

**Visualizing the Imperial Mission of the Salvation Army:  
The Frontispiece of ‘In Darkest England and the Way Out’**

by

**Kelsey Wilson**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts**

in

**The Faculty of Graduate Studies  
(Art History and Theory)**

**The University of British Columbia  
(Vancouver)**

October 2011

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## Abstract

In 1890 William Booth, the founder and “General” of the Salvation Army, a working class evangelical missionary organization, published *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. Booth’s book proposed an elaborate tripartite scheme to address the desperate situation of unemployment and poverty in East London and other urban centres in Britain in the late nineteenth-century. The publication outlined three successive stages in this project for social reform. A “City Colony” and a “Farm Colony” would provide food, shelter, training and work for the destitute and unemployed. Ultimately emigration to a “Colony Across the Sea” would offer new futures and new lives for those rehabilitated by the Salvation Army scheme. Two components of the book played key roles in the marketing of this project. One was a fold-out colour lithograph that featured a compelling image of the book’s reformatory scheme and its slogan of ‘Work for All.’ The second was the book’s opening chapter that constructed an extended analogy between England’s urban centres and the recently published best-seller, Henry Morton Stanley’s *In Darkest Africa* (1890). Both this chapter and the book’s fold-out chromolithograph frontispiece drew on imperial and Christian tropes to attract the reader and to sell the Salvation Army’s project of social rehabilitation and colonial settlement.

This thesis examines the imperial and Christian rhetoric at work in *Darkest England*, and in particular explores the persuasive role of the visual in the book’s frontispiece in articulating Booth’s complex and problematic scheme. To this end I explore the tensions inherent in Booth’s proposal in light of other philanthropic and social reform projects in late nineteenth-century Britain that targeted urban poverty, unemployment and emigration to the colonies. Set within this context, I argue that the

representational strategies at work in the frontispiece image encouraged a powerful and performative enactment of the spiritual and social salvation that was a central goal of *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. I also argue that the visual modes employed in the colour illustration work to both mediate and contain the contradictory agendas that are revealed in Booth's text.

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## **Acknowledgements**

I am very grateful for the hard work and encouragement of my supervisors, Dr. Maureen Ryan and Dr. Joy Dixon. I am also thankful for the support of my husband and family and for the kindness and enthusiasm of Michael Mao.

## Introduction

In 1890, William Booth, founder and “General” of the Salvation Army, published *In Darkest England and the Way Out*.<sup>1</sup> Responding to the desperate situation of unemployment and economic depression in East London of the latter 1880s, the book urgently proposed a tripartite scheme for the regeneration of London’s destitute poor. The three stages laid out in *Darkest England*, “The City Colony,” “The Farm Colony” and “The Colony Across the Sea” hinged on a concept of “Work for All”.<sup>2</sup> The first stage, The City Colony, would provide work and training to the unemployed poor as a way to earn charitable relief at Salvation Army shelters and food depots. Those who had demonstrated their willingness to work would then be promoted for further agricultural training in The Farm Colony. Appealing to the interests of the Salvation Army as an imperial missionary organization and to its social imperialist supporters, the scheme proposed in *Darkest England* ultimately ended with the relocation of these populations overseas, a colonizing solution which was politically contentious in Britain and the Dominions. William Booth’s publication was thus charged with an immense task; namely to convince the public to entrust the Salvation Army, a working-class evangelical missionary organization, with the regeneration of England and the Empire and to solicit funds to carry out this elaborate, global scheme.

To accomplish this goal, *Darkest England* employed a strikingly modern marketing campaign. The book as a whole consisted of two parts, Part I “The Darkness” described the terrible conditions of London’s urban poor, while Part II, “Deliverance” outlined Booth’s plan for regeneration. Together, these parts formed a persuasive

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<sup>1</sup> William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890; repr., U.S.A.: Tyler & Company, 1942).

<sup>2</sup> As indicated by the keystone of the arch in the frontispiece illustration. See Fig.1

narrative, culminating in Booth's conclusion which called for donations from the reader. However, to immediately attract the attention of the reader and to increase their desire to learn more about the Salvation Army's projects for social reform, the beginning of the book employed two features designed to draw public interest: one was an unusual coloured illustration, and the second, a sensationalist opening chapter that drew on a current and notorious bestseller.<sup>3</sup>

The first, a chromolithograph frontispiece which unfolded to roughly twice the size of the book (Fig.1), was presented to readers when they opened the covers of *Darkest England*. The frontispiece featured a compelling visual image of the book's reformatory scheme. Framing the whole is an arch—the keystone of which is labelled “Work for All.” Supported by pillars entwined with banners inscribed with statistics and slogans listing the number of urban poor in prisons, workhouses, or working in prostitution, the archway opens onto a vista divided into four horizontal registers. At the base of the image, the desperate situation of the poor in East London is depicted with a portrayal of a dramatic waterscape with a writhing mass of figures struggling to save themselves in black and stormy waves that evoke simultaneously the waterways of the Thames River and those of the English Channel. The City Colony is pictured above this dark and smog-shrouded region, with the rehabilitative work of the Salvation Army indicated in numerous small vignettes, circular in form, that are illuminated by the beams emanating from a central lighthouse marked “Salvation.” The Farm Colony in the register above provides an aerial view of productive labour in a spacious and verdant countryside. At the apex of the composition and located significantly immediately

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<sup>3</sup> Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (University of London: Blackwell, 2001).



below the “Work for All” keystone of the framing arch, is pictured a far-distant region labelled “The Colony Across the Sea.” Marked out with large letters thus distinguishing the region from the adjacent landmasses labelled “British Colonies” and Foreign Lands,” The Colony Across the Sea is figured as a form of visionary or utopian realm, a reading suggested as well by the portrayal of its buildings, domes and towers against the rosy glow of a western sun.

The opening chapter of *Darkest England* was a second feature designed to attract readers to Booth’s publication. As scholars have noted, an elaborate analogy was constructed between *Darkest England* and the recent bestseller, Henry Stanley’s *Darkest Africa* (1890).<sup>4</sup> Both the frontispiece and the opening chapter employed sensational Christian and imperial tropes. However, as my study will demonstrate, it was the powerful visual configuration of the frontispiece in *Darkest England and the Way Out* that functioned as a particularly compelling site for the combination of redemptive and imperial rhetoric in the service of the Salvation Army agenda.

The frontispiece is visually striking, even to modern viewers. The highly compressed detail of the image, achieved through dense labeling and a multiplicity of vibrantly colored and animated figures, was to encourage—as the key to the frontispiece suggested,— that the whole of the image be studied closely and repeatedly.<sup>5</sup> The reader was thus to be drawn into deciphering the complex format of the of *Darkest England’s* frontispiece through repeated study and perusal.

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<sup>4</sup> Henry M. Stanley, *In Darkest Africa, or the Quest, Rescue, and Retreat of Emin Governor of Equatoria* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1890). See Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (University of London: Blackwell, 2001) and Joseph McLaughlin, *Writing the Urban Jungle: Reading Empire in London from Doyle to Eliot* (U.S.A.: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> The key was included on the frontispiece at the bottom of the page directly below the frontispiece image.

Significantly, the representational strategies in each register of the coloured frontispiece draw on different visual modes and shifting viewing perspectives to visualize the different stages of the *Darkest England* project. In the lower register of the page the turbulent waters and storm-tossed figures and their rescuers are rendered with illusionistic perspective: larger figures in the water and on a rocky shoreline embankment occupy the foreground, and these diminish in size to convey a deep recession into the distance. In contrast, the many work projects and institutions of the Salvation Army in The City Colony above are visualized by means of clusters of independent vignettes that provide miniature representations with text labels indicating sites such as “shelters” and “bakery” and activities such as “temporary work in the city.” This representational strategy is shifted abruptly again in the register above that represents The Farm Colony. Here a bird’s-eye perspective is employed to show an idealized pastoral expanse of the countryside with rolling green hills and productive farms. Men are depicted working the land using horses to till the soil, and crops are shown at different stages of growth. Compared to the busy scene of The City Colony below, less labeling is employed in the portrayal of The Farm Colony, but some text indicates areas such as “co-operative farms” and “small farm allotments 5 acres and a cow.” Winding country roads are shown carrying caravans and travelers into the distance, past small villages denoted by clusters of brick coloured buildings, and towards a coastal region labelled “embarkation.” At this point, the aerial view is tilted to a more acute angle. Sailing ships and steam boats travel out from a marine coast with the trajectory of their routes marked on calm blue and sky-like waters. Their destinations are the radiant and spectacular vista of tall buildings on a far distant coast labelled “The

Colony Across the Sea,” as well as the lesser landmasses designated “British Colonies” and “Foreign Lands.” The shifting viewing perspectives of the frontispiece encourage the eye to compare the different stages of the *Darkest England* project as the eye travels from the figures drowning and being rescued by uniformed Salvation Army workers at the base of the image, up through different stages of rehabilitation and retraining in the city and the countryside to the prospect of a new future across the ocean.

The frontispiece also employs a striking juxtaposition of realism and symbolism. The scrolling banners that wrap around the pillars and arch framing the image, for example, feature statistical figures on the social and economic conditions of East London. However, these banners, pillars and triumphal archway are also symbolic, forming a gateway that signals to the reader that they are looking into a prophetic dream or vision. Thus, the frontispiece does not merely give a synopsis of the contents of the book; it demonstrates a complex vision of the beneficial results that can be achieved by subscribing to the *Darkest England* scheme. Increasing the moral urgency of the need for the donations sought by the Salvation Army from the readers of *Darkest England*,<sup>6</sup> the image, as I will argue in the course of my study, is also significantly layered with Christian tropes, evoking simultaneously a pilgrimage journey and Last Judgment scene. Thus the dramatically charged view of suffering and damnation in the hell-like waters in the lower register of the frontispiece contrasts with what stands as a form of heavenly, even utopian, city above. The overall vertical juxtaposition between dark and light, hell and heaven, encourages the eye to repeatedly traverse a colonial pilgrimage led by the Salvation Army towards the promise of spiritual and social regeneration.

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<sup>6</sup> Booth, 288-296.

The marketing strategy of *In Darkest England and the Way Out* was highly effective. The book was an immediate sensation, reportedly selling all ten thousand copies on the first day of its publication and exceeding its fundraising goal in the first year.<sup>7</sup> However, while *Darkest England* garnered publicity and funds for Booth's project, it also created a storm of debate. As I will discuss in Chapter One and Two of this thesis, a broad range of criticisms were leveled at *Darkest England*, regarding the plausibility of the scheme, the religious "fanaticism" and authoritarianism of General Booth, and the book's originality and unscientific sensationalism. While the scheme of *Darkest England* never functioned as the "Great Machine" of regeneration imagined by William Booth,<sup>8</sup> the success of the publication did assist in gaining support for Salvation Army programs in England and abroad, helping to transition the Salvation Army into the international social organization it is primarily known as today. Both the frontispiece and the opening chapter played an important role in creating the long-lasting and widespread impact of this book.

