

The Salvation Army

A Case Study of How Industrialism Affected Charities

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The Roman author Tacitus described Roman culture in one primary text his *Agricola*, "...our style of dress came to be esteemed, and the toga became fashionable. Step by step they turned aside to alluring vices, porticoes, baths, elegant banquets. This in their inexperience they called "culture," whereas it was but an aspect of their enslavement."¹ What Tacitus is describing is an educated urban society. These people that he is discussing have looked into the surrounding Roman cultural standards of physical appearance, architectural design and civic amenities. They adopted these Roman cultural aspects and practiced them with the same respect and with same intentions as their Roman counterparts. They also incorporated some of these aspects within their own cultural practices, which evolved into the Hispano-Roman culture.

The capitals of the Iberia provinces; Baetica, Lusitania and Tarraconesis, provided the model for a Roman town and a standard for comparing the evidence found with other *coloniae* and in non-Roman towns in Iberia. The Iberians adopted individual aspects of Roman culture to display their association with the empire. This is the essence of this paper: why native individuals in Spain adopted specific cultural aspects and used them in conjunction with their own practices or abandoned their practices to participate in the dominating culture. By adopting Roman values indigenous magistrates demonstrate loyalty and assimilation to Rome, which evolved into the Hispano-Roman culture.

Architecturally, this includes *fora* and inscriptions (Plate 1: A,B); temples; (especially those with association to the imperial cult); civic amenities such as baths, temples and amphitheatres; and the organization of town layout (also called *centuriation*). These architectural aspects are important to the discussion of Roman culture because they are the most clearly visible indicator of Roman culture. They also demonstrate that

¹ Tacitus. *Agricola*. Trans. Sir William Petersen. London: William Heinemann. LTD. 1963.

evangelical tradition that led up to and influenced the Army. By the same token, The Salvation Army and the movement it symbolizes cannot be fully understood without looking at how these organizations carried out their work. In this way both the evangelical basis and the business ethos of The Salvation Army are important elements of this paper, which examines how industrialism affected charities. This short paper cannot examine all influences on these organizations and completely answer the complex question of why organizations like The Salvation Army came into being or what role they fulfilled. That sort of examination would take much more time and pages than the parameters of this paper allow. The goal is, therefore, to show how the ethos of business and the evangelical movement combined in organizations such as The Salvation Army.

Edward McKinley in his book *Marching To Glory: The History of The Salvation Army in the United States, 1880-1992*, observed¹

“The Salvation Army recognizes, however, that before some people – those who are hungry, lonely, helpless, frightened, sick or poor, too young or too old for others to care much about – can be told of His [God] grace and love, they must first be given some assurance, in practical form, that God and His children love them and will not leave them in want and despair. The Army is fiercely evangelical but its approach to evangelism has always been kindhearted and based on common sense.”²

This means that at some point the evangelical side of the Army must meet the practical side of its work. It is this practical side of the work where the business ethos comes into the picture. Without this joining of evangelicalism with a business ethos, the Army would not have been able to do the kinds of things it accomplished.

Other historians of related, Gilded Age developments, have noted, that the Army was an “important movement,” that reflected the conservative view of “social Christianity.”³ Organizations embracing this conservative viewpoint, always stressed the

importance of keeping the work of “social Christianity,” within the existing structure of society. The conservatives did not desire whole sale reconstruction of society, but instead were looking to reform it. It is this notion of keeping in tune with the structure of society that Troy Boone emphasizes in his article, “Remaking ‘Lawless Lads and Licentious Girls’: The Salvation Army and the Regeneration of Empire.”⁴ In this interpretation of the Army’s work, Boone argues that William Booth, the founder of The Salvation Army, was not only trying to bring his form of Christianity to the masses, but more importantly, he was trying to prop up the floundering British Empire of the Edwardian era. Boone argues that Booth did this through his writings, and his organization. The Salvation Army supported the existing class system in England, as evident in the restrictions they placed on different people within the organization, such as having working class women only preach to working class audiences and never to audiences comprised of middle or upper class people.⁵

These two views of The Salvation Army are common in the historiography of the organization and even in the historiography of charities as a whole during this time. Some historians look at the secular scope of the organization, such as, Andrew Mark Eason in his work; *Women in God’s Army: Gender and Equality in the Early Salvation Army*, or Clark C. Spence’s *The Salvation Army Farm Colonies*. Other historians look at the evangelical side of the organization, such as, Herbert A. Wisbey’s; *Soldiers Without Swords: A History of The Salvation Army in the United States*, and Diane Winston author of *Red Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of The Salvation Army*.⁶ This paper attempts to combine those two perspectives to present a more holistic picture. It will

show ~~the~~ why The Salvation Army is an example of what, Robert Wuthrow and Virginia A. Hodgkinson, termed a “modern charity.”⁷

Saved to Serve

The first part of this paper deals with the evangelical nature of The Salvation Army. The discussion of the business practices of the Army follows explanation of the Army’s evangelical roots and how that background affected the organization. The Army was influenced heavily by American evangelical thought and by Wesleyan ideas about Christianity and its role in society. John Wesley believed that the church as a whole placed too much emphasis on the next world and not enough on this world. By the “next world,” of course, he mean Christian “heaven.” John Wesley wanted more attention paid to this world because that is where people had to exist. It was nice talking about heaven and where believers are going, but it did not serve practical purposes in the eyes of Wesley when there was so much that could be done for this world.⁸

Wesley once observed, “Christianity is essentially a social religion; and ... to turn it into a solitary religion is indeed to destroy it.”⁹ This meant that Christians had some kind of obligation to the world they lived in, not only to the world where they were going. This is what Booth’s book *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, was all about. It was about bringing Christianity to the masses by meeting their temporal needs, and about putting emphasis on this world and the people in it. In Booth’s own words,

“Why all this apparatus of temples and meeting-houses to save men from perdition in a world which is to come, while never a helping hand is stretched out to save them from the inferno of their present life?”¹⁰

Notice how closely this statement resembles what Wesley espoused. It is not just the saving of souls that concerns the Army, it is also the condition of this life.

Before the Army came into existence the Wesleyan message reached America and was influencing the American Evangelical Movement. This movement was in full swing twenty years before the Army came into being. This is important ~~is~~ because out of this movement came influences, namely preachers, that had a profound impact on William Booth as a child and later Gen. William Booth when he founded the Army. James Caughey was an American evangelist in 1844 who conducted revival meetings in England, and one of his young converts was a fifteen year old boy named William Booth.¹¹ In 1883, Daniel Steele a professor at Boston University who was involved in the American Evangelical movement, wrote the preface for Catherine Booth's book (William Booth's wife and co-founder of The Salvation Army) *Aggressive Christianity*. In that essay he commended Catherine Booth for her grasp of the principal of holy sanctification.¹² This principal had long been a center point of the American evangelical movement that took place in the mid-nineteenth century. With these kinds of connections with the American evangelical movement, it is safe to say that Wesley's influence in America and the American evangelical movement was not a stretch.

