this apparent expansion and diversification should not obscure other salient features. For example, the facilities provided tended to be on a small scale. Although the Norwood Home at Cintra Park could accommodate seventy persons, including officers,[78] the

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[76] Loc. cit.

[77] 'An International House-warming', The Deliverer, June 1911, p. 91.

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majority of the Salvationist homes were more modest in size, with capacities ranging from single figures to about thirty-five places.[79] The shelters tended to be larger, with the one in Whitechapel averaging about 164 clients a night in 1891.[80] But expansion in terms of numbers and the size of facilities was not an aim in itself. Although the Army was prepared to take on a large project such as the building of the Mothers' Hospital,[81] they were also planning a Garden Suburb at Hampstead in 1913, to consist of three cottages, each having accommodation for twelve residents.[82] Salvationist involvement in both projects from their inception is some indication that these plans corresponded to their specifications.

The location of the facilities also demonstrates a degree of conformity, despite the apparent diversity. Those facilities which were described as 'homes', such as receiving homes, industrial homes, homes for mothers and children, and Eventide homes, were to be found in areas that Charles Booth's maps of poverty suggest had less than twenty percent

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[78] 'Norwood Home in Larger Premises', The Deliverer, July 1906, p. 103.

[79] These figures are drawn from the Annual Reports and the descriptions of facilities published in Salvationist periodicals; for example, 'What is Done with the Rescue Funds?', The Deliverer, September 1890, p. 46.

[80] An Army Friend, 'Women's Shelter', p. 130.

[81] F. Booth, 'Personal Notes', The Deliverer, March 1913, p. 40.

[82] The Deliverer, February 1913, p. 25.

of the population living in poverty, and in some areas such as Sydenham Hill and Denmark Hill, the average poverty level was less than ten percent. Much of the Salvationists' Social Work for Women was located in Hackney which was described by Charles Booth as 'almost entirely a middle class district', where 'large and small houses are pulled down, and those of medium size erected'.[83] The slum posts, on the other hand, where located in areas where the poverty figures ranged from approximately thirty-two percent to the sixty percent of Southwark. The Whitechapel shelter and the Piccadilly midnight post for prostitutes also fall into this category and the Oxford Street metropole serviced the poorer parts of the West End. The district maternity posts, however, were to be found in the more prosperous areas of Hackney, Clapton, and Canning Town.

This distribution of facilities did not reflect the presence of the Salvation Army itself in any particular area. The British Weekly religious census of 1888 indicated that 'the Army was not a conspicuous success in the East End', but that 'they seemed to have established small but stable centres, not in depressed areas, but in solid working class communities'.[84] This pattern seems to have persisted and was evident in the 1902-1903 study conducted by the Daily News.

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[83] C. Booth, Life and Labour of The People in London: First Series: Poverty (London, 1902), Vol. 1, p. 72.

[84] C. Ward, 'The Social Sources of The Salvation Army, 1865-1890' (University of London, M.Phil., 1970), p. 117.

According to this survey, the Army in north London was most firmly established among the working classes, but not among the very poor, and it was weak in areas where Anglicanism and Nonconformity were strong.[85] The same pattern was apparent in south London, where Camberwell and Brixton were the best established corps.[86] In the poorer districts of Southwark, Bermondsey, and Battersea, 'where church attendances were infrequent, the Army was seen to fare no better than other places of worship'.[87] In the West End, Salvationist halls were situated almost entirely in the poorer districts, but their numerical success was not great.[88] Overall, the Army's evangelical work was more significant in the expanding working class suburbs than it was in the areas of 'indeterminate poverty'.[89] The Social Services for Women were located in the slum areas or in middle class districts. The explanation for this lay in the rationale behind the Social Services, for the Salvationists' view of the structure of society was reproduced in their administrative policy.

In order to understand the relationship between the geographical distribution of facilities and the ideological analysis of the social hierarchy, it is necessary to see that different social services had different aims and functions. The slum work, maternity work, midnight posts, and the

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[85] Ibid., pp.127-130.

[86] Ibid., p.124.

[87] Ibid., p.125.

[88] Ibid., p.126.

[89] Ibid., p.129.

enquiry department sought to establish networks of responsibility. The industrial homes, mothers and children homes, and Eventide homes can be seen as aiming to provide protected family environments. The shelters and metropoles were essentially contact points, but they could also be used as family bases depending on the requirements of the client. In the previous chapter it has been argued that the Salvationists envisaged the world as potentially populated with moral adults who would demonstrate this fact by choosing others over self in their alloted social roles. Consequently, society could and should become a chain of mutual responsibilities. Yet without a relationship between individuals, based on even the most elementary forms of contact, society or God's order would not function. The initial task in building this network of responsibilities was to establish contact between individuals and it was this which William had always considered to be an essential part of his mission. In later life he remarked: 'I have been trying all my life to stretch out my arms so as to reach with one hand the poor and at the same time to keep the other in touch with the rich'.[90] From his earliest preaching days, Booth's personality and perceptions led him to believe that the poor needed to be brought into the family fold of the Church. His Christian Mission, from which the Salvation Army developed, was founded to do just that. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that while William laboured amongst the poor, Catherine did likewise among the rich, and her first biographer described her ministry as 'peculiarly acceptable

to the better classes, and she was not slow to avail herself to the utmost of the opportunity which this afforded, not only for blessing their souls, but for laying before them their responsibilities in caring for the godless masses'.[91]

However, the poor who chose the Booths were not essentially the masses whom William sought to work amongst. Evidence suggests that those men and women who joined the Salvation Army were drawn from the upper working class and were 'work conscious enough to be able to respond to the discipline of the Army way of life, and yet aware of their need for a corporate identity'. Membership in the Army provided 'an anchor and a launching ground for some of those who stood in great need of both'.[92] Becoming a Salvationist could give the man or woman in regular employment who valued their respectability a way of working out their own salvation while enhancing their self-image and confirming their social standing as respectable and not rough working people. Given this type of recruitment, it is more understandable why the Salvation Army's barracks were to be found in the upper working class districts of London, even though their aim remained to reach the 'godless masses' believed to reside in the poorest parts of the metropolis.[93]

The establishment of slum posts within these poorer

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90  Booth-Tucker, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 394.
91  Loc. cit.
92  Ward, op. cit., p. 96.
93  H. McLeod, Class and Religion in The Late Victorian City (London, 1974), p. 27.

districts allowed the Salvationists to move among the people, providing help, particularly of a medical nature. This can be seen as an attempt to make contact, although it is usually argued that Booth allowed his soldiers to undertake this work because he realized that without the basic human necessities, the poor would be unable to respond to the Gospel's message.[94] This would be inconsistent with Salvationist ideology, for the giving of indiscriminate aid would be seen to undermine the individual's ability to be morally responsible. In this, the Salvationists were at one with their critics, the Charity Organization Society.[95] Where they differed was in their insistence that help should be offered to all who were in need as a means of creating contact and testing the recipient's potential for moral responsibility. An example of this was a maternity case attended by district nurse Sarah. The family was described as being in a state of 'desolation' because 'the father had been out of work for some time ...[and] had begun to despair of ever getting on his feet again'. Through the intercession of the Salvationist, 'employment was found for him, and he proved himself so worthy a workman that they were soon able to

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[94] K. S. Inglis, Churches and The Working Classes in Victorian England (London, 1963), p. 195.

[95] C. S. Loch, An Examination of General Booth's Social Scheme (London, 1890); 'Mr. Loch and "General" Booth', Saturday Review, 20 December 1890, pp. 699-700; H. Ausubel, 'General Booth's Scheme of Social Salvation', American Historical Review, Vol. 56 (1950-51), pp. 519-525.

remove to more healthy apartments'.[96] This family had been a new case for the Army, and contact was initially made because of the mother's impending confinement. This allowed the Salvationist to enter the home and help promote the moral adulthood of the parents through the nurse's personal example and by securing work for the father. It was implied that this would lead to a conversion which would be under-pinned by material improvement, yet the family would be expected to reimburse the Army for the services provided, as this would form a foundation on which moral adulthood could be built. Other Salvationist Social Services such as the Enquiry Department also aimed to combine the establishment of contact with the promotion of responsibility through payment where possible. In this case, the aim was to recreate the basic family network by reuniting relatives who were lost in the hostile urban environment. Booth believed that 'perhaps nothing more vividly suggests the varied forms of broken-hearted misery in the great city than the statement that 18,000 people are lost in it every year'.[97] Only under exceptional circumstances would the Salvationists surrender the test of moral adulthood by waiving the financial contribution. Such occasions were those which would allow an unusually high degree of contact. During the dock strike of 1889 'free tea for one thousand wives and children of those

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[96]  'An Old Hospital and A New', The Deliverer, May 1913, p. 75.

[97]  W. Booth, Darkest England, p. 194.

out on strike' was provided at the Hanbury Street shelter, thus giving 'the opportunity to get near to these people, and through this suffering, find an entrance for the "balm of Gilead"'.[98] Salvationist social services of this kind can best be described as 'network social services' whose rationale of establishing contact differed from those services which sought to fulfill the functions of home and family.

As previously suggested, for the Salvationists the family was defined as a set of responsible relationships between adults and children, and the home was considered to be a place of shelter, protection, nuture and training. It was in an attempt to provide these facilities for women without family and alone in the metropolis that the Salvation Army established shelters and homes. However, it should be noted that the Army made a distinction between the facilities provided and the moral capabilities of the recipient. Those women using the shelters, servants' homes and Eventide homes were expected to make some financial contribution. These services were premised on the assumption that these women could take responsibility for themselves and were consequently, moral adults. The rescue homes, on the other hand, assumed a lack of finacial independence and therefore, by Salvationist criteria, an implied absence of responsibility which was indicative of moral childishness. The homes were designed to train the women, particularly through fostering a commitment to work, and the success of this was assessed by the woman's ability to be

self-supporting after the rescue process and her willingness to send contributions to the upkeep of the homes from her wages. Nevertheles, in spite of this emphasis on moral adulthood, the Salvationists did recognize that there were some women who were unable to be responsible for themselves. Such a case was the widow of a shipping partner whose 'poor brain dazed and worn by the sins of years' meant that she was quite incapable of earning her own living, so that the Army sought 'any Christian lady' who 'will take her to their fireside, giving her a warm corner to knit stockings all day'.[99] It was because of this emphasis on providing shelter and training that the Salvationist homes were located in middle class suburban areas. A modest yet secluded villa was considered an appropriate physical setting for family life. It is interesting to note that the Booths' own family home in Gore Street, Hackney was later converted into the Salvation Army Hospital Home, a development which demonstrates the close connection for Salvationists between family home and social service.[100] The exception to this was the shelters, which by providing cheap accommodation aimed to be both a contact point and a home.

The preceeding analysis of the Salvation Army's Social Services for Women has sought to highlight the relationship

[98] The Deliverer, September 1889, p. 30.

[99] Staff-Captain Asdell, 'Irish Notes', The Deliverer, August 1890, p. 30.

[100] 'Staff-Captain Hall and the Gore Road Hospital Home', The Deliverer, September 1898, p. 42.

between the physical dimensions of the work, such as its scale and location, and the ideological intentions of the workers as suggested by their policies. While this combination explains the character of the work, it is also arguable that there was a consistency between Salvationist theory and practice, despite later protestations that its beginnings were unorganized and those involved lacked either forethought or confidence. This consistency has not always been apparent to historians.[101] The origins of the Army's Social Services have been explained in terms of William's sudden conversion to a social programme 'when at last he was persuaded that it was good spiritual strategy to do so'.[102] This implies a divergence in approach between Salvationist evangelical work and social services, and credence is given to this interpretation by referring to the fact that in the early days of the Christian Mission William abandoned attempts to give charitable relief to the poor.[103] As late as 1882, he had declared that 'free teas, petticoats and blankets made many hypocrites; no money was given - not even to those who had just been saved, except in very exceptional circumstances'.[104] However, this view of General Booth's change of course can only be sustained if the spiritual work of soul saving is juxtaposed with the material relief of

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[101] Inglis, op. cit., p. 201.

[102] Loc. cit.

[103] W. Booth, How to Reach The Masses With The Gospel (London, 1870), p. 30.

[104] Sandall, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 294.

destitution. On the other hand, if the issues are viewed in terms of establishing contact with individuals as the first requirement in the promotion of their moral adulthood, the cornerstone of which was Christian commitment, then the contrast is not so evident.

The Booths always considered their main task to be that of reaching the masses, particularly the two-thirds majority who had never crossed the threshold of a church or a chapel.[105] The means of accomplishing this remained a problem. Their resignation from the Methodist New Connection coincided with a general ban by the Methodist churches on the employment of revivalist preachers. As this prohibition became more effective, the Booths experienced difficulty in finding congregations willing to sponsor them even for limited engagements. This forced them to find alternative methods of preaching the gospel. They began to hold services in secular buildings and to incorporate the testmonies of startling conversions in their services. Gradually, the Booths realized that the working classes were most effectively reached by their own people.[106] Looking back on this period, Booth saw the hand of God forcing him to wander in the wilderness before bringing him to the full realization of his mission in the East End.[107] At the time, however, it must have been a frustrating experience. Having sacrificed a

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[105] C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, p. 194.

[106] Sandall, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 16.

[107] Ibid., p. 11.

secure career in order to follow his calling of bringing the masses to God, William was having difficulty in finding an opportunity to do so.

In July 1865 Booth accepted an invitation from the East London Special Services Committee to undertake services for one week in a tent raised on an old Quaker burial ground in Whitechapel. This committee, taking its inspiration from the Home Mission movement, aimed 'to extend and encourage mission work in East London'.[108] These services were immensely successful and the Special Services Committee agreed to help William make the work permanent. This resulted in the foundation of the Christian Revival Association, commonly known as the Christian Mission. A number of evangelists were employed and this small group grew into the Salvation Army as the implications of the Booths' personalities and philosophy began to find more concrete expression.

At first the Mission was under the direction of a committee, but as the work grew, a centralized authority structure appeared to be more advantageous. Booth was encouraged in this belief by his son, Bramwell, and their close associate, George Scott Railton.[109] In January 1877 a conference of the missions's evangelists agreed that their work would be under the direct control of the General Superintendent, William Booth.[110] At the same time William

[108] Ibid., pp. 21-22.

[109] G. S. Railton, Heathen England (London, 1879), p. 179; B. Booth, These Fifty Years, p. 145.

[110] Sandall, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 198-206.

initiated a military form of government. He argued: 'we have been called by the arrangement of Divine providence to be officers and leaders in His Army and,we are set to consider how we can best advance the interests of that Army'.[111]

Booth's militant stance and the para-military tactics employed in his missionary work evolved from his understanding of how to approach the problem of making contact with the sinful. The real battlefield was in the heart of each individual, where war was to be waged over 'the separation from and renunciation of the world, the flesh, and the devil, which must come before there could be any reconciliation with God'.[112] The problem was to arouse in the individual the desire to forsake Satan and give himself to God. This would best be accomplished by warning the individual of his imminent damnation and the power of salvation. This was considered the duty of the churches and chapels, but in the case of the majority of the poor the gospel was not reaching them, as they did not attend the services. Booth and his followers were only too well aware that conventional religious services produced in the poor 'a sense of discomfort' and 'the feeling that all this kind of thing was for others, not for them'.[113] What was needed was a force that was separate from the established churches, whilst at the same time able to perform God's work. Booth's aide,

[111] Ibid., p. 207.
[112] Railton, op. cit., p. 65.
[113] Ibid., p. 15.

Railton, expressed how the Army saw its mission:

> We only desire to form and to keep up outside every
> denominational circle a body as large as we can of
> free-shooters, for the express purpose of assaulting
> with spiritual weapons those who, like ourselves, are
> without the church, but who, unlike us, are still in
> rebellion against God.
>
> <div align="right">114</div>

The first problem was to find the people and to attract their attention. Outdoor meetings and processions were introduced for this purpose. Brass bands, distinctive uniforms and the use of women preachers were helpful in this, although Salvationists were known to go to extreme lengths to gather a crowd.[115] Once the crowd was gathered, it was important to make clear that religion had some relevance to the listeners personally. Hopefully it would create enough interest to tempt some of the audience to take the matter further. The singing of hymns to well-known tunes, straight-forward, simple preaching and testimonies from working class converts were all important here.[116] After the short outdoor meetings, the procession would move on to a rented hall, theatre or concert room, followed by the people who had been attracted. Here 'quietly seated, free from distractions ... the gospel can with greater clearness be set forth and apprehended'.[117] This was Booth's reasoning, and

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[114] Ibid., p. 145.

[115] Sandall, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 211-212; Railton, op. cit., p. 124; Booth-Tucker, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 166.

[116] Railton, op. cit., p. 96, p. 39.

once inside the hall, more hymns were sung before a fiery sermon was preached, exhorting the sinner to come to God. After the sermon, members of the congregation would be invited to come to the penitent form to confess their sins as the first step to conversion. The vast number of people who were converted at these services raises the question of the nature of the Army's appeal. Testimonies of converts stress how they were overcome by the sense of their sins and the danger of damnation when listening to Salvationist preaching.[118] To a poorly educated or superstitious individual, the vividness and intensity of the preaching must have been very disturbing. On the hand, Salvationists could impress simply by their behaviour. In a community which valued strength and courage, the unflinching persistence of the outdoor preachers in the face of ridicule and open hostility created a favourable impression.[119] The joy and peace that Salvationists talked about was also attractive, and bystanders were often heard to reflect that 'these people have got something that I haven't'.[120]

These tactics aimed to produce immediate and definite results by the conversion of members of the public. This was justified on theological grounds by the belief that the gospel properly preached would visibly prove its

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[117] W. Booth, How to Reach the Masses with the Gospel, p. 17.

[118] Ibid., p. 52.

[119] Railton, op. cit., p. 44, p. 48.

[120] Loc. cit.

efficiency.[121] Salvationists also knew that they would probably have only one chance to convince an individual who had previously been little-disposed to the gospel. Hugh McLeod, in his book <u>Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City</u>, has demonstrated that in tightly knit working class communities there was a collective position of antagonism to most aspects of organized religion, although usually a significant minority rejected this point of view. The localized world view of the poor, combined with their sense of economic impotency, made them indifferent if not hostile to the larger concerns represented by the churches. They were not, however, above using church facilities for their own ends.[122] As a result of these attitudes, an individual who embraced the religious life would be subjected to ridicule and ostracized by his family and peers. The convert entered a new life not only spiritually but socially and emotionally as well. It was a decision that could be made deliberately but it was also one that could come with both rapidity and intensity.[123] Once converted, the individual needed a new social circle to replace the one rejected as sinful. It was unrealistic to expect a convert to return to old friends and pastimes, not only in terms of the temptation this would be to his new convictions, but also because of the isolation that could be experienced through having become in some way

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[121] Ibid., p. 134.

[122] McLeod, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

[123] Railton, op. cit., p. 137.

different. By using new converts to continue the work and by providing evening and weekend services and activities, the Salvation Army created an alternative environment.[124]

While the Salvationists aimed for contact and quick conversion, this was also to be lasting and sincere. Railton summarized the Army's approach when he wrote:

> The most solemn warnings, as to the half-hearted and those who fail to confess the Master before men, are dealt out without sparing to all our people, and thus no one can be with us for two days without being given clearly to understand that there must be a radical change in every part of his life, if he is to enter heaven at last.
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> [125]

The convert was taught that this change necessitated 'tracing every evil thought and deed back to the innate corruption of the heart', but that 'with prayer these inward roots of bitterness would be removed.' With a good foundation it was then considered easy to 'love God with all one's heart and soul and mind and strength and one's neighbour as one's self'.[126] Salvation for the Army meant more than this theology, for they saw religion as essentially practical, a matter of life and conduct. Practical holiness meant abstention from drink, tobacco, showy dress and worldly books and amusements. It also became apparent from the beginning that a certain period of religious experience was necessary

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[124] Ibid., pp. 80-83, p. 115.
[125] Ibid., p. 138.
[126] Ibid., p. 146.

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for those people who had been generally ignorant of the theory of salvation before their conversion, but who wished to share in the work of leading and teaching others.[127] The Christian Mission conducted believers' meetings to encourage converts to share and develop their spiritual lives. As this Mission developed into the Salvation Army, its general members became known as soldiers, while those engaged in full-time mission work were known as officers. The emphasis on developing the religiosity of those already in the Army became an important part of the officers' training programme, where personal interviews were used to work out religious difficulties. While the enthusiasm and militarism of the Army's approach to the poor is often focused upon, their attitude to training those whom they contacted has been overlooked, even though they regarded their converts as 'spiritual children' and the Army as 'God's nursery'.[128]

While the issues of contact and training, and a consistency between theory and practice were endemic to the Salvationist mission, the specific character of their Social Services for Women evolved through the interaction of these variables with the forces of personality and circumstances and the structural constraints of charity work. As has already been suggested, contact between those who sought to bring the message of Christ to others and the recipients of that message generated its own problems. Among these was the

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[127] Ibid., p. 182.

[128] Railton, op. cit., pp. 142-146.

desire of Salvationists working among the poor to combine the giving of spiritual and material comfort, in spite of orders to the contrary from those in authority.[129] Mrs. Cottrill, the soldier who initially took penitent prostitutes into her own home, was a significant example of this trend. However, this does not explain the reasons why the Booths agreed officially to adopt the work of rescuing prostitutes, when other forms of ameliorating distress were abandonned. William also continued to exhibit his reluctance about such projects. One of his biographers claimed that there was not 'much enthusiasm on the part of William Booth when his son, Bramwell, in 1884, almost forced the Salvation Army to take up this difficult work'.[130] The explanation for this lies in the perceptions and experiences of those closest to William and their ability to influence him and, through him, the policies of the Salvation Army.

Foremost amongst these influences on William was, of course, his wife, Catherine. She had always had a particular concern for fallen women, and even before the founding of the Christian Mission had preached at services organised by the Midnight Movement.[131] Her sympathy for these women was evident in the message of her sermons, which stressed that everyone had have sinned against God and that no particular sin was worse than any other. Her criticism of conventional

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[129] Fairbank, Booth's Boots, p. 75.

[130] Begbie, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 37.

[131] Booth-Tucker, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 387.

society, which included condemnation of this irresponsible attitude, fired her indignation at a system which allowed these women to be entrapped and outcast while leaving their paramours unpunished.[132] She eventually withdrew her support for this work, explaining: 'I found from the girls own stories that it was the demand which created the supply and that as soon as one was saved another girl was procured to supply her place in the ranks of infamy.'[133] However, Catherine was also disturbed 'with the attitude of those who, in their efforts to rescue the fallen, treated them rather with suspicion and pity than with confidence and love'.[134] Because of her empathy for these women and her hostility to the irresponsibility of men, Catherine was predisposed to support her son, Bramwell, in his request to undertake the work of rescuing prostitutes despite William's hesitancy. It is interesting to note that Bramwell was equally anxious to help these women, an indication of the fact that this was a concern which was not solely perceived by the women of the family. Bramwell's personality and talents led him to be more interested in this kind of work. His daughter described him as 'master of the detail of every Salvation Army activity, he has been recognised as the organising genius of the concern by those both without and with the ranks'.[135] Not only was

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[132] Loc. cit.; C. Booth, 'A New Enterprise', The Deliverer, July 1889, p. 7.