Despite the importance of *In Darkest England and the Way Out* in the history of the Salvation Army, the Salvation Army's comprehensive institutional history, gives no real attention to the frontispiece.<sup>9</sup> This is not because the visual did not play an important role in the history of the Salvation Army. Indeed, this lack of attention to the unusual frontispiece may be in part due to the overwhelming quantity of illustrated materials produced by the religious organization. As the historian of the Salvation Army Arch Wiggins has described, in the nineteenth century "an unceasing stream of books,

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<sup>7</sup> Robert Sandall, *The History of the Salvation Army, 1883-1953: Social Reform and Welfare Work*, vol.3 of *The History of the Salvation Army* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1955), 79.

<sup>8</sup> Booth, 101.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Sandall, *The History of the Salvation Army, 1883-1953: Social Reform and Welfare Work*, vol.3 of *The History of the Salvation Army* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1955).

periodicals, pamphlets and leaflets was flowing from the Army's printing presses in every country in which its work had become established."<sup>10</sup> At the London publishing offices in the late 1880s, Wiggins reported that a "mother and her three daughters—all artists—were constantly employed in the department, furnishing innumerable illustrations for the various periodicals, annual reports and appeals."<sup>11</sup> The frontispiece of *Darkest England* was produced under these same anonymous, commercial conditions and therefore, may not have seemed to be an exceptional illustration to the Army's institutional historians.

The importance of the visual in the history of the Salvation Army has been discussed in scholarship on the Salvation Army, most recently in Pamela Walker's important study, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain*, published in 2001.<sup>12</sup> Walker demonstrates how spectacle and sensationalism arguably permeated all aspects of the Salvation Army, from their sensorial ways of experiencing religious faith, to the sight of women preaching in the streets, the group's distinctive uniforms, and blaring brass band and parades. As part of their unique and controversial means to reach the working-class souls of London, the Salvation Army incorporated a 'religion-ized' working-class popular and commercial culture, exemplified in their use of vaudeville style plays, hymns set to the tunes of popular

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<sup>10</sup> Arch R. Wiggins, *The History of the Salvation Army, 1886-1904*, vol.4 of *The History of the Salvation Army* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1964), 166.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 168.

<sup>12</sup> Pamela Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (California: University of California Press, 2001). See also Victor Bailey, "Salvation Army Riots, the 'Skeleton Army' and Legal Authority in the Provincial Town," in *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain*, ed. A.P. Donajrodzki (London: Croom Helm, 1977); Diane Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army* (London: Harvard University Press, 1999); Dean Rapp, "The British Salvation Army, the Early Film Industry and Urban Working-Class Adolescents, 1897-1918," *Twentieth Century British History* 7, no. 2 (1996).

songs, advertisement-like posters, illustrated magazines and tracts,<sup>13</sup> and the use of modern technologies like lantern slides and early films.<sup>14</sup>

Other studies have focused primarily on the Salvation Army in general or have analyzed the overall project set out in William Booth's the *Darkest England* scheme, but provide only brief mention of the frontispiece.<sup>15</sup> Joseph McLaughlin's book, *Colonizing the Urban Jungle*, for example, provides a detailed analysis of the effects of a prominent metaphor used in Booth's book—that of the urban jungle.<sup>16</sup> While McLaughlin also provides an account of the frontispiece, he primarily references its imagery as a way of summarizing the text of the *Darkest England* scheme.<sup>17</sup> Felix Driver's *Geography Militant* also provides important observations on the *Darkest England* project, and analyzes the opening chapter of *Darkest England* in terms of a tradition of urban explorer literature, an aspect I draw on in Chapter Two of my study.<sup>18</sup> Driver does describe the frontispiece, noting that it synthesizes the workings of Booth's regenerative vision.<sup>19</sup> In turn, Driver's description of the image is presented as an example of the sensationalist marketing strategy of Booth's scheme, an insight which has been helpful to my study.<sup>20</sup> Troy Boone's analysis of *Darkest England* critically examines the constructions of "sexual difference, social class and Empire" in the Salvation Army's

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<sup>13</sup> See Pamela Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (California: University of California Press, 2001), 175-205.

<sup>14</sup> See Dean Rapp, "The British Salvation Army, the Early Film Industry and Urban Working-Class Adolescents, 1897-1918," *Twentieth Century British History* 7, no. 2 (1996).

<sup>15</sup> Victor Bailey, "'In *Darkest England* and the Way Out' The Salvation Army, Social Reform and the Labour Movement, 1885-1910," *International Review of Social History* vol. XXIX (1984), for example notes the frontispiece "garishly depicted" the rescue of the "shipwrecked" unemployed, (136).

<sup>16</sup> Joseph McLaughlin, *Writing the Urban Jungle: Reading Empire in London from Doyle to Eliot* (U.S.A.: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 99.

<sup>18</sup> Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (University of London: Blackwell, 2001).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, 180.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 173.

project. Boone briefly evokes what he terms the “lurid” frontispiece of Booth’s publication to note that the figures of the baker and laundress at the top of image in the spandrel-like triangular space on either side of the framing arch, exemplify a central paradox in *Darkest England*, namely that the working-classes could only be redeemed while remaining constrained by the discipline of the Salvation Army.<sup>21</sup>

Only in 2011 has the literary historian Tanya Agathocleous provided a more extended analysis of the frontispiece image in her comparison of the use of allegory and ethnography in the socialist utopian mapping schemes of *In Darkest England and the Way Out* and *News from Nowhere*, 1890, by socialist and artist William Morris.<sup>22</sup> In *News from Nowhere*, the narrator, William Guest, awakens to find himself in a future England that has been transformed into a utopian agrarian communist society.<sup>23</sup> Agathocleous notes that both *News from Nowhere* and *Darkest England* set London as a centre for a future, global social regeneration. She therefore situates these works as examples in her study of what she terms cosmopolitan realism in nineteenth century British literature.<sup>24</sup> The author further links the two publications because both featured an innovative use of print media. Agathocleous points out that *Darkest England* and *News from Nowhere* were published as international manifestos that featured “extra-textual materials, such as maps, advertising, illustrations and statistical supplements.”<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Boone, 113.

<sup>22</sup> Tanya Agathocleous, “Ethnography and allegory: Socialist internationalism and realist utopia in *News from Nowhere* and *In Darkest England*” in *Urban Realism and the Cosmopolitan Imagination in the Nineteenth Century: Visible City, Invisible World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 146.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 147. Agathocleous defines cosmopolitan realism as a “literary technique used to transform the city into an image of the world,” a technique of representation that she argues appears in mid-Victorian writing as a response to the shifting dimensions of London and the British Empire (see Agathocleous, abstract). She explains that *Darkest England* and *News from Nowhere* are examples of cosmopolitan realism in that they both “confront national problems with global solutions” and “use realists conventions to make their highly idealistic ventures seen viable,” 145.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 147-148.

The role of the visual is emphasized in this study through an analysis of the elaborate, medieval-style lettering and illustration of the 1892 Kelmscott edition of *News from Nowhere* and the frontispiece “map” of *In Darkest England and the Way Out*.

Agathocleous argues that these “extra-textual materials” helped to mediate between “urban and global scales,” and that they also delineate tensions within cosmopolitan realism and “the Victorian global imagination.”<sup>26</sup>

Agathocleous’ publication, and the observations made by scholars such as Joseph McLaughlin, Felix Driver and Troy Boone, stand as important engagements with the *Darkest England* frontispiece. My study seeks to extend these analyses by exploring the visual strategies at work in the fold-out image that was a crucial aspect of the marketing strategy associated with Booth’s publication. As I argue in the course of my thesis, the text of *In Darkest England and the Way Out* negotiates a range of contradictions and tensions inherent in Booth’s scheme for regeneration of the urban poor. Significantly, as I show, these also play a role in the book’s fold-out frontispiece. There, the imagery both produces and performs the imperial mission of the Salvation Army. However, I suggest that as viewers are repeatedly enticed to engage and indeed visually enact William Booth’s scheme for regeneration, the tensions and contradictions of *Darkest England’s* scheme are reconfigured. The frontispiece thus performs important work for the Salvation Army project by transforming and containing some of the more controversial analogies and metaphors in the publication to override potential criticism of Booth’s derivative and problematic vision.

To demonstrate this aspect of *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, Chapter One will investigate the Salvation Army’s scheme in the context of nineteenth century

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 148.



London and competing reformatory and philanthropic schemes for London's East End. Chapter Two will analyze how the opening chapter and its use of a spectacular imperial rhetoric gave form to the interests of the Salvation Army as an imperialist missionary organization. Chapter Three will return to the frontispiece to explore the complex ways in which the image's visual language with its powerful combination of Christian and imperial tropes, worked to convey the ultimate, yet problematic, goal set out in *Darkest England*, that is rehabilitation of the destitute and urban poor in Britain and global colonization led by the Salvation Army.



## Chapter 1:

### The Great Scheme

Introducing the ambitious project for the rehabilitation of the urban poor and unemployed of London explicated in William Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, the author asked: "What then is my Scheme? It is a very simple one, although in its ramifications and extensions it embraces the whole world."<sup>28</sup> As noted in the Introduction, *Darkest England* outlined Booth's plan for the regeneration of England in three stages, The City Colony, The Farm Colony and The Colony Across the Sea. Each stage, Booth explained in his text, was indispensable to the whole and together the three colonies were designed to function like a "Great Machine," that is by receiving the most destitute, reforming them and sending them out from the city to the country and then onto "British Colonies and "Foreign Lands."<sup>29</sup> To help understand the need for the persuasive tactics of *Darkest England* and its frontispiece imagery, this chapter will examine both the text and the Salvation Army in detail in order to situate the promotion of Booth's project within the context of philanthropy and social reform in late nineteenth-century England.

#### 1.1 The City Colony

Booth's concept of The City Colony proposed a network of institutions to provide what the frontispiece claims was to be "Hope for all" and "Work for all" in the impoverished, economically depressed area of East London.<sup>30</sup> As the historian Gareth

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<sup>28</sup> William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, 98. "British Colonies" and "Foreign Lands" are labels indicated on the frontispiece. See Fig.1.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, 101.

<sup>30</sup> As indicated by the label under The City Colony and keystone of the frontispiece illustration.

Stedman Jones' important study *Outcast London*, published in 1971, has indicated, several factors contributed to the chronic poverty and unemployment of the East End beginning in the 1860s. The traditional industries of East London in the first quarter of the nineteenth-century, silk-weaving and shipbuilding, had been severely impacted by the industrial revolution.<sup>31</sup> In the 1860s, in place of these collapsing skilled industries grew what were termed in the nineteenth century as the "sweated" trades, particularly clothing, footwear and furniture trades that were characterized by low wage rates, irregular employment, and the subdivision of skilled processes into unskilled ones.<sup>32</sup> This type of de-skilled production was overwhelmingly concentrated in East London. It drew from the availability of a cheap and abundant pool of labour provided by the decline of traditional industries, foreign immigration and the cheaper work wages offered to women and children.<sup>33</sup> Under these conditions, East London became a vast and almost uniformly poor urban slum.