In the 1840's the idea that to truly be a lover of Christ, one must also love the poor, became more popular among church congregations. Prior to the Evangelical Movement a greater emphasis had been placed on the next world. The result was a de-emphasis on the poor, because poverty was only a temporary trial that God was using to teach the sinful a lesson. Once the sinful began focusing their attention on God, and not on their temporal needs, God would take away their poverty and provide for all their

needs. The Evangelical Movement instead taught that seeking after Christ, a Christian was supposed to look after the poor, and by doing this work of Christ they would move toward sanctification.¹³ For these evangelical Christians, freedom from temporal needs brought people to a place where they could then be saved. Both were looking to save individuals, the only real difference was the order the temporal needs took in relation to the spiritual well being of the person. The evangelicals put temporal needs first, believing that only through showing the same compassion for others that Christ showed could non-believers be convinced to become Christians.

This idea of sanctification was, of course, a throwback to John Wesley's notion that mankind was first created perfect, and then Adam and Eve sinned and thereby created a division between God and man. Christ reconciled God and man, but only by following Christ's example of caring for fellow people, amongst other stipulations, could people ever attain their original state of perfection.¹⁴ This was the essence of the American evangelical movement. It's spiritual goal was for people to regain this perfection, and one of the things necessary to do that was caring for the poor. In 1825 a prominent minister living in New York by the name of Timothy Merritt published, *Treatise on Christian Perfection, with Directions for Obtaining That State*, which informed the reader of the need to seek perfection, as the title indicates. Other popular authors of the movement written around the same time included Adam Clarke, and Richard Watson.¹⁵

In her book, *This Business of Relief: Confronting Poverty in a Southern City, 1740-1940*, published in 2003, Elna Green shows how charitable thought changed during this time of the American revival movement.¹⁶ Green shows how prior to this new way of

thinking which stressed helping the poor, Christians believed that the reason someone was poor was because of their own sin. Thomas Cooper in his widely read lectures taught this idea of people being poor because they were sinful. As a result, anyone who helped the poor was going against the will of God, because poverty was placed on an individual as a result of God's wrath.¹⁷ This belief discouraged philanthropy. Instead, the only way to do away with poverty was to get the individual out of their sin and into a state of salvation. Once this was accomplished, poverty would disappear because sin would no longer get in the way of their economic growth.¹⁸

The revivalist thinkers, such as, Albert Barnes, Samuel S. Schmucker, Edward Norris Kirk, and Mathew Simpson, agreed that poverty was the result of sin, but they believed that it was corporate sin and not individual sin that caused poverty.¹⁹ Therefore, it was up to every Christian to stand up against the evils in society, including the way the poor were treated and when society was reformed, poverty would be no more.²⁰ On the basis of this sort of thought about the poor, William Booth founded The Salvation Army. This was to be an army that worked to counteract the social ills that Booth saw in the world around him.²¹

It is not surprising that The Salvation Army has such a strong Wesleyan tradition since Booth did come out of the Methodist church which is also a Wesleyan denomination.²² Booth had truly begun his ministry when he moved to London and was paid by a Mr. Rabbits to evangelize in London.²³ Undoubtedly it was during this time that Booth realized his ^{compassion} ~~passion~~ for the urban poor that he saw ^{and his passion for helping them... (?)}

Literature about The Salvation Army and its history includes many titles with religious overtones: *Marching To Glory: The History of The Salvation Army in the*

*United States 1880-1992*²⁴, *Pulling The Devils Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain*²⁵, *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses: Remaking The Salvation Army in America, 1880-1930*.²⁶ It is very difficult to speak at any length about The Salvation

Army or its works unless one is informed about why it was begun and what it hoped to accomplish. All the work of The Salvation Army came out of two basic principals. First, that Christians are “saved to serve,” which is an army slogan still used today. It means that because a person is saved they now have an obligation to help save others. Secondly, “heart to God hand to Man,” which is another Army slogan, meaning that because a Christian loves God they are required to help other people. This section will focus on that aspect of The Salvation Army and its work.

In his speech of May 19, 1912, General William Booth, founder of The Salvation Army, ended with these words.

“While Women weep as they do now, I’ll fight; while little children go hungry as they do now, I’ll fight; while men go to prison, in and out, in and out, as they do now, I’ll fight; while there is a poor lost girl upon the streets, while there remains one dark soul without the light of God, I’ll fight – I’ll fight to the very end.”²⁷

Shortly after this speech was given the founder was ‘promoted to glory’ (an army term used when a Salvationist dies). His last words are telling about why he began the work of The Salvation Army.

This paper is not about religion. Its purpose is to show how charities mixed evangelical faith with the ethos of businesses to make a larger and more efficient charity based on Wesleyan ideals. However, it is impossible to understand The Salvation Army and how it operated without first examining the influences on its founder, William Booth, and his motivations working with the poor.

William Booth was born in Nottingham, England on April 10, 1829.²⁸ William's Mother was Mary Moss, who was the daughter of a laborer who married his father Samuel Booth in 1824. Williams's father worked several different jobs when he couldn't find work in as a nailer or a builder, which is what he was trained as.²⁹ Before his fathers death William Booth was a pawnbroker's apprentice.³⁰ This occupational background demonstrates, William Booth was not a rich man. In fact, he came from very humble beginnings. At the age of fifteen the young Booth was converted by an American evangelist, James Caughey.³¹

Booth founded The Salvation Army on Wesleyan doctrine. This influence is evident in the doctrines of The Salvation Army. As set down in the Deed Poll of 1878, Doctrine number five sates, "We believe that our first parents were created in a state of innocency but, by their disobedience, they lost their purity and happiness; and that in consequence of their fall all men have become sinners, totally depraved, and as such are justly exposed to the wrath of God."³² Doctrine Ten shows the other half of the degeneration/regeneration principal that John Wesley preached: "We believe that it is the privilege of all believers to be 'wholly sanctified' and that their 'whole spirit and soul and body' may 'be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.'"³³ These doctrine guided the Army in its work, by providing a spiritual framework for the organization. Since all men were inherently sinners, then it was the Army's job to take them from a state of sin into a state of salvation. Once a person is made into a believer then they are able to be regenerated. For the Army this meant the person must be saved, then helped with their vice, or poverty. The charitable work of the Army was entirely

centered around this sort of hands-on strategy of meeting people's temporal needs in order to save their soul.