[133] The War Cry, 18 July 1885, p. 1.

[134] C. Bramwell-Booth, Catherine Booth, p. 388.

[135] C. Bramwell Booth, Bramwell Booth, p. 137.

Bramwell an organiser and administrator but this was allied

to a concern for others. This again was highlighted by his

daughter:

> My father was a 'motherer' long before he was out of his
> 'teens; before he was married he 'mothered' his own
> father and mother, and he continued to do so until their
> death. Read his letters to his sisters and brothers, to
> officers of the Salvation Army, to the troubled
> everywhere, and you will know that here was a man whose
> very life it was to gather to his heart and shelter
> there the 'little ones' among men, the sorrowful, the
> oppressed, and the despairing.
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In these characteristics, Bramwell favoured his mother rather

than his father. In spite of this contrast in personality and

perceptions, William relied on them both and 'often looked

for help in his public work to his wife, and after her death

he turned increasingly to his son'.[137]

It is arguable then that notwithstanding the centralized

authority structure of the Army and William's reluctance, his

reliance on his wife and son led to in the Salvationists

undertaking an extension of their evangelical work. The Army

already had a limited tradition of work among prostitutes. It

considered itself to have 'special power in reaching that

particular class of women frequently regarded as not to be

helped, or else as not worth helping'.[138] From the time of

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136 Ibid., p. 243.

137 Ibid., p. 240.

138 Quenched; Annual Report of The Women's Social Work, p.
   5.

the Christian Mission prostitutes were amongst those who were drawn to the services and converted. If it had not been for the Salvation Army's involvement in the Maiden Tribute Campaign of 1885, it is possible that this new venture of rescue work might have remained on the modest scale of the Hanbury refuge. This agitation was so important for the development of the Women's Social Services that it must be examined in greater detail.

Chapter Five

THE TURNING POINT:

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 'MAIDEN TRIBUTE' AGITATION

OF 1885

During the summer of 1885 there was a tremendous public

outcry over the question of juvenile prostitution. William

Stead, the editor of the Pall Mall Gazette, had aroused

indignation by the publication of a series of articles

entitled 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon'. These

focused on the existence of juvenile prostitution in London

and the presence of an organized traffic in young women to

supply continental brothels.[1] These publications led to mass

meetings being held in London and throughout the country, and

the gathering of a petition signed by 343,000 people and

measuring two and a half miles in length.[2] Under this public

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[1] Pall Mall Gazette, 6-10 July 1885.

[2] For a narrative account of the campaign see Unsworth,
op. cit. pp. 16-35; A. Stafford, The Age of Consent
(Footnote continued)

pressure, Lord Salisbury's recently installed 'caretaker' minority Conservative government, after consultation with the Liberal opposition, provided parliamentary time for a debate on the issue on 9 July. By 14 August a bill entitled 'An Act to make Further Provision for the Protection of Women and Girls, the Suppression of Brothels, and Other Purposes' had received the royal assent.[3] This Act is usually referred to as the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1885). It has been mainly remembered for raising the age of consent for girls from 13 to 16, and for the so-called 'Labouchere' clause, under which convicted homosexuals were liable for imprisonment for up to two years, with the option of hard labour according to the discretion of the court.

The intriguing question for the historian is why groups within the upper and middle classes became so concerned with these problems in 1885, especially when it is considered that juvenile prostitution was only a small part of the market in vice. Recently, several historians have addressed themselves to this question and their unanimous verdict is that the Criminal Law Amendment Act was a symptom of a swing to the right.[4] In general, this criticism of the act is summarized

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[2](continued)
(London, 1964); A. Plowden, The Case of Eliza Armstrong, (London, 1974).

[3] 48 and 49 Vict., Ch.69 (14 August 1885).

[4] Gorham, op.cit.; Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society; Walkowitz, 'Male Vice and Feminist Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in
(Footnote continued)

by Walkowitz's statement that the 'white slavery and child prostitution scandals had all the symptoms of a cultural paranoia overtaking Britain in the late nineteenth century, as its industrial pre-eminence was seriously challenged by the United States and other new industrial nations, its military position and imperial holdings by Germany, and its domestic peace and class structure by the spread of labour unrest and the growth of socialism'.[5] Criticisms of the legislation fall into three categories. The first argues that the law was repressive in that it aimed to control, if not actually deny, voluntary sexual responses under the guise of protecting girls and young women. For example, it was supposed to give the police greater powers of jurisdiction over poor, working women. The second criticism is that the law was hypocritical in that it 'served to assuage middle class guilt without really implicating members of the bourgeoisie in the sexual oppression of working class women and girls'.[6] Specifically, this implies that the reformers placed the blame for prostitution on the shoulders of foreign white slavers and on the aristocracy, whilst they ignored the economic exploitation of women under capitalism which led them to take up prostitution on a voluntary basis.

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[4](continued)
      Nineteenth-Century Britain', History Workshop Journal,
      No. 13 (1982), pp. 77-93; F.B. Smith, 'Labouchere's
      Amendment to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill,' Historial
      Studies, Vol. 17 (1976), pp. 165-175.
[5]  Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society, p. 247.
[6]  Ibid., p. 250.

Furthermore, it is charged that this hypocricy was doubly dishonest, as the reformers claimed to be protecting children from sexual abuse on the grounds that they were attacking crime not vice, but that subsequently the new legislation was used to attack vice as well. The latter point leads onto the third major criticism which is that the legislation was ineffective because it did not attack the economic basis of prostitution and consequently must be viewed as a symbolic rather than a fundamental social reform.

In order to understand whether the Salvation Army should be included in these criticisms, it is necessary to examine the justification for them in some depth. The first criticism, concerning the repressive nature of the Act, raises the question of the way in which the legislation was framed, with the intention of promoting sexual respectability. Part One of the Act was entitled the 'Protection of Women and Girls', and its second clause was aimed at 'anyone who procures or attempts to procure any girl or women under twenty-one years of age,...to have unlawful carnal connexion'.[7] Clause three concerned 'any person who procures the defilement of a woman by threats, fraud, or the administering of drugs', while clauses four and five were directed towards any person who 'unlawfully and carnally knows any girl under the age of thirteen years' or any person who 'knows or attempts to have unlawful carnal knowledge of

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[7] 48 and 49 Vict., Ch.69 (14 August 1885), Part 1, Section 2.

any girl being of or above the age of thirteen years and under the age of sixteen'. The next three clauses were aimed at any person who assisted in the above crimes either by being the owner or occupier of any premises on which the crime took place, or who assisted by holding a girl or woman against her will. The two following sections dealt with the power, on indictment for rape, to convict for the misdemeanor of indecent assault if the jury was not satisfied that the defendant was guilty of the original felony, and with the power of search. Section 11 was directed against 'any act of gross indecency' between men. The second part of the act was concerned with the suppression of brothels and was directed at the managers of brothels and at those from whom they rented premises. As this brief resume suggests, none of the clauses were aimed at punishing girls or young women caught having sexual intercourse. The only scenario in which interference with the woman's own choice could possibly have arisen was under section ten. This allowed a parent or guardian who had reasonable cause to suspect that a girl under the age of eighteen was being held against her own or her father's will for immoral purposes to obtain a warrant to have her returned to her parents or guardian. It is possible that a girl who had established a common law relationship with a man without the consent of her parents or guardian could thus have been forceably returned home. As there were no clauses imposing punishment on women prostituting themselves or on girls who were discovered to have had sexual intercourse whilst under the legal age of consent, it would

appear rather that the act was directed against men. This interpretation is supported by the evidence of the inclusion of penalties for male homosexuality for it was male, and not female, sexual activity which was to be controlled. The act sought not only to limit male sexuality, but also to curb those who sought to profit from other's sexual license. As this was the case, it is difficult to see how the law gave the police powers of jurisdiction over poor working women. Although it was intended to restrict the activities of brothel keepers, it is arguable that these people, both male and female, were more likely to be exploiting working class women than to be exploited themselves.[8]

The second criticism was that the act was hypocritical, in that it served to assuage middle class guilt without implicating members of the bourgeoisie in the sexual oppression of working class women and girls. In order to answer this, it is necessary to identify who was involved in the instigation of the bill and to assess their perceptions of the problem, in order to understand why they formulated these particular solutions.

Since 1879 there had been an organised concern that legislation should be passed to prevent the spread of juvenile prostitution. In that year Alfred Dyer, a quaker who specialized in the publication of books on social purity, had undertaken an investigation in Belgium where he had discovered English girls being kept as virtual prisoners in brothels.[9] On returning to England, Dyer enlisted the co-operation of Benjamin Scott, a philanthropist and the

Chamberlain of the City of London, and together they founded 'The London Committee for the Suppression of the Traffic in British Girls for the Purposes of Continental Prostitution'. These reformers then placed pressure on the government to introduce legislation, and in 1881 a Select Committee of the House of Lords was appointed to investigate the situation. At the same time, the Home Office also appointed a barrister, Thomas Snagg, to undertake an independent enquiry into the abduction and detention of English girls in continental brothels. Snagg's report, which appeared as an appendix to the Report of the Select Committee,[10] substantiated Dyer's allegations by providing detailed information on thirty-three women who had been entrapped into continental brothels during the period 1879-1880. The recommendations of the committee aimed to prevent the traffic in English girls by making it a serious misdemeanour for any person to procure or attempt to procure a woman to enter a foreign brothel under false pretences. The committee was appalled by evidence it heard, which seemed to suggest a widespread increase in juvenile prostitution. To stem this tide, they suggested that the age

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[8] Mayhew. op.cit., Vol. 4, pp. 220-221.

[9] Six Years Labour and Sorrow; Being The Fourth Report of The London Committee for Suppressing The Traffic in British Girls for the Purpose of Continental Prostitution (London, 1885).

[10] 'Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Enquire into the state of the Law Related to the Protection of Young Girls', Parliamentary Papers, No. 344 (1882), p. xiii.

of consent be raised from thirteen to sixteen and that the age of unlawful abduction be raised from sixteen to twenty-one. They also wanted the police to be able to search a house if they suspected that a girl was entrapped within, and for soliciting in the streets to be made an offence without the police having to produce proof that it was 'done to the annoyance of inhibitants or passers-by'.[11] Their final recommendation was that girls under the age of sixteen found to be soliciting and who did not have friends able to provide a suitable home for them should be admitted to a refuge or an industrial school.

It is in the evidence and recommendations of this committee that the clearest examples of uninformed and biased middle class attitudes can be found. For example, when the committee reconvened to hear evidence in 1882 it called as witnesses such people as Ellice Hopkins, known for her preventative work among girls and her support for the Industrial School Amendment Act, the Rev. James Nugent, Chaplain of Liverpool Borough jail, and Commander Alfred Eaton R.N., Inspector for the Liverpool School Board. In the course of their work, these people came into daily contact with prostitutes and young people in 'moral danger'. They invariably claimed that juvenile prostitution was increasing, and their opinions clearly influenced the committee. However, their evidence was based solely upon personal observation and opinion; it simply seemed to them that the situation was getting worse, although they did not produce any figures to substantiate their claims. Their analysis of the causes of

the problem often appeared to be confused. For example, the Rev. Nugent felt that the special character of Liverpool bred prostitution in that there were few occupations for women and many sailors being discharged on shore leave. He argued, however, that the solution to the problem was to raise the age of consent to at least sixteen, twenty-one if possible, while making prison sentences for young women under twenty who were convicted of prostitution more punitive.[12] These witnesses strongly argued for state measures to coerce the poor into more moral behaviour. Commander Eaton believed that juvenile prostitution was caused by the 'careless neglect of parents',[13] and that therefore the solution lay in the supervision of working class homes. Eaton also argued that if a father brought up his child in immoral conditions then the child should be taken from him and placed in an institution until the father had 'cleansed his house'.[14] The father would be expected to pay for the child's residence in the home. Eaton felt that the working classes spent so much on drink that they could afford to support their children properly.[15] This is an example of the Victorian middle class at its worst - completely unsympathetic, if not ignorant, of the realities of working class life while seeking to impose its own values by the use of coercion if necessary. It is perhaps this group

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[11] Ibid., p. iv.

[12] Ibid., p. 19.

[13] Ibid., p. 26.

[14] Ibid., p. 27.

[15] Loc. cit.

of officials against whom the charges of hypocricy can most effectively be levelled. These individuals had jobs which depended on bringing civilizing influences to the heathen poor, whilst their personal comfort was maintained by the services of cheap female labour.

The experts called before the committee were in favour of coercing young, working class girls and women into non-sexual behaviour. The report of the committee comprised two specific proposals for preventing immoral behaviour and six suggestions directed towards preventing young women and girls from being abducted.[16] A Criminal Law Amendment bill was drafted on the basis of these recommendations. On several occasions versions of the bill were debated and passed by the House of Lords, but failed to pass the Commons. One of the reasons for this was lack of government interest. During this period Gladstone's second administration was occupied with the more politically pressing issues of Ireland, the Bradlaugh case, and the crisis in the Sudan.[17] One of the other difficulties was the problem of framing legislation on moral questions. The tenor of the debates reveals that there was a general awareness that prostitution was caused by a variety of factors. There was also a realisation that the law was limited in what it could do to redress the problem, as it was essentially an artificial pressure.[18] Those who opposed

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[16] Ibid., pp. iii-v.

[17] R. R. James, The British Revolution: British Politics 1880-1939 (London, 1978), pp. 47-103.

the bill argued that raising the age of consent would not attack the roots of immorality, and this was allied to a fundamental lack of enthusiasm for legislating on moral issues.[19] There was also the problem of keeping the requirements of the courtroom constantly in mind, and the assessment of what sort of evidence would be sufficient to convict a man or woman of entrappment or unlawful connection by intimidation, given that the situation was one of private conduct. This consideration was linked to the issue of whether the gathering of such evidence led to an infringement of individual liberty and the encouragement of police corruption and blackmail. These considerations further intensified the feeling that it was impossible to pass laws that would make people moral. It was the difficulties of resolving these problems and the unsatisfactory conceptualization of the bill which greatly contributed to its slow passage through Parliament. The bill was debated in May 1885 and talked out in a House of Commons with only twenty-two members present. It seemed then to Benjamin Scott that 'to all human appearances the bill was lost',[20] and this might well have been the case but for the intervention of

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[18] *Parliamentary Debates (Lords)*, 3rd. series, Vol. 286, col. 1445, col.1459 (3 April 1884).

[19] B. Harrison, 'State Intervention and Moral Reform', in P. Hollis, ed., *Pressure from Without* (London, 1974), p. 301.

[20] B. Scott, *Speeches on Social Purity* (London, 1885), p. 3.

William Stead's articles in the _Pall Mall Gazette_.

What exactly did Stead accomplish? In order to answer to this question, it is necessary to examine another group of reformers, who differed from the officials called before the Select Committee of the Lords. In particular, discussion focuses on the involvement of Catherine Booth and Josephine Butler.[21] Neither of these women could convincingly be described as a hypocrite or as guilty of a pretence to virtue, for their lives and work were characterized by sincerity and a deep commitment to their beliefs. Booth and Butler did not attribute the cause of prostitution to white slavers, nor did they argue that it was exclusively concerned with juveniles. In her writing and her work, Butler showed a keen awareness of the relationship between poverty and prostitution.[22] Booth's belief that women were independent moral agents meant that, for her, responsibility for immoral acts must ultimately rest with the individual. Furthermore, neither woman considered that legislation was a viable solution to the problems of immorality. Catherine's fundamental view that both men and women must choose between good and evil implies that coercion was irrelevant; the heart cannot be changed by force. Josephine Butler's scepticism of

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[21] G. W. and L. A. Johnson, eds., _Josephine E. Butler_ (Bristol, 1909); G. Petrie, _A Singular Iniquity_ (London, 1971).

[22] J. Uglow, 'Josephine Butler: From Sympathy to Theory', in D. Spender, ed., _Feminist Theorists_ (London, 1983), p. 153.

the legal process was summarised in a letter written during the campaign:

> I have not very great faith in law, further than an instrument, while I have unbounded faith in the inspiration of a people awakened to the great idea of justice. We need a good law as a ready instrument to take into our hands at all times in our labour for justice; but the most perfect law is of no more use to a half awakened people than the most perfect scientific instrument would be to a man who had no zeal for science. [23]

Given these attitudes, why did Josephine Butler and Catherine Booth support the campaign for the Criminal Law Amendment bill in the summer of 1885? To understand this, it is necessary to examine a chain of events which had begun three years previously.

In 1882 Bramwell Booth married Florence Soper.[24] She was the eldest daughter of a Welsh doctor, and had been attracted to the Salvation Army when she was taken with a party of school friends to hear Mrs. Booth preach in the West End of London. She later went to France with Kate, the Booth's eldest daughter, and helped to establish a Salvation Army Corps in Paris.[25] It was while preparations were being made for this trip that Florence met Bramwell. Her attachment to

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[23] Josephine Butler to 'Dear Friends', 17 August 1885, Butler MSS.

[24] F. Booth, 'My Life Story', Sunday Circle, 28 January 1933.

[25] C. Scott, The Heavenly Witch: The Story of the Maréchale (London, 1981), p. 29.

the Salvation Army distressed and horrified her father, but in spite of his opposition Florence had the courage and determination to break away from her conventional and sheltered middle class background. Like many other young women of her class and time, Florence longed for a wider sphere of activity and regretted having been born female. Her religious faith proved strong but her real interests and talents lay in philanthropy and administration. Her writings do not exhibit the originality or intellectual depth of Catherine's. Her later work was strongly influenced by eugenicist ideas, and demonstrates a tendency to emphasise the moral responsibility of women for the amelioration of the world's injustices. Speaking of these responsibilities, she wrote:

> Believing then that at the door of womankind is
> laid so large a proportion of the world's undoing,
> it behoves every woman to bestir herself, and to
> see to it that our sex is relieved of so serious a
> stigma. If I am instrumental in helping one woman
> here to fully realize her responsibility for the
> blessings of the world, to realize amongst other
> things that her tender, impressionable nature has
> been given her in order that it may be stirred to
> effort for the righting of what is wrong, and for
> the helping of those who suffer, I shall feel that
> it will have been well worth while to have occupied
> your time and attention.                              26

By 1884 Florence had given birth to her first child and had begun working in the Salvation Army's rescue home in Hanbury Street, Whitechapel, where she was deeply disturbed by the stories she heard from the young women and girls who came to the home for help. As her husband later wrote, 'she

was prepared for evidence of widespread prostitution, terrible as that is, but it came upon her as an appalling revelation to find that young girls - children really of thirteen and fourteen - were entrapped by a vicious network of carefully devised agencies and in their innocence condemned to a life of shame'.[27] Florence would return home at night to pour out these tales to her husband who frankly did not believe her. Prostitutes, at that time, had a reputation for being terrible liars. Bramwell felt that the inmates of the home were embellishing their case histories in order to play on Florence's sympathies, while her sheltered background and lack of experience with the poor put her at a disadvantage. Nevertheless, she continued in her insistence that something should be done until Bramwell finally agreed personally to investigate the situation. His first step was to visit certain neighbourhoods incognito, in order to discover the situation for himself.[28] Bramwell was also shocked by what he found and he was further disturbed by the arrival one morning of a young girl who had walked from Pimlico to the offices of the Salvation Army in Queen Victoria Street.[29] The girl had come to London from the country in answer to an advertisement only to find herself entrapped in a brothel. She finally managed to escape after having barricaded herself in one of the kitchens and then

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[26] F. Booth, Mothers and The Empire, p. 42.

[27] B. Booth, Echoes and Memories, p. 118.

[28] C. Bramwell-Booth. Bramwell Booth, p. 179.

[29] B. Booth, Echoes and Memories, pp. 125-126.

fled to the Salvation Army because she believed that General Booth 'was surely the one person in all the great city who would help her!'[30] There is no precise record of what exactly Bramwell discovered although the accounts, written after the uproar of the campaign and trial, stress the youthfulness of the girls and the element of coercion. Nevertheless, what he discovered so disturbed him that he wrote to his wife, Florence, that it had made him question the wisdom of God's creation. It appears that the issue that most worried Bramwell was whether the promiscuity that he encountered was not 'the mere extreme of a necessity of human nature'. If this sexuality was a necessity, did that not undermine faith in 'the wisdom of God's plans and arrangements for the world?'[31] However, if God had created man in his own image, which for the Salvationist must be perfect, then the whole of his creation must be so, including the sexual instinct. But if the exercise of sexuality opened the way to a life of sensation this implied the rejection of God which was immoral. Bramwell indicated in the same letter how these contradictions could be be resolved:

> I believe I can see in a way I have not seen it before, that a man and a woman who love God and and love each other, can and do glorify God in the happiness of that very closest union and oneness flesh as well as of spirit. [32]

[30] Ibid., p. 126.

[31] C. Bramwell-Booth, Bramwell Booth, p. 180.

For the Salvationist or moral adult, the pleasures of physical love were to be only a manifestation of the joyousness of one's love for God. Even in the most intimate encounters of the marital relationship, the choice could be made between the consciousness of God and the oblivion of selfish sensation. Mere sexuality or lust was to be shunned and Bramwell resolved that he would 'do all I could to stop these abominations, to rouse public opinion, to agitate for improvement in the law, to bring justice to the adulterers and murders of innocence, and to make a way of escape for its victims'.[33]

As Bramwell believed like his mother that the choice between morality and sinfulness was a personal decision, it is necessary to explain why he responded to the problems he uncovered by calling for improvements in the law and the arousal of public opinion. Part of the answer to this lies in the contacts he made after his investigations, although the sequence of events is somewhat confused. Bramwell first discussed the question with his mother 'who shared the full indignation with which her son and daughter viewed the existing conditions of things, and urged them to take such steps as would be best calculated to meet the evil'.[34] Catherine also corresponded with Josephine Butler, for the two women had known and admired each other for some time.

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[32] Ibid., p. 179.

[33] B. Booth, Echoes and Memories, p. 127.

[34] Booth-Tucker, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 344.