The Salvation Army was part of a much larger philanthropic effort to meet the high demand for relief in East London. Salvation Army founders William and Catherine Booth first arrived in East London in July 1865. William Booth, an ordained Methodist preacher, had been employed by publishers of the evangelical weekly *The Revival* for three weeks of preaching in Whitechapel.<sup>34</sup> Booth's fervent preaching, both in the streets of East London and in a tent pitched in a Quaker Burial Ground in Whitechapel Road, drew large crowds.<sup>35</sup> Seeing ample opportunity to reach the unsaved, William and

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<sup>31</sup> Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: Clarion Press, 1971), 99.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, 106.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, 108-09

<sup>34</sup> Pamela Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain*, 41.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, 41.

Catherine Booth decided to stay in London and established the East London Christian Revival Society in Whitechapel in 1868, soon renamed the East London Christian Mission.<sup>36</sup> The East London Christian Mission engaged in some social work in the 1860s, opening soup and food shops and organizing sewing “classes” to provide relief for destitute women.<sup>37</sup> The East London Christian Mission grew dramatically and, in 1878, it became “General” Booth’s “Salvation Army.”<sup>38</sup>

The economic conditions of East London, however, reached a point of crisis in the 1880s. As Stedman Jones has noted, the cyclical depression during 1884-1887 was more prolonged and affected a broader range of occupations than previous downturns.<sup>39</sup> The casual labour market had grown to “almost unparalleled dimensions” in East London by the 1880s.<sup>40</sup> The focus for this casual labour market had been at the docks partly because as such work required no training, thereby attracting men who had been cut out of other declining industries.<sup>41</sup> However, in the 1880s, changes in dock organization and new industrial technologies had constricted the need for unskilled labourers, leaving thousands unemployed.<sup>42</sup> Tensions around unemployment erupted during this period, with violent riots in February 1886 and the “Bloody Sunday” riot of November 1887. The Great Dock Strike of 1889 resolved some of these tensions through the unionization of dock workers. However, while unionization helped secure

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 41.

<sup>37</sup> Sandall, vol.3, 105.

<sup>38</sup> Sandall, vol.2, 3.

<sup>39</sup> Stedman Jones, 281.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 100.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 73.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 111-126.

better wages and improved conditions for regular workers, it also cut out many casual labourers.<sup>43</sup>

The expansion of the social work of the Salvation Army was directly linked to the situation of East London in the 1880s. In January 1888 a food depot was opened near the West India docks to administer relief to casual dock workers and their families.<sup>44</sup> Three more night shelters were opened in 1889.<sup>45</sup> *In Darkest England and the Way Out* calculated that by 1890, half a million meals had been served by the Salvation Army, demonstrating the vast need for these services. During the dock strike of 1889, the Salvation Army's food depots supplied cheap provisions to the dockers' families.<sup>46</sup> The Salvation Army also sent proceeds of the sale of the Australian *War Cry* to the London dockers' strike fund.<sup>47</sup>

The project laid out in *Darkest England* was intended to address the practical needs of these poor masses in East London in the 1880s. Booth sketched out what he described, in Chapter One of Part II of *Darkest England*, as the “visible form” of the “Problem of the Unemployed” by evoking the starving and desperate search for work by an unemployed urban inhabitant.<sup>48</sup> To effectively deal with this problem, Booth emphasizes the importance of prompt remedial action, as he advocates that,

You must deal with him [the unemployed individual] immediately, you must provide him in some way or other at once with food, and shelter, and warmth. Next you must find him something to do, something that will test the reality of his desire to work. This test must be more or less temporary, and should be of

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 318.

<sup>44</sup> Victor Bailey, “‘*In Darkest England and the Way Out*’ The Salvation Army, Social Reform and the Labour Movement, 1885-1910,” 145.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 145.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 145.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 146.

<sup>48</sup> Booth, 99.

such a nature as to prepare him for making a permanent livelihood. Then, having trained him, you must provide him wherewithal to start life afresh.<sup>49</sup>

The staged tiers of Booth's project—that is The City Colony, Farm Colony and emigration to The Colony Across the Sea—were designed to fulfill these guidelines.

Immediate relief, through food, warmth and shelter, began in The City Colony with Salvation Army food and shelter depots. In connection with the food and shelter depot, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* also proposed a means to provide labour in The City Colony thus enabling those who were destitute to “earn the fourpence needed for [their] bed and board.”<sup>50</sup> Booth called such make-work projects, “The Factory,” and these were to stand as a “fundamental feature” of The City Colony scheme as they circumvented what was commonly perceived by Booth's contemporaries as the demoralizing effect of charity.<sup>51</sup> Salvation Army shelters and “factories” were also presented as an alternative to the state solutions to the unemployed, through institutions like the workhouse and the casual ward.<sup>52</sup>

The workhouse had been an important state institution since Elizabethan times. The Poor Law of 1601 had mandated the obligation for parishes to relieve the aged and helpless and provide them with indoor relief and work in the workhouse.<sup>53</sup> Adjustments were made to the New Poor Law of 1834 in the interest of decreasing the institution's perceived impact on the relation between workers and employers and to discourage

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid, 99.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, 113.

<sup>51</sup> Booth implies that a large part of his audience was concerned about the demoralizing effect of charity. He explains that providing sufficient work “is a fundamental feature of the Scheme, and one which I think will commend it to all those who are anxious to benefit the poor by enabling them to help themselves without the demoralizing intervention of charitable relief” (113).

<sup>52</sup> See M.A. Crowther, *The Workhouse System 1834-1929: The History of an English Social Institution* (Great Britain: Batsford Academic Educational Ltd., 1981).

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 11.



dependency on state relief.<sup>54</sup> The New Poor Law created an irresolvable tension between administering relief for the ailing and the helpless while deterring the able-bodied poor from taking advantage of the workhouse rather than seeking regular employment.<sup>55</sup> The so-called “casual poor,” vaguely understood in the nineteenth century as the unemployed and homeless poor,<sup>56</sup> represented a particular challenge to the workhouse system. Two differing views of the casual poor conflicted in the nineteenth century. One was that the tramp—a beggar who found vagrancy and crime preferable to employment—represented the least deserving amongst the poor. The other more sympathetic view saw the casual as a desperate man, searching for work.<sup>57</sup> In light of these conflicting views, therefore, it was not certain whether casual labourers ought to be treated as paupers or as criminals.<sup>58</sup> The historic punitive treatment of the unemployed poor reflected this latter judgment. As the New Poor Law of 1834 had not mentioned casuals, they were given little, and in some cases, no relief at workhouses in the early nineteenth century.<sup>59</sup> The Houseless Poor Act of 1864 provided better financing for casual wards as adjuncts to the workhouse.<sup>60</sup> The Pauper Inmates Discharge and Regulation Act 1871 granted the workhouse guardians the right to detain individuals who had not performed their morning’s work.<sup>61</sup> The act also defined London wards as one institution to prevent the poor from moving from ward to ward and if a casual labourer applied to the wards more than twice in a month he could be detained for

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 248.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 249.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 249.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 247.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 251.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 251.



two nights.<sup>62</sup> In 1882, the Casual Poor Act allowed further detention, requiring individuals to be kept in the workhouse for two nights, allowing longer periods of detention for habitual applicants and the ability to sentence imprisonment for refusal to work.<sup>63</sup> The brutal treatment within the casual ward was widely publicized during the nineteenth century. The investigative account of James Greenwood's "A Night in the Workhouse," published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1866, for example, had shocked and fascinated the Victorian public.<sup>64</sup>

Booth's account of the casual ward in *Darkest England* represented an example of the criticisms made against the harsh relief provided to the unemployed poor through the state workhouse. Booth observed that the casual ward's purpose was to discourage reliance on or abuse of the system by making refuge for the unemployed labourer "as disagreeable as possible."<sup>65</sup> For example, he detailed that only those with no money in their possession could be admitted, and those who were admitted were detained in the wards for two days, thus making it impossible for work to be found the next day. While at the casual ward, individuals were committed to hard labour, such as oakum picking or stone breaking. Booth explained that the food was meager in portion and nutrition, consisting of gruel, bread and perhaps a little cheese. Booth also noted that the poor were treated like criminals, sleeping in cell-like rooms on plank beds with no comfort. Booth questioned the safety of female casual wards, perhaps evoking the scandalous tale

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 251.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 251.

<sup>64</sup> See Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton University Press, 2004).

<sup>65</sup> Booth, 76.

of James Greenwood's "A Night in the Workhouse," noting that male inspectors visited the wards, even "while the females [were] in bed."<sup>66</sup>

In contrast, Booth's description of the alternative shelter and food depots he proposed *In Darkest England and the Way Out* emphasized their comfort, orderliness and cleanliness, and their physically and morally regenerative benefits. Booth explained that admittance to the Salvation Army shelter and food depots cost four pence. Those admitted could come in early or late. Booth's description conveyed a sense of leisure and sociability, noting that in the Women's shelter "many come in much earlier and sit sewing, reading or chatting in the sparely furnished but well warmed room from the early hours of the afternoon until bedtime."<sup>67</sup> Emphasizing the quality and amount of food, Booth pointed out that individuals upon arrival were given "a large pot of coffee, tea, or cocoa, and a hunk of bread."<sup>68</sup> Hygienic measures were also provided as Booth explained: "you can go into the wash-house, where you can have a wash with plenty of warm water, and soap and towels free."<sup>69</sup> The sanitation of the Salvation Army dormitories were also superior; the beds were described as covered in a leather mattress that could be kept "perfectly clean" and "American cloth" that was inspected thoroughly for vermin every day.<sup>70</sup> For the moral and spiritual benefit of the visitors, the shelter held "a rousing Salvation meeting," with one effect being "joviality and a genuine good feeling...which is refreshing to the soul."<sup>71</sup> It was also noted, however, that attendance or participation in these meetings was not mandatory.

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 78.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 105.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 105.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, 105.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 107.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, 105.