Booth described what he saw as "the Cab Horse's Charter" in his book, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, published in 1890. In his own words, he explained it like this, "When he [the cab horse] is down he is helped up, and while he lives he has food, shelter and work. That, although a humble standard, is at present absolutely unattainable by millions – literally by millions – of our fellow-men and women in this country." He then asks the question, "Can the Cab Horse Charter be gained for humanbeings?"³⁴

Booth's own writing and speeches are clear as to why he founded The Salvation Army: he wanted to save the poor and the outcast. In July of 1865, Booth was walking home from a tent meeting he had conducted in Whitechapel, later famous for Jack the Ripper, when he passed a gin hall. There he saw people who were trying to drown out their sorrows with vice, such as, gambling, drinking, and fighting. Booth felt that these people needed to be regenerated and made 'whole' again. He remembered his own drunkard father and how he had sought fulfillment from alcohol but never found it. Perhaps it was his own background as a pawnbroker's apprentice, seeing men sell their valuables for just one more drink, that gave him a desire to help these people in the gin hall. When he got home Booth said this to his wife Catherine, as he recalled later in his life,

"O Kate, I have found my destiny! These are the people for whose Salvation I have been longing all these years... I seemed to hear a voice sounding in my ears, 'Where can you go and find such heathen as these, and where is there so great a need for you labors?' And there and then in my soul I offered up myself and you and the children to this great work. Those people shall be our people, and they shall have our God for their God."³⁵

Booth was dedicated to the urban poor. He saw them both as heathen, not a term of endearment, and as his people, of course his people after they were saved. Perhaps the reason Booth chose the word heathen was to illustrate to his wife that these people were not acting as what he perceived, as a middle class Victorian Englishman, civilized people. Add to his social class, the fact that William Booth was a Methodist preacher and his sense of morality was derived from his study of the Bible and his Wesleyan roots. Undoubtedly these people, whom he observed, were not acting as Booth would have liked them too, according to his moral bias.

This sort of sentiment is in keeping with Troy Boone's interpretation of *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, and its author. According to Boone, Booth saw his role as both elevating the poor out of their slums and sin, but also keeping a distinction between the classes.³⁶ Boone's discussion, entitled 'Remaking 'Lawless Lads and Licentious Girls': The Salvation Army and the Regeneration of Empire' from the book, *Historicizing Christian Encounters with the Others*, shows how Booth's motivations for helping the poor was much larger than just the individuals The Salvation Army reached - it was about reconstructing the society in which Booth found himself. In 1857, the editor of *The Watchman*, a Christian newspaper in America, said that Christians must not only prepare souls for the next world but must make this world a better place.³⁷ On both sides of the Atlantic, Revival thinkers are oriented towards not only helping the poor but also reconstructing society. In previous years, charities, such as benevolent societies, focused on saving the individual, expecting that once all individuals were saved poverty would cease. Booth however, argued that not just the sin of the individual must be

addressed, but society and its sinful ways must also be changed in order to do away with poverty.

“Many of this crowd [the poor] have never had a chance of doing better; they have been born in a poisoned atmosphere, educated in circumstances which have rendered modesty an impossibility, and have been thrown into life in conditions which make vice a second nature. Hence, to provide an effective remedy for the evils which we are deploring these circumstances must be altered, and unless my Scheme [the work of the Army] effects such a change, it will be of no use.” – William Booth³⁸

As evidenced by the excerpt, from Booth’s *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, the only way to do away with poverty is to attack the causes. Notice Booth ~~eludes~~^{alludes} to the idea that doing away with poverty will also do away with vice. Doing away with vice will allow people to be saved, and then regenerated. The first step, however, is to do away with the causes of poverty.

How did Booth’s views and influences make their way into the organization of The Salvation Army? The answer to this question can be found in the writings that other early Salvationists have left us, along with early Salvation Army publications. *House Top Saints, and Other Extracts from ‘The War Cry,’* (which was a book issued by the Army in 1891), is a collection of testimonies from people who were regenerated through their faith.³⁹ An example of this is in the article entitled “House Top Saints,” where Sibyl McIvor describes how she has moved up through the “house” of God from the basement where she was saved to the roof, as of 1891. This testimony illustrates the regenerative process that Booth espoused. McIvor explains that many who were poor and relied on handouts had not attained this “house top sainthood,” but remain in the basement.⁴⁰ Each testimonial confirmed what Booth and Wesley were saying: the way to bring people out of poverty is to regenerate them. These articles illustrate what the Army hoped to do:

regenerate the individual into the perfect state in which they were created. This source should, of course, not be taken at face value, because it was a book published by The Salvation Army. The Army would not allow testimonials that went against its doctrines to appear in its own books. However, it should also be noted that there is no evidence suggesting that the testimonials in this book were falsified. McIvor more than likely believed what she was saying whole heartedly. She was simply one of the many who believed what Booth and the Army were teaching, because she thought that it made sense.

Another example is the *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers 1908*, which was issued to all Salvation Army officers. (Officers are the pastors in The Salvation Army; they are trained and ordained just like any other church) In the orders under the heading of personal religion we find this order.

“This [holiness] follows as a necessary consequence. The word ‘God’ comes from the old Saxon word ‘good.’ In describing Jehovah [the Name of God] they said He was ‘The Good.’ Then they shortened the word, and said He was ‘The God.’ And if the F.O. [Field Officer] is possessed of God’ that is, if God lives in him, controlling and mastering him, such F.O. must necessarily be good; in the same way as being possessed of the devil would make him devilish, which is bad.

The must be so. No nature can produce any character or life different to, or better than, its own. A human nature must produce a human character’ a devilish nature must produce a devilish character’ and a Divine nature must produce a Divine character – a Devin life. In other words, a man possessed of the Spirit of Christ, among other things, must be a holy man.”⁴¹

As you can see, officers were ordered to strive for this holiness and regeneration that Booth espoused. The reason that Booth demanded holiness from his officers was because if they were not holy, then they could not teach other people how to be holy, and without holiness regeneration is impossible. This, of course, also spills over into how the Army viewed poverty. According to the *Orders and Regulation for Field Officers, 1891*, the

world is in rebellion against God, and because of that there is poverty in the world.⁴² In this section, the suffering of the individual is equated with the world's rebellion against God. So it is not the individual's sin that is necessarily the cause of the poverty, but it is the corporate sin of the world. Over the years these basic principals stayed the same.

“Every F.O. [Field Officer] ought to be able to give it [to explain the need for holiness, and give an account of his own holiness]. His vows pledge him to it. It was a condition on which he was made an officer that he held this doctrine, and was a living example of it. It is expected of him to-day. Every Soldier [Official members of the church, similar to people who have been baptized into a church] under him and every Officer above him feels that he ought to have it; and it must cut the sinews of all his energies and greatly hind his usefulness, if he has it not.”⁴³

Perhaps the reason the *Orders and Regulations*, changed so little between 1891 and 1908 was in part due to Booth being General when both were issued. It is doubtful the regulations would have changed considerably had he not been, since the Army was founded on the principles of Wesleyan holiness. This is one thing history will never know however, since Booth was General until 1912.