Butler had first come into contact with the Salvation Army when it had begun working in Liverpool and in her own words she later stated that 'I always went - even to those awful meetings, when you had such riots'.[35] Josephine first wrote to Catherine Booth when she felt called to take up the public work against the regulation of prostitution in 1869, and she found in Catherine a sympathetic supporter who was equally outraged 'first on behalf of womanhood, and secondly, in contemplation of the degrading effect on the whole nation which had permitted in its midst so cruel a practice, founded on so base a principle'.[36] It is also interesting to note that Josephine Butler described Catherine as 'a very advanced thinker', for 'she saw what was crooked, and looked beyond all conventionalities and prejudices into the heart of things. She dwelt very much on the awful weight of sin which rests on the men in connection with the existing state of morality'.[37] It was this emphasis on male immorality, particularly licentiousness, which drew these women together and into the ensuing campaign. Under these circumstances, Josephine Butler would have seemed to be a logical person for Catherine to contact when contemplating action after Bramwell's investigations. Mrs. Booth suggested in her letter to Mrs. Butler that they should hold meetings to arouse public sentiment on the question, but the latter replied that

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[35] 'Mrs. Josephine Butler: Interview', All The World, January 1891, p. 49.

[36] Ibid., p. 50.

[37] Ibid., p. 51.

'we have the votes of the people, but (as you know in your
own work) we need to reach the upper classes and Government
too, if we are to hope for justice and righteousness in
public action'.[38] At this time Josephine Butler's attitude
towards the raising of the age of consent seems to have
favoured the use of legislation to provide protection for
young women, although she rejected any interference with
adult prostitutes. Her position on this was summarized in a
letter she had written the previous autumn in which she
discussed the City Committee's proposal for a private
member's bill for raising 'the age of protection for girls to
sixteen.' The bill was to have one clause and 'would at least
be a protest against what the government has always done in
all its bills, i.e. to mix up the protection (so necessary)
of these poor children with a mass of police and brothel
measures which we cannot accept'.[39] This element of
protection would have appealed to Catherine who favoured a
closed environment for the successful training of moral
adults However, her identification of legislation as a means
of protection which would allow for moral development or the
fostering of individual responsibility remains to be
accounted for. The answer    lies in the information that was
amassed concerning the recruitment to prostitution in late
Victorian London, but if this argument is to be sustained,

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[38]  Booth-Tucker, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 345.
[39]  Josephine Butler to Miss Priestman, 4 October 1884,
      Butler MSS.

the reliability of this evidence must be ascertained.

The nature of late Victorian prostitution will be discussed in the Chapter 6, and emphasis will be placed on the combination of personal and economic factors which led to a woman's recruitment and maintenance within the profession. However, the criticism which has been levelled against the reformers is that they ignored the material causes of prostitution in order to concentrate on its more emotive aspects, such as juvenile recruitment and white slavery. Consequently, their perceptions and solutions have appeared to be inadequate. Part of the responsibility for this is attributed to the involvement of William Stead, editor of the _Pall Mall Gazette_. Undoubtedly, Stead was flamboyant and opportunistic. He did much to develop the 'New Journalism' which was credited with having established a 'brighter, livelier, more readable newspaper'.[40] It is interesting to note that William Booth was never attracted to Stead. In the words of one of his biographers, 'he was more or less suspicious about this thrusting, eager, headlong journalist ... he never greatly warmed to him, never wholly trusted his judgement, and was sometimes disposed to regard him as one who shilly-shallied with the great decision of Christian life'.[41] Nevertheless, it was Stead's style which dominated the campaign and clouds our understanding of it in hindsight.

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[40] R. L. Shults, _Crusader in Babylon_ (Lincoln, 1972), p. ix.

[41] Begbie, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 42.

Stead was proud of his participation and his subsequent imprisonment, and from the time that he was first approached he seemed anxious to impress his personal stamp on the proceedings.[42] However, confusion exists as to the extent to which Stead moulded the campaign. He claimed that he had been approached by Benjamin Scott, who had been 'charged with a message from his committee begging me if possible to take the matter up'.[43] This was confirmed in Scott's account, in which he stated that he approached Stead on 23 May 1885 after the Criminal Law Amendment Bill had been talked out in the House of Commons.[44] Both accounts acknowledge that Stead had been contacted by Ellice Hopkins, who had implored him to take action by publishing an article on the case of protection for young girls. This he had done in May 1885, although his interest in moral reform questions can be traced back to his days on the Northern Echo, in which he had published articles on the contagious diseases acts.[45] After Scott's visit, Stead spent Whit Sunday 'in reading up the debates on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, and saw at a glance that all that was needed to carry that measure in the face of all obstacles was a graphic and vivid description of the actual evils with which the measure was framed to

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[42]  F. Whyte, The Life of W. T. Stead (London, 1925), p. 159.

[43]  W. T. Stead, The Armstrong Case: Mr. Stead's Defence in Full (London, 1885), p. 6.

[44]  Scott, Speeches on Social Purity, p. 3.

[45]  Schults, Crusader in Babylon, p. 7.

deal'.[46] This course of action would have appealed to Stead as he had already established himself as a campaigning editor. At the age of twenty-two he had become the editor of the newly established Northern Echo in Darlington, and under his editorship it became a strong campaigning newspaper staunchly supporting the Liberal Party in general and Gladstone in particular. In October 1880 Stead moved to London to become associate editor of the Pall Mall Gazette. On 14 January 1884 he wrote an article urging the Government to send General Gordon to the Sudan, where the activities of the Mahdi were threatening the British garrison. By 19 January Stead could report that 'Chinese' Gordon was already on his way to Egypt. Stead believed that he alone had 'compelled the Government to act and that his newspaper, by organizing public opinion, was becoming a force to reckon with'.[47] Later in 1884 he wrote another campaigning article, this time entitled 'The Truth about the British Navy', in which he revealed that the navy was both under-equipped and under-manned. The fact that Government action was once more forthcoming only served to reinforce his belief in the political impact of his exposes.[48] After such successes, he became convinced that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was another case in which public indignation could convince a reluctant government. Stead was coming to believe that 'you

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[46] Stead, The Armstrong Case, p. 7.

[47] Stafford, Age of Consent, pp. 147-148.

[48] Schults, Crusader in Babylon, pp. 88-106.

can get the House of Commons to do anything, if only you make row enough in the constituencies or an obstruction in the House, and up to May this year no-one was sufficiently in earnest to make a row'.[49]

Stead insisted on making his own investigations before publication. In order to substantiate the allegations of juvenile entrapment he undertook to purchase a young girl named Eliza Armstrong. It is at this point that his account of the involvement of the Salvation Army differs from theirs. He claimed that:

> they had no part whatever in the operations
> involving the employment of those subterfuges
> indispensable for the efficiency of a detective
> department. They took charge of the girls after I
> had rescued them; as for instance, they undertook
> to train Eliza Armstrong after I had assured them
> that she had been sold to Rebecca Jarrett for
> immoral purposes.                                    [50]

In another account written twenty-five years after these events, Stead simply stated that he 'communicated with the Salvation Army and through their agencies secured the services of a former keeper of houses of ill-fame'.[51] These statements imply that the Army's activities were peripheral to the campaign, whereas their own accounts present a picture of much greater involvement. For example, Bramwell Booth, who unlike his father greatly admired and liked Stead,[52]

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[49] Stead, The Armstrong Case, p. 4.

[50] Ibid., p. 1.

[51] Stead, Why I Went to Prison (London, 1910), p. 5.

maintained that he was the one who originally approached the editor and 'asked him to give publicity to the business so that the Government should become aware of the pressure of public opinion'.[53] Bramwell continues to state that Stead was reluctant to take the matter up and that he, Bramwell, played a major part in the investigations upon which the 'Maiden Tribute' articles were based.[54] Mrs. Butler's correspondence provides evidence of her participation:

> I have been ten days in London helping several
> friends in a most terrible investigation ... It
> will all be published probably early next week.
> Please look out for the Pall Mall Gazette.[55]

The discrepancies between these accounts raise issues which are even more crucial than the those of factual accuracy alone. If Stead was primarily responsible for the style and content of the 'Maiden Tribute' articles, then his role as a journalist may have led him to seek out only the sensational and to stress this in his publications. However, the Booths and Mrs. Butler would not have wished to be associated with mere scandal, for to be successful their work required a reputation of principled sincerity. It is most probable that these reformers were closely connected with the

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[52] Begbie, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 142.

[53] B. Booth, Echoes and Memories, p. 128.

[54] Ibid., pp. 128-130.

[55] Josephine Butler to Miss Priestman, 5 June 1885, Butler MSS.

investigations and publications, and that they would have disengaged themselves if they felt that to be necessary. In the case of the Booths their association with Stead continued, even after his trial with Bramwell at the Old Bailey, and the family later invited him to help edit William's book, In Darkest England and the Way Out.[56] The problem still remains as to why they supported a view of prostitution which has been dismissed by Judith Walkowitz as merely the imaginary product of a sensational journalism intended to capture the attention of a prurient Victorian public.[57] The answer to this must be that they believed in the validity of the presentation of the articles and that for them, this view had been substantiated by the investigations.

What then was the view of prostitution depicted in the Pall Mall Gazette articles? There were three categories dealt with, listed under five headings.[58] The first was the molesting of children who were often enticed with promises of sweets and toys. One such case was of a man 'who violated more than a dozen children just over thirteen' but because 'they were over age he escaped Scot free'.[59] It was argued that at thirteen these girls were not physically mature and that by raising the age of consent to sixteen some form of protection would be offered to girls of all classes. As the law stood these thirteen year olds were considered capable of

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[56] B. Booth, Echoes and Memories, p. 151.

[57] Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society, p. 246.

[58] Pall Mall Gazette, 6 July 1885, p. 2.

[59] Ibid., 7 July 1885, p. 2.

consenting. The second category was entitled 'juvenile prostitution', and the articles claimed that it was prevalent throughout London's West End.[60] A distinction was drawn between cohabitation and prostitution; and was claimed that in the East End 'children cohabit from preposterously early years, but that is quite distinct from prostitution'.[61] The point was emphatically made at the beginning of the articles that their concern was with crime and not with vice. The distinction was clearly drawn by Stead, in his role as editor:

> the relations between men and women, that is an affair of the moralist, are not for the legislator ... But the more freely we permit the adults absolute liberty to dispose of their persons in accordance with the principles of private contract and free trade, the more stringent must be our precautions against the innumerable crimes which spring from vice, as vice itself springs from the impure imaginings of the heart of man. [62]

The difference was between 'sexual immorality' and 'sexual criminality'. The latter involved coercion. Stead claimed:

> London's lust annually uses up many thousands of women, who are literally killed and made away with - living sacrifices slain in the service of vice, that may be inevitable, and with that I have nothing to do. But I do ask that those doomed to the house of ill fame shall not be trapped into it unwillingly. [63]

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[60] Ibid., 8 July 1885, p. 3.

[61] Loc. cit.

[62] Ibid., 6 July 1885, p. 2.

[63] Loc. cit.

It is in keeping with this concern that little space was devoted to juvenile prostitutes. When discussed, they were described as poor, young, girls who had gone onto the streets clandestinely for a little money or for excitement. The main emphasis in the articles was on the third category: those who were entrapped into prostituting themselves. In order to illustrate the problem, Stead discussed at length an interview he had had with a team of procurers, Madam X and Madam Y, who ran a profitable business procuring virgins for wealthy gentlemen.[64] Madam X lived quietly with her respectable parents while Madam Y was head of a millinary firm in Oxford Street. Their basic technique was to become friendly with young servants, usually nursemaids walking with their charges in the park. Through these women they would meet other servants, striving all the time to win their confidence. After sometime, and they admitted that it did take time, the procurers would suggest that the girl might like to get 'pounds and pounds by playing a game with a gentleman'. Many of them had no idea what was meant by being seduced but as Madam X said:

> What meaning she attaches to seeing a gentleman is
> not our business to enquire. All we have to do is
> bring her there and see that she does not make a
> fool of the gentleman ... The right way to deal
> with these silly girls is to convince them that now
> they have come they have got to be seduced, willing
> or unwilling, and that if they are unwilling, they
> will be first seduced and then turned into the
> streets without a penny. [65]

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The procurers openly admitted that they would receive as much as ten pounds from the gentleman but would only pass on a pound or two to the girls, who had usually agreed to the meeting because they were in need of money due to family distress or because they wanted some small luxury for themselves. The same techniques were used to persuade women to go to the Continent. They would be promised good situations, fine clothes, liberty to go to the theatre, and high wages. Only when they arrived would they discover that their new home was to be a brothel. Recent scholarship has stressed that economic deprivation made such arrangements attractive to working class women, but an ex-trader also intervieded theory. He explained: 'if they were not as silly as they are they would never believe you ... all the inducements would make a sharp girl to smell a rat'.[66]

The campaigners were faced with three different problems. The first was that of juvenile prostitution, which was seen to be caused by demand on the part of men and economic need on the part of the girls. The articles stated:

> The story is pretty much the same all round. They were poor, work was bad, every crust they ate at home was grudged, they stopped out all night with some 'gay' friend of the female sex, and they went the way of the rest. Occasionally they say that a gentleman took them to his chambers and ruined them for consideration received ... Many of them were at work during the day, and most of them have to be at home at night at ten or eleven.

[64] Ibid., 7 July 1885, pp. 4-6.
[65] Ibid., 7 July 1885, p. 5.
[66] Ibid., 10 July 1885, p. 6.

The second problem was that of child violation, resulting from the inexperience of the girls and the practices of some men, protected by the law that a girl over thirteen years of age was considered capable of adult consent. This was ironic as the men concerned were not seeking an adult relationship. The third and final problem was that of girls and young women being coerced into sexual relationships. This was caused again by demand on the part of men combined with economic depravation and susceptibility on the part of the women. In these cases another factor was introduced by the agent or procurer who brought the women to the men and who profited financially by the arrangement. In the case of these 'go-betweens' there was clear evidence that they wished to profit from the vulnerability of the women. The articles stressed the weakened position of the women due to inexperience or need, and contrasted this with the greed and ruthlessness of the procureres and their clients. This relationship was highlighted by several descriptions of girls and women being physically entrapped and overpowered,[68] but the main emphasis was on how the women were deceived and coerced. In other words the problem was not seen to be that of rape or of prostitution, but rather the difficulty women faced when they were placed in a situation which made the exercising of free choice almost impossible.

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[67] Ibid., 8 July 1885, p. 4.

[68] Ibid., 6 July 1885, p. 3; 7 July 1885, p. 2.

It is arguable that given these problems there were two solutions. The first was to strengthen the position of women, and this was the aim of Josephine Butler's life work. Not only did she campaign to give women greater freedom of choice by the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, but she also continually supported projects to improve educational and job opportunities for women. Catherine Booth's concerns were similar, although she placed greater emphasis on promoting women's sense of moral responsibility for themselves. The second solution was to limit the choices of men and the economic opportunities of those who wished to cater to them. One way to do this was through the law, and it was for this specific purpose that the Booths and Josephine Butler were willing to consider a legislative solution to a moral problem. The law was intended to restructure the choices available by making certain practices illegal, and there is clear evidence that it was aimed at the choices of men, and in particular of wealthy men. The articles themselves began with a clear statement to this effect:

> in all the annals of crime can there be found a
> more shameful abuse of the power of wealth than
> that by which in this nineteenth century of
> Christian civilization princes and dukes, and
> ministers and judges, and the rich of all classes
> are purchase for damnation, temporal if not
> eternal, the as yet uncorrupted daughters of the
> poor? [69]

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[69] Ibid., 6 July 1885, p. 1.

Butler's private correspondence before publication clearly suggests that she had the same aim in mind. She wrote to Dr. Carter on 16 June that 'I may tell you that some of our friends in London are about to publish some tremendous revelations in connection with the evil doings of the aristocracy'.[70] Catherine Booth's statements likewise give evidence that her concern was with the 'bad fallen men', and at one point she estimated that 'there are no fewer than 329,000 of these men prowling daily about the street of London'.[71] She also explained her views on the role of the newspaper campaign:

> Do not think that publicity will cure this
> monstrous evil. Publicity is only for the purposes
> of getting fair play at the hand of the law.[72]

However, the campaigners saw both the 'Maiden Tribute' agitation and the legal amendments as strategies in their larger projects. Josephine Butler considered that the agitation would be another step towards the removal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, telling Miss Priestman that: 'we want to make all possible use of the wave of indignation which will be aroused in order to obtain the repeal of the Acts'.[73] The Booths saw the agitation as complimenting their

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[70] Josephine Butler to Dr. Carter, 16 June 1885, Butler MSS.

[71] The War Cry, 18 July 1885, p. 1.

[72] Loc. cit.

already existing work of fostering the moral adulthood of the public. They were aware that men needed to be restrained, but women needed to be supported. In order to do this they proposed the establishment of a 'Home of Love and Hope, bearing some proportion to the huge necessity of the case, where on a large scale the work of reclaiming the lost can be carried forward and on the same lines on which, in a less degree, it has been so successful in Whitechapel'.[74] Essentially, this meant providing a protected environment for the women whilst they were nurtured and trained to accept responsibility for their choices. However, this work was to be combined with facilities that aimed to establish contact with the lost within the urban environment. A 'House of Help and Enquiry', open day and night, was proposed for London and each Salvation Army Corps was to have a sergeant who was 'a woman full of love and possessing some information on the subject and prepared to help the fallen and friendless creatures who may require it'.[75] The Army also guaranteed that 'every prostitute under the age of sixteen in London, shall be personally spoken to'. In order to do this they 'could turn 200 women into Oxford Street to seek and to save any night'.[76] However the Salvationists required financial

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[73] Josephine Butler to Miss Priestman, 5 June 1885, Butler MSS.

[74] W. Booth, 'The General's Letter to Soldiers of the Salvation Army Scattered Throughout the World', The War Cry, 11 July 1885, p. 2.

[75] Loc. cit.

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assistance and, in keeping with their emphasis on promoting

moral adulthood through responsibility, this funding was to

be provided by the wealthy; particularly those who had money

to spend on prostitutes. Catherine argued that 'the rich who

found money to buy them or bribe them into sin in the first

instance and then to keep the whole infernal machinery going

in order to keep them, these must bring out their money in

order to save them and give them a new start in life.'[77]

What did the campaigners actually accomplish? If the

interpretation is accepted that the concern was with men's

activities and not those of women, then using the law as an

instrument of restraint had a certain logic, for it was one

way of structuring the choices of what was essentially a

private activity. This was by no means a novel concept, for

it complimented the overall approach to male sexuality

evident in Victoria legal statutes.[78] The basis of these was

the assumption of female sexual passivity in contrast with

male sexual aggression. In effect this meant that women were

not considered capable of committing sexual offences; there

were no provisions for indicting them for rape or indecent

assault. The law's function was considered to be that of

protecting women from male sexual aggression, which was to be

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[76] The War Cry, 18 July 1885, p. 2.

[77] Loc. cit.

[78] A. Sachs, 'The Myth of Male Protectiveness and the legal subordination of Women: an Historical Analysis', in C. and B. Smart, eds., Women, Sexuality and Social Control (London, 1978), pp. 27-40.

achieved through restraining men, by defining the limits of what was acceptable. This view coincided with what the campaigners felt the Criminal Law Amendment could achieve. There was no concern to control female sexual activity because under the law female sexuality did not exist and, in keeping with this, the earlier clauses on confining girls found to be sexually active were omitted. In its final form the Criminal Law Amendment Act did re-evaluate the belief that all women would resist sexual advances from any man other than her husband at all times. The Act recognised that women could be seduced by intimidation, thus challenging the concept of consent and free will. In this sense the Act was a refinement on previous legislation. The Pall Mall Gazette articles aided in this process by articulating the issues in such a way that they could be discussed and categorised within the existing legislative framework. For this reason the 'Maiden Tribute' campaign produced little significant change. However, it is arguable that the law follows rather than creates public feeling. It was so in this case, for the furore that surrounded the publication of the articles and the subsequent passage of the bill suggests an already existing constituency of concern. The theme to be addressed by the historian is the extent to which the campaign enhanced and redirected that concern. In this instance it is only possible to do this in terms of its significance for the Salvation Army's Social Work for women.

The legacy of the 'Maiden Tribute' agitation for the Salvation Army was to confirm the direction of the newly

established rescue work. Initially it seemed as if the Army would loose prestige and support when Bramwell Booth was indicted at the Old Bailey. In the event, the publicity rebounded to their advantage. Bramwell himself stated:

> It made us known, and put us at one stroke in the very front rank of those who were contending for the better treatment of the lost and the poor ... We gained friends in political circles, won recognition from the Government then existing and from its successors, and were brought into touch with Queen Victoria and with some of her Court who ever since have been interested in what we have been doing. [79]

It also resulted in financial contributions, some of which were quite substantial. Samuel Morley initially gave £1,000 to the Salvationists for the extension of their rescue work programme, and then at the suggestion of Catherine Booth doubled the amount.[80] However, it should be noted that while the events of 1885 placed the Army within the ranks of the purity reformers, the Salvationists hitherto tended to support rather than to initiate such campaigns. Adelaide Cox, Florence Booth's second in command, was created Liaison Officer between the Salvation Army and 'other enterprises whose aims for the uplifting of mankind are in the same direction as our own though their methods may be somewhat different'.[81] These organizations included the National Council of Women of Great Britain, the Association for Moral

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[79] B. Booth, Echoes and Memories, p. 139.

[80] B. Booth, These Fifty Years, p. 118.

[81] A. Cox, Hotchpotch, (London, 1937), p. 92.

and Social Hygiene, the National Council for Maternity and Child Welfare, the Public Morality Council, and the Alliance of Honour.[82] The support given often took the form of an address delivered by Florence Booth. One example of this was a speech entitled 'How Women and Children Suffer Through Drink' which she delivered at a Ladies' Conference in connection with the Fifteenth Annual Kent County Temperance Congress held at Tunbridge Wells.[83] These addresses were often reprinted in The Deliverer, as were other comments concerning Salvationist policy towards social issues. On occasion the mass meeting and the lobbying of M.P.s were tactics used to express the Army's policies,[84] and in a few cases Salvation Army officers were elected as Poor Law Guardians.[85] Partly because of the 'Maiden Tribute' campaign the Salvation Army became one of the organisations from whom statements of policy were expected when social issues were under discussion. They were able to respond to these expectations because their clearly delineated philosophy meant that they had a consistent point of view to articulate. However, this role of publicist remained peripheral to their

[82] Ibid., pp. 92-93.

[83] F. Booth, 'How Women and Children Suffer Through Drink', The Deliverer, July 1907, pp. 99, 107.

[84] 'The Army and White Slavery: Historic Meeting Led by General and Mrs. Booth at the City Temple', The Deliverer, January 1913, pp. 3, 6; 'The Children's Bill', The Deliverer, September 1908, p. 131.