*In Darkest England and the Way Out* also contrasted the “semi-criminal treatment of the casual ward” to the employment given to men at the Salvation Army industrial “factories.” Unlike the punitive menial labour of the casual ward, the Salvation Army “factories” provided training to help develop employable skills, for example, in carpentry, mat-making, cobbling and painting.<sup>72</sup> Booth explained that an experimental, small-scale industrial “factory” had already been established in Whitechapel in the spring of 1890. Declaring himself to be committed to fighting against the exploitative working practices of “sweating,” Booth noted that the work day for workers of Salvation Army “factories” was only “eight hours” long and counted towards the goal of an individual “earning his rations.”<sup>73</sup> Booth also assured his readers that this labour would not result in goods sold at less than market prices. His system, therefore, would not create unfair competition for other workmen or those employed by trade unions. For women and children, Booth proposed work that could be done in the home, although he did not detail how this home-labour would differ from that of the sweated trades.<sup>74</sup>

Other components of “The Factory” included a labour bureau where men and women could register to find employment. Booth envisioned that the labour bureau could also help direct work as needed between the country and city, and by extension all work that shifted from Britain to nations or regions overseas. The labour bureau would also help cut out the “Sweating Middleman” who “farms out the unfortunates and charges so heavy a commission for their share that the poor wretches who do the work

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 113.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 114-115.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, 118.

receive hardly enough to keep body and soul together.”<sup>75</sup> Special assistance was promised to groups who were vulnerable to “sweating,” such as sandwich-board carriers and match makers. In the case of the latter, Booth planned a Salvation Army matchmaking factory, where workers would be paid fair wages and make phosphorous free matches. Phosphorous, a highly toxic chemical, caused “phossy jaw,” the rotting of the bones of the face, which had horribly disfigured some matchmaking workers.<sup>76</sup>

The most successful and long-lasting element of the factory scheme in The City Colony, however, was the “Household Salvage Brigade,” aspects of which are known today as the “Sally Anne” or Salvation Army Thrift Store. Booth proposed this system for the recycling of household waste, including food waste and consumer goods. Waste food would be collected and sent to feed pigs or make manure in The Farm Colony.<sup>77</sup> Men would be employed in sorting and repairing items like old boots, shoes, umbrellas and bottles.<sup>78</sup> Booth imagined that old tins could be made into toys for poor children.<sup>79</sup> He also proposed the sorting and recycling of waste paper for producing Salvation Army publications.<sup>80</sup>

Employment for women was also addressed in the plans for The City Colony. In Victorian Britain, philanthropy provided a major avenue for women’s labour outside the domestic sphere. The Salvation Army, in particular, allowed women an unprecedented high level of institutional authority and involvement.<sup>81</sup> The *Darkest England* scheme suggested that women recruited into the Salvation Army could become part of the

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 119.

<sup>76</sup> Sandall, vol.3, 124.

<sup>77</sup> Booth, 127.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 127-129.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 129.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, 130.

<sup>81</sup> Walker, 2.

“Slum Crusade,” employed in cleaning, nursing and improving the moral atmosphere of overcrowded slum areas of East London.<sup>82</sup> To address the problem of prostitution, which Booth and other contemporaries called the “Social Evil,”<sup>83</sup> Booth planned preventative homes for girls in danger of sexual compromise but who were as yet “unfallen.”<sup>84</sup> Rescue Homes would provide physical and moral reformation for any “fallen” women as well as training in domestic service.<sup>85</sup> These women could also be passed onto The Farm Colony to be employed in industries like weaving, greenhouse gardening of fruit and flowers or to work as dairy maids.<sup>86</sup>

Other institutions proposed by Booth for The City Colony addressed the needs of at-risk groups but did not feed directly into the other tiers of the *Darkest England* scheme. These included the Prison Gate Brigade for the housing and regeneration of ex-prisoners and supervised homes for alcoholics.<sup>87</sup> Refuges were also planned for orphan children.<sup>88</sup> Many other measures were detailed for the general assistance for the working poor of London, that is those who were vulnerable and on the edge of poverty and whom Booth described as the “upper crust” of the submerged tenth.<sup>89</sup> Booth’s plans included improving lodgings and creating lodging houses for married couples as an adjunct to the food and shelter depots.<sup>90</sup> He also imagined a “Suburban Village” to help these individuals find homes of their own.<sup>91</sup> Institutions like a “Poor Man’s Bank” were

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<sup>82</sup> Booth, 166-177.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, 196.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 200-201.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, 197.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 197.

<sup>87</sup> For Booth’s account of the “Prison Gate Brigade” see pages 181-187, for his account of “Deliverance for the Drunkard” see pages 188-195.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, 210.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 215.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 217.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 218-220.

conceived to help provide micro-loans to help get individuals employed.<sup>92</sup> A “Poor Man’s Lawyer” could in turn help defend the rights of the poor.<sup>93</sup> Lastly, “Whitechapel-by-the-Sea” was proposed as a kind of regenerative vacation destination for the poor.<sup>94</sup>

## 1.2 The Farm Colony

Although not addressing the causes for unemployment in East London, Booth recognized that despite all the Salvation Army’s efforts to find employment for men and women, “there will still remain many whom you can neither employ in the Household Salvage Brigade, nor for whom employers, be they registered ever so carefully, can be found.”<sup>95</sup> To provide further employment opportunities for those who had proved their willingness to work in the institutions of The City Colony, Booth introduced a second stage to his regenerative scheme, The Farm Colony. As Booth exclaimed, “They must go back to the land!”<sup>96</sup>

In *Darkest England* Booth proposed to find an estate of around five hundred to a thousand acres within a reasonable distance of London.<sup>97</sup> Its location was meant to provide adequate access to London for the transfer of materials between The City Colony and The Farm Colony, yet to be a considerable distance away from any town, so as to be removed from all public houses.<sup>98</sup> The land would be prepared for the Salvation Army colonists in advance by a “Pioneer Brigade” formed by carefully selected

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 221-225.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, 226-234.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 245.

<sup>95</sup> Booth, 132.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 132. This idea of going “back to the land” was a pervasive in the nineteenth century, reflected in literature, many schemes for social reform and urban planning. See for example, Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973) and Jan Marsh, *Back to the Land: The Pastoral Impulse in England from 1880-1914* (London: Quartet Books, 1982).

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 136.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 140.

individuals from The City Colony.<sup>99</sup> Once the land had been prepared, Booth explained that the most promising colonists from the City would be selected and put under direction of a superintendent who was familiar with intensive agriculture.<sup>100</sup> Agriculture would be complemented with brick-making and an “Industrial Village” for pig farming, a manure mill, and a soap factory to recycle grease from The City Colony.<sup>101</sup> To provide various forms of employment and training, the colonists would build everything themselves.<sup>102</sup> For the “mentally infirm” or “physically incapacitated,” there would be odd jobs like raising rabbits, poultry and bee-keeping.<sup>103</sup> The produce of the farm was conceived as a way of feeding the workers of The Farm Colony and surplus food could supply the food depots of The City Colony. Conversely, recycled industrial materials from The City Colony could help supply The Farm Colony.<sup>104</sup> Although Booth also planned for an extension of small land allotments around The Farm Colony for those who wished to stay in Britain, the intention of The Farm Colony was not to be a permanent home but a “Training School” for emigration.<sup>105</sup>

*Darkest England*’s idea of a Farm Colony, fed by the unemployed of the City, closely resembled other proposals that had been urged by those responding to the social crises of the 1880s. The riots of 1886 and 1887 had demonstrated for many that the casual poor were a pressing social and political threat. While the comparatively peaceful and orderly Dock Strike of 1889 had helped dispel most fears of the “barbarian hordes” of the East End overturning London, the unemployed poor remained an urgent issue.

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 136.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, 140.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 144-146.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, 140.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, 141.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 141, 144.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, 142.

The 1880s had demonstrated the failure of the existing relief systems in dealing with the able-bodied, but unskilled worker. A number of social reformers other than William Booth were dealing with the question of how to rehabilitate these masses.

For example, in a paper published in the *Contemporary Review* in February 1884, the liberal economist Alfred Marshall had proposed the relocation of low-paid workers to industrial colonies outside the City.<sup>106</sup> A similar conclusion was reached by social investigator Charles Booth (no relation to William Booth) in his major comprehensive survey, *Life and Labour of the People of London*, first published as papers to the Royal Statistical Society in 1887 and 1888.<sup>107</sup> Charles Booth's survey characterized "Class B—Casual earnings—Very poor," numbering around 100,000 or 11.25 percent of the whole population, as shiftless, helpless, idle and incapable of regular work.<sup>108</sup> The *Life and Labour* survey proposed the removal of this "Very poor" class from London to relieve the burden they cause on other poor classes.<sup>109</sup> "Class B" was to be brought under state regulation and be placed, albeit "voluntarily," in labour colonies as an extension of the Poor Law system.<sup>110</sup> Another prominent social reformer and philanthropist, Samuel Barnett, aligned himself with these ideas. In an essay published in the *Nineteenth Century* in November 1888, Barnett also suggested a system of agricultural farm training as a scheme to deal with the unemployed.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Alfred Marshall, "I.-Where to House Them," *The Contemporary Review*, 1866-1900, 45 (February 1884): 224-231, *British Periodicals* (6675735).

<sup>107</sup> Charles Booth, *Labour and Life of the People: London, East*, vol.1 of *Labour and Life of the People* (London: 1889).

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-44.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>111</sup> Samuel Barnett, "A Scheme for the Unemployed," *The Nineteenth Century and After: a Monthly Review*, 24. 141(November 1888): 753-763, *British Periodicals* (2656196). The fundamentals of Barnett's Farm Colony proposal are all present in Booth's scheme. Barnett, however, questioned if the Farm Colony should be managed by a voluntary organization or the state through the Poor Law (Barnett,



A significant factor underlying and unifying these remedial efforts was a pervasive theory of urban degeneration. This theory held that modern urban conditions lead to a demoralized population with weaker city-bred workers unable to compete for jobs against the influx of healthier countrymen in the city.<sup>112</sup> Concepts of urban degeneration also influenced the belief that the casual class was dragging down the moral, physical and economic well-being of others. Perceptions of such threats of contamination in turn created the need for “a more coercive and interventionist” strategy which encouraged the removal of the contaminating influence of the unemployed poor from the urban centres.<sup>113</sup> Such removal was also to reverse the effects of degeneration by exposing the urban poor and unemployed to the supposedly healthier atmosphere of the country. Booth’s Farm Colony thus played on a familiar reformatory spirit. Like the workhouse system, The Farm Colony was not to encourage dependency but self-sufficiency. Indeed, as an improvement on the workhouse system, its training would re-skill and reform the work ethic of the unemployed poor.

Several organizations were trying out farm colony experiments around the time of *Darkest England*’s publication. A competing organization, the Church Army, had proposed a similar scheme for city, farm and overseas colonies in a pamphlet published in March 1890.<sup>114</sup> The Rev. Herbert Mills launched The Home Colonization Society and established a colony in 1892 at Starnthwaite.<sup>115</sup> The historian Andrew S. Thompson also

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758). In *Darkest England and the Way Out* represents William Booth’s assertion that the Salvation Army should be this managing institution and sets out more details for the overall workings of his scheme.

<sup>112</sup> Jan Marsh, *Back to the Land: The Pastoral Impulse in England, from 1880-1914*, 126.

<sup>113</sup> Stedman Jones, 302.

<sup>114</sup> Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire*, 179.