As a result of this sort of view of poverty and the world's problems, The Salvation Army sought to address the social ills that were plaguing the growing industrial societies of the world. This is the goal behind the work The Salvation Army did. This is why they adopted the ethos of the business world. It wasn't just to create a more efficient world; it was to recreate what they saw as a dying and lost world. This reconstructed world, of course, would take the shape that the organization's founder, William Booth, wanted it to take.

Heart to God, Hand to Man

The Salvation Army combined the evangelical fervor of earlier charities with the ethos of business values in the late 19th century in order to combat the poverty associated with the emerging industrial society.⁴⁴ A common charity during the mid-nineteenth century was a benevolent society. These benevolent societies relied on volunteers, usually middle class people who also had disposable income that they could contribute.⁴⁵ An example of these societies was the Union Benevolent Society founded in 1836 in Richmond Virginia, which solicited donations from middle and upper class citizens in the community that had cash to spare, then sent volunteers throughout the city [Each city had its own volunteers that would do this] who would determine the need of individuals. Then, a committee of women would decide who received help and who did not.⁴⁶

In the 1870's there were more than 400 mutual aid societies in Richmond Virginia, which was one of the largest cities in the South at the time, and which had a large population of impoverished citizens.⁴⁷ These mutual aid societies worked much like insurance companies of today work. The participants would contribute money to the organization while they were able, in return for the promise that if they fell on hard times, for whatever reason, the family was entitled to money from the mutual aid society. This sort of organization only helped its members, and is therefore not really comparable with The Salvation Army which collected money from wealthier citizens and redistributed it through programs such as shelters and work rooms, back to impoverished citizens. Since there were so many of these mutual aid societies in Richmond, we can safely assume that people were worried about what would happen to them if they were, for whatever reason, not able to provide for their families. This can be seen as a failure of charitable

organizations to meet the needs of those who were disadvantaged. It can also tell us, that there was no social security or other government welfare programs; instead people secured their own financial futures because no organization or government was willing to be a safety net. A common example of an aid society would be the First African Baptist Church, which created a fund by setting aside money from the tithes and offerings of the church to help members of its congregation when they fell into dire straits. By 1848, this church fund was giving out 200 dollars a month to church families.⁴⁸ This was a mutual aid society because the money that the church was able to distribute was coming from the tithes and offerings of its members, and the money was being used to help members.

None of these charities, however, were able to deal with the magnitude of the poverty problem created by the industrialization process.⁴⁹ The Salvation Army filled the growing gap between the needs of the impoverished and the ability of 19th century American society to meet that need. The Salvation Army bridged this gap by employing a business-like ethos when it came to charitable work. The Salvation Army's professionals directed the work of the organization. They set up a managerial structure, with the general at the top and soldiers at the bottom, throughout the Army's world wide organization so that it could operate as one very large charity. They also used marketing strategies, such as; posters, catchy slogans, and publications, to sell their brand of religious charity to the public, in order to convince potential donors to finance the work. The need for professionals is obvious when a couple factors are taken into account. First of all was public sentiment. There was a growing belief among the public that by giving the money to professional charities that the givers money would be use more effectively to meet the needs of the working class, rather than just giving the money to non-

professionals, or participating in direct philanthropy.⁵⁰ On Monday, November 13th 1882, the New York Times printed an article on page two entitled “Local Church Charity.” In this article the newspaper rates charities based^{on} a couple factors, one of which being if the charity is run by professionals or not. The charities not run by professionals tend to have a lower rating in the eyes of the paper.⁵¹ This shows that people were valuing professionalism more and more, this is not surprising since society in general was becoming more systematized as industry grew. The natural reaction in this sort of atmosphere would be for people to trust professionals over non professionals. Non professional of course, refers to, organizations such as the benevolent societies, and “direct philanthropy” means a person giving the money directly to someone they perceive as in need. Professional Charities, in a sense, acted as holding companies for the public good, with investors drawn from the community at large and the returns going to help the unfortunate that donors didn’t want to deal with. This separation between donor and recipient became more common as management became more disconnected from workers. The overall social value being demonstrated here is that a distinct line between middle class and working class was emerging.

Professionalization was a method The Salvation Army used to do its work. This use of professionalism is in keeping with Troy Boone’s assessment that the Army not only worked as a charity seeking to combat poverty, but also as a tool of keeping order in society. In his “The Salvation Army in America,” National Commander Frederick St. George De Lautour Booth-Tucker, William Booth’s son, reported in 1899 that The Salvation Army had 1,260 centers of various kinds, with upwards of 12,000 meetings weekly.⁵² This number did not include shelters, 54 food depots, 23 salvage brigades and

wood yards, 14 labor bureaus, 8 farm colonies, 3 rescue homes, 14 children's homes, 2 hospitals, and 3 dispensaries that the Army ran in 1899.⁵³ As is evident by these numbers, the Army was involved in a wide range of activities, and as a result of the broad scope of their work, they needed professionals who had been trained to operate these facilities according to Army practices and procedures. The reason The Salvation Army had to be so large was that Booth wanted to win "all the world" for Christ.⁵⁴ The result of this very large vision was a world-wide organization, which engaged in a variety of work to save perceived sinners.

The Salvation Army sought to professionalize its officers by establishing training schools in New York and Chicago in 1899, with local "training garrisons" in Portland Oregon, and San Francisco California.⁵⁵ In 1881, Joseph Wharton established the first college course in business management.⁵⁶ While in training each cadet, students training to become officers, would take courses in reading, writing, math, and single entry bookkeeping as part of their secular curriculum. For the spiritual side they would take courses focusing on the Bible, as well as Salvation Army doctrine.⁵⁷ In cases where either there wasn't a training school or the cadet needed additional instruction, cadets acted as Field Officer's secretaries. If the cadet couldn't write, it was the Field Officer's duty to help the cadet become a proficient enough ~~writes that they could~~ ^{to} fill out their own reports and *War Cry* articles.⁵² This shows that Salvation Army officers were being trained to do the work of the organization, but training alone does not make an officer a professional.