[85] 'Poor Law Guardians; An Interview with Commissioner Adelaide Cox', The Deliverer, July 1908, pp. 99-100.

main concern - to evangelise.

The continuing emphasis on religious conversion as the aim of Salvationist work was illustrated in the career of William Booth. After an initial reluctance to allow his officers to compliment their evangelism with social services Booth seems to have accepted these developments in the period following the 'Maiden Tribute' campaign.[86] His interest was engaged to the extent that he was the one who told Bramwell in 1887 that 'something must be done' for the destitute men of London. This was the beginning of the Salvation Army's Social Services for Men. Like their work for women, this involved the testing of the moral responsibility of the client, for William had stipulated that there was to be 'no coddling!'[87] From the experience gained by the Army's Officers in establishing Labour Bureaux, Workshops, Shelters, and Homes for Men; and midnight Rescue Work and Industrial and other Homes for Women,[88] Booth developed the ideas expressed in his book In Darkest England and The Way Out. This work aimed to fulfill several functions. It was William Booth's statement on how to redress the social problems of the time. These he considered to be essentially spiritual and moral dilemmas. In the book he argued this point as well as calling for the financial support which would enable him to solve these problems. In this sense he also pledged his Army

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[86] B. Booth, Echoes and Memories, p. 13.

[87] Loc. cit. See Chapter 3.

[88] A. Cox, Hotchpotch, p. 40.

to undertake the work. The 'Darkest England Scheme' was a new departure for the Army, not because it was a move in the direction of social reform but rather because it committed the Army to morally training and spiritually converting all those in need. However, the scheme allowed that there would be some individuals who would be unable to sustain moral responsibility and a committment to home, work and God. For these 'moral lunatics' Booth suggested the establishment of homes where they could be cared for away from the world.[89] It was the universality of the project that was so radical, for the tradition of moral training had existed within the Army since its days as the Christian Mission. It is arguable that the move towards an all-encompassing approach had been predicated on the acceptance of the idea that women needed special facilities to allow for their moral development. The initial justification for only assisting women had been provided by the Army's ideology, which saw women as potentially spiritually equal while in reality they were the weaker sex in need of protection. This was because the core of the social and economic structure was seen to be the Christian man who should take economic responsibility for his wife, children, and ageing parents. As many men were unconverted and unproductive, this left their womanfolk without provision. Through accepting the principle that some women needed protection and training before they could become responsible for themselves, the move was made towards providing what has been considered to be social amenities. From their experience in this work it was possible to move

towards providing the same programmes for men. However, at no

point did the Salvationists consider their social services to

be anything more than external manifestations of their

spiritual work. This was exemplified in William's attitude,

described by his biographer:

> Social reform seemed to him an important business;
> he acknowledged it, indeed, as a wing of Salvation
> Army activity; to the end of his life he was proud
> of the Darkest England Scheme and interested in its
> welfare; but from 1893-94 onwards he himself turned
> more and more to the centre of his Army, and ...
> preached the great gospel of the changed heart.[90]

William's increasing pre-occupation with preaching in later

life meant that the detailed organisation of the Army's

social services became the responsibility of the next

generation. In particular, it became the concern of Bramwell

and Florence Booth. This work seems to have been in keeping

with their interests and temperaments and is an interesting

example of how the Victorian family firm could evolve through

the generations. However, William's foray into social reform

had decisive implications for the development of Salvationist

work for women. Public reponse to the 'Darkest England

Scheme' was mixed. £100,000 was raised but support later

declined, partly due to heavy criticism in the press.[91] This

meant that the scheme was not implemented in its entirity.[92]

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[89] W. Booth, In Darkest England, pp. 204-206.

[90] Begbie, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 167.

[91] Ausubel, 'General Booth's Scheme of Social Salvation',
pp. 519-525.

Nonetheless, the Salvation Army had become publicly committed to relieving all forms of distress. Combined with this, the 'Maiden Tribute' campaign had associated them with a particular mission for the fallen women. There was also the almost inevitable dilemma facing any charity dependent on public subscription; the pressure to appear successful in their chosen field in order to elicit the financial support necessary to provide the facilities and staff required to undertake the work.[93] The Salvationists resolved this contradiction between finite resources and universal claims by developing the recruitment proceedures of their Social Services for Women.

This brings us to the way in which the women were recruited into the homes. Essentially, there were two methods; either they came to the homes themselves, or they came through the system of the Salvation Army itself. In the first instance, the women applied in person. In the second, the women could have approached the penitent form during a Salvationist service and asked for help, or they were referred by officers who were working in the streets.[94] Street recruitment involved a number of tactics. The midnight patrol was the most common method used. This meant that officers working in pairs would patrol certain 'notorious

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[92] Sandall, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 151.

[93] B. Harrison, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', Peaceable Kingdom (Oxford, 1982), p. 245.

[94] 'What sort of Women are Dealt with in the Rescue Homes?', The Deliverer, November 1892, p. 78.

districts', approaching 'such women as seem to be soliciting, and those who are in the company of men of doubtful character'.[95] The women were encouraged to leave their present life and the offer of assistance was stressed. It was expected that twenty to thirty women could be approached in a night, but officers were warned to guard against discouragement, as the women often appeared indifferent. The impression given is that this was hard, even hazardous work. One of the dangers came from the protectors of the prostitutes whom the Salvationists called 'bullies' and who did not refrain from using their fists in order to prevent officers interfering. One officer lost the sight of an eye from such a blow.[96] Many of the women contacted seemed to have regarded the message of salvation with indifference, even hostility, yet individual officers were treated with respect as can be seen from a number of accounts describing how women assisted officers who were being assaulted.[97] It was also quite common for 'professional' prostitutes to point out newcomers to the officers. Young girls making hesitant steps towards prostitution were considered to be in need of assistance by their more worldly sisters.[98]

While the task of persuading women to change their life

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[95] B. Booth, Orders and Regulations for Officers of the Women's Social Work of the Salvation Army (London, 1899), p. 281.

[96] Cox, Hotchpotch, p. 59.

[97] Unsworth, op. cit., p. 69.

[98] F. Booth, Rescue Notes (London, 1887), p. 3.

styles was undoubtedly difficult, the methods used involved a subtle selection process. The instructions to officers stated that 'when a woman appears really interested, she should be urged to accompany the Officers to their Quarters'.[99] This regulation was modified in practice. Invitations to the homes, with addresses, were given to the girls, but it was usual to leave them to follow the next day of their own accord. This was a test of whether they were in earnest and also increased the chances of their staying in the homes for the training period.[100] While the Army's philosophy necessitated the offer of assistance to all, some form of selection was inevitable simply from the point of view of the facilities available. This approach of the invitation to all and the implied test of the individual's sincerity was characteristic of the Army's philosophy and illustrates how they were able to resolve the apparent contradiction in their work. Once a woman showed an interest in reform, she entered a Receiving Home, where her case was investigated before she was sent to the home believed to be most suitable for her. Here again selection is in evidence. Considerable trouble was taken to investigate the woman's background and verify her story.[101] In cases where a crime had been committed, the women were encouraged to give themselves up to the appropriate authorities. If the woman had previously been in

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[99] Orders and Regulations for Officers, p. 282.

[100] Saved in Time; Annual Report of the Women's Social Work (London, 1892), p. 7.

[101] Orders and Regulations for Officers, p. 278.

an Army Home and proved unsatisfactory, if she was in need of medical treatment, or if family or friends could be found who would take charge of her, then action was taken accordingly. In some cases women were told to apply to the Workhouse until room became available for them in the Salvation Army homes; on other occasions they were sent to wait at the Army's shelter at Whitechapel.[102] These proceedures also served the purpose of testing the applicant's willingness to reform. The primary task of the Receiving Officer before admitting a woman to the Home was to determine if she was sincere in her wish to lead a changed life. The officer had to be satisfied that she would agree to four conditions. These were firstly, a thorough determination to reform; secondly, agreement to conform to all regulations within the Home; thirdly, complete willingness to separate from all evil tendencies and associations; and finally, give a pledge to use all means for her salvation.[103] William Booth stressed to his rescue workers in an article in The Deliverer that they should not be 'too squeamish about the matter. If you have only got room for two, and three apply, you must take the two who are the most likely to succeed with you.'[104]The main criterion for being received into a Home was the willingness to reform. In principle this meant that any type of woman would be admitted; in practice it was considered desirable to

[102] The Deliverer, December 1890, p. 92; July 1894, p. 8.

[103] W. Booth, 'How To Save the Lost', The Deliverer, December 1889, pp.69, 75.

[104] Ibid., November 1889, p. 56.

concentrate on certain categories. Booth delineated four classes of desirable applicants. First were those who had been really converted, wanted to be good, and gave some proof of this. In the second category were the women who had been forced into prostitution by circumstances, and who always considered the life to be a hardship and a misfortune. Those who were new to the streets were the third type, and those who were very ignorant and had known nothing better the fourth. Less desirable cases included the ill and those 'so thoroughly depraved, that they find a pleasure in depraving other people', and old women.[105] These classifications frankly revealed the Army's emphasis on training women whom they felt would respond and benefit from their programmes. The basis behind the classification seems to have been the selection of women who would be the most predisposed to change their style of life. While this suggests an astute assessment of what was possible with the resources available, this is not to imply that William was unaware of the limitations of the programme. In the same article he stated that 'unfortunately the limited accomodation that we possess prevents our extensively employing methods to seek a better class of girl'.[106] By the term 'better class of girl' Booth meant those with well formed characters. Because of their strong characters, it was argued that these women had 'stickability to evil', but once they were saved they would

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[105] Ibid., p..57.
[106] Ibid., p. 53.

have a similar immense capacity to cling to good. William lamented the fact that under these circumstances, 'those who are most likely to make superior characters when they are saved, are not exactly those who will first enter the net'.[107] He also acknowledged that 'there is much prejudice against the Salvation Army among women who are not degraded with poverty, or who are not reduced to despair by afflication'.[108] He worried that women who were either feeble-minded or just weak in character were the ones being drawn to the rescue homes because their very lack of firmness meant that they were more easily swayed by companions or adverse circumstances.[109] This last comment suggests another constraint which shaped the Salvation Army's response to the problems of moral and physical distress – the question of who was available to be helped. It is not sufficient to argue that in spite of their claims of universal assistance, the Salvationists discriminated amongst their applicants so as to select those with whom they would most likely be successful. The relationship between rescued and rescuer was more complex, and in order to evaluate this it will be necessary to examine their case work in depth.

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[107] Ibid., p. 56.
[108] Ibid., p. 53.
[109] Ibid., p. 56.

Chapter Six


THE RESCUE NETWORK:

THE NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE RESCUED


The character of the Salvation Army's Social Services

for Women developed from the interplay of theory and practice

surveyed in the previous chapters; yet this analysis cannot

be considered complete without an assessment of the role of

the rescued women themselves. This is necessary in order to

determine the effectiveness of the work, which in turn is the

foundation for an evaluation of the degree of responsiveness

exhibited by the Salvation Army when faced with the needs of

women in Victorian and Edwardian London. This analysis is

based on an examination of the case history, as recorded by

the Salvation Army officers, of each of the women who passed

through the homes. Five hundred case histories from each of

three different selected periods during the first thirty

years of Social Services work were researched. The periods

chosen were 1886, 1896, and 1911. To arrive at a sample of

500 in the case of the records commencing in 1886, it was

necessary to continue into the records for 1887. Similarly, in the case of the sample commencing in 1896, cases from part of 1897 had also to be included. Only for 1911 was it possible for the sample of 500 to be drawn from a single year's work. 1886-7 was selected because it was the beginning of the available records which included not only information on age, place of birth, father's occupation, educational and health background, employment history and religious affiliation, but also extensive details of the women's circumstances prior to their contact with the Salvation Army. This format was continued with the 1896-7 records which also included information on the women's progress in the homes. These years were chosen because they provide the opportunity to assess the development of the rescue programme in the first decade of operation. However, 1896-7 also marks the final use of the extensive record format, for the record books for the subsequent years provide much more limited information. It has not been possible to find a documented explanation for this change in procedure. Nevertheless, it suggests a move towards efficiency and increased confidence which was evident in Salvationist work as a whole. Five hundred case records from the later period of 1911 were also examined in order to gain a picture of the work undertaken just before the First World War.

While these records provide a detailed and, to some extent, a unique documentation of the nature of rescue work, they also present problems for the historian attempting to assess the responsiveness of the Salvation Army's work. The

main difficulty is that these records were written after the women were selected for the rescue programme. In other words, they reveal the types of women who the Army felt would most benefit from their aid. They do not therefore cover all the various kinds of distress which could be experienced by women in Victorian and Edwardian London. It is important to note this emphasis, for in order to analyse the effectiveness of Salvationist work it is necessary to know not only who was rescued but also why certain women chose to be rescued. To answer this question the perspective from which the material is viewed must be changed, and the following discussion concentrates therefore on the experiences of the rescued.

In order to discover what kind of woman would have turned to the Salvation Army for help, it is necessary to understand the options that were available to the women of London. Being rescued involved entering a new network of relationships, and thus it needs to be determined whether their existing networks had become in some way unsatisfactory. The first step towards discovering what their established networks consisted of is the delineation of their social and economic position. Initially this would have been defined by their father's occupation, and the information that is available is given in Figure 1.

# Figure 1: Father's Occupations

|  | 1886-1887 | | 1896-1897 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Middle Class | 32 | 6.4% | 29 | 5.8% |
| Retail Trades | 30 | 6.0% | 23 | 4.6% |
| Skilled Working Class | 44 | 8.8% | 47 | 9.4% |
| Uniformed Working Class | 34 | 6.8% | 30 | 6.0% |
| Semi-Skilled Working Class | 79 | 15.8% | 63 | 12.6% |
| Unskilled Working Class | 150 | 30.0% | 140 | 28.0% |
| No Information | 131 | 26.2% | 168 | 33.6% |
| Total | 500 | 100% | 500 | 100% |

The category of 'uniformed working class' was described by Raphael Samuel in a paper presented to the Urban History Seminar, University of Leicester, in February 1978. The uniformed working class was delineated as being distinct from artisans and labourers, and included the regularly employed, such as domestic servants, policemen, servicemen, brewery servants of large companies, estate workers, waiters, and nurses. Their working conditions were characterised by segregation from fellow workers, long unsociable hours, severe labour discipline, geographical mobility, and often the wearing of a uniform. The compensations were regular work, a sense of service, and an emphasis on respectability, often combined with the provision of accommodation.

Figure 1 shows that the unskilled working class was the largest single category by a significant margin, being twice

as large as the next category, which was the one immediately above it in the social scale; the semi-skilled working class. These two categories combined accounted for 65% of the cases for which there was information in 1886-7 and 61.1% of the cases for which there was information in 1896-7. However, it was certainly not the case that all the women came from the lower end of the social scale. In each year approximately one-fifth came from middle class, retailing, or skilled working class backgrounds. There were no cases from the aristocracy, the gentry, or the upper middle class; but below that level all the social classes were represented by more than merely a token number of cases. However, it should also be noted that unskilled men formed between 10% and 17% of the population in this period, and skilled men between 27% and 43%, depending upon the indicators used. Professional men accounted for between 2% and 12%.[1] Consequently, the proportion of women who came from the unskilled working class was greater amongst the rescue cases than the proportion of the unskilled within the community as a whole.

Further evidence of the social and economic position of the rescue cases is also provided by the information on their place of origin. In the three years studied slightly more than half the women who gave information on their place of origin named either London in general (category 1, Figure 2 below), a specific district in London (category 2), or its

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[1] R. Lawton, ed., The Census and Social Structure (London, 1978), p. 197.

immediate environs (category 3). As a result of the survey carried out by Charles Booth in the 1880s,[2] there exists for all the districts in category 2 statistical information, in the form of percentage figures, of the degree of poverty. Booth's maps covered the whole of inner London and the surrounding circle of inner suburbs; and all the cases specifically naming any such district have been included in category 2. Booth's survey did not cover the outlying suburbs which were growing in size and population; hence the rise in the figure for category 3 by 1911.

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[2] Booth, op. cit., passim.

## Figure 2: Place of Origin

|  |  | 1886-7 | 1896-7 | 1911 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Unspecified districts of London | 26 | 3 | 16 |
| 2. | Specified districts of London | 168 | 167 | 160 |
| 3. | Environs of London | 26 | 54 | 62 |
| 4. | Places outside London area | 182 | 178 | 242 |
| 5. | No Information | 98 | 98 | 20 |
|  |  | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | 500 | 500 | 500 |

It is possible to correlate the cases in category 2 above
with the specific index of poverty given in the Booth survey
for that district. This provides the information in Figure 3.

## Figure 3: Correleation with Degree of Poverty

| Poverty % | 1886-1887 No. | 1886-1887 % | 1896-1897 No. | 1896-1897 % | 1911 No. | 1911 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 - 10% | 12 | 7.2 | 6 | 3.6 | 15 | 9.4 |
| 10 - 20% | 62 | 36.9 | 37 | 22.2 | 47 | 29.4 |
| 20 - 30% | 26 | 15.5 | 50 | 29.9 | 48 | 30.0 |
| 30 - 40% | 21 | 12.5 | 24 | 14.4 | 14 | 8.7 |
| 40 - 50% | 34 | 20.2 | 42 | 25.1 | 24 | 15.0 |
| 50 - 60% | 12 | 7.1 | 6 | 3.6 | 9 | 5.6 |
| 60 - 70% | 1 | 0.6 | 2 | 1.2 | 3 | 1.9 |
| Total | 168 | 100% | 167 | 100% | 160 | 100% |

This shows that the majority of cases; 59.6% in 1886-7, 55.7% in 1896-7, and 68.8% in 1911, came from districts with less than 30% level of poverty. These areas tended to be the solid working class districts in which the Salvation Army had a small but stable presence. Few cases came from the areas of greatest poverty, which were also the areas in which support for the Army was weak. While it is interesting to note that the London rescue cases generally came from the more affluent areas, this does not mean that the women were not poor. They may have come from the poorer families within these districts, for it would be incorrect to argue from the aggregate to that which cannot be known.[3] The most that can

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3    J.A. Banks, 'Historical Sociology and the Study of Population', in D. Glass and R. Revelle, eds., Population and Social Change (London, 1972), pp. 58-60.

be assumed at this point is that the rescue cases came predominantly from working class backgrounds, and that this determined the material conditions and social relationships which would have formed these women's network of support. What then would have been the support systems available to these women in London?

The economy of Victorian London had been formed by three features: it was a major port; it was the largest consumer market in England; and it was the centre of government and the royal court, thus making it the focal point of conspicuous consumption and the attendant luxury trades.[4] Skilled workers tended to earn slightly higher wages than elsewhere[5] but as London had no developed form of industrial employment capable of absorbing large numbers of women workers, the wives and daughters of skilled men tended not to take waged employment unless it was some so-called genteel occupation such shop keeping, or to earn pocket money.[6] London also had a large number of unskilled casual workers whose wives and daughters formed a glut of female workers who could not bargain as the supply of their labour was not dependent on the demand for it but rather on the demand for their husbands.[7] Consequently, in areas where there was a

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[4] G. Stedman Jones, Outcast London, p. 19.

[5] Ibid., p. 83.

[6] S. Alexander, 'Women's work in Nineteenth Century London', in J. Mitchell and A. Oakley, eds., The Rights and Wrongs of Women (London, 1976), p. 65.

[7] Stedman Jones, Outcast London, p. 84.

concentration of male casual labour there sprang up forms of casual female labour such as unskilled factory work for the unmarried and unskilled home work for the married. This was primarily in the east and south of London.[8] Moving westward there were fewer forms of home work for women so married women tended to do laundry and charring in the service of the more affluent households, and for the younger women there was also domestic service.[9] However, the wealthier homes were more likely to draw their servants from the country, leaving the women of the unskilled families to the drudgery of the 'tweeny'.[10] The supply of female labour in London was not only drawn from the families already living there but was also composed of single women coming to the metropolis. Many came to domestic service, and to work in shops and millinery and dress-making establishments.[11] Throughout the city women also worked in retailing, both in shops and as street sellers.[12] In 1881 the census listed the adult female population of London as being 2,018,997 of whom, 1,177,346 or 58.3% were listed as 'persons without specific occupation'.[13]

8   Ibid., p. 85.
9   Ibid., p. 86.
10  Alexander, 'Women's Work', p. 98.
11  Ibid., p. 85.
12  Ibid., p. 100.
13  Census of 1881, England and Wales, Vol. 3: Ages, Conditions as to Marriage, Occupations and Birth-places of the People, p. 19. For a discussion of the problems of using the census as a source for figures on female employment see E. Bridge, 'Women's Employment: Problems

(Footnote continued)

Those women who were identifiably in employment were divided between manufacturing and service and retail. In the latter case there was also a division between those who lived in, such as servants and shop assistants, and those who worked out, such as laundry workers.

Observers estimated that 10 to 12 shillings a week was necessary for a woman to support herself in the standards of comfort usual to the poorer artisan class.[14] However, even this sufficiency was not always obtainable. The reasons for this were the over-supply of labour and the casual and intermittent nature of much of the work, particularly in manufacturing, such as dress making and factory work.[15] There were also hidden expenses; it could cost money to work. Shop assistants had to dress to a certain standard, waitresses had to pay for breakages, home workers were expected to pay for materials and those learning a job were often paid little or nothing.[16] Individual factors also played their part for shop

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[13](continued)
of Research', Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, No. 26 (1973), pp. 5-7.

[14] Booth, Life and Labour, Vol. 4, p. 260; C. Black, Sweated Industry and the Minimum Wage (London, 1907), p. 47; G.G. Wood, 'Remuneration of the Woman Wage Earner', The Englishwoman, October 1910, p. 261.

[15] Stedman Jones, Outcast London, pp. 85-86; M.M. Bird, Women at Work (London, 1911), p. 24.

[16] Black, Sweated Labour, p. 60; Bird, Women at Work, pp. 76-77; B. Drake, 'The Tea Shop Girl', Women's Industrial News, April 1913, p. 117; Booth, Life and Labour, Vol. 4, pp. 272, 278, 285, 291.

assistants received premiums for the amount they sold, waitresses received tips - cases where skill and personality could maximise income.[17] Character and contacts could also determine whether a woman was employed in a 'respectable' factory or workshop and consequently had access to slightly better conditions or steadier work.[18] Ability could decide whether a woman got work or became a supervisor and personality could influence whether she was able to cope with the constant demands of employment. This was a key factor for servants when dealing with their employers.[19] Health and stamina could also be an important variable. Women homeworkers could have their strength undermined, resulting in loss of employment or forcing them into the rougher, even more badly paid sections of work.[20] Because of external factors such as availability of jobs and personal considerations such as health, it required determination for women to live alone and support themselves and they were described by one social investigator as 'girls of some individuality and considerable self-reliance'.[21]

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[17] S.T. Jones, The Moral Side of Living In (London, 1907), p. 28; Bird, Women at Work, pp. 76-77.