<sup>115</sup> Marsh, 124.

notes that colony experiments were also being conducted by the Christian Social Service Union.<sup>116</sup>

Four months after the publication of *Darkest England*, in March 1891, the Salvation Army had amassed enough funds to open 3,000 acres of land at Hadleigh, five miles from Southend in Essex.<sup>117</sup> Within a year there were three hundred colonists at Hadleigh, working in the fields, workshops and brickworks. The Salvation Army historian Robert Sandall details that in the first twenty-one years of Hadleigh's existence, "6870 men had been admitted, 4297 had gone to situations and 407 had emigrated since 1904 when the first party had been sent across the sea."<sup>118</sup>

### 1.3 The Colony Over-Sea

The "third and final stage of the regenerative process" outlined in *Darkest England and the Way Out* was termed, in the text, the "Colony Over-Sea."<sup>119</sup> Booth proposed to "secure a large tract of land in some country" where "the climate is healthy and labour is in great demand."<sup>120</sup> Booth suggested this could be somewhere in the British Dominions, such as South Africa, Canada, Australia or Africa.<sup>121</sup> After the land was prepared, Booth planned to select colonists who had been provided, presumably by the Salvation Army City and Farm Colony system, with an "education in honesty, trust and industry."<sup>122</sup> *Darkest England* addressed the question of transportation, suggesting

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<sup>116</sup> Andrew S. Thompson, *Imperial Britain The Empire in British Politics, c. 1880-1932* (England: Pearson Education Limited, 2000), 152-3.

<sup>117</sup> Sandall, vol.3, 137.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, 141.

<sup>119</sup> Booth, 151. "Colony Over-Sea" is the title used in the text, while the frontispiece uses the title "The Colony Across the Sea."

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, 153.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, 153.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, 155.

that many colonists could seek financial support from family and friends, or use their earnings from the City and Farm Colonies.<sup>123</sup> It was noted that all colonists would be required by “legal instrument” to repay all “monies, expenses of passage, outfit, or otherwise, which would in turn be utilized in sending out further contingents.”<sup>124</sup> To facilitate the transport of emigrants, particularly women and young girls, Booth imagined an emigration bureau in London.<sup>125</sup> More spectacularly, Booth proposed a Salvation Ship, run by the Salvation Army for the large-scale transportation of colonists.<sup>126</sup>

In *Darkest England*, the call for colonization reflected strands of what Stedman Jones has termed “social imperialist” discourse, which he locates as a response to fears of both urban degeneration and growing anxieties of imperial decline.<sup>127</sup> Social imperialists saw the health of the poor to be intimately connected to the health of the Empire. Reformer Lord Reginald Brabazon exemplified this type of support for emigration as a solution to the physical degeneration of the poor. Brabazon’s 1886 book-length publication, *Social Arrows*, had proposed a range of schemes to alleviate the effects of urban poverty including parks and playgrounds and physical training for the poor. These were to culminate in state-aided colonization and emigration.<sup>128</sup>

The project advertised in *Darkest England* was presented by many of its social imperialist supporters as a manifesto for emigration and colonization.<sup>129</sup> For example, W.T. Stead, a proponent and ghostwriter of the *Darkest England* scheme, was an ardent

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid, 155.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, 156.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, 158.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, 160-163.

<sup>127</sup> Stedman Jones, 311.

<sup>128</sup> Reginald Brabazon, *Social Arrows* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1886).

<sup>129</sup> Driver, 189.

advocate of imperialism and social reform.<sup>130</sup> Author and agricultural reformer Sir Henry Rider Haggard was commissioned by the Colonial Secretary in 1905 to inspect the Salvation Army Farm colonies in England and North America. His report “recommended that the government should fund Booth’s scheme of overseas colonization” to avoid the degenerating influences of the urban environment.<sup>131</sup> Populating the Dominion with strong, healthy, British citizens was important in retaining and defending the Empire. The journalist Arnold White, a noted close friend of William Booth, explained in 1886 that the “Transvaal and Zulu wars [and] the Bechuanaland expedition, would have been unnecessary had Natal, the Transvaal, and the northern part of the Cape colony been economically reinforced by a peaceable army corps of God-fearing, hard-working men and women from England and Scotland sent out by the State.”<sup>132</sup> The Salvation Army appealed to the interests of social imperialists precisely because this “army corps of God-fearing, hard-working men and women” that could colonize and protect the Empire would be fostered by Booth’s rehabilitative project.<sup>133</sup>

The concern with defending Empire was implicit in the Salvation Army mission. The organization was, after all, a militant and imperialist evangelical missionary group that had by 1890 actively colonized both the centre and peripheries of the Empire. Military metaphors were rife in the Salvation Army descriptions of its mission in working-class neighborhoods: it sought to “bombard,” to “invade” and to “capture

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<sup>130</sup> Stedman Jones, 311.

<sup>131</sup> Bailey “‘*In Darkest England and the Way Out*’ The Salvation Army, Social Reform and the Labour Movement”, 164.

<sup>132</sup> Arnold White, “The Common Sense of Colonization and Emigration”, *Contemporary Review* 49 (Mar. 1886): 379, quoted in Troy Boone, “Remaking ‘Lawless Lads and Licentious Girls’: The Salvation Army and the Regeneration of the Empire”, 104.

<sup>133</sup> Boone, 104.

prisoners” in “enemy territory.”<sup>134</sup> The evangelical language of “battling against sin” had pervaded the earliest years of the East London Christian Mission.<sup>135</sup> In 1878, the organization emerged as a full Salvation “Army,” complete with the military trappings, such as ranks, uniforms and prayer “drills.” The historian of the Salvation Army Pamela Walker explains that this language reflected images of bodily health, imperial strength and patriotic militarism that were part of a larger Victorian culture.<sup>136</sup> The Salvation Army grew rapidly throughout the United Kingdom and began expanding abroad in the 1880s; going first to America in 1879, Australia in 1880, and Canada in 1881; and to Europe, settling in France in 1881 and Switzerland in 1882; and also to India and the Ceylon in 1882.<sup>137</sup> The Salvation Army’s commencement in India, led by a former officer from the Indian Civil Service, Frederick de Latour Tucker, was also referred to in Army literature as the “invasion” and the “Indian War.”<sup>138</sup> The Salvation Army’s incursions into India reflect their participation in the growth of the late British Empire.

*Darkest England* uses the Salvation Army’s “extent and universality” as a major credential for why the organization should undertake its elaborate scheme.<sup>139</sup> In *Darkest England*, Booth boasted that the Salvation Army was “now the largest Home and Foreign Missionary Society in the Protestant World” with “nearly 10,000 officers” in “something like 4,000 different places” “through over thirty different Countries and

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<sup>134</sup> Victor Bailey, “Salvation Army Riots, the ‘Skeleton Army’ and Legal Authority in the Provincial Town,” 237.

<sup>135</sup> Walker, 182.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, 182.

<sup>137</sup> Robert Sandall, *The History of the Salvation Army, 1878-1886*, vol.2 of *The History of the Salvation Army* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1950).

<sup>138</sup> Joseph McLaughlin, *Writing the Urban Jungle: Reading Empire in London from Doyle to Eliot*, 101.

<sup>139</sup> Booth, 251.

Colonies.”<sup>140</sup> Booth described that these officers, “trained to obey, and trained equally to command,” were forming a global Army.<sup>141</sup> Readers were re-assured by the author that “A telegram from me will send any of them to the uttermost parts of the earth, will transfer them from the Slum of London to San Francisco, or dispatch them to assist in opening missions in Holland, Zululand, Sweden, or South Africa.”<sup>142</sup> Booth imagined that this global network would facilitate the Great Scheme for the regeneration of the British Empire as well as all “mankind.”<sup>143</sup>

It is important to note that some members of the British public found this idea of a Christian Empire ruled by the “General” of the Salvation Army understandably disconcerting. The book’s biggest critic, philosopher T.H. Huxley denounced the scheme as religious fanaticism in a series of letters to *The Times* of London from 1 December 1890 to end of January 1891.<sup>144</sup> Huxley criticized *Darkest England* for suggesting that “the only adequate means to such reformation of the individual man is the adoption of that form of somewhat corybantic Christianity of which the soldiers of the Salvation Army are the militant missionaries”.<sup>145</sup> Huxley observed Booth’s description of the size and discipline of his “Army” with concern, noting that the organization resembled other religious “fanatics,” naming religious groups such as the Franciscans, Jesuits and Mormons.<sup>146</sup> Huxley also questioned what would happen in the future if the Army continued to spread over the country and colonies:

what guarantee there is that, 30 years hence, the General, who then autocratically controls the action, say, of 100,00 officers pledged to blind obedience, distributed

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid, 251.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, 251.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, 250.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid, 251.

<sup>144</sup> Sandall, vol.3, 82.

<sup>145</sup> T.H. Huxley, letter to the editor, *The Times*, December 1, 1890.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

through the whole length and breadth of the poorer classes, and each with his finger on the trigger of a mine charged with discontent and religious fanaticism; millions sterling of capital and as many of income; with barracks in every town, with estates scattered over the country and with settlements in the colonies—will exercise his enormous powers, not merely honestly, but wisely?<sup>147</sup>

Booth's plans for the large-scale emigration of the poor were politically and socially contentious in other ways. Beginning as early as 1830, assisted emigration had been promoted by migrationists like the political radical Edward Gibbon Wakefield, as a kind of "safety valve" for the ruling classes and as a way of relieving pressures of intensifying labor unrest by exporting masses of the unemployed.<sup>148</sup> However, these early migrations had been largely failures.<sup>149</sup> In the late nineteenth-century, philanthropic organizations helped poor women and children to emigrate to the Dominions. Single women trained as domestic servants were in demand in the British colonies.<sup>150</sup> Orphan children in state care were also desirable migrants as they were perceived as able to preserve a British culture while being highly adaptable to their new environments.<sup>151</sup>

Not insignificantly, the Dominions were for the most part opposed to the dumping of Britain's unwanted populations.<sup>152</sup> Australia, which had been used as a penal colony for the exportation of British prisoners until the 1860s, was particularly resistant to receiving unwanted migrants.<sup>153</sup> While *Darkest England* does suggest that women and children might be future migrants, the scheme, at least in its experimental

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Thompson, 136.

<sup>149</sup> For a detailed discussion of sponsored migration experiments in the nineteenth century see G.F. Plant, *Oversea Settlement: Migration from the United Kingdom to the Dominions* (Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1951), 24-55.

<sup>150</sup> Thompson, 141.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid, 147.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, 136.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, 136.

phase, was designed for the emigration of the urban male unemployed casual labourer. Colonial governments favored the immigration of capitalists and laborers who would cultivate and stay on the land; conversely the poor, casual labourer would migrate into urban centres, merely replicating the conditions of London's unemployment, overcrowding and crime in colonial cities. This "pauper shoveling," as it was referred to in British politics, while relieving poverty in Britain, was seen as counter to the interests of strengthening the Empire as a whole as it would merely increase unemployment in the colonies.<sup>154</sup>

Despite Booth's efforts to recognize and circumvent these arguments against large-scale emigration of the poor, the public appears to have been unconvinced, as necessary funds were never generated for this part of the project.<sup>155</sup> In 1892, politicians and labour organizations in Australia and New Zealand expressed a strident opposition to the establishment of a Salvation Army colony, fearing that the migrants were of "bad character" and would "flood the labour market and put out of work the 'good' people already on the ground."<sup>156</sup> Sir Rider Haggard's supportive report to the Colonial Office in 1905 on the Salvation Army Farm colonies in England and North America was also rejected by the British government on the grounds that religious bodies were ill-suited to collecting the re-payments from settlers, the general financial disorder of the *Darkest England* scheme and a lack of evidence for the success of the Hadleigh colony.<sup>157</sup>

Booth's concept of the "Colony Over-Sea" that is described in the text was never carried out in the grand manner imagined by the author. Small groups, however, did

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 136.