The most important aspect of professionalism is of course, the pay that is involved in doing the job. In the Army officers were barred from accepting any sort of monetary compensation or gifts other than through official Army channels.⁵⁸ This meant that if an

officer did something, and a person wanted to give that officer a monetary gift the money would have to be given to the corps (local unit) instead of to the officer. This prevented officers from not only receiving gifts, but also holding secondary jobs. In the Army there was no second job, instead all of the officer's attention was expected to be on his/her job as an officer. This rule also made it necessary for officers to be paid by the Army, since they were not allowed other jobs. The pay scale for officers was based on, their rank, their marital status, and their gender. The higher the rank the more that officer got paid. If the officer was married they also received more money. In addition, if they had children there was additional money given to them based on how many children they had and how old the children were. Women usually received less pay than their male counterparts.⁵⁹ Boone would probably have used his argument that The Salvation Army sought to maintain social norms to explain this, since it was common for women, as it still is today, to receive less pay as their male counterparts. The formulas for determining pay have changed over the years, today for instance, pay is now based on years of service and not on rank, of course, the pay has increased also. One thing that remained constant, however, was that officers were barred from holding any secondary jobs, and that pay was based on a formula that was used to create uniformity throughout the Army. In the context of post-civil war America, the Army fit into the trend of paying workers on regular bases, including creating salaried workers. Salary was then as it is now not only a way of being paid but also a status symbol, indicating that a salaried worker is higher up the social scale than a laborer paid by the hour. Boone again would probably attribute this to the Army's goals of maintaining the social order, but this is only speculation since Boone did not delve deeply into this aspect of the Army in his article.

Professionalization wasn't the only business value the Army chose to mimic, they also mimicked the management styles of for-profit corporations as a way of controlling the entire organization from its central headquarters in London. Part of the Army's business approach may be attributed to Booth's years as a pawnbrokers assistant, and his later years associating with many of England's industrialist class. Booth had a history in business, and that history is evidenced by how he chose to use a management style very similar to for-profit corporations.

Henry Poor, while working for a railroad back east between 1854 and 1857, suggested that it takes two things to run a large company: organization (meaning careful division of work), and communication (for reporting to keep management informed).⁶⁰ Although Henry Poor did this work prior to the arrival of The Salvation Army in America his ideas on managing large scale operations were adopted when the Army began expanding its work in the US.⁶¹ His ideas influenced the business world of the Gilded Age, and as a result can be seen in the workings of The Salvation Army.

Poor's organizational qualification is easy to see in the industry of the age. According to a contemporary of Poor, Henri Fayol writing in 1916, management should work like a pyramid. At the top was the president or owner. Under him was a works manager, and under the works manager was the superintendent. After several other layers of management, the workman was at the bottom.⁶² The specific names of the jobs and how many layers a company had may vary but the basic principle was the same. In The Salvation Army the structure was very similar to the business model laid down by Fayol. At the top was the General. During this time the General was the founder of The Salvation Army, William Booth. After the General came the Commissioner, then the

Divisional Commanders, then the Corps Officers, and finally the soldiers.⁶³ With this kind of structure the power flowed downward, but it is important to note that although the General may have issued orders for the entire army, it was up to each level to implement those orders. The different levels were also responsible for their own day-to-day affairs, so in this regard, they did have a certain amount of autonomy. This was an example of division of labor because each area was in charge of its own dealings and no one person micromanages the entire system. This model of allowing individual managers throughout the system to act with a certain level of autonomy was of course first pioneered by the railroads.⁶⁴ It is more likely, however, that the Army did not adopt the structure from the railroads, but instead copied it from the military. Booth saw his “mission” as to wage war against evil. That is why he took the rank of General, and why the Army was given a military structure.

The Salvation Army used military terminology for its management system, and throughout the organization, because it let people within the organization, as well as the public, know how the Army viewed its work against sin and poverty. For Salvationists the charitable work was part of a battle to overcome evil. John Lawley, one of The Salvation Army’s most revered officers wrote these words for the hymn *Hallelujah*.

“Through the blood we shall prevail, through both earth and hell assail God in man can never fail. Hallelujah! Keep your weapons sharp and bright, buckle on the armor tight, fighting is our great delight. Hallelujah!”⁶⁵

It is evident that Salvationists saw their duty as that of fighting a spiritual battle against evil. The post-civil war culture also accepted violence as a way of purifying, what they perceived to be unworthy. Historian Charles Royster explores this idea of cleansing the nation through blood in his book *The Destructive War: William Tecumseh Sherman,*

Stone Wall Jackson and the Americans.⁶⁶ In post-civil war America violence was seen as a way of purifying the soul of man, and making sure that Americans followed democratic ideals. Seeing the militarism already in society, The Salvation Army adopted military jargon as a way of telling people that the Civil War may be over and that war of redemption is done, but now there is a larger war of redemption that must be waged for the souls of men. This military jargon also would have also endeared the Army to many Americans, because it was popular at this time to wave "the bloody shirt."⁶⁷ "Bloody shirt" referred to the veterans of the Civil War who were able to demand respect from their countrymen based on the fact that they had been wounded during the war. The "bloody shirt," also signified the use of military force, and undemocratic measures to save democracy and the Union, after the Civil War. The Army was not an organization that condoned physical violence, but they did use war terminology and militarism to their advantage, as a way of convincing people that the "war" they were waging against evil was a good fight. It also played on peoples fantasies of gaining glory on the battle field as a great leader. The only real ^{difference} ~~exception~~ was that instead of shooting other people the soldier and the officer were expected to aggressively attack evil.

It would be inconceivable, in the early 21st century to think of a corporation that does not run on the basis of reports, and the corporations of the late 19th century were no exception. Henry Metcalfe, for instance, took the system of reporting and said that the reports should be minimal and that they should only include the information that the manager needs.⁶⁸ While working as a manager in the later 19th century, Metcalf showed that reports going to the top should be as clear and concise as possible so as to give the managers the information they need to make decisions, but not so much that the

information is muddled. The Salvation Army used reports to give information to the higher ups in the chain of command. Ironically, The Salvation Army operated mainly in countries where democratic ideals were promoted, such as, the United States, but the managerial system was not democratic. One of the most notable reports that would be given by the lower levels would be progress reports. These reports would include such information as how many soldiers a corps had and how much money it was bringing in.

91 } With this information, the divisional (structure of command usually went: corps, division, national, international) commander was then able to assess the progress of the entire division and then send a condensed version outlining how the division as a whole was doing up the chain toward its eventual arrival on the General's desk.⁶⁹ One example of this sort of reporting was in 1882 when Major Moore, then National Commander for America, told the General that there were a total of 28 corps, 64 officers and a *War Cry* subscription of 20,000.⁷⁰ A more complete example from a later United States National Commander was Commander Booth-Tucker's report in 1899, where he reports to his father, General William Booth, about what The Salvation Army has become in the United States. In this report Booth-Tucker, reports numbers such as how many people the shelters could accommodate in a year (2,253,600), how many people the shelters actually accommodated during the year (1,836,000), how many meals were supplied (1,300,000), how many people were able to find work (57,000), and how many officers (324) and employees (164) The Salvation Army had.⁷¹ Notice the difference in detail. The Army had become more diversified in its workings since 1882, but something else had changed. *In Darkest England*, General William Booth's book, had been published in 1890 giving the Army new focus in its war against poverty and the degeneration of man. In this book

Booth had laid down a very specific plan, in which he called for nothing less than the restructuring of society. This restructuring of society is seen in the later report, not only because it was more detailed, but also because of what it detailed. Notice that it was not only corps being used to gauge how large the Army was in America but also work programs, shelters, and meals offered. This signifies that the Army was moving ^{and} engaging in several areas of charity, because they were trying to fulfill the vision that Booth had described in 1890.