[18] Alexander, 'Women's Work', pp. 84-85.

[19] L. Davidoff, 'Mastered for Life: Servant and Wife in Victorian and Edwardian England', Journal of Social History, Vol. 7 (1974), pp. 406-428.

[20] Black, Sweated Labour, pp. 17, 56-58; Bird, Women at Work, pp. 77-78; Booth, Life and Labour, Vol. 4, p. 290.

[21] Anon., Toilers of London; or Enquiries Concerning Female Labour in the Metropolis. Being the Second Part of

As it was so difficult for women to live alone and support themselves by waged labour what were their alternatives? Primarily they survived by being in a combination of groups such as employment and family. The most common was domestic service, and the 1881 census listed 246,754 women as being employed in domestic indoor service or hotel service.[22] Service provided a woman with housing and food as well as some income and perhaps clothing. However, a servant was more secure if she had a family to turn to in times of unemployment or sickness. Women who worked outside the living place were better off if they stayed with their families. One commentator suggested a woman who did so could:

> afford to work for a wage on which she could not live even if she is a factory hand and gives her mother a weekly contribution for her 'keep', she easily beats the girl who has to club with two or three others to make her earnings cover her lodgings and living expenses. If she is a clerk and works for something to do and a dress allowance, she has a tremendous pull over the girl whose 25s a week has to keep her alive and decent; even over the girl at £2, whose family can give her no assistance when her own resources meet an unexpected strain.
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> [23]

As the passage above suggests, another combination was to live with other women, as many factory girls did. This could create an esprit de corp, as was shown during the Bryant and May match factory strike.[24] If a woman was not part of a

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[21] (continued)
'Tempted London' (London, 1889), p. 40.

[22] Census of 1881, England and Wales, Vol. 3, p. 13.

[23] Bird, Women at Work, p. 13.

network of friends, relatives and employment she could try and survive with the help of charity. The widows interviewed by Clara Collet were earning 4 shillings a week shirt finishing, and also receiving charitable donations and outdoor relief.[25] There was a cruel irony here; although women were expected to be part of a family, this fact was used as a justification for inadequate wage levels which in turn meant that women were forced to be part of a support group. Mrs. Drake commented on this in her study of teashop girls in 1913, when she noted that some places would not hire a woman as a waitress unless she was living with her family or married sister, the reason given being that the expenses of the job were out of proportion to the wage and that the conditions of employment stimulated an appetite for pleasure.[26] Women could also form a support system through marriage.[27] However, it is a complex issue whether working class women were better off married with the hazards of childbirth and the burdens of domestic responsibility than their single sisters. Generally speaking, however, one is tempted to agree with Mrs. Lorne who noted that marriage was the one occupation that allowed a poor woman to grow old and feeble.[28] The fate of the woman alone without family, friends

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[24]  Anon., Toilers of London, pp. 175-177.

[25]  Booth, Life and Labour, Vol. 4, pp. 259-260.

[26]  Drake, 'The Tea Shop Girl', p. 125.

[27]  E. Ross, 'Survival Networks: Women's Neighbourhood Sharing in London Before World War I', History Workshop, No. 15 (1983), pp. 4-27.

or employment was unenviable for even Poor Law policy
evaluated need in terms of family circumstances and capacity
to work.[29]

Was the final resort for the woman alone prostitution?
The answer to this is by no means straight-forward. Since the
nineteenth century there has been a debate over what
prostitution actually implied for the women involved: was it
a downward path to destitution and death or was it a
transient phrase through which young women passed?[30] The
debate continues today with Frances Finnegan favouring the
downward path model and Judith Walkowitz supporting the view
that prostitution was a transient phase.[31] The foundation of
any answer to this question must begin by accepting that the
experience of prostitution could vary widely, depending on
such factors as the women's ability to cope with the life and
her access to alternative support systems. Prostitution in
Victorian and Edwardian London could itself provide a support
network for the women, in that it allowed them to earn money

[28] M. Loane, The Next Street But One (London, 1909), p. 119.

[29] P. Thane, 'Women and the Poor Law in Victorian and Edwardian England', History Workshop, No. 6 (1978), pp. 29-51.

[30] W. Acton, Prostitution (first published: London, 1870; this edition edited by P. Fryer: London, 1968); J. Miller, Prostitution Considered in Relation to its Causes (Edinburgh, 1859).

[31] Finnegan, Poverty and Prostitution; Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society.

and support themselves, although the extent to which this was possible also varied.[32] This raises a number of further issues which must next be examined. These include the relative importance of the occupational hazards of venereal disease and alcoholism, the standard of living of the prostitute in comparison with that of other working women, and the implications of being considered as outcasts. Venereal disease was a constant risk, but the poor regarded it as a secondary health hazard. Consumption was the greatest killer of young adult females, and prostitution was not considered the only occupation involving danger to health.[33] Drink was also believed to be a problem. Many contemporary observers considered that a woman could not prostitute herself without recourse to alcohol.[34] The life was a hard one and in the nineteenth century there was a tradition of drinking to keep up one's strength. However, the issue is not so much whether prostitution drove women to drink any more than other occupations, but whether it gave them access to drink through the association of prostitution with pubs and

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[32] Mayhew, London Labour and London Poor, Vol. 4, pp. 210-262.

[33] S.R. Johansson, 'Sex and Death in Victorian England: An Examination of Sex-Specific Death Rates 1840-1910', in M. Vicinus, ed., Widening Spheres (Indianna, 1977), pp. 169-170.

[34] 'The Great Social Evil', Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, January-February 1858, p. 125; J. Edgar, Female Virtue: Its Enemies and Friends (London, 1841), p. 16; 'Prostitution', Meliora, Vol. 3, 1860-61, p. 149.

other places of entertainment.[35] This may have encouraged a dependence on alcohol on the part of some women, but their frequenting of pubs was one factor which was also considered to give them a higher standard of living in comparison with other working women, and in particular with the casual poor. Other advantages were seen to be shorter working hours, better clothes, sometimes a room of their own and more robust health.[36] In some senses prostitutes formed an exclusive group who were envied by working women for these advantages.[37] They were also a tantalizing group for men, for the upper and middle classes the demi-monde could be seen as exciting and relaxing when compared with a respectable drawing-room.[38] For single working men the prostitute could be the only form of female companionship available.[39] This, however, raises one of the most contentious issues about

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[35] B. Harrison, Drink and the Victorians (London, 1971), p. 50.

[36] J. Whitehorne, The Social Evil Practically Considered (London, 1858), pp. 11-12; Mayhew, London Labour and London Poor, Vol. 4, p. 216; Dr. Drysdale, Prostitution: Medically Considered With Some of Its Social Aspects (London, 1866), p. 11.

[37] Downward Paths: An Inquiry into the Causes Which Contribute to the Making of Prostitution (London, 1916), p. 67.

[38] E.I. Champness, 'Women and Purity', Westminster Review, Vol. 166 (1906), pp. 326-333.

[39] J. and D. Walkowitz, '"We are Not Beasts of the Field": Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton Under the Contagious Diseases Acts', Feminist Studies, Vol. 1 (1973), pp. 73-106.

prostitution: who was exploiting whom? In general terms, social and economic pressures forced some women into prostitution. This was precarious if not dangerous but on an individual level the situation could appear differently. In a society like Victorian Britain, where sexual expression was compartmentalised, the sexual woman had a power and attraction which she could use to exploit men both financially and emotionally.[40] Some women used their time in the profession to accumulate capital or used it as a route to marriage. The historian cannot trace the successful prostitute, for she disappears discreetly into other walks of life, leaving only a hint in the diaries of Munby or the novels of Gissing.[41] Even so, it was a hard life which required stamina and shrewdness and its increasingly professional character made it more competitive as the century wore on.[42] The less successful were more likely to be working the streets and therefore more susceptible to violent encounters.[43] However, as well as disease and violence, sentiment and inexperience were other hazards:

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[40] W. Somerset Maugham, Of Human Bondage (London, 1915).

[41] D. Hudson, ed., Munby: Man of Two Worlds (London, 1972), pp. 40-41; G. Gissing, The Unclassed (New Edition: London, 1901).

[42] C. Booth, Life and Labour of the People in London: Final Volume - Notes on Social Influences and Conclusions (London, 1902), pp. 121-127.

[43] J. Walkowitz, 'Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence', Feminist Studies, Vol. 8 (1982), pp. 552-554.

the happy prostitute is either the thoroughly
hardened, clever infidel, who knows how to command
men and use them for her own purposes ... and in
the end seldom fails to marry well, or the quiet
woman who is kept by the man she loves ... who has
provision made for her to guard against want, and
the caprice of her paramour. The sentimental, weak
minded girl will go from bad to worse, and will die
on a dunghill or in the workhouse. [44]

Women of this kind who drifted into prostitution seemed

more prone to get into difficulties with the police. This

view was supported by a study published in 1891 by the Rev.

G.P. Merrick, the chaplain of Millbank prison. Over a number

of years he had gathered information on more than 16,000

cases.[45] Because prostitution was not a crime, the

prostitutes were sent to prison for other misdemeanours such

as drunkeness, disorderly conduct, street quarrels with other

women, and robbery. However, the majority of women fell into

the hands of the police between three months and three years

of becoming prostitutes. The longer a woman remained a

prostitute, the less chance there was of her being caught

committing a crime. This suggests that these particular women

were not adapting to the way of life. An inability to adjust,

not only to prostitution but to other relationships and

styles of life, was also indicated. Of the 16,022 cases, 4790

owed their fall and ruin directly to men, while 11,232 had to

acknowledge other causes. Of these the largest number

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[44] Mayhew, London Labour and London Poor, Vol. 4, p. 236.
[45] G.P. Merrick, Work Among the Fallen as Seen in Prison
Cells (London, 1891).

voluntarily left their homes or situations to adopt 'a life of pleasure'. Poverty due to lack of employment was next, but Merrick claimed that the majority of these women owed their destitution not to the lack of friends or opportunity, but to their own indolence and incapacity. Furthermore, the women who entered prostitution after a period of concubinage did so between two months and two years after commencing the relationship. The overall impression of the Merrick study was that the prostitutes who were in prison had not developed commitments to jobs or relationships. This echoed William Booth's concern that the Salvation Army was attracting what he called the weak-willed. In this he was not alone, for other rescue workers also noted that the less successful prostitutes, who tended to be the more sentimental, were also more likely to be swayed by the rhetoric of the reformer. One early twentieth century study of prostitution claimed that:

> Many matrons of Rescue Homes tell us that setting aside the feeble minded, the girls who come to them at the present day are largely of an emotional temperament, and that they are often artistic, musical, good natured, and very lovable ... a better educated, but alas! weak-minded pleasure loving girl, unable to battle with the difficulties of life. But we must not be too sure that these types preponderate to the same extent among prostitutes in general, for the Rescue Homes draw to them the failures of the profession. [46]

What did it mean to the prostitute to be outcast? For

[46] Downward Paths: An Inquiry Into the Causes Which Contribute to the Making of Prostitution, p. 37.

the purposes of this analysis, for a Victorian woman to be outcast is defined as being outside a support system of family, or of work, or a combination of both. By this definition, the prostitute was not an outcast, as she could earn her own living. However, by drifting into prostitution a woman could cut herself off from job contacts or be disowned by her family. If she was then unable to support herself by prostitution, being outcast would take on a very material meaning. Those who were less successful were more likely to come into contact with the police, charities, or the workhouse, where they would be defined as outcast and treated as such. At all levels a prostitute's response to being considered an outcast could vary and it cannot be assumed that the most successful were the most indifferent to the stigma.[47] However, some women seem to have clearly understood the implications of economic pressure and social convention for the individual, and to have felt justified in taking advantage of the opportunities available. As Charles Booth noted:

> Sometimes the life is entered upon quite coldly. 'Others do it', is the usual formula whether of persuasion or excuse. Self-condemnation hardly comes in.[48]

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[47] W. Logan, *An Exposure from Personal Observation of Female Prostitution in London, Leeds, and Rochdale* (Glasgow, 1843), p. 101; C.E.B. Russell, 'Some Aspects of Femal Criminality and its Treatment', *The Englishwoman*, January 1912, p. 44.

[48] Booth, *Life and Labour, Final Volume*, p. 127.

These women upset middle class commentators with what appeared to be cynicism, though it could equally be considered as realism.[49] One's sympathies are extended to those women who were not successful prostitutes but who also accepted the idea of their sinfulness, for they would have had both a mental and a physical experience of being outcast. One such case was Jerry, a fifteen year old who the Salvation Army tried to rescue at the request of the older prostitute who had helped bring about her ruin. Jerry would not stay in the home, but two years later she wrote to Florence Booth:

> By this time you will have forgot me, but I often think about you. I am sorry I threw your kindness in your face ... by not staying ... I am not saved yet, I wish I was. God Bless you Mrs. Booth ... I wish I was good - I often feel as if I would give anything if only I was good. [50]

In order to survive the working class woman needed to be in a network of relationships consisting of family, friends, and employment.

The next question to be addressed is how the support networks of the rescue cases differed from the norm. The analysis will begin by examining their family relationships, and Figure 4 provides information on their marital status.

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[49] Mayhew, London Labour and London Poor, Vol. 4, p. 216.

[50] F. Booth, 'Personal Notes', The Deliverer, July 1889, p. 6.

|                        | 1886-7 | | 1896-7 | |
|                        | No. | % | No. | % |
|------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Unmarried              | 417  | 83.4 | 440  | 83.0 |
| Married                | 12   | 2.4  | 22   | 4.4  |
| Widowed                | 10   | 2.0  | 17   | 3.4  |
| Separated              | 6    | 1.2  | 9    | 1.8  |
| Deserted               | 4    | .8   | 6    | 1.2  |
| Divorced               | 2    | .4   | 3    | .6   |
| Left Husband Herself   | 2    | .4   | 3    | .6   |
| Bigamous Marriage      | 1    | .2   | 0    | 0    |
| No Information         | 46   | 9.2  | 0    | 0    |
| Total                  | 500  | 100% | 500  | 100% |

The majority of rescue cases were unmarried women, and it is of interest that by 1911 the question of marital status had been omitted from the form. There was an increase in the cases of married women admitted, but although the number doubles the actual figures remain relatively small. There was some suggestion that those women who had been married but who were no longer in partnership were alone because of the actions taken by their spouses. An example of this is the case of the bigamous marriage in 1886-7 which involved a servant working in an hotel where she met the chief engineer

of a steamer.[51] She lived with this man for a few weeks and then married him, not discovering for three years that he was already married. It was because of this emphasis on the husband's actions that it became necessary to include a category to indicated when it was the woman herself who terminated the relationship; this provides the category of 'left husband herself'.

This lack of marital status may be explained by reference to the age of the women. Figure 5 shows that over two-thirds of the cases were under twenty-four years old, with the largest category for each year being nineteen years of age.

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[51]  No. 198, 1886, in Case Book I (1886-1889), Case number 198. The Salvation Army stipulated that these case records could be studied on the condition that no names were to be cited; consequently, each case has been assigned an indentifying number. The first case for each year has been given the number 1 and each subsequent case has been numbered conscutively. The reference for each case consists of the identifying number and the year, followed by the number and years of the Case Book in which it is located, and the number assigned to that case by the Salvation Army. These latter figures are not necessarily consecutive, and also vary in type as the system of numbering changed over the years: in 1886-7 a Case number was given, in 1896-7 a Receiving Home number was given, and in 1911 a Home number was given.

Figure 5: Ages

1886-1889 Cases: ———
1896-1897 Cases: – – –
1911 Cases: ·······

Age

Number of Cases

223
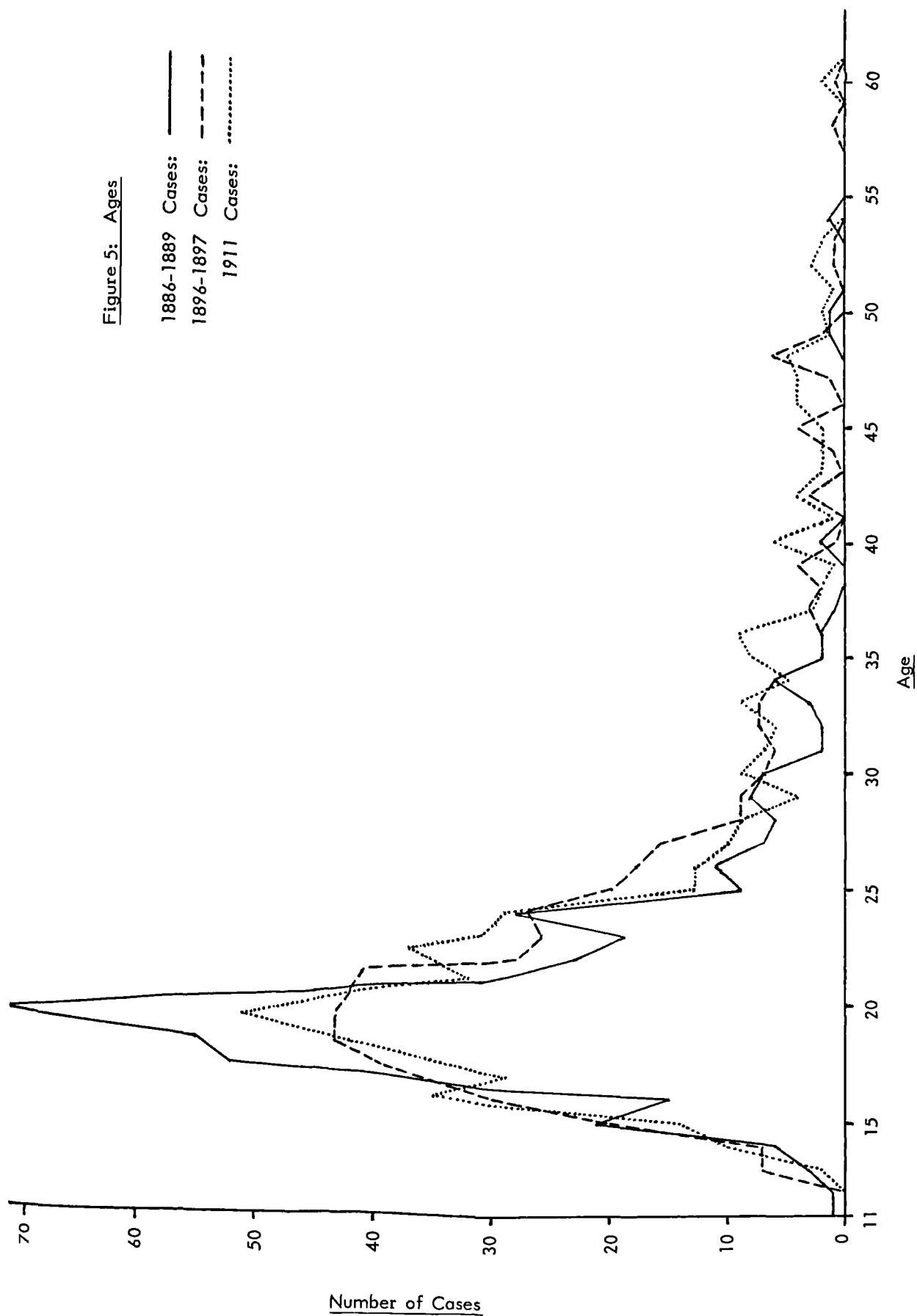
Although the age of marriage was falling in Britain during the nineteenth century, only 25% of women aged between twenty and twenty-four were married in 1901.[52] As the majority of rescue cases were women who were young and single it needs to considered whether their parental, as opposed to their conjugal, home provide support. Indeed, this is particularly important as Judith Walkowitz has claimed that one of the dominant social characteristics of women who moved into prostitution in the second half of the nineteenth century was, 'that they were most likely to have been half or full orphans'.[53] Data is available on this question for both 1886-7 and 1896-7 and Figure 6 supports Walkowitz's contention. Two-thirds of the women were half or full orphans and there was a degree of uniformity in the two years, even though they are a decade apart. However, it is not possible to assume from this that the loss of parents accounted for the vulnerability of these women. Working class people in this age group would have begun working in their early adolescence and would not have looked to the parental home as their sole means of support.[54] There is insufficient information on siblings and other relatives who could have provided shelter, food, and clothes. Family support needs to be considered in wider contexts than just the parental.

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[52] L. Tilly and J. Scott, Women, Work and The Family (New York, 1978), p. 92.

[53] Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society, p. 19.

[54] S. Meacham, A Life Apart: The English Working Class 1890-1914 (London, 1977), p. 175.

Nevertheless, a weakened parental support structure would need to be bolstered by employment, and Figure 7 provides information on the employment histories of the rescue cases. Many of the women had been domestic servants, and to some extent this reflects the predominance of service as an employment category for women. It has become something of a convention to expect to find domestic servants in rescue homes, but this obscures the crucial question of the reasons for the jeopardising of their support systems.

## Figure 6: Parents

|                    | 1886-7 |      | 1896-7 |      |
|--------------------|--------|------|--------|------|
|                    | No.    | %    | No.    | %    |
| Mother Alive       | 225    | 45.0 | 249    | 49.8 |
| Mother Dead        | 206    | 41.2 | 207    | 41.2 |
| Stepmother         | 15     | 3.0  | 31     | 6.2  |
| No Information     | 54     | 10.8 | 13     | 2.6  |
| Father Alive       | 216    | 43.2 | 261    | 52.2 |
| Father Dead        | 209    | 41.8 | 205    | 41.8 |
| Stepfather         | 17     | 3.4  | 17     | 3.4  |
| No Information     | 58     | 11.6 | 17     | 3.4  |
| Both Parents       | 134    | 26.8 | 163    | 32.6 |
| No Parents         | 136    | 27.2 | 132    | 26.4 |
| Half Orphans       | 230    | 54.0 | 305    | 59.0 |
| Step-parents only  | 0      | 0.0  | 0      | 0.0  |

## Figure 7: Employment Background

### (a) 1886-7 Cases

|  | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| Domestic service | 345 | 69.0 |
| Factory/Mill work | 18 | 3.6 |
| Dressmaker | 10 | 2.0 |
| Laundry | 7 | 1.4 |
| Housework for relative | 6 | 1.2 |
| Casual work | 4 | .8 |
| Waitress | 4 | .8 |
| Shop Assistant | 4 | .8 |
| Actress, Chorus Girl | 4 | .8 |
| Barmaid | 4 | .8 |
| Teacher | 3 | .6 |
| Nurse | 2 | .4 |
| Agricultural worker | 1 | .2 |
| Market seller | 1 | .2 |
| Street seller | 1 | .2 |
| Needlework | 1 | .2 |
| Brothel Keeper | 1 | .2 |
| Outwork | 1 | .2 |
| Office work | 1 | .2 |
| No previous work | 15 | 3.0 |
| No Information | 67 | 13.4 |
|  | 500 | 100% |

227

| | No. | % |
|---|---|---|
| Domestic service | 372 | 74.4 |
| Laundry work | 16 | 3.2 |
| Factory/Mill work | 14 | 2.8 |
| Dressmaker | 6 | 1.2 |
| Outwork | 5 | 1.0 |
| Office work | 5 | 1.0 |
| Agricultural worker | 4 | .8 |
| Waitress | 4 | .8 |
| Housework for relative | 4 | .8 |
| Shop Assistant | 4 | .8 |
| Own Business | 3 | .6 |
| Casual work | 2 | .4 |
| Barmaid | 2 | .4 |
| Actress, Chorus Girl | 2 | .4 |
| Milliner | 1 | .2 |
| Weaver | 1 | .2 |
| Teacher | 1 | .2 |
| Hairdresser | 1 | .2 |
| No previous work | 26 | 5.2 |
| No Information | 27 | 5.4 |
| | --- | ---- |
| | 500 | 100% |

228

Had these women lost their positions through becoming pregnant? Although this is often depicted as being the classic dilemma for a young single women in the Victorian era, the available information suggests that less than a third of those women who had been in service came into the Salvationist rescue programme for that reason.