<sup>155</sup> Sandall, vol. 3, 151.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid, 152.

<sup>157</sup> Bailey, "'In Darkest England and the Way Out' The Salvation Army, Social Reform and the Labour Movement", 164.



emigrate from Hadleigh to the Dominions beginning in the early 1900s. The Salvation Army emigration advice bureau was put into operation in December 1905. As the historian Victor Bailey notes, the Salvation Army had an advisory and organizational role in emigration, functioning as a kind of “Cook’s [travel] agency for the respectable working-class.”<sup>158</sup> A form of the “Salvation Ship” also came into existence. On 26 April 1905, the first Salvation Army chartered emigrant ship (S.S. Vancouver) sailed from Liverpool with 1,000 new citizens for Canada and in 1908, the Army chartered seven more special sailings to Canada.<sup>159</sup>

As I have argued in this chapter, the Salvation Army’s *Darkest England* scheme was a response to pressing social and political needs to address the situation of the unemployed poor in late nineteenth-century London. Widespread theories of degeneration formed the idea of “Work for All” in the three stages of Booth’s project. As contemporary critics pointed out, much of Booth’s scheme was not original,<sup>160</sup> perhaps borrowing from the ideas of other late nineteenth-century figures such as Charles Booth, Alfred Marshall, Samuel Barnett and Lord Brabazon. Importantly, the final step of overseas emigration was both socially and politically the most difficult aspect of the Salvation Army project to “sell”. The following chapters of this study will examine in more detail the marketing of Booth’s publication through the imperial and Christian tropes that are developed in the opening chapter of *Darkest England* and through the evocative visual languages of the frontispiece. Both worked, as I will show, to make the prospect of emigration and colonization led by the Salvation Army appealing to readers and viewers.

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid, 164.

<sup>159</sup> Sandall, vol.3, 157.

<sup>160</sup> Driver, 180.

## Chapter 2:

### Why “Darkest England”?

In the opening pages of the first chapter of *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, entitled “Why ‘Darkest England?’,” Booth evoked the recent publication of explorer Henry Stanley’s account of his travels in Africa: “this summer the attention of the civilized world has been arrested by the story which Mr. Stanley has told of ‘Darkest Africa’ and his journeyings across the heart of the Lost Continent.”<sup>161</sup> *Darkest England* thus brought the imagination of the reader back into that dangerous, impenetrable tropical jungle through a description of Henry Stanley’s recently published best-seller, *Darkest Africa, Or the Quest Rescue and Retreat of Emin Governor of Equatoria*, (1890.) This “terrible picture,” to use Booth’s phrase, was then extended as a “vivid picture of our own land,” beginning the elaborate analogy Booth would construct between Africa and England throughout the opening chapter of his own publication.<sup>162</sup> Booth provoked the reader to consider Britain’s urban centres in terms of a form of barbarism: “As there is a darkest Africa is there not also a *Darkest England*? Civilization, which can breed its own barbarians, does it not also breed its own pygmies? May we not find a parallel at our own doors, and discover within a stone’s throw of our cathedrals and palaces similar horrors to those which Stanley has found existing in the great Equatorial forest?”<sup>163</sup> The darkness of the overcrowded and polluted urban slums of East London were evoked in terms of disease and oppression and compared to Africa’s “monotonous darkness, its malaria and its gloom, its dwarfish de-humanized inhabitants, the slavery to which they are subjected, their privations and

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<sup>161</sup> Booth, 15.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, 18.

their misery.”<sup>164</sup> Booth in turn described the landscape of London as an “endless tangle of monotonous undergrowth,” “choked up by the ooze of the morass and luxuriant parasitical growth of the forest.”<sup>165</sup> Booth asserted: “*Darkest England*, like Darkest Africa, reeks with malaria. The foul and fetid breath of our slums is almost as poisonous as that of the African swamp.”<sup>166</sup>

Why this use of Africa in *Darkest England* and what is its significance? The striking language of the opening chapter of *Darkest England*, titled “Why ‘Darkest England’?” played an important role in the Salvation Army’s fundraising strategy. The sensationalism of this chapter was remarkable, standing apart from the rest of the book and in strong contrast to the more “scientific” and apparently objective approaches of other contemporary studies of Britain’s urban poor.<sup>167</sup> Indeed, the exaggeration of Booth’s language took the “urban jungle” to a new extreme,<sup>168</sup> grabbing the attention of the reader through a loaded imperial trope. Capitalizing on the popularity of Lord Stanley’s *Darkest Africa* (1890), the metaphor of “darkest Africa” was used more blatantly than ever before. In the course of this chapter, I will examine how the use of imperial spectacle in *Darkest England* served the interests of the Salvation Army and marketed the Salvation Army as a response to concerns about the degeneration of the working-class and the British Empire.

Booth’s link between “Darkest Africa” and urban centres in Britain would have been familiar to readers; by 1890, the trope of the “urban jungle” was well worn. The first sustained use of this rhetorical device appeared in Henry Mayhew’s influential

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid, 20-21.

<sup>167</sup> Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (University of London: Blackwell, 2001).

<sup>168</sup> McLaughlin, 80.

survey *London Labour and the London Poor*, (1851.)<sup>169</sup> Like the fantastic geography of *Darkest England*, Mayhew represented the metropolis as a miniature globe in itself and characterized the East as a distant land in a perpetual night.<sup>170</sup> Mayhew, like Booth, positioned himself as a “traveler” in that dark, “undiscovered country of the poor.”<sup>171</sup> Citing ethnologist James Cowles Prichard, Mayhew established two different categories for the human race: “nomadic and the civilized tribes.”<sup>172</sup> In turn, and like Booth, Mayhew used an extensive analogy to compare African tribes to Londoners. He reasoned that “we, like the Kaffir, Fellahs and Finns, are surrounded by the wandering hordes,” and proceeded to utilize current modes of ethnographic analysis by using Londoner’s physiognomies, and shape of cheekbones and skulls and along with distinctive languages and customs of urban dwellers to elaborate this comparison.<sup>173</sup>

The trope of the urban explorer proliferated in social discourse in the decades leading up to the publication of *Darkest England* in 1890. Blanchard Jerrold’s *London: A Pilgrimage*, (1872), described the East End as a new and unfamiliar world to West Londoners.<sup>174</sup> George Sims’ sensational *How the Poor Live*, (1883), represented its investigation as a journey ‘into a dark continent that was within easy walking distance of the General Post office.’<sup>175</sup> Walter Besant similarly called the East End of London a separate city, cut off from the modern and progressive West End.<sup>176</sup> In 1878, the

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<sup>169</sup> Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor: Street Folk*, vol.1 of *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851; repr., London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1967),

<sup>170</sup> Driver, 182.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid, 182.

<sup>172</sup> Mayhew, 1.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>174</sup> Jamieson Michael Ridenhour, “In Darkest London: The Gothic Cityscape in Victorian London” (PhD. diss., University of South Carolina, 2004), 53, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (305116645).

<sup>175</sup> Driver, 181.

<sup>176</sup> Ridenhour, 53.

photographic essay by Thompson and Smith, *Street Life in London*, had described “the crawlers” and “nomads” of London’s slums.<sup>177</sup> Scholars have explained that this emphasis on the darkness and barbarism of East London reflected intensifying fears of the lack of social and political control in East London developing in the 1880s.

A study by Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People of London*, first published as papers to the Royal Statistical Society in 1887 and 1888, and later expanded and published as a seventeen volume series, attempted to dispel these popular sensationalist accounts of East London, although he still made use of the terminology of the barbarian.<sup>178</sup> Initiated in response to the violent riots of February 1886, the detailed account of the unemployed poor of East London in *Life and Labour of the People of London* confirmed that “the hoardes of barbarians of whom we have heard, who issuing from their slums, will one day overwhelm modern civilization, do not exist. There are barbarians, but they are a handful, a small decreasing percentage: a disgrace by not a danger.”<sup>179</sup> Unlike earlier journalistic portrayals, the *Life and Labour* series used a more scientific technique of mapping and statistics, which I will examine in more detail in the next section.

In contrast to this move towards a more “scientific” objectivity, the opening chapter of *Darkest England* attempted to revive the clichéd language of the urban explorer. By working within this familiar trope, *Darkest England* could play off of existing fears of East London. Anxieties surrounding the urban jungle would have prompted a sense of urgency for the need for the social programs of the Salvation Army.

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<sup>177</sup> Angela Vanhaelen, “Street Life in London and the Organization of Labour,” *History of Photography* 26, no.3 (2002): 191-204.

<sup>178</sup> Driver, 184.

<sup>179</sup> Charles Booth, 39.

However, *Darkest England* also took this metaphor to a new imperial extreme, as it used the trope of Africa more blatantly than ever before.

The sensationalism of the opening chapter of *Darkest England* may have been influenced by W. T. Stead, credited by historians as a ghost-writer of Booth's book. Scholars have noted that W.T. Stead had brought sensationalist journalism into the mainstream with his coverage of public debate over Andrew Mearns' "Bitter Cry of Outcast London," of 1883, and his subsequent shocking exposé of child prostitution in the "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" in 1885.<sup>180</sup> However, this style was also in line with the unique methods of the Salvation Army.<sup>181</sup>

Unlike any other contemporaneous religious organization, the Salvation Army adopted sensationalism and popular culture as a way to attract the attention of potential converts. As Pamela Walker's important study of the Salvation Army has noted, sensationalism was rooted in the Salvationist's evangelical theology. Salvationists practiced as a bodily faith, believing they could experience a physical encounter with God.<sup>182</sup> The use of brass bands, music-hall songs and street performances similarly celebrated the glory of God through the senses.<sup>183</sup> Salvationists believed they were waging a war on sin, particularly against the evils they saw as permeating working-class places of leisure. To compete for the attentions of the poor in urban centres like East London and provide religious alternatives, Salvationists incorporated popular culture into their posters, tracts and music. They also literally appropriated this culture, by

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<sup>180</sup> Driver, 177.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid, 177.