A discussion on Marketing may seem a little out of place when compared to professionalism and managerial organization, but for the Army it was all about image. They wanted to create the image in peoples minds, of a good army waging a good fight, and an army that people needed to support just like they had done in the Civil War and were doing in the wars of the 1890's. Without its image the Army was just another large scale religious organization, but with its image as an army of good combating evil, it set itself apart from the others. The Army was also an answer to radical movements such as the Populist movement. The Populists argued that Americas economy and many of its social practices needed to be scraped and a new system put in place. This new system would be based on agrarian concerns and not have such a large emphasis on the urban concerns.⁷² The Army was an urban movement largely and it was also, as Boon argued, a means of conservatively reforming society. The Army did not want to change anything in society by simply throwing the old system away, but instead they wanted to work to fix the problems from within the system. This allowed the business class to have confidence that, if they gave money to the Army it would be used to help support the social structure already in place in America and not go for the radicalism they saw in the

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Populists. It is obvious how the market affected businesses whose sole purpose was to provide a good or a service for profit. How this relates in the charitable sector, is an organization must sell themselves, both to middle and upper class, since these are the people with the money, as well as the working class which it sought to help. Charities basically act as holding companies for the public. They took in the money the upper and middle classes gave them and used that money to aid in social reforms in society that they preserved necessary in order to regenerate the lower classes. In this way, the market of charities is much the same as the market of business. Both try to convince the public that they need the services provided; the only difference with a charity is that it does not charge consumers for services it renders; instead it is the investors that pay the bill.

In ^{the} same article which had rated charities based on professionalism, "Local Church Charity," ^{NY Times Nov 1907} the ~~paper~~ ^{paper} also rated the charities based on how much money the charity brought in through donations⁷³ What this article was saying was that the public gave money, to the charity that they thought was doing the best job meeting the needs of the less fortunate. The importance of this article is that it shows that not only was there a market factor as far as people being willing to give money, but also that charities competed for the public's money, just like businesses over customers. As a result of this competition, the Army rarely if ever mentioned another organization or church in their publicity.⁷⁴ This is understandable, since as said before, the charities were competing to get the money of the public. One of the keys to publicity is getting one's name out to the public so that they think of your organization when they are deciding which charity to donate to. On Saturday September 16th 1882, the New York Times reported that The Salvation Army blocked the doors to the city hall building and held an "open air." There were

reports of pick pockets and some crowd unrest, but at least the Army got in the paper.⁷⁵

Another article appeared the next day with the headline “Will there be a Salvation Army in 1900?”⁷⁶ This article blasted the Army for its strong stance against alcohol, tobacco, and many forms of popular entertainment, such as vaudeville acts. Of course to those who didn’t see things through the same Wesleyan eyes as the Army, the organization looked like a bunch of pious disturbers of the peace. However, there was a long tradition of Wesleyan thought and practices in America long before the Salvation Army. The result, was that the Army grew by leaps and bounds in the country, even as Salvationists were dragged into jail for noise violations and disturbing the peace.⁷⁷

The Army did not just rely on these sorts of publicity stunts and aggressive tactics to gain public support. One of the most effective ways the Army got public support was through their red kettle campaigns during the Christmas season. This tradition was begun in 1891 by Captain Joseph McFee in San Francisco. As people passed by they were asked to “keep the pot boiling.” This, of course, meant to keep the work of the Army funded through small charitable gifts.⁷⁸ These kettle campaigns did a couple of things for the Army. They got the name of the Army out into the community by placing kettles with the Army’s name in high foot traffic areas. They also reinforced the idea of the Army being militaristic by using tripods to hold the kettles, and thereby, create the imagery of a kettle over an open flame. This imagery would not have been lost on the veterans of the Civil War of course, because this is how they used to cook their food. Add to this the fact that the kettle was red, which is naturally an aggressive color. In the Army it symbolizes the blood of Christ, and to the public it represents the blood of soldiers who were fighting a virtuous war. During this time period, violence was seen as

being a virtuous thing, due in no small part to the Civil War which pitted democracy against democracy.

During the time between 1891 and 1919, when the Army launched one of its largest fundraising campaigns up to that point, the nation had become more militaristic and imperial. The Spanish American War had given possession of Cuba, the Philippines and Guam to the US, ^a great ^o new imperial power. As this was happening, American culture was becoming more and more acquainted and accepting of war imagery as part of every day life. As a result, the Army capitalized on this acceptance of war imagery, which they had long used, to raise money for the Army. In 1919 the Army launched the “Home Service Fund Campaign,” to raise money for Army work on a national scale. Up to this point most fundraising had been a local event, where the command of a Salvation Army center would solicit funds from the local community in order to pay for the services his/her post provided. This is how the red kettles worked, they would solicit funds from the business class citizens of a community then use the money to fund the work in that location. This campaign was launched by then National Commander, Evangeline Booth, William Booth’s daughter.⁷⁹ The campaign was supposed to raise enough money to fund all Army programs within the United States, with the exception of Corps. The reason Corps were excluded was because they were supposed to support themselves financially. The campaign targeted the returning World War I veterans who had come in contact with the Army’s dough girls during the war. Notice how closely the poster resembles what one might expect to see in a recruitment office. Catherine Booth, then National Commander, is standing above the crowd with her left hand raised in triumph, while the people are looking up to her with their heads crouched. Under her

right arm is a child being protected by her cloak and in the background there appears to be more people as well as billows of smoke coming from some unknown source. This poster came of course after a long period of imperial conflict in which the US had taken possession of several colonies in the Pacific and Cuba in the Caribbean during the war with Spain. With this in mind it is not surprising to find the imagery being even more militaristic than it had been in



This poster appeared Nation Wide during the fundraising campaign.⁸⁰

previous fundraising campaigns. The kettles had only hinted at the militaristic connection, the posters on the other hand, makes the militarism of the Army hard to miss. According to McKinnely this campaign is what allowed the Salvation Army to stop begging for money on the streets and in bars.⁸¹

No discussion of The Salvation Army's marketing nature would be complete without discussion of the *War Cry*, which is the official magazine of The Salvation Army. The magazine was full of reports from officers and soldiers about the work the Army was doing, so it did not only make money when it was sold, but it also informed the reader as to what else the Army was doing in order to encourage more donations, as

well as present the gospel. The magazine was written for both Salvationists, and non-Salvationists. For Salvationists the magazine offered a window into what other Salvationists were doing throughout the Army, as well as, give encouragement through testimonials to help build moral. For non-Salvationists, the magazine attempted to show the person why they should either donate money, convert, or both. During the 1880's and 1890's journalism in America had grown. At the beginning of the Spanish American War it was "yellow" journalism that helped convince the nation to go to war with Spain. Sears and Roebucks were selling everything from a pair of pants to a house from a catalogue during this time. The Army simply jumped on the band wagon of this growing periodical trend. In keeping with this trend the *War Cry* looked like one would expect a magazine to look, it had pictures in it and it varied in length, but was never more than one would expect a magazine to be. This dual nature can be seen in the *Orders and Regulations* where the field officer is required to report the corps activities to the *War Cry*.