## Figure 8: Number of Servants who were Pregnant

|  | No Information | Servants who were pregnant | Servants who were not pregnant |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1886-7 | 10 (2.9%) | 17 (4.9%) | 318 (92.2%) |
| 1896-7 | 0 (0.0%) | 116 (31.2%) | 256 (68.8%) |

The increase in the number of maternity cases is explained by the changing Salvation Army policy towards the provision of facilities for pregnant women.[55] Nevertheless, pregnancy and disgrace is not a sufficient explanation of the high proportion of rescue cases who had been in service. The generally youthful profile of the women also negates the explanation that they had lost employment due to age. Even in the occupations where beauty and youthfulness were at a premium, the women were still relatively young. For example, in 1896-7 the age profile of the actresses fell between nineteen and twenty-three and the barmaids were between twenty-one and twenty-five. Nor were the occupations listed particularly significant in terms of low wages. Therefore other factors need to be examined in order to explain their impaired support systems.

Figure 9 gives the number of women who had been in prison, while Figure 10 provides information from the 1896-7 sample on the offences which they had committed.

## Figure 9: Been in Prison

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1886-7 | 15 | 3.0% |
| 1896-7 | 65 | 13.0% |
| 1911 | 51 | 10.2% |

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[55] Fairbank, Booth's Boots, pp. 27-40.

## Figure 10: An Analysis of Prison Offences from the 1896-7 Sample

This analysis takes only those cases where the reason for going to prison has been given: of the total 65 cases who had been in prison, 58 (89.2%) were specified. This appears to be a random sample of a sufficiently high proportion to be meaningful.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Drunkeness | 22 | 37.9% |
| Stealing | 15 | 25.8% |
| Attempted Suicide | 4 | 6.9% |
| Fighting | 3 | 5.2% |
| Neglect/Cruelty to Children | 3 | 5.2% |
| Sleeping Out | 2 | 3.5% |
| Breach of the Peace | 2 | 3.5% |
| Fraud | 2 | 3.5% |
| Assault with a Knife | 1 | 1.7% |
| Suspicious Death of Child | 1 | 1.7% |
| Truancy from School | 1 | 1.7% |
| Soliciting | 1 | 1.7% |
| Keeping a Brothel | 1 | 1.7% |
| | --- | ---- |
| Total | 58 | 100% |

From the evidence above, these women could hardly be described as hardened criminals. Once again the percentage is too small to provide a conclusive explanation of the reasons

why these women came to the Salvation Army.

However, the number of women who had committed offences related to drink raises the possibility that alcohol had contributed to the erosion of their support networks. Turning then to the number of rescue cases who were listed as having drink problems, the figures are as follows:

## Figure 11: Cases With Drinking Problems

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1886-7 | 23 | 4.6% |
| 1896-7 | 136 | 27.2% |
| 1911 | 92 | 18.4% |

There was also a shift in the age profile of women with drinking problems. In 1886-7 the largest category within the 23 cases were the twenty-four year olds, who accounted for 17.4% of the group. In 1911 the largest number for any age was seven, at the age of thirty-six (7.6% of the group for that year). The information on how long these women had been drinking is ambiguous. As explained in Chapter 3, the Salvationists definition of a drinking problem could include anyone who took a drink at all, as this would be a turning away from selflessness to self-indulgence. For the purpose of this discussion the point is whether drink impaired the womens' ability to work or to sustain familial or other social relationships. There is evidence that some women had been drinking over a number of years. In 1896-7 the second

largest category was 'drinking for several years', which consisted of sixteen cases (3.2% of the group). By 1911 the second largest category was 'drinking more than twelve years', which involved twelve cases (2.4% of that year's group). However, balanced against this was the fact that largest single category in 1896-7 was 'drinking for a short time', of whom there were twenty-four cases (4.8%). Furthermore, the percentages involved are again too small to provide alone a satisfactory answer to the questions raised.

A similar difficulty arises with the information on the women's medical histories. In 1886-7 193 of the 500 cases (38.6%) had been in hospital at some point in their lives, and in 1896-7 this number fell to 169 (33.8%). While only approximately a third of the cases had been so unwell as to need hospital care, the reasons given provide a tantalising picture of why some women may have had difficulty in sustaining their support networks, particularly if they were relying upon employment alone.

# Figure 12: Reasons for Hospitalization

|  | 1886-7 | | 1896-7 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | No. | % | No. | % |
| Infectious Diseases | 19 | 10% | 42 | 25% |
| Other Serious Illnesses | 12 | 6% | 15 | 9% |
| Nervous Diseases | 8 | 4% | 6 | 4% |
| Minor Complaints | 28 | 15% | 30 | 18% |
| Confinement | 43 | 22% | 36 | 21% |
| Miscarriage | 0 | 0% | 2 | 1% |
| Syphillis | 66 | 34% | 24 | 14% |
| No Information | 17 | 9% | 14 | 8% |
| Total | 193 | 100% | 169 | 100% |

Women suffering from infectious diseases such as small pox, scarlet fever, and measles, or those with other serious complaints such as peritonitis, broken limbs, or tumours would have temporarily been unable to work. So also would those women who were pregnant or who had syphillis to such an extent that they needed hospitalization. However, it is more difficult to judge the incapacity of women who were described as having nervous diseases such as hysterical fits. These women were obviously experiencing some degree of stress, which could at the same time be caused by and affect their relationships. Likewise, the seemingly trivial ailments of

anemia, piles, abscesses, and eczema also indicate the presence of stress although it is hard to estimate the extent to which illness had impaired their network of relationships. Useful as this evidence is, it still does not provide a complete answer to the question why these working class women needed an alternative support network.

The fact that the largest category of hospital cases were those suffering from sexually-related conditions raises the issue of whether a factor related to sexuality had jeopardised these women's support structures. The following table is based upon the information on the extent of their sexual experience.

## Figure 13: Sexual Experience

|  | 1886-7 | | 1896-7 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | No. | % | No. | % |
| No Experience | 79 | 15.8% | 146 | 29.2% |
| Less than One Year | 89 | 17.8% | 187 | 37.6% |
| More than One Year | 109 | 21.8% | 141 | 28.2% |
| No Information | 223 | 44.6% | 26 | 5.2% |
| Total | 500 | 100% | 500 | 100% |

The data for 1886-7 is not as conclusive as that for 1896-7, as there is no information for nearly half of the cases. However, the 1886-7 figures indicate that of those women who gave information about their sexual activities, 28.5% were inexperienced. Of the 1896-7 cases, less than a third were uninitiated, but a significant proportion of those who had been sexually active had only been so in the previous twelve months. Given the ideal of female chastity subscribed to by many sections of Victorian society, it might be assumed that if a single woman showed evidence of sexual activity she would be ostracised from both work and family. However, disapproval was contingent on discovery. A crucial factor was whether there was an indicator of an inappropriate relationship. Pregnancy was one such visible sign, and the following figures indicate how many women were maternity cases.

Figure 14: Number of Women who were Pregnant

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1886-7 | 24 | 4.8% |
| 1896-7 | 159 | 31.8% |
| 1911 | 234 | 46.8% |

Prostitution was another way of publicly declaring an 'inappropriate' approach to sexual relationships. The number of women in the rescue homes who had been prostitutes is given in the following table.

Figure 15: Number of Women who had been Prostitutes

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1886-7 | 131 | 26.2% |
| 1896-7 | 87 | 17.4% |
| 1911 | (No Information) | |

The sanctions resulting from a sexual relationship with a fellow worker or relative would be less easy to evaluate, but there is evidence that the sexual initiation of some of these women took place in circumstances which would have generated general disapproval. Figure 16 provides information on the nature of the sexual initiation. Most of the categories are self-explanatory, with the exception of the second largest grouping, namely 'relationship arising from a condition pertaining to the woman'. This category reflects the

assumptions behind the original organisation of the material, which included such variables as 'bad company', 'done wrong wilfully', 'running away from home', 'drink', 'mentally weak' and 'destitute'. While for the twentieth century observer some of these conditions such as 'done wrong wilfully' may suggest a conscious wish to exercise one's sexuality, it is necessary for the purposes of this argument to group the experiences in an order which will suggest whether sexual activity could have jeopardised support networks. In general terms, any sexual activity outside marriage would have been a cause of censure, but recent scholarship has indicated that there was a degree of tolerance towards the sexually active woman in the working class community.[56] Consequently, women who had sexual relations, particularly with men from their own class, could not be assumed to have endangered their support network especially if that relationship was part of a courting ritual or free union. On the other hand, a sexual relationship with a relative could disrupt support as could one with a fellow worker.

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[56]  Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society, p. 60.

Figure 16: Sexual Initiation (Cause of First Fall).

|  | 1886-7 | | 1896-7 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | No. | % | No. | % |
| Not Fallen | 79 | 15.8% | 147 | 29.4% |
| No Information | 124 | 24.8% | 95 | 19.0% |
| Sub-Total | 203 | 40.6% | 242 | 48.4% |
| Relationship with a man of Similar Class | 117 | 23.4% | 129 | 25.8% |
| Relationship arising from a condition pertaining to the woman | 82 | 16.4% | 57 | 11.4% |
| Relationship developed through work | 46 | 9.2% | 25 | 5.0% |
| Relationship with a relative | 19 | 3.8% | 23 | 4.6% |
| Relationship with a man of a higher class | 18 | 3.6% | 7 | 1.4% |
| Relationship against the woman's wishes | 8 | 1.6% | 6 | 1.2% |
| Relationship insufficiently defined | 7 | 1.4% | 11 | 2.2% |
| Sub-Total | 297 | 59.4% | 258 | 51.6% |
|  | 500 | 100% | 500 | 100% |

The information provided above, in Figures 1 to 16, has demonstrated that the women were predominantly young, single, and working class, with two-thirds being half or full orphans

and three quarters having been in domestic service. This social profile alone cannot not explain why they sought the alternative support system offered by the Salvation Army. The more specific variables of prison records, ill-health, drink problems and pregnancy, while suggesting why help may have been needed, do not cover enough of the sample to provide an adequate explanation. Certainly, a weakened or disrupted support network might impell some women towards the Salvation Army. However, it must also be recognised that some women might of their own accord seek out and enter the rescue programme. It is therefore necessary to examine the specific personal circumstances of each woman, so as to analyse those further factors which drew them to the Salvation Army. This was made possible by the extensive information on each woman's life history which can be found in the 1886-7 and 1896-7 records.

An examination of the case histories reveals that there were four basic reasons why women came to the Salvation Army, and also four combinations of these explanations.

The four initial categories were:

1. <u>Lack of Support</u>: Lack of a support network.
2. <u>Alternative</u>: Seeking an alternative network.
3. <u>Unsettled Behaviour</u>: Unsettled or erratic movement between support networks.
4. <u>Intervening Person</u>: The intervention of another person which resulted in the removal of a support network.

The four combinations were:

1.   Lack of Support/Alternative

2.   Alternative/Unsettled Behaviour

3.   Lack of Support/Unsettled Behaviour

4.   Intervening Person/Unsettled Behaviour

The first category of 'Lack of Support' is applicable in those cases where the woman's support network of family and/or work had disintegrated. An example of this was a woman from Birmingham who had been thrown out by her family for keeping company they did not like.[57] She decided to come to London and 'did wrong on the way'. Arriving in the metropolis without contacts she happened to stop at a cafe run by Salvationists who persuaded her to enter the rescue programme. An equally bereft case from 1896-7 was an eighteen year old woman who had lost her job because of a strike and then, having gone into service was forced to give that up when she was hospitalized with rheumatic fever.[58] Nine weeks later she entered the rescue programme because she could not find work and her only relative, a sister who earned nine shillings a week, was unable to support her.

The second category of 'Alternative' is applied to those

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[57]   No. 171, 1886, in Case Book I (1886-1889), Case number 171.

[58]   No. 89, 1896, in Case Book X (1896-1897), Receiving Home Number 4541.

cases where the woman was in a support network of employment or a marital, common-law or family relationship but who showed evidence of choosing to leave that network of her own accord. Such a case was the twenty year old woman from Northampton who applied to the Salvation Army on her own initiative because she had yielded to her young man's 'wrong proposal' that 'she stay the night and share his room'.[59] This woman left behind her a fiancé but also parents and a job in a boot factory. Many of those who came to the Salvation Army as an alternative were similar to the woman who was living with a man but who after having been converted did not wish to return to that relationship.[60] She came to the programme after having seen an advertisement in the War Cry. These examples suggest that some women were seeking a moral alternative based on the acceptance of certain standards of sexual conduct. However, there were others who came to the Salvation Army for material reasons, such as a sexually inexperienced woman of eighteen who applied herself, and who was described as coming for 'a home and training'.[61]

In contrast to the choices evident in the actions of the women who fell into the second category, those who came under the heading of 'Unsettled Behaviour' were not so decisive.

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[59] No. 66, 1896, in Case Book X (1896-1897), Receiving Home Number 4518.

[60] No. 133, 1886, in Case Book I (1886-1889), Case number 133.

[61] No. 126, 1896, in Case Book X (1896-1897), Receiving Home Number 4578.

These women tended to move between support networks of family, work, or institutions. If the premise is accepted that for working class women maintaining their network was of paramount importance, then these changes appeared often to have been made for capricious or illogical reasons. One example of such unsettled behaviour was the seventeen year old woman who claimed that 'she was first ruined by her uncle when she was fourteen years old'.[62] Fear of this man and shame first induced her to run away from home and she wandered around before being sent to Mr. Thorpe's Home. From there she ran away with another girl and they fell into the hands of the police who telegraphed to her mother and she was sent to her family. She subsequently ran away from three situations. While arguably this woman had good reason to leave home in the first place, her later behaviour suggests an inability to develop other networks, such as employment, when the opportunities were presented. A similar pattern of unsettled behaviour was that of a twenty-seven year old woman who came from the workhouse but who had also been in hospital, another home and service.[63] After two months she left but the records state that she had 'behaved in a peculiar manner, she grew unsettled and insisted on going inspite of our persuasions to seek work for her, she went in the workhouse the same day'. The explanation given was that

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[62] No. 10, 1887, in Case Book I (1886-1889), Case number 308.

[63] No. 114, 1896, in Case Book X (1896-1897), Receiving Home Number 5566.

she 'had gone through life looking for "a good young man" and finds them all wanting'.

The fourth category of 'Intervening Person' applied to those women who were already in established support networks, but who then came into the rescue programme because of the intervention of some other individual who was in a position to structure the woman's choices. An example of this was a fifteen year old who was sent by her parents because she was considered to be 'a great anxiety to them'.[64] Her mother was 'an invalid who often got out of patience with her' and her parents complained that 'she was untruthful and inclined to steal'. In this instance, the girl's only support was her family and if they maintained that support on the condition that she enter the rescue programme then her choices would have been severly limited. It is tempting to read into such case histories an element of control which was to the woman's disadvantage, but entering the Salvation Army network under such circumstances was not necessarily to the woman's detriment. For example, one case was of a woman who was to inherit money from her uncle.[65] He wanted to be sure that 'she lived a Godly life before she received it', and so the woman went into the Salvation Army programme.

There were, however, many cases where the explanation of the woman's motives for turning to the Salvation Army were

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[64] No. 343, 1896, in Case Book X (1896-1897), Receiving Home Number 4795.

[65] No. 260, 1896, in Case Book X (1896-1897), Receiving Home Number 4712.

not so clearly delineated. This is not simply because of lack of evidence but equally because the circumstances could not be simply categorised into a single compartment. Nevertheless, patterns are discernable, and four combinations of experience emerge. One such case was that of a twenty-eight year old widow who had been drinking heavily for five months.[66] She had also been in hospital for weakness and drinking and imprisoned once for drunkenness. These factors suggest a possible lack or disruption of support. On the other hand, her mother, two brothers, and three sisters were alive, and she was 'willing and good at her work' while in the rescue home. Her attitude during the rescue programme and evidence of a possible family network indicate that she may have come to the Salvation Army as an alternative route away from the problems of drink. It is because of the ambiguous combination of factors that the category 'Lack of Support/Alternative' was considered appropriate.

An interesting example of the second combination category of 'Alternative/Unsettled Behaviour' was that of the thirty-two year old dressmaker who applied to the Army herself and who seemed 'anxious to do right'.[67] This implies a degree of choice on the woman's part and there is evidence that she was supporting herself, not only because of her trade, but also because she had 'received help from a doctor

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[66] No. 239, 1896, in Case Book X (1896-1897), Receiving Home Number 4691.

[67] No. 65, 1897, in Case Book X (1896-1897), Receiving Home Number 4898.

for sin this last few years, going to him as a patient'. These factors imply that she was looking for an alternative. However, unsettled behaviour was indicated by her heavy drinking and she was described as being 'very unsettled' when in the home. Eventually she insisted on leaving because 'she felt that she ought to be earning her own living'.

The third combined category of 'Lack of Support/Unsettled Behaviour' differs from the previous one in that the women had no alternative support systems to choose between although in both cases the behaviour showed signs of being unsettled, even erratic. For example, there is the case of the twenty year old who lacked the support of employment because she had 'drifted down from service into sin'.[68] She was also without family contacts through her unsettled behaviour as she 'would never stay at home'. It seemed that she tended to remove herself from potentially supportive networks due to an inability to settle, for she had left another home after a stay of only three days.

The final combination of 'Intervening Person/Unsettled Behaviour' is similar to the previous two in that there is clear evidence of unsettled behaviour, but the movement into the Salvation Army network was not the push of lack of support nor the pull of an alternative. The decision was due to the intervention of another individual. Such was the case of the sixteen year old who was brought by her mother but

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[68] No. 72, 1896, in Case Book X (1896-1897), Receiving Home Number 4524.

whose behaviour was very unsettled for she was described as 'wild and rude and will not remain in situations' yet she was also unwilling to go home.[69]

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[69] No. 76, 1896, in Case Book X (1896-1897), Receiving Home Number 4528.

## Figure 17: Reason for Entering the Homes

|  | 1886-7 | | 1896-7 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | No. | % | No. | % |
| Lack of Support | 156 | 31.2% | 219 | 43.8% |
| Alternative | 132 | 26.4% | 123 | 24.6% |
| Unsettled Behaviour | 8 | 1.6% | 13 | 2.6% |
| Intervening Person | 52 | 10.4% | 46 | 9.2% |
| Lack of Support/ Alternative | 34 | 6.8% | 27 | 5.4% |
| Alternative/ Unsettled Behaviour | 39 | 7.8% | 33 | 6.6% |
| Lack of Support/ Unsettled Behaviour | 3 | 0.6% | 25 | 5.0% |
| Intervening Person/ Unsettled Behaviour | 10 | 2.0% | 7 | 1.4% |
| No Information | 66 | 13.2% | 7 | 1.4% |
| Total | 500 | 100% | 500 | 100% |

Having delineated the four main categories of women who came into the Salvation Army rescue programme and outlined the four combinations of explanation, it is now possible to examine the distribution of factors which led women into the rescue network. Lack of a support network was the main reason for those women who came to the Salvation Army in the period

1886-7, and this continued to be evident in 1896-7 when lack of support combined with other explanations, such as seeking an alternative or unsettled behaviour, accounted for 271 of the cases (54.2%). However, the pattern was not so clearly defined in the earlier period of 1886-7, for while lack of support was the largest category with 156 of the cases (31.2%), the an element of choosing an alternative was present in various forms in 205 of the case histories (41.0%), as opposed to 193 (38..6%) in which lack of support played a part. It is interesting to note that the combination of alternative elements decreased in the subsequent decade so that by 1896-7 only 183 of the women (36.6%) showed any evidence of choice. It seems clear that the Salvationists were providing a support network that some women needed, while for others they were an attraction rather than a necessity. The evidence also suggests that the Army was not an agency of confinement, for the element of intervention was only present in a combination of 62 (12.4%) of the cases in 1886-7 and 53 (10.6%) of the cases in 1896-7. Due to the changed format of the case histories by 1911 there is insufficient information on which to base any definite conclusions.

Another means by which the presence of an element of negotiation in the woman's move into the rescue programme can be detected is through an examination of the descriptions given of the way in which they came into contact with the Salvation Army.

## Figure 18: Method of Contact

|                        | 1886-7 |        | 1896-7 |        | 1911 |        |
|------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------|--------|
| Applied Herself        | 56     | 11.2%  | 101    | 20.2%  | 153  | 30.6%  |
| Interested Individual  | 118    | 23.6%  | 120    | 24.0%  | 116  | 23.2%  |
| Relative               | 22     | 4.4%   | 66     | 13.2%  | 74   | 14.8%  |
| Salvationist           | 216    | 43.2%  | 114    | 22.8%  | 120  | 24.0%  |
| Officials              | 41     | 8.2%   | 39     | 7.8%   | 32   | 6.4%   |
| No Information         | 47     | 9.4%   | 60     | 12.0%  | 5    | 1.0%   |
| Total                  | 500    | 100%   | 500    | 100%   | 500  | 100%   |

From these figures it is apparent that rescue cases were
not usually sent by those whose work officially provided
contact with the distressed such as magistrates, policemen,
hospital matrons or missionaries. The contact seems to have
been made unofficially, with a significant number of women
applying themselves. This category was probably even higher
than the figures suggest here for many of those women who
were listed as having been sent through the Salvation Army
system would have applied themselves to a local corps. This
private aspect of the application was further stressed by
almost a quarter of the cases making contact through the
instigation of an individual such as a friend, employer or
even a prostitute or former rescue case. Relatives also
played an important part in linking the women with the
Salvation Army. This private form of application indicates

that the Salvation Army was providing a service that was known about in working class communities and one which women and their friends and relatives wished to take advantage of. The continuing trends evident in the 1911 figures implies a continuity of need; however, the individual nature of the application raises the question of how women knew about the rescue network and this is partly explained by figures on prior attendance at Salvation Army meetings.