<sup>182</sup> Walker, 199.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid, 198.

taking over theaters, music halls and public houses to stage their own Salvationist spectacles.<sup>184</sup>

The Salvation Army also incorporated a spectacular late-Victorian imperial culture into its public performances. The annual meeting at Exeter Hall in 1885 featured entertainment by a “Chinese convert performing his devotions in full heathen costume” on a platform.<sup>185</sup> The anniversary celebrations in 1887 at the Alexandra Palace similarly displayed Salvation Army converts from around the globe. Reporting on this event, the Salvation Army magazine, *The War Cry*, emphasized that “there were tents to be seen, natives to be stared at and Hindoos to be shaken hands with.”<sup>186</sup> The wedding of Emma Booth to Frederick Tucker in March 1888 was also crafted as a grand imperial spectacle; tickets were sold to an elaborate Indian-themed ceremony to fund the Army’s progress in India.<sup>187</sup> These imperial spectacles were to “demonstrate the imperial reach of the Salvation Army”<sup>188</sup> and gain financial support for the missionary activities of the Salvation Army at home and in the Empire.<sup>189</sup>

*Darkest England*’s use of Sir Henry Morton Stanley’s *Darkest Africa* also represents another example of the Salvation Army’s appropriation of popular and imperial culture. African adventure narratives had been very popular with the Victorian reading public since the mid-nineteenth century. Dr. David Livingstone, an evangelical missionary with the London Missionary Society, had published his *Missionary Travels*

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<sup>184</sup> Ibid, 188.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid, 195.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid, 195.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid, 195.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid, 195.

<sup>189</sup> Following on the success of *Darkest England*, for example, Frederick Latour Tucker-Booth, in order to generate funds for the Salvation Army mission in India, published *Darkest India* in 1891. This continuation of *Darkest England* into *Darkest India*, demonstrates how *Darkest England* supported the colonial activities of the Salvation Army at home and abroad.

in 1857. The book was an instant success; it sold 70,000 copies in the first few months and made Livingstone into a national hero.<sup>190</sup> Henry Morton Stanley's first bestseller, *How I Found Livingstone* (1872), used Livingstone's popularity to launch his own career as journalist and explorer. While Stanley's subsequent *Through the Dark Continent* (1878), trafficked in the fascination for adventures in Africa, the author's *Darkest Africa* drew upon the popularity of another important British imperial hero.<sup>191</sup> The narrative recounts Stanley's last African expedition of 1886-89 to rescue the governor of Equatoria Province in southern Sudan who was reportedly under attack by Mahdists, a group of Islamic Sudanese rebels. This reference to the Sudan and Mahdists would have reminded readers of the defeat of General Gordon at Khartoum in 1885.<sup>192</sup> General Gordon was a national hero, having fought important imperial campaigns in China and Africa. His dramatic defeat at Khartoum captivated the public; a lengthy memorial by W.T. Stead, published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in February 1885, portrayed the battle as a tragic massacre and General Gordon as a British martyr.<sup>193</sup>

Booth's *Darkest England* thus capitalized on the existing demand for sensational narratives that evoked peril and threats in foreign regions. The reference to Africa made in the publication also functioned in terms of deeper ideological meanings. Africa held a loaded significance in British Imperial politics. The "scramble for Africa," the competition of European powers over territory in Africa that had begun in 1881,

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<sup>190</sup> Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (London: Cornell University Press, 1988), 180.

<sup>191</sup> It should be noted, however, that Henry Stanley's evocation of British heroes like Livingstone and General Gordon compensated for the brutality and blatant economic and political motives behind his work in the Congo for King Leopold II of Belgium. Brantlinger, 181.

<sup>192</sup> McLaughlin, 81.

<sup>193</sup> W.T. Stead, "In Memoriam," *Pall Mall Gazette* (London, England), February 11, 1885, Gale Digital Collections (BB3200388490).



represented a new era of intensified colonization.<sup>194</sup> African adventure narratives were important in providing a moral basis for this imperial expansion.<sup>195</sup> As a missionary, Dr. Livingstone's quest was presented as morally justified, bringing the light of God and civilization to the "Dark Continent."<sup>196</sup> The anti-slavery movement in Britain played a role in this civilizing mission. That Britain first banned the importation of African slaves in its colonies in 1807 and abolished slavery throughout the British Empire with the Slavery Abolition Act 1833, providing the British with a feeling of moral superiority over other competing European powers and Africans themselves. The literary historian Patrick Brantlinger explains that narratives of African slave trade in these adventure narratives simultaneously displaced European guilt by putting the blame back onto Africans for their "barbaric" practices and justified the need for British intervention as the "highest moral power among nations".<sup>197</sup>

As the barbarism of Africa, symbolized through slavery, called for the heroic intervention of British missionaries, so too did the slavery of *Darkest England* call for the intervention of the Salvation Army. Booth blamed, for example, the destruction wrought by the illicit commerce in poached ivory and the slave system that supported it on Arab traders,<sup>198</sup> and compared both with the damage caused by the selling of alcohol by publicans in London: "The ivory traders who brutally traffic in the unfortunate denizens of the forest glades, what are they but the publicans who flourish on the weakness of our poor?"<sup>199</sup> Alcohol, seen as an evil vice and prohibited among

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<sup>194</sup> Eric, Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914* (New York: Vintage, 1989), 57.

<sup>195</sup> See Patrick Brantlinger, "The Genealogy of the Myth of the 'Dark' Continent" in *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (London: Cornell University Press, 1988).

<sup>196</sup> Term from Patrick Brantlinger, "The Genealogy of the Myth of the 'Dark' Continent".

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid*, 181.

<sup>198</sup> Here Booth is also exploiting the tension between Christianity and Islam.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid*, 18.

Salvationists, was thus presented as a destructive force that enslaved its addicts. Booth evoked enslavement to alcohol by referencing “delirium tremens,” the frenzied shaking of withdrawal in alcoholics, and underscored the link with slavery in Africa ascribed to Islamic traders:

Just as in Darkest Africa it is only a part of the evil and misery that comes from the superior race who invade the forest to enslave and massacre its miserable inhabitants, so with us, much of the misery of those whose lot we are considering arises from their own habits...have you ever watched by the bedside of a man in delirium tremens? Multiply the sufferings of that drunkard by the hundred thousand, and you will have some idea of what scenes are being witnessed in all our great cities at this moment.<sup>200</sup>

Booth continued his slave analogy by pointing to prostitution and other exploitative labour practices in *Darkest England*. He noted that the slave-traders of Stanley’s pages were responsible for the invasion of African villages, capturing their inhabitants and violating “all the women.”<sup>201</sup> This led him to pose a critical question: “the lot of the negress is the Equatorial Forest, is not, perhaps a very happy one, but is it so very much worse than that of many a pretty orphan girl in our Christian capital?” Booth argued that the “pretty orphan girl” is “treated like a slave and an outcast by the very men who have ruined her.”<sup>202</sup> The mistreatment of women was a powerful call for masculine, heroic intervention. However, Booth noted that it is “not only women who are the victims, although their fate is the most tragic.”<sup>203</sup> Both men and women in *Darkest England* are described as enslaved by the “Sweating System,” that is, labour practices that overwork and underpay the worker. Booth concluded: “Read the House of Lord’s Report on the Sweating System,” continuing, “and ask if any African slave

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<sup>200</sup> Ibid, 21.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid, 20.

system, making due allowance for the superior civilization, and therefore sensitiveness of the victims, reveals more misery.”<sup>204</sup>

In contrast, Booth modeled the Salvation Army in the image of “Good” Christian imperialism. Booth, like Dr. Livingstone, was an evangelical missionary with righteous Christian motives. As Booth made clear in the preface of *Darkest England*, his interest in providing temporal relief for the poor was only to facilitate his primary mission of “the regeneration or remaking of the individual by the power of the Holy Ghost through Jesus Christ.”<sup>205</sup> The populations of East London were thus seen as “heathens” by missionaries like the Salvation Army. As the religious census of 1851 confirmed, most of the working-classes of East London were not attending church.<sup>206</sup> There were also high concentrations of immigrant Catholic Irish and Germanic Jews in East London, outsiders to the Protestant faith.<sup>207</sup> Therefore, Booth was, as the literary historian McLaughlin has noted, “first and foremost a Christian colonizer.”<sup>208</sup> The darkness of both Africa and England in the text of *Darkest England* is described as an absence of spiritual light. In this “morbid gloom,” as in Africa, hope and faith are lost and heathen customs are reasserted.<sup>209</sup>

Significantly, the metaphor of hell is layered onto both the African and urban jungle in *Darkest England*. Referring to John Bunyan’s popular *Pilgrim’s Progress*, first published in 1678 but also very popular during the nineteenth century, Booth described the forest of *Darkest England* as “the great Slough of Despond of our time.”<sup>210</sup> Booth

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid, np.

<sup>206</sup> Walker, 43.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid, 43.

<sup>208</sup> McLaughlin, 87.

<sup>209</sup> Booth, 16.

<sup>210</sup> Booth, 19.

also refers to the Inferno of Dante Alighieri's 14<sup>th</sup> century epic poem, *The Divine Comedy*: "Talk about Dante's Hell, and all the horrors and cruelties of the torture-chamber of the lost!"<sup>211</sup> Booth explained that he could bring hope and spiritual light to *Darkest England*, providing a moral imperative for the mission of the Salvation Army.

The references to slavery in the jungles of Africa and in England share the same ideological function: they present the need for the heroic, morally superior intervention of the Salvation Army. *Darkest England* thus captures the same spirit of action as the popular explorer narratives that informed his text. William Booth positioned himself and his Salvationist soldiers as adventurers in the dark, immense and impenetrable urban jungle. Joseph McLaughlin has also observed this strategy at work in *Darkest England*, noting that the "darker and more sinister the jungle is made to appear, the more exalted the 'intrepid explorer' who survives the experience."<sup>212</sup> Booth constructed each reader as a potential Stanley, which invited the reader to adopt the explorer's heroic role. This participatory gesture would have been an important technique in encouraging donations from the reader of *In Darkest England and the Way Out*.<sup>213</sup>

*Darkest England's* invitation to readers to configure themselves in terms of Henry Morton Stanley was also significant in circumventing the perceived working-class status of the Salvation Army. William and Catherine Booth had come from working-class families.<sup>214</sup> William, in particular, had experienced hardship and poverty

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<sup>211</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>212</sup> McLaughlin, 84.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid, 83.

<sup>214</sup> Catherine Mumford was born in 1829 in Derbyshire. Her father, John Mumford was a skilled artisan. William Booth was born in 1829 in Nottingham. His father, Samuel Booth, worked in various trades, his mother, Mary Moss had been a domestic servant before marrying. Samuel Booth died in 1843, leaving William to support himself and his mother (Walker, 9-13).

as a child.<sup>215</sup> Pamela Walker and Victor Bailey's work on history of the Salvation Army has confirmed that its members were also predominantly from working-class backgrounds. Walker notes:

Over three-quarters of the women were employed in unskilled or semiskilled work. Another 17 percent were employed in skilled occupations. Men were more frequently employed in skilled occupations. Nearly half the men were artisans or skilled labourers, and another 14 percent were small employers, retailers, wholesalers or clerical workers. Only 24 percent were semiskilled workers and 13 percent were general or unskilled labourers.<sup>216</sup>

The literary historian Patrick Brantlinger has pointed out how the fantasy of African explorer narratives appealed particularly to the working-class, because like William and Catherine Booth and the majority of the members of the Salvation Army, Dr. Livingstone and Henry Morton Stanley had come from lower class backgrounds.<sup>217</sup> David Livingstone, born in Scotland in 1813, had worked in a cotton mill as a child.<sup>218</sup> Henry Morton Stanley, born in Wales in 1841, was an illegitimate child, and spent some of his childhood in a workhouse for the poor.<sup>219</sup> However, Livingstone and Stanley, both having achieved a mythic national status, demonstrated that poor class origins could be transcended through imperialist ventures. Similarly, the use of the heroic, imperial explorer could override perceived lower-class associations of the Salvation Army for the middle-class readers and intended sponsors of the *Darkest England* scheme.