"The F.O. should see the importance of having the war in his locality fairly represented in the *War Cry*. He should do this for the encouragement of his own corps and for the gratification and encouragement of the soldiers and friends of the Army up and down the world. It may be objected that this is boasting of what is done by him and his people. He can simply answer that his boasting is in what the Lord has done for His glory."⁸²

The *War Cry* was sold in taverns and to the public as a way of making money for the Army.

Conclusion

Boone saw The Salvation Army as an attempt by the middle class to prop up society. McKinley took the stance that The Salvation Army was founded because its founder had deep Wesleyan roots that prompted him to begin an organization that would regenerate the individual. These two views of the founding of The Salvation Army are not polar opposites but actually give testimony to the complexities surrounding The Salvation Army's founding and work in America. It is when both the social aspect of the Army is explored as well as the religious aspect that the organization begins to be understood fully.

The evangelical roots of The Salvation Army, and American evangelists, such as, James Caughey had a direct and profound impact on William Booth and the organization he founded. This portion also looked at how views of poverty changed from the idea that helping the poor was against the will of God to the notion that helping the poor was part of a Christian's obligation. This of course was all linked back to John Wesley who had first prompted Christians to begin living in this life and not focusing so much on the next.

The Army adopted the ethos of the business culture to carry out its work. The goal was to save souls, but the means to that end, was the business ethos the Army adopted. The Army didn't have to choose professionalism, or the pyramid managerial structure, or even the marketing strategies that it did, but the leaders of the Army, for good or for ill, did. They decided that professionals were needed, even though this did help reinforce the barrier between the classes, because the officers were educated men and women and often the parishioners and those the officers tried to reach were not. The reason they chose the pyramid structure probably has just as much to do with the idea of

business ethos as with the militaristic fascination of the period. The Army saw that in the military a pyramid structure was used to command a battle, and since the Army was waging war against evil they adopted the same strategy. The marketing choices the Army made were also a result of the ^{Army's} surrounding ~~the Army found itself in~~. The Army wanted to reach people with images and words they would understand, and since this was a time of growing militarism in the US the Army chose to adopt militarist jargon and imagery. Other religious charities at the time did not use the same tactics as the Army. These organizations did not necessarily grow as large as the Army did, but they did have more personal contact with the people they reached. One thing the Army lost by making the choices they did was the more personal contact with the people being helped that organizations like the benevolent societies and mutual aid societies had ^{been able to establish}.

The Salvation Army has changed over time. It has grown and it has adapted both in the US and around the World. This is due to the Army's long tradition of adapting to the culture it finds itself in. When it came to America, the Army, which was Wesleyan, already fit in well with the evangelical Christians who had begun to change the face of American Christianity in the mid 19th century. The Army, in keeping with this tradition, taught its members holiness, and the need for Christians to help the poor. The Army also adapted to many of the secular aspects of American culture when it organized in America. The Army used professional officers to take charge of its work, because they saw how it had helped businesses increase proficiency. They also used a chain of command, which was necessary for the Army to have in order to link its west coast operation with its east coast operations. The Army understood that there had to be a single head of the organization in the US to coordinate these efforts. This then resulted in

a pyramid hierarchy, which was not uncommon in the business world. The Army also jumped at the marketing explosion that was taking place in America. It portrayed itself in the romantic militaristic imagery popular at the time. It also published a magazine which reflected the values of American Salvationists, and appealed to American donors.

The Salvation Army combined Wesleyan theology with the ethos of American business to create a charity that responded to the society that it found in America. The Army did not work for radical change, but it instead worked within the system and culture of society to affect revisions to that society. The Organization did have a vision of waging war against evil and winning the world for Christ, but it did not consider industrialization in and of itself to be evil. Booth could have easily gone the way of Karl Marx and blamed the entire capitalist system for the poverty and depravity of people he came into contact with, but he didn't. Instead Booth took his Wesleyan roots and made Christianity applicable to the industrial world by combining Christian values with the values of society and business. This allowed the Army to grow in influence, because it did not challenge the status quo, but it also sought reform on behalf of the lower classes. The Army stood in the middle ground between the upper classes and the lower classes, and acted as a bridge between the two. It operated in the business world, but yet dealt mainly with the lowest rung of society.

There is no doubt that The Salvation Army responded to the culture of Victorian-era America. It combined the Christian values of the American Evangelists and John Wesley with the ethos of American business to create a charity in order to combat the social ills that were resulting from rampant industrialization.

Endnotes

It is important that you, the reader, are aware of my relationship with The Salvation Army. This is not so the facts of this paper will be called into question, but instead so that you may better understand where I am coming from and what my possible biases are, this will allow the facts to stand out even more. I do not choose The Salvation Army because I feel it is the only example of an industrial charity, but I choose it because I am most familiar with its history and historiography. I am a member of The Salvation Army church and have been all my life, I also do volunteer work for the organization and my parents are officers (pastors). With that being said, you the reader are now informed of my bias in regards to this subject and may now think more critically about the subject matter.

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2. McKinley, xiii.
3. Aaron I. Abell originally used the phrases in quotations in *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), The context surrounding the words in quotations is from, Robert T. Handy ed., *The Social Gospel in America 1870-1920*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 5.
4. Troy Boone, "Remaking 'Lawless Lads and Licentious Girls': The Salvation Army and the Regeneration of Empire," in *Historicizing Christian Encounters with the Other*, ed. John C. Hawley, (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), 103-122.
5. Boone, 111.
6. Andrew Mark Eason, *Women in God's Army: Gender and Equality in the Early Salvation Arm*, (Waterloo, Ont: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2003). Clark C. Spence, *The Salvation Army Farm Colonies*, (Tucson, Ariz: University of Arizona Press, 1985). Herbert A. Wisbey, *Soldiers Without Swords: A History of The Salvation Army in the United States*, (New York: Macmillan, 1955). Diane Winston, *Red Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of The Salvation Army* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).
7. Robert Wuthnow, Virginia A. Hodgkinson, and Associates, *Faith and Philanthropy in America, Exploring the Role of Religion in America's Voluntary Sector*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1990), 40.
8. Wellman J. Warner, *The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution*, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), 58.
9. John Wesley, *Works*, vol. v, 296 as cited in Warner *The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution*, 59.
10. William Booth, *In Darkest England and The Way Out*, (New York: Garrett Press Inc, 1970), 16.
11. McKinley, 2.
12. Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: In Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*, (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957), 157.