## Figure 19: Previously Attended Salvation Army Meetings

|                | 1886-7 | | 1896-7 | |
|                | No. | % | No. | % |
|----------------|------|-------|------|-------|
| Yes            | 354  | 70.8% | 337  | 67.4% |
| No             | 39   | 7.8%  | 78   | 15.6% |
| No Information  | 107  | 21.4% | 85   | 17.0% |
|                | ----------- | | ----------- | |
| Total          | 500  | 100%  | 500  | 100%  |

The majority of applicants claimed to have attended Salvationist services but many women may have felt that it was expedient to mention this when applying. However, this information does suggest that these women were aware of what the Salvation Army stood for and it is interesting to note that the place of attendance was as likely to be a small local corps as opposed to the major Salvationist meeting places of Congress Hall, Regent's Hall, the Grecian or the Rink. Of those who claimed prior attendance in the 1886-7 period, 79.94% cited local corps as their contact point.

In order to evaluate the effectiveness of the Salvation Army's rescue work, it is necessary to understand why the women were in need of assistance as well as assessing the impact of that help on their subsequent careers. The Army claimed that 'we do not count as finally satisfactory any of the women until they have been doing well for three years, or until they are married suitably'.[70] Salvationist publications

wrote optimistically of their success rate but statements of this nature must be treated with scepticism for without information on the long term experiences of the women after they left the homes, it is only possible to speculate on the impact of the rescue process.

Given the needs of the women, what services were required? Those women who were seeking an alternative to their present life-styles were looking either to obtain the status of respectability or to improve their social and economic prospects. In these cases, they needed a place to stay while looking for a job, perhaps some form of training or even a time for recuperation if they were unwell. Combined with establishing new contacts, they needed to demonstrate their respectability. Those women who came as a result of economic distress required similar services, but the needs of women with unsettled behaviour patterns are less easy to evaluate. Some of this latter group may have been seeking the security and sense of commitment provided by the Army while others may have just been biding their time. It might be expected that those women forced into the homes would consider their stay as a punishment, while others may have been crushed, humiliated and anxious to win the esteem of those they felt had authority over them. All these women required some form of material assistance such as shelter, training, jobs or contacts while many also needed to develop

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70 The Story of the Year: Annual Report of the Women's Social Work (London, 1902), p. 11.

personal skills that would help them make the most of the limited opportunities available to them.

Undoubtedly, a stay in a Salvation Army rescue home provided shelter and job training and the extent to which new contacts were established or existing ones revitalized can be seen in Figure 20. The first of the four categories used is 'previous support network', which covers restoration to previous networks such as relatives or friends. The second, 'new support network', covers placement in employment such as domestic service or laundry work, or in marriage. 'Institutional network', the third group, comprises those cases who were passed on to another charitable home, an infirmary, or the workhouse. The final section, 'support withdrawn', consists of those who would not stay in the Army's homes or were dismissed from them.

Figure 20: Placement After the Rescue Programme

|  | 1896-7 | | 1911 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | No. | % | No. | % |
| Previous Support Network | 87 | 17.4% | 170 | 34.0% |
| New Support Network | 320 | 64.0% | 299 | 59.8% |
| Institutional Network | 51 | 10.2% | 18 | 3.6% |
| Support Withdrawn | 23 | 4.6% | 12 | 2.4% |
| No Information | 20 | 4.0% | 1 | 0.2% |
| Total | 500 | 100% | 500 | 100% |

The information available on where the women began their subsequent careers shows that approximately two-thirds were placed within new support networks, generally in employment. Those who established new family networks through marriage were relatively few, only 2 (0.4%) in 1896-7. Likewise, those who severed the developing support network of the rescue programme were in a minority. Only one individual was actually dismissed in 1896-7, and none in 1911. The remainder of the category 'support withdrawn' consisted of women who left of their own accord. It is tempting to consider those women who stayed within the support network of institutional care as less successful for it would seem that they were not yet capable of being responsible for themselves. It is interesting to note the increasing number of women who returned to previously established networks of relatives and

friends. By 1911, this represented about a third of all cases and when the specific variable of women who came into the rescue programme through pregnancy is considered the figures are intriguing.

<u>Figure 21:</u> <u>Placement After the Rescue Programme of those</u>
<u>women who were pregnant</u>

|  | 1896-7 | | 1911 | |
|  | No. | % | No. | % |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Previous Support Network | 47 | 29.6% | 115 | 49.1% |
| New Support Network | 98 | 61.6% | 119 | 50.9% |
| Institutional Network | 12 | 7.5% | 0 | 0.0% |
| Support Withdrawn | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% |
| No Information | 2 | 1.3% | 0 | 0.0% |
| Total | 159 | 100% | 234 | 100% |

The increasing number of women who returned to their associates suggests that the rescue programme was not exclusively for those whose behaviour had made them outcasts. This is emphasized by the maternity cases, for by 1911 almost half of the women who came to the Salvation Army due to pregnancy returned to previously established networks of family or friends. This also represented approximately one fifth of all cases handled in that year, a fact that indicates that the Salvationists were providing a service which attracted some women as complimentary to their existing networks rather than as a refuge when all else failed.

However, it would be incorrect to view the rescue programme strictly in terms of material need, for the more nebulous factor of the way in which the Salvation Army's

philosophy impinged on the women's experience must also be considered. By the Army's criterion of conversion, this impact was outstanding. In the period 1896-7 410 (82%) of the women who passed through the programme showed evidence of being saved. Forty-eight women in this year were not converted, one was not considered capable of understanding and no information was given on the remaining forty-one cases. This was the only time of the three periods under examination when this specific question of conversion was asked on the case record. However, in 1911 449 (89.8%) of the cases were described as 'satisfactory', a term defined in the records as 'well saved'. Four cases (0.8%) were labelled as 'fairly satisfactory', 2 cases (0.2%) were 'very unsatisfactory', and no information was given on the remaing 4 women (0.8%). Given the selection process at the Receiving Home stage of the programme and the voluntary basis of admission, it would be easy to explain this rate of success by assuming some predisposition on the part of the women. To do so would imply a harmony between rescuer and rescued which is not supported by the information provide about the women's conduct in the homes. This could range from 'very good' through stages labelled 'varied' and 'troublesome', to 'very trying' and 'very bad'. The records for 1896-7 are the only ones from which it is possible to compare the reason for entering the programme with the woman's conduct while in the home. As Figure 22 suggests, women with unsettled behaviour patters were less likely to make satisfactory cases. There was a range of response within each category and it should be

noted that these comments were final verdicts given at the end of the programme.

Figure 22: Comparison of Reason for Entering the Home With Conduct in the Home: 1896-7

LACK OF SUPPORT                          ALTERNATIVE SUPPORT

Satisfactory          136  62.1%    Satisfactory          76  61.8%

Fairly Satisfactory    50  22.8%    Fairly Satisfactory   23  18.7%

Unsatisfactory         13   5.9%    Unsatisfactory         9   7.3%

Very Unsatisfactory     8   3.7%    Very Unsatisfactory    4   3.3%

No Information         12   5.5%    No Information        11   8.9%
                      ---------                          --------
                      219  100%                          123  100%


UNSETTLED                                INTERVENING PERSON

Satisfactory            4  30.8%    Satisfactory          20  43.5%

Fairly Satisfactory     2  15.4%    Fairly Satisfactory   17  37.0%

Unsatisfactory          5  38.4%    Unsatisfactory         3   6.5%

Very Unsatisfactory     1   7.7%    Very Unsatisfactory    2   4.3%

No Information          1   7.7%    No Information         4   8.7%
                       ---------                          --------
                       13  100%                           46  100%

## LACK OF SUPPORT/ALTERNATIVE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Satisfactory | 18 | 66.7% |
| Fairly Satisfactory | 6 | 22.2% |
| Unsatisfactory | 0 | 0.0% |
| Very Unsatisfactory | 1 | 3.7% |
| No Information | 2 | 7.4% |
| | 27 | 100% |

## ALTERNATIVE/UNSETTLED

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Satisfactory | 7 | 21.2% |
| Fairly Satisfactory | 11 | 33.3% |
| Unsatisfactory | 7 | 21.2% |
| Very Unsatisfactory | 3 | 9.1% |
| No Information | 5 | 15.2% |
| | 33 | 100% |

## LACK OF SUPPORT/UNSETTLED

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Satisfactory | 8 | 32.0% |
| Fairly Satisfactory | 8 | 32.0% |
| Unsatisfactory | 4 | 16.0% |
| Very Unsatisfactory | 2 | 8.0% |
| No Information | 3 | 12.0% |
| | 25 | 100% |

## INTERVENING PERSON/UNSETTLED

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Satisfactory | 1 | 14.3% |
| Fairly Satisfactory | 2 | 28.6% |
| Unsatisfactory | 3 | 42.8% |
| Very Unsatisfactory | 0 | 0.0% |
| No Information | 1 | 14.3% |
| | 7 | 100% |

## INSUFFICIENT INFORMATION       7

In view of the stringent standards of the Salvation Army officers, who were constantly on the watch for insincerity, how is it possible to reconcile this basically positive response to being saved with the evidence of variable conduct on the part of the women? Arriving at an answer to this question is rendered more difficult because the only source of information on the women's attitude towards the rescue process is the records kept by the Army officers, or the statements published in The Deliverer. Both these sources were inevitably shaped by Salvationist perspectives. However, one theme which does emerge is that of change, illustrated by a somewhat dramatic example cited by Florence Booth of a

> girl who had been a high class sinner, amongst the most difficult to reach, had come to the home with a companion simply because they were ill and needed assistance for the time being; neither had the least intention of staying. Both are now in situations ... she is a soldier and wears full uniform. [71]

Some understanding of this change of attitude can be reached by considering the impact of institutional life on the individual. As the work of Erving Goffman has highlighted,[72] this can have a momentum of its own. It is

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[71] Florence Booth, 'My Visit to Cardiff', The Deliverer, July 1889, p. 9.

[72] E. Goffman, Asylums (London, 1962). For a critique of the limitations of Goffman's model see M. Ignatieff, 'Total Institutions and Working Classes: A Review Essay', History Workshop, No. 15 (1983), pp. 167-173.

interesting to note in this context that while residence in the home was on a voluntary basis, and that many of the women initially resisted the programme, few left before completion. This suggests that the experience may have affected them in a way that they had not anticipated on application.

With the paucity of evidence available, it is only possible to speculate on the impact of the rescue programme. However, a Salvation Army rescue home could be classified as a 'total institution' according to Goffman's model. That is:

> a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead a formally enclosed, formally administered, round of life. [73]

Rather than functioning as a single type of total institution, these homes incorporated features of several institutions. In one sense they were religious institutions akin to convents, and for those women who were drawn into the programme because they were troubled by their sexual experiences the purging aspect of the mortification process may have been deeply significant for them. This process, or the stripping of self with its consequent loss of self-determination, was described by Goffman as being central to the experiences of inmates of total institutions. Some women may have been glad to loose their sense of self, for with it would go their sense of sin. These would most likely be the model rescue cases, involving themselves in their own rescue process and striving to live up to the standards set

by the Salvationists. For others the homes would have been more like a boarding school; they would dislike some aspects of the routine and discipline but appreciate that some training was necessary, and perhaps even enjoy the companionship and camaraderie. If their status improved as a result of their stay, they would undoubtedly look back favourably on their time in the home. While this group may have been less likely to completely internalise the beliefs of the Salvation Army, they may have been anxious to maintain certain behavioural standards in order to benefit from association with the Army. If, on the other hand, their status suffered and they were stigmatised due to their stay in the home or their previous experiences, they may have come to resent the rescue network and seek to conceal their involvement. The same reaction could be expected from those who viewed the rescue homes as a form of asylum or prison. For these women the rescue process would have been a humiliating and demoralising experience. It was probably women of this type that the officers were describing when they spoke of an inmate being 'proud', 'conceited' or even 'quiet and deep'.

It is more likely, however, that the women viewed the rescue home as a combination of asylum, school, and the means of salvation. It also appears from the descriptions of the ways in which the women responded to the rescue process that their attitude altered to the home in the course of their stay. Many reacted with hostility on arrival, but were sad to leave and were appreciative of the help and kindnesses which

they had received. The impact of enculteration which was implicit in the rescue process would no doubt lessen as time and distance separated the women from the homes. Becoming a Salvationist or even just attending the reunions would keep the ideals alive. For some women the Salvation Army rescue programme would have answered a deeper spiritual or psychological need, one that may have been developed but not created by the rescue process.[74]

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73 Goffman, Asylums, p. 12.

74 F. Booth, 'Personal Notes', The Deliverer, July 1890, p. 8; Talks With Rescuers: Annual Report of the Women's Social Work (London, 1898) p. 9, p. 17; Betsy Bobbett, p. 13, p. 27; S.O.S: Annual Report of the Women's Social Work (London, 1913), p. 13; The Deliverer, February 1890, p. 125; March 1890, p. 2; December 1890, p. 92; April 1891, p. 160; August 1891, p. 30; April, 1892, p. 168; September 1892, p. 43; May 1893, p. 168; June 1893, p. 184; January 1894, p. 120; Rebecca Jarrett's unpublished memoirs, Salvation Army Archives; J. Butler, Rebecca Jarrett (London, n.d.).

Chapter Seven


PRACTICAL RELIGION:

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SALVATIONIST RESCUE WORK


Having presented the material on one rescue society, the Salvation Army's Social Services for Women, it is now possible to return to the issues raised in Chapter 1 and assess how this illuminates the nature of Victorian rescue work. In order to do this three basic questions must be addressed. First, how effective was the Salvation Army's rescue work? Second, what, if anything, did it change? Third, how was that change brought about?

How effective were the Salvation Army's Social Services for Women? Arthur Brinckman's definition of rescue work as 'the reclamation of women from a sinful life, their restoration to purity and peace' raises problems for the historian. What exactly was meant by 'a sinful life'?[1] If this is defined as prostitution, then the Salvation Army's rescue work must be considered a failure, as the number of prostitutes actually helped was relatively small; 131 in

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1886-7 and only 87 in 1896-7. Due to the changing format of the records none were recorded in 1911. As these figures represented, at most, about a quarter of the cases handled, it would be, unfair to judge the work by Prochaska's definition of it being 'the systematic attempt to remove prostitutes from their habitual haunts'.[2] If nothing else, this suggests the need for caution in assuming that all women in Victorian rescue homes had been prostitutes. This view is supported by the examination of the nature of prostitution in Victorian London, in which it was argued that as prostitution could itself act as a support system for women, the prostitute who entered a rescue programme did not necessarily do so for material reasons. Rescue workers, including William Booth, feared that the explanation for this was the weakened character of these particular women, as the sucessful prostitute had less need for reform. It is arguable that the problems confronting the Salvationists were not exactly the ones defined by posterity.

The Salvation Army always saw its task as that of evangelising the masses. From that perspective, their social services were an aid in this endeavour by fostering the moral adulthood of responsibility among the poor. Historians have taken this to mean that the Salvationists worked amongst the casual poor, if not the destitute and outcast. The analysis

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1    A. Brinckman, Society and Sin, p. 1.

2    F.K. Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England, p. 188.

of the work of the Army's Social Services *for* Women partly challenges this. The case histories reveal that the women helped tended to be young, unmarried, and previously employed as servants. Information on their fathers' occupations also suggests that they were not exclusively drawn from the lower ranks of the social scale. It is also argued that the constraints of charity work, namely the limitations of finances, facilities and personnel, and the need to appear successful at their chosen tasks in order to elicit support, led the Salvation Army officers to select from among the applicants. However, this is not to imply that young, unmarried servants were selected to fill the rescue homes because they were the most amenable candidates. Their presence there can be explained by other factors. First amongst these is the predominance of service as a source of employment for young women, which meant that a high proportion of them could be expected among any sample of working women. Combined with this, the *conditions of* employment made young women particularly vulnerable[3] and their attitudes and expectations predisposed them to accept an enclosed programme of assistance.[4] This latter point is corroborated by the comments of other charity workers who

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[3] J. Gillis, 'Servants, Sexual Relationships and the Risk of Illegitimacy in London, 1801-1900', Feminist Studies, Vol. 5 (1979), pp. 142-173.

[4] L. Davidoff, 'Mastered for Life: Servant and Wife in Victorian and Edwardian England', loc. cit., pp. 406-428.

lamented the difficulty they had in organising 'indoor' charities for such groups as flower-sellers and factory girls: these women 'cannot bear any restraint, any approach to order or discipline'.[5]

Young women who had been servants were 'available' to be rescued but the choice the Salvation Army made was between those single women without dependents and older women with dependents such as widows with children. These were the women in the urban community who needed assistance because their support networks were inadequate or non-existent.[6] If the Salvation Army's Social Services for Women is to be judged, it should be in terms of how effectivley they responded to the needs of these groups.

As the discussion of the development of the Salvation Army's Social Services suggested, rescue and preventive work for young, single women was the core from which all their other facilities grew. During the period examined, the only services for older women with dependents were the shelters and metropoles, and also the Eventide Homes for the elderly. In these latter cases payment was expected while in the case of the younger women contributions towards costs were only anticipated after the training programme. This emphasis on younger women can be seen to be the result of a combination of perception and pragmatism. For the Salvationists, the

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5    Anon., <u>Toilers of London</u>, p. 173.

6    M. Higgs & E. Heyward, <u>Where Shall She Live? The Home-</u><u>lessness of the Woman Worker</u> (London, 1910), p. 60.

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foundation of the social structure, or God's order on earth, was the moral adult whose development necessitated conversion and training. This was only possible in the enclosed environment of the family or the simulated family environment of a rescue home. Combined with this premise was their belief in the spiritual and moral potential of women who were also considered to be socially and economically vulnerable. These ideas predisposed the Salvationists to develop facilities for women, but their emphasis on the need for adults to be responsible for themselves would have led them to see training for young women and nightly accommodation for older women as the best approach to their spiritual and material problems.

So long as the aim was to promote the recipient's sense of responsibility these twin approaches to the problems of the women of London would also have been considered as the most practical. This was because the resources available to the Salvation Army made the training of young women, in particular for domestic service, the most feasible option. Salvation Army officers were primarily drawn from the ranks of the respectable working classes and it was always difficult to recruit women with specific skills.[7] This meant that they were most suited to pass on domestic skills and this could appropriately be done in the setting of a home. However, the Salvationists were always determined that their

[7] 'Salvation Army's Nursing Work: Urgent need for More Probationers', The Deliverer, January 1900, p. 99.

facilities should be home-like and they were reluctant to take on work that would jeopardise this approach. For example, Florence Booth resisted the introduction of the traditional rescue home activity of laundry work because, 'we wish opportunity for more personal influence over the girls',[8] although she fully realized that laundry work would make a greater financial return. The Salvation Army was also determined to apply the criterion of responsibility to itself and was careful not to take on work that could not potentially be self-supporting. This meant that much of the financing of the services and facilities needed to come from the recipients, either through payment or work. This was also a practical strategy as the Salvationists realized the advantage of showing that they were able to make the most of their financial resources as a means of reassuring potential benefactors. The pages of the Deliverer were filled with pleas for donations and examples of how these contributions were used. For instance, its readership was told in February 1894 that 'the expense of board of the able-bodied paupers in some of our London workhouses ... amounted to 5s per week per head',[9] while in three London rescue homes the cost, including the board and laundry of the Salvation Army officers, was approximately two shillings and two and a half pence per week. In the same issue, it was estimated that the

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[8]   F. Booth, 'A Letter from Mrs. Bramwell Booth', The War
      Cry, 6 February 1886, p. 2.
[9]   F. Booth, 'Personal Notes', The Deliverer, February
      1894, p. 120.

contributions of the girls who has passed through the Homes had amounted that year to over £100 and in the London homes alone the girls had earned during their stay, £742.[10] Young women without dependents could enter an enclosed programme in the same way that they would be expected to work in the enclosed environment of service. Likewise, they were more likely to benefit from training and to find corresponding employment. For older women, this was not feasible. If they had dependents, the question arose of what to do with them during the training period and the conditions of employment made the placing of these women more difficult.

However, the development of the Salvation Army's Social Services for Women cannot be simply explained in terms of expediency. Undoubtedly they were shrewd in assessing what kinds of work to undertake and financial integrity enhanced their reputation, but their belief in the moral potential of all and their view of society as a chain of responsibility continually presented them with new challenges which, to their credit, they sought to meet. In particular, Florence was concerned to develop facilities for the 'double' problem of maternity cases[11] and by 1911 these accounted for 46.8% of the cases handled. The Salvationists were also anxious to respond to the pressing but not necessarily remunerative needs of poor married women, particularly during their confinements. In 1895 Florence wrote that 'inspite of our

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10  Loc. cit.

11  F. Booth, 'Progress', The Deliverer, March 1890, p. 117.

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having been very short-handed and our inability to take up
any considerable financial burden, during the last ten months
we have attended fifty cases in the slums, necessitating five
hundred and nine visits from our nurses.'[12] This latter point
suggests the difficulty the historian can have in evaluating
the work of the Salvation Army. On the one hand it is
possible to criticize them for approaching the problems of
the poor from a limited perspective that accepted many of the
inequalities of the existing status quo; but on the other
hand, they imposed upon themselves high standards of
integrity and compassion and sought to ameliorate an ever
increasing tide of need. Credit must be given for this effort
because from their perspective they were continually
confronted with more women needing help. For example, in 1889
Florence wrote that, 'the pressure of applicants for
admission has been tremendous ... during the month we had to
refuse over forty cases in London alone, so inspite of
exhausted funds and shortness of workers our faith has
permitted us in our two largest establishments to push beds a
little closer together in each room and thus provide for ten
more'.[13] This was always the approach, if applicants had to
be refused, then the Salvation Army officers strove to do
more themselves. Even so, this was never to be at the expense
of personnal contact. Florence believed that 'the bolts and

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[12] F. Booth, 'Personal Notes', The Deliverer, February
1895, p. 120.
[13] F. Booth, 'Personal Notes', The Deliverer, September
1889, p. 30.

bars, bare dismal rooms, high walls and no occupation but that of laundry work' was responsible for the discouraging results of other rescue societies.[14]

Nevertheless, it must also be acknowledged that the Salvation Army Social Services were similar to other Victorian rescue societies in that their work was founded on an individualistic ethic rather than on any critique of the structural causes of poverty and prostitution. They regarded sexual intercourse outside marriage as a sin, and therefore they upheld the dichotomy between good and bad women. By so doing, they helped to perpetuate the moral code that precipitated the need for prostitutes.[15] Furthermore, their belief that no matter how degraded a person was, she was entitled to the offer of assistance implied an open-door policy at variance with the more restricted approaches of other London rescue societies. In practice, the administrative realities faced by the Army and the types of women asking for help meant that their programmes were also selective and that the women in Salvationist homes were the same as those in any other: young, unmarried, with previous experience as servants, and few actually having been

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[14] F. Booth, 'My Life Story', Sunday Circle, 28 January 1933.