13. Smith, 149.
14. Warner, 61.
15. Smith, 116.
16. Elna C. Green, *This Business of Relief: Confronting Poverty in a Sothern City, 1740-1940*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2003).
17. Green, 45.
18. Green, 45.
19. Smith, 151.
20. Smith, 152.
21. The Salvation Army, *The Salvation Army Its Origin and Development*, (London: Salvationist Publishing and Supplies Ltd., 1938), 17.
22. *The Salvation Army*, 4.
23. McKinley, 2.
24. McKinley
25. Pamela J. Walker, *Pulling The Devils Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
26. Lilian Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses: Remaking The Salvation Army in America, 1880-1930*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).
27. William Booth's last public speech, May 9, 1912, as cited in Sallie Chesham, *Born to Battle: The Salvation Army in America*, (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965), 133.
28. *The Salvation Army*, 1.
29. Walker, 13.
30. McKinley, 2.
31. McKinley, 2.
32. McKinley, 351.
33. McKinley, 352.
34. Booth, 20.
35. The Salvation Army, 17.
36. Boone, 110.
37. Smith, 153.
38. Booth, 86.
39. The Salvation Army, *House Top Saints and Other Extracts, Reprinted from 'The War Cry,'* (London: International Headquarter, Printing and Publishing Office, 1891).
40. "House Top Saints," as it appears in *House Top Saints and Other Extracts, Reprinted from 'The War Cry,'* 6-11.
41. The General, *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of The Salvation Army*, (London: International Headquarters, 1891), 5.
42. *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers 1908, 91.*
43. The General, *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers of The Salvation Army*, (New York: The Salvation Army Publishing Department, 1908), 5.
44. Wuthnow, 40.
45. Green, 49.
46. Green, 49.
47. Green, 107.

48. Green, 48.
49. Wuthnow, 40.
50. Kathleen W Jones, "Doing good: The structure of organizations and the meaning of charity." *Reviews in American History*, Jun94, XX , 2, 230.
51. "Local Church Charity" *New York Times*, 13 November 1882 vol. 32.
52. Frederick Booth-Tucker, *The Salvation Army in America: Selected Reports, 1899-190*, From the series Religion in America, ed. Edwin S. Gaustad, (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 35.
53. Booth-Tucker, 67.
54. William Booth, *The General's letters, 1885 : being a reprint from the War Cry of letters to soldiers and Friends scattered throughout the world*, (London: Salvationist Publishing and Supplies, 1886), 1.
55. A garrison is a smaller training facility which is usually in a corps. In the garrison training cadets are more likely to gain on the job experience under the supervision of officers. A training school is an actual campus with faculty usually consisting of officers although not every member of the faculty is necessarily an officer. The training school is where a cadet would receive more class room instruction. Garrisons were eventually completely replaced by training schools. McKinley, 110.
56. Claude S. George, Jr., *The History of Management Thought*, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1972), x.
57. McKinley, 111.
58. *Orders and Regulations, 1891*, 597.
59. *Orders and Regulations, 1908*, 501.
60. Claude S. George, Jr., *The History of Management Thought*, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1972), 82.
61. Norman H. Murdoch, *Origins of The Salvation Army*, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 8.
62. Daniel A. Wren, *The Evolution of Management Thought*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979), 240.
63. Ranks are used in the Army to signify either position, such as general, who is the international leader. Commissioners are officers who sit on the high council, which is the council that approves doctrine and appoints generals every four years. National commanders were commissioners but they may have other commissioners under them. Divisional officers can be any rank, but they are in charge of a geographical area. For instance a division might consist of two or three states. The Corps officers could be of any rank. The Corps officer conducts the work of the army at the local level. Major cities might have several corps, in which case each corps would be given certain blocks or other geographical boundaries where the different corps would be responsible for the work of the Army. Diane Winston, *Red Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of The Salvation Army*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts/London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 17.
64. Alfred Dupont Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business*, (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1977).

65. In this song the term blood refers to the blood of Christ. The term God in man refers to The Salvation Army's belief that the Holy Spirit dwells inside the heart of each believer. The Salvation Army National Headquarters, *The Song Book of The Salvation Army*, American 1987 edition third printing, (Alexandria, VA: The Salvation Army National Headquarter, 1991), song 809.
66. Charles Royster, *The Destructive War: William Tecumseh Sherman, Stonewall Jackson, and the Americans*, (New York: Vintage Books a Division of Random House Inc, 1991).
67. David Herbert Donald, Jean Harvey Baker, and Michael F. Holt, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York/London: WW Norton and Company, 2001), 554.
68. George, 85.
69. All the corps in a geographical area, such as within two or three states will comprise a division. All the divisions within a geographical area, that The Salvation Army thinks is appropriate, make a territory. All the territories in the world make up the entire Army. There are no corps that are not in a division or divisions that are not in territories.
70. Diane Winston, *Red Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of The Salvation Army*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts/London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 33.
71. Booth-Tucker, 67.
72. Yanek Mieczkowski, *The Routledge Historical Atlas of Presidential Elections*, (New York: Routledge, 2001), 73.
73. "Local Church Charity" *New York Times*, 13 November 1882 vol. 32.
74. Winston, 29.
75. An open air is a short service held out doors, usually where there are a lot of people. Traditionally the open air was used to attract attention, and deliver a short message about why sinners need Christ. It is still not uncommon that after an open air meeting the soldiers and officers march back to the corps with seekers or onlookers following. Then a more extensive holiness meeting is held back at the building. "Preaching to Sinners" *New York Times*, 16 September 1882 vol. 31.
76. "Will there be a Salvation Army in 1900?" *New York Times*, 17 September 1882 vol. 31.
77. No title, *New York Times*, 16 July 1882 vol. 32 (Page 8, Column 5).
78. McKinley, 73
79. Catherine Booth was the daughter and General William Booth. She was the sixth national commander, serving in that post from 1904-1934. After being national commander she then became the fourth General of the Army, and the first of two women to have ever held that rank. 1934-39. McKinley, 358.
80. "A Man May Be Down But He's Never Out,"
< <http://www.worldwar1.com/rep.html>>, (13 May 2004).
81. McKinley, 162.
82. In the *Orders and Regulations* the term he refers to either male or female. For the ease of writing the orders The Salvation Army chose for this issue only to

refer to officers as males, but female officers did serve and were eligible for all the same positions as men were. With the exception of course of directors of men's shelters or other positions that required a male officer. *Orders and Regulations, 1891, 578.*

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