[15] E.M. Sigsworth and T.J. Wyke, 'A Study of Victorian Prostitution and Venereal Disease', in M. Vicinus, ed., Suffer and Be Still (Bloomington, 1973), pp. 77-99; A. Engel, 'Immoral Intentions: The Univeristy of Oxford and the Problem of Prostitution, 1827-1914', Victorian Studies, Vol. 23 (1979), pp. 79-107.

prostitutes. While it is possible to note these limitations, this is not to imply that the number of women helped was insubstantial. In the first nine months of 1913 they handled 2,877 cases, a figure which does not include the work done in the women's hostels.[16] Although they discriminated in the type of facilities provided, their choices were sound in that there were always women whose problems needed attention, even if only temporarily. This point is supported by the study of the rescue work records, which clearly do not suggest that the Salvation Army was being used as an agency of incarceration by a dominant class. Many women came of their own initiative or accepted the suggestion of others to come. This implied a degree of negotiation between giver and receiver. These young working women were not passive recipients, for many showed signs of having chosen the Salvation Army as an alternative network. There is also a hint that the supply of social services by the Salvation Army created its own demand. In particular, this is highlighted by the increasing number of maternity cases. In the early years only 4.8% of the women were pregnant, but by 1911 this had increased nearly tenfold to 46.8%. Of these cases almost 50% returned to previously established networks which implies that they were not outcasts. The key to explaining this may well have been publicity. As the Salvationist facilities became known, it could therefore have become part of a woman's strategy to decide whether going to the Army was an option for her in her time of difficulty. Prior knowledge of the Army was suggested by data on previous attendance at

Salvationist halls and local corps. Information about their facilities was also passed by word of mouth and by weekly notices in Salvationist publications.[17] This in turn would have created some of the demand which the Salvationists found so pressing, and this was intensified by semi-recognition that the Army was an appropriate facility for certain types of problems. For example, policemen recommended the Army's services to 'fallen' or destitute women, and magistrates were known to order a stay in a Salvation Army home.[18] These cases tended to be the more deserving or respectable. One such case was that of a woman who had been living with a man and who took a warrant out against her when she left him. She was committed for trial at the Assizes and was allowed to wait in the Salvation Army home, as a tradesman had stood bail for her on the condition that she spent the intervening three months in Salvationist care.[19] Evidence that this woman left a common-law relationship combined with support from a local tradesman implies respectability. The same emphasis can be discerned in the suggestion of one of the London Board of Guardians that the Salvation Army should receive 'all their cases of young mothers with their first illegitimate child'.[20]

[16] Salvation Army Year Book (London, 1914), pp. 46-47.

[17] The Deliverer, November 1891, p. 72; May, 1891, p. 176.

[18] The Deliverer, November 1889, p. 54; October 1890, p. 56.

[19] The Deliverer, August 1889, p. 20.

[20] The Deliverer, May 1910, p. 73.

In the final analysis, what can be said of the effectiveness of the Salvation Army's Social Services for Women? Their work was more limited than their avowed aim of converting and training society's moral children of all ages and conditions. While entering the programme may have involved an element of choice for the women, it would not have been an easy decision to make. Nevertheless, the Salvation Army became one of the largest charities in London working on behalf of women, and they provided at least some temporary assistance for hundreds of individuals. Furthermore, the testimony of many recipients suggests that they felt cared for in a personal manner which they had not previously experienced. In the words of Rebecca Jarrett, the former brothel keeper, 'it was the care and trouble they took of me'.[21] In the increasingly anonymous urban environment, where the giving of aid was characteristized by the workhouse ethic and the Charity Organization Society's doctrines, the Salvation Army came to represent the compassionate face of assistance.

The question of this public image needs to be taken into consideration in any evaluation of the effectiveness of the Salvation Army's Social Services for Women. In spite of the limitations of their work, the Salvationists were increasingly acclaimed during the period under discussion, and much of this was due the esteem in which their Social

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[21] Rebecca Jarrett's Autobiographical Notes, p. 8, Salvation Army Archives.

Services were held. This had as much to do with the way in which their work was perceived as it did with the actual nature of the work, and this can be gauged by the changing reactions to the Salvationists. At the time point when the Christian Mission became the Salvation Army in 1878, they were slandered in the press for promoting immorality at their midnight meetings. They were also criticised for not giving their soldiers enough spiritual instruction, and their methods were considered vulgar and irreverent. Their marches were stopped for causing a public disturbance, and a women Salvationist who described herself in court as a preacher was laughed at while the three young men who had disturbed her meeting were let off with a nominal fine.[22] These incidents suggest that the Army was not taken seriously by either the press or the public, or by the legal and religious authorities. By 1914, this situation had changed; symbolised by the opening of the Mothers' Hospital in London on 18 October 1913.[23] On this occasion Princess Louise, daughter of Queen Victoria, was present, accompanied by the Duke of Argyll, while Dr. Archibald Fleming, a royal chaplain from the Church of Scotland, presided. The following year, General Bramwell Booth was granted a private audience with King George V on the eve of the Salvation Army's International Congress. During the Congress itself, General and Mrs. Booth

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[22] Sandall, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 1873-1886.

[23] The Deliverer, December 1913, p. 183; Unsworth, Maiden Tribute, p. 6.

visited Queen Alexandra and the Dowager Empress of Russia at Marlborough House.[24] Not only was the Salvation Army receiving the highest social accolades, but their work was also being generously supported by voluntary public contributions. They became, and to a large extent have remained, an embodiment of society's ideal of selfless work in areas of distress and degradation.[25] What accounted for this change of attitude, and to what extent did it enhance their effectiveness? These are the questions which need to be answered, although the material so far examined can only provide a part of the explanation. This is because their reputation was only partly the product of their own efforts and presentation. The other factor which needs to be considered is how individuals and groups received and used the Salvation Army in the context of their own needs and perceptions. Evaluating this is beyond the scope of this study, but it should be noted that the last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed the ascendancy of social purity while moral reform came close to the centre of political debate.[26] How then did the Salvation Army function within this milieu? As the case study of their involvement in the 'Maiden Tribute' campaign has argued, it is incorrect to view the Army's activities as an attempt to use the state as a

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[24] All the World, July 1914, p. 25.

[25] For example, 'For God's Sake Care', an A.T.V. documentary, broadcast on 26 May 1981.

[26] Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society, p. 81; Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society, pp. 246-252.

means of coercing young, working class women into non-sexual behaviour. The foundation of their philosophy and work was the concept of choice, the antithesis of force. What they did attempt was to use the law as a means of restructuring the choices concerning the expression of male sexuality. This was allied to the question of protection, but it is too simplistic to suggest that this was repression in the guise of concern. The central issue was the point at which a woman's vulnerability was such that she was inhibited from exercising her free will. Acknowledging weakness is not the same as repression, and the Booths were eager that legislative change should be accompanied by programmes which would promote the women's sense of responsibility for themselves. It is also difficult to accuse the Salvation Army of hypocricy, on the grounds that they ignored the economic exploitation of women under capitalism and the involvement of the bourgeoisie in the sexual oppression of working class women. The Salvationists' critique of economic, social and gender relationships laid stress on the responsibilities of the priviledged and acknowledged the pressures on working women. Where they were unerring was their insistence that no matter how great these pressures, women must ultimately make the choice between good and evil, self and others. In practice, this meant that no matter how severe the circumstances, women were responsible for their own actions. Certainly, given the realities of class and gender relationships in Victorian London, this could be a harsh indictment. Uncompromising would be a sounder judgement than

unrealistic. It would also be inaccurate to claim that as
reformers the Salvation Army had been ineffective in the
'Maiden Tribute' campaign. Arguably, they had not attacked
the economic roots of prostitution, but then they had not
intended to do so. Their aim had been to use legislation as
an indicator of the limits of appropriate male sexual
behaviour and as a vehicle to publicize their work. In both
respects they were successful, but it was in their efforts to
bring the promises of that publicity to fruition that they
failed. The Salvation Army would have willingly 'rescued'
each prostitute and lost soul in the metropolis, but they
could not do so alone. For that task they needed both clients
to rescue and financial support, as there was a limit to the
resources which they could generate by their own efforts.
Neither were extensively forthcoming. Reasons have been given
as to why large numbers of prostitutes were not available to
be rescued. Although it is beyond the scope of this work to
explore the vageries of charitable donations, it seems that
while the Victorian public was generous in their support of
voluntary organisations, this support was never so unanimous
as to enable reformers to tackle the social evils of the day
as thoroughly as they would have wished.[27] This was always a
problem for the Salvationists, and they regarded it as one of
the explanations for the limitations of their work.
Nevertheless, the 'Maiden Tribute' campaign allowed the Army

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[27] Harrison, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', pp.
219-220.

to extend its rescue work and secured its reputation as a sponsor of social purity. This latter point raises a contentious issue, for some historians have claimed that in the period after the 'Maiden Tribute' revelations the advocates of social purity were predisposed to use the state to enforce their ideas, and in particular to urge a 'more coercive, interventionist policy towards the residuum'.[28] The Salvation Army has been singled out as an exponent of these views, but it is difficult to find evidence to substantiate this. Indeed, they were adamant in their espousal of the principles of social purity, namely the importance of family life and a single standard of sexual morality, but they were not interventionists - they had neither the time nor the inclination. Furthermore, after 1885, the Booths and their Army were supporters but not innovators in the field of social purity policies. They proudly maintained the independence of their organisation, seeing themselves as a 'fifth column' of moral educators. These reasons combined with their objections to coercion meant that their co-operative ventures with other voluntary organisations were limited and their support for legislative change unenthusiastic.

In what ways did their image enhance the effectiveness of their work? Undoubtedly, publicity made women more aware of the facilities they had to offer and brought them clients. On the other hand, a high public profile exposed them to expectations that at times could be difficult to fulfill. The Salvation Army responded to this challenge by tackling new

problems within the framework of their clearly defined philosophy, and as a result they became known for their integrity as well as their compassion.

In this study the argument has concentrated on the evolution of concepts of the founders of the Salvation Army. Although there is a good deal of surviving information about an exceptional woman, Catherine Booth, and some data about a remarkable woman, Florence Booth, there is very much less material to illuminate the experiences of the Army's rank and file. Nevertheless, some points are raised about the impact of the rescuing experience on the rescue workers themselves and the relationship of this to increased female autonomy. For Catherine, a sense of spiritual and moral independence pre-dated her involvement in rescue work, yet for her daughter-in-law the reverse was true. Florence was more typical of those late nineteenth century women who found some scope for their abilities in the developing occupations of teaching and nursing.[29] The difference, however, was that Florence was a wife and mother, and was presented by the Salvation Army as combining this traditional role with a responsibility to the moral children of the community. In this sense, the Salvationists approved of the working mother. The question of autonomy is more difficult to assess. Neither Catherine nor Florence had financial independence, but

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[28] Stedman Jones, Outcast London, p. 303.

[29] M. Vicinus, Independent Women: Work and the Community for Single Women (London, 1985).

neither sought this for what they wanted was the freedom to accept responsibilities. Both achieved this primarily due to the type of family to which they belonged. The Booth family resembled the pre-industrial model of the family as both a unit of production and consumption,[30] for the Salvation Army and the Booth family were so closely connected that they were to a great degree synonomous.

The Booths' work and their family were identified together in their own minds, and their children were seen as gifts from God to the mission. As soon as was possible, the Booth children were given positions of leadership and responsibility in the Army. They were treated with respect and deference by Army personnel, and their activities were extensively chronicled in the various Salvationist publications. This close identification had certain advantages. In the early days of the Army every available person was needed, and there is no doubt that the Booth children were all particularly talented and contributed substantially to the success of the Army. Likewise, the close association of William Booth as General, with Bramwell Booth as Commander-in-Chief, provided a continuity of thought and activity that was also important. There were, however, drawbacks as well. These delicate, sensitive, and nervous children, growing up in an atmosphere where great emphasis was placed on the state of their souls and the mission God had ordained for them, became absorbed in their own values and the righteousness of their work. After Catherine's death, three of the children left the Army, although they continued

to preach the gospel in other ways. Ballington, Katie, and Herbert, while content to work under the direction of their father, rebelled against giving the same allegiance to their elder brother, Bramwell. This was not only a rejection of the Army but also of the family, and the emotional trauma it caused can be detected in Bramwell's statement that 'it was a trinity of griefs: his father's sorrow, the separation from those he loved, and the loss to the all-beloved Concern.'[31] This inter-weaving of work and family life meant that women could contribute in the same way as men. This would not have been achieved, however, without Catherine's original insistence on the equality of potential of male and female. This highlights the importance of adherence to principle as an element of social change, and in turn raises the issue of what the Booths changed for other women.

An argument which stresses the Salvation Army's contribution to women's emancipation must be treated with caution. They did believe in the moral equality of women and men and they did give women the same opportunities as men to preach and to work within the mission. However, this larger sphere of activity was still defined within the limits of the middle class concept of a 'woman's mission', and the Salvationists' concept of the female character was based on the idea of its essential inadequacy, which was traced back to Eve's original sin in the Garden of Eden. They felt that

30 Tilly and Scott, Women, Work and the Family, pp. 21-24.
31 C. Bramwell-Booth, Bramwell Booth, p. 128.

women could redeem themselves in marriage, where the husband's love could elevate his wife if they each loved one another as Christ loved his church. The belief that women needed protection and training led them to support social purity reforms, most notably the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, and to establish rescue homes. Consequently, public statements of their views did not necessarily challenge the prevailing middle class orthodoxy concerning the nature and role of women, nor did they evaluate the need for social and economic hierarchies. Women were not viewed by the Salvationists as autonomous in the sense that this would be defined by liberal feminism,[32] but they were expected to demonstrate their moral independence by the enthusiastic execution of certain socially defined tasks. This meant that the traditional female occupations of serving and nurturing could presumably be performed in such a way that they became a source of self-respect.

To illustrate this it is necessary to mention briefly the experiences of some of the Salvation Army personnel, for it was within the Army that the development of this sense of dignity found its fullest expression. The Salvation Army Social Services for Women included amongst its staff several wealthy middle class women who dedicated their lives to the work. These included Florence Booth, Adelaide Cox, the daughter of an Anglican minister and the sister of a future

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[32] Eisenstein, The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism, pp. 4-5.

canon, Mary Bennett, the sculptor Margaret Allen, and Elizabeth Sapsworth, a scholar in Greek, Hebrew, and mathematics. Joining the Army often meant complete severance from home and friends for these women, as the Salvationists were misunderstood and even despised in their early days.[33] Being a member of such an intensely moral organisation had repercussions for the officers of the Salvation Army as well as for their clients. Furthermore, the cultural shock that middle class women felt when they left their sheltered environments to work among the poor cannot be underestimated. One such example was that of Elizabeth Lambert, a young officer. 'So innocent had this twenty-year-old north-country girl been of the ways of the world that when spoken to about "fallen women" she inquired "from what had they fallen".'[34] There was also the difficulty of reaching out to women who must have seemed filthy, vulgar and base. Florence herself expressed this feeling when she described her reaction to meeting Rebecca Jarrett: 'Her very appearance was a challenge to my faith, for the marks of her dissolute life were very plain, the expression of her face almost repulsive'.[35] The sense that they were actually performing God's work was the inspiration that enabled these women to reach across the

[33] Unsworth, Maiden Tribute, p. 39; F. Booth, 'My Life Story', Sunday Circle, March 1933.

[34] Unsworth, Maiden Tribute, p. 60.

[35] F. Booth, 'My Life Story', Sunday Circle, November 1933; 'The Sisterhood of Women', The Deliverer, April 1894, p. 158.

classes on an individual basis. When reflecting on their
experiences they often expressed the feeling that they were
the ones who had been privileged to do this work. When women
joined the Army, the first steps towards commitment were
often the hardest to take. As one recruit admitted:

> You would be surprised to know what attending the
> Army's meetings, especially wearing the uniform
> cost me. So as not to arouse suspicion in my
> downstairs neighbours, on the nights I attended the
> Corps I would take off my boots and climb silently
> up to my room ... Oh, the power of pride and fear!
> Would you believe that, after obtaining a bonnet at
> last, before I ventured out in it for the first
> time, I went downstairs three times and each time
> turned back? [36]

This Salvationist does not appear to have been middle class
from the close proximity in which she lived with her
neighbours. Recent scholarship has shown that the majority of
Salvation Army officers were regular wage-earners in skilled
manual or lower clerical employment. [37] It has also been
argued that working class women, particularly if they were
married, were leading even more restrictive lives at the end
of the century as working men aimed to support a home-centred
family life. [38] Yet it is from the working people who
subscribed to the values of respectability that Salvationists

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[36] 'Principles of Regeneration', The Deliverer, April 1907,
p. 19.

[37] Ward, 'Social Sources of the Salvation Army', passim.

[38] P. Stearns, 'Working-Class Women in Britain 1890-1914',
in M. Vicinus, ed., Suffer and be Still, pp. 100-120.

were drawn, and many of the women who joined felt that the Army offered them wider horizons. Mrs. Commissioner Railton wrote: 'We claim for our late beloved General that he found the long closed road by which women might carry out their Lord's Command'. While much of the women's work within the Army was similar to the traditional female tasks, but their efforts were applauded and ennobled in such articles as 'A Good Servant Often Makes A Good Officer'. This explained that:

> with homes to keep clean, garments to make and mend, and people to feed, the daily routine work must of necessity occupy many hands and much time. But it is the spirit in which it is done, and the purpose of it all which glorifies it.

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What, if anything, did the Salvation Army change for those women, such as their rescue cases, who were without their ranks? In essence they offered an alternative. For some this was simply the material alternative of temporary shelter. But they also offered women the best that they had for themselves; a dignifying of the traditional female tasks of care and service and an insistence that morality was an everyday concern. They were attempting to re-evaluate women's work by stressing its importance and consequently making it a

39 Mrs. Commissioner Railton, 'Our Path Finder: Women's Thanksgiving for the Life Work of General Booth', The Deliverer, October 1913, p. 151.

source of respect for those who performed it in the spirit they prescribed.

The inspiration for the inter-weaving of domesticity and morality can be traced to the experiences of Catherine Booth. Her life's work is an example of how change can be attempted through co-operation rather than resistance. Nevertheless, at the very core of this change was Catherine's insistence on the principle of the moral equality and independence of women. This view was at variance with the accepted precepts of her contemporaries and arose initially from her observations of her own family. What is particularly interesting is the way that she was able to reconcile female moral autonomy with the co-operation needed for family life. Catherine did this by seeing the performance of domestic tasks as an expression of moral choice and by under-evaluating the need for female economic independence. Her world view stressed responsibilities not rights. Arguably, the latter are not needed in a society where individuals have a sense of duty towards one another. For those who did not accept their responsibilities, Catherine advocated persuasion and example. Because of his love and respect for his wife, William accepted Catherine's views and she eventually found herself placed in a unique position to influence those other than her family through the work of the Salvation Army. At each stage of development, the Booths' saw their task as promoting co-operation between the classes and the sexes by stressing responsibility. The increasing acclaim the Salvationists received for being agents of reconciliation

attests to their success in promoting this ideal. However, it is interesting to note that while their evangelical work was resplendent with militaristic, and by implication, antagonistic ideas and imagery, this was almost entirely missing from the discussions and practices of the Women's Social Services. Here the emphasis was on nurture and growth. When their new Headquarters were opened they explained that their work, 'like a healthy child, is always out-growing its clothing!'.[40]

There is an inherent contradiction in the term Salvation Army. Salvation means the state of being saved from sin and its consequences, but it also implies a sense of liberation, joyousness and freedom. An army, on the other hand, is an organised body armed for war, suggesting discipline, order and grim determination. As this implies, there were many contradictions about the Salvation Army for they were a military force that owed much of their success and vitality to Catherine Booth's particularly female vision. This inconsistency should alert the historian of rescue work to be cautious, for their efforts do not easily fit into either the model of the benign pioneer or into that of the arch-reactionary. Certainly by the standards of the late twentieth century, their ideals and work can be seen as limited; most especially in their acceptance of economic hierarchies and gender roles. Yet they sought to redress these inequalities

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[40] 'Our New Headquarters', The Deliverer, December 1910, p. 181.

by stressing the value of each person's contribution and involvement with the Salvation Army. This brought a sense of dignity and purpose not only to the officers but also to some of the rescue cases. Too great an emphasis on the family can also be criticised as flawed if it overlooks the power relationships of male and female and of young and old, but for the Salvationists the family was also a metaphor for the inter-dependence of individuals within society. Florence Booth wrote:

> We have done something to achieve that great conception with which it would seem God inaugurated this world of ours - that the human race is one family. We have done it because we feel that every individual, as well as every class which has fallen out of that plan - whose place is vacant amidst the prosperity of the family circle - still belongs to it. And no matter how far they have wandered from the influence of our civilization, our education, our religion, they are still ours - our brethren and sisters.

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While it is the historian's task to assess by noting inconsistencies and contradictions, judgement must be tempered with an appreciation of how women and men in the past perceived and evaluated their own experiences. This case study of a rescue society has at least shown that family life and religious conviction could be the basis of self-respect and the inspiration of new values and meanings. However, it

41    Lifted Up: Annual Report of the Woman's Social Work
       (London, 1906), p. 11.

is acknowledged that the impact of this would vary from the intense experiences of Catherine Booth, which can be documented, to the fleeting impressions of the rescue cases, which can only be a source of speculation.

Finally, what then was the impact of the Salvation Army's Social Services for Women on Victorian class and gender relationships? It has been possible to determine how their work developed new models of both female and male adulthood which grew from the Booths' own ideas and experiences, and which received wider credibility by being given institutional form. This work then gave the Salvationists a public presence which afforded them a wider platform for their views. However, more work needs to be done in order to understand how these ideas joined the chorus of voices which was creating new meanings and therefore new experiences about being female and male in late nineteenth-century Britain. While the relationship between the creation of new meanings and new practices is by no means a simple one, it has been the aim of this study to explore its complexities.

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