It is important to note that the links Booth made between England and Africa, however, were also problematic, reflecting and giving form to contradictions and tensions in late-Victorian theories of degeneration. Henry Mayhew's explicit

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<sup>215</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid, 72.

<sup>217</sup> Brantlinger, 183.

<sup>218</sup> A.D. Roberts, "Livingstone, David," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, vol.34 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 73-83.

<sup>219</sup> Felix Driver, "Stanley, Sir Henry Morton," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, vol.52 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 214-220.

ethnographic description in *London Labour and the London Poor* noted earlier in this chapter exemplified how the poor were constructed as a race apart in nineteenth-century discourse. Scholar John Marriot has explained that this was, in part, a response elicited by fears of social disorder and imperial decline, one which followed from intensified concerns with race and the desire to establish the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon subject over both poor and colonial others. Therefore, Marriot notes that near the mid-nineteenth century, symbolic discourses around dirt, darkness and degeneration were used in the description of the Irish, the prostitute and the body of the poor.<sup>220</sup>

Booth articulated this racialized thinking in the links he made between Africans and the poor of London. For example, Booth described two kinds of pygmies in the African forest: “one a very degraded specimen with ferret-like eyes, close-set nose, more nearly approaching the baboon than was supposed to be possible, but very human; the other handsome, with frank innocent features, very prepossessing.”<sup>221</sup> This more handsome pygmy was described as “quick and intelligent, capable of deep affection and gratitude, showing remarkable industry and patience.”<sup>222</sup> Booth then extended his analogy of the African pygmies to the inhabitants of *Darkest England*: “the two tribes of savages, the human baboon and the handsome dwarf, who will not speak lest it impede him in his task, may be accepted as the two varieties who are continually present with

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<sup>220</sup> John Marriot, “In Darkest England: the Poor, the Crowd and Race in the Nineteenth-century Metropolis,” in *New Ethnicities, Old Racisms*. Ed. Phil Cohen, London and New York: Zed Books, 1999, 82.

<sup>221</sup> Booth, 17.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid*, 17.

us—the vicious lout and the toiling slave.”<sup>223</sup> *Darkest England*, thus, marks out the bodies of the urban poor in terms of theories of race and degeneration.<sup>224</sup>

To enable the possibility of regeneration, Booth’s passage above with its juxtaposition of the “human baboon” and “handsome dwarf” also uses the familiar trope of noble savage and beast-like barbarian to express the Victorian distinction between the deserving poor, those who were viewed as wanting both to work and to improve themselves, and the undeserving poor, those deemed lazy and “vicious.”<sup>225</sup> The deserving poor were constructed as victims of the damaging influences of the urban environment.<sup>226</sup> This shift in ideas about degeneration occurred as social reformers responded to the effects of overcrowding, pollution and improper sanitation in East London in the 1880s.<sup>227</sup> The crises of the 1880s suggested to some that poverty was not caused by individuals but by larger social and economic conditions.<sup>228</sup> This did not, however, weaken the distinction between deserving and undeserving poor.<sup>229</sup> The willingness on the part of some segments of the urban poor to help themselves was key to the Salvation Army’s regenerative scheme.

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>224</sup> As scholars have noted, such degeneration countered the possibility of regeneration which motivated the Salvation Army’s *Darkest England* scheme. See Tanya Agathocleous, “Ethnography and allegory: Socialist internationalism and realist utopia in *News from Nowhere* and *In Darkest England*” in *Urban Realism and the Cosmopolitan Imagination in the Nineteenth Century: Visible City, Invisible World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), Troy Boone, “Remaking ‘Lawless Lads and Licentious Girls’: The Salvation Army and the Regeneration of the Empire” in *Historicizing Christian Encounters with the Other*, ed. John C. Hawley (Great Britain: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998) and Joseph McLaughlin *Writing the Urban Jungle: Reading Empire in London from Doyle to Eliot* (U.S.A.: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

<sup>225</sup> McLaughlin, 87-88.

<sup>226</sup> The rest of Part I corresponds to this view of degeneration, featuring many recorded statements from the poor that emphasize their circumstances as consequences of the urban environment. For example, interviews with unemployed men stress how desperately they are seeking work at the docks (Booth, 45- 46).

<sup>227</sup> Stedman Jones, 313.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid, 313.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid, 313.

While *Darkest England* reveals tensions around competing views of both poverty and the poor, the project as a whole was heavily invested in its imperially loaded trope. Booth himself admitted that his analogy between Africa and the poor and destitute in Britain's urban centres was, "good as a suggestion" but "...wearisome when it is pressed too far."<sup>230</sup> As this chapter has shown, the use Henry Morton Stanley's *Darkest Africa* was a clever marketing strategy in several ways: it attracted the attention of readers through the popularity of Stanley's recent bestseller; it created an invigorating and heroic call to action to excite donations and revive support for the Salvation Army; it also circumvented class-based anxieties through imperial action. In the context of the *Darkest England* project, support was needed to fund the Salvation Army's rehabilitation of poor in the City, the country and, ultimately the colonization of the world. The imperial rhetoric marshaled by Booth claimed the Salvation Army's ability to penetrate into the darkest reaches of both the centre and peripheries of the Empire. Both forms of colonization offer what the title of the book promised: a way out of poverty and a way out of England itself.

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<sup>230</sup> Then, using a rhetorical slight of hand Booth immediately draws the reader back into the analogy by urging, "But before leaving it, think for a moment how close the parallel is..." (Booth, 18).



### Chapter 3:

#### The Way Out

As noted in the introduction, as readers opened *In Darkest England and the Way Out* on its first day of publication, a frontispiece illustration, extending roughly to twice the size of the book, folded out of these thousands of covers. This large, full-colour lithograph served to immediately capture the attention of the reader and was an important part of the marketing strategy of *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. Like an advertisement, it had an informative function. The image was a synopsis of Booth's project for rehabilitation of the urban poor and destitute, and the relocation of these populations abroad. Significantly the frontispiece avoids visual references to Africa or Africans, enslaved black labour and tropical jungles. What it does provide are the basics of Booth's plan at a glance in the form of a visual map that was animated by text labels, British figures and recognizable locales. The shifting vistas of the frontispiece with their figures, vignettes and labels, could entice consumers to read the publication further but could also assist in reviewing and picturing the Salvation Army scheme once *Darkest England* had been read. However, the frontispiece does more than give a synopsis of the book. As the key on the fold-out reads, the image depicts the hopeful "results intended" from the realization of Booth's scheme. Therefore, much like an advertisement, the visuals of the frontispiece operated beyond the text, arousing the imagination and desires of the reader. This chapter will explore how the frontispiece illustration, like the book's opening chapter's spectacular analogy with "Darkest Africa," set the Salvation Army project apart from similar contemporary colony and emigration schemes. The

frontispiece may abandon the trope of the “urban jungle,” but its visuals continue the use of a potent combination of Christian and imperial imagery.

As I have noted in Chapter One, the social crises of London in the 1880s and shared theories of the causes of urban degeneration influenced common proposals for city, farm and overseas colonies prior to the publication of Booth’s *Darkest England*. But *In Darkest England and the Way Out* set itself apart from these other projects partly because of its format as a book featuring a prominent coloured illustration. Unlike the essays by Alfred Marshall and Samuel Barnett that had been published in contemporary periodicals<sup>231</sup> or the pamphlet published by the Church Army in March 1890<sup>232</sup> which I discussed in Chapter One, the Salvation Army’s book provided a much more monumental form; monumental because it allowed Booth to set out the workings of a colony scheme in an unprecedented level of detail and because books were more durable, long-lasting and could be more widely circulated. Lord Brabazon’s *Social Arrows*, also discussed in Chapter One, was published as a book in 1886 but was not illustrated. Charles Booth’s *Life and Labour of the London Poor* was first published in book format in 1889 and a second volume was published in 1891. The *Life and Labour* series, eventually growing into seventeen volumes, used coloured maps and charts to represent its statistical findings. It therefore represents the closest contemporary to *In Darkest England and the Way Out* which also proposed a farm colony scheme in an illustrated book.

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<sup>231</sup> Alfred Marshall, “I.-Where to House Them,” *The Contemporary Review*, 1866-1900, 45 (February 1884): 224-231, *British Periodicals* (6675735); Samuel Barnett, “A Scheme for the Unemployed,” *The Nineteenth Century and After: a Monthly Review*, 24. 141 (November 1888): 753-763, *British Periodicals* (2656196).

<sup>232</sup> Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire*, 179.

The maps of *Darkest England* and the *Life and Labour* series provide an instructive contrast in differences of style, purpose and effect. The maps of the *Life and Labour* study gave visual form to a mass of statistical data by colour-coding London streets. For example, blackened areas represented inhabitants of the lowest class, designated as the “Vicious and Semi-Criminal;” shades of blue represented those termed “Very Poor” and “Poor;” red represented the “Well to do” middle-class.<sup>233</sup> As noted in the previous chapter, *Life and Labour of the London Poor* rejected the sensationalist journalist style of previous “urban explorers” in favor of a more scientific, “objective” approach to the study of poverty and unemployment in East London. The maps exemplify this scientific style, seeking to represent the urban geography through a flattened grid view of the city streets. Unlike the *Darkest England* frontispiece, the *Life and Labour* proposal for farm colonies is not represented visually; rather, it is a conclusion drawn from the results visualized by the maps of the *Life and Labour* study.

The *Darkest England* frontispiece, however, mapped out the book’s program for social regeneration, a scheme which had not yet been brought into existence. Therefore, in contrast to the purpose of the *Life and Labour* maps, the “map” of “the Way Out” of *Darkest England* sought to represent things not as they were, but as they could be. Also contrasting with the maps featured in *Life and Labour*, the frontispiece of *Darkest England* uses tallies and numbers on the framing pillars of the archway as statistical support. This mode, however, eschews the visual strategies of *Life and Labour* which represented scientific-seeming statistics. Instead, evocative imagery drawing on a range

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<sup>233</sup> For a more detailed discussion of these maps and their ideological function see Driver, 185-187.

of Western and Christian traditions and symbols works to entice and convince the reader and viewer on multiple levels.

Significantly, the frontispiece image as a whole is organized as a pilgrimage narrative. As discussed in Chapter Two, the book's opening chapter makes an explicit reference to John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, first published in 1678 but also very popular during the nineteenth century. Consider the striking resemblances of the *Darkest England* frontispiece to a frontispiece of an 1870 edition of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (Fig.2).<sup>234</sup> In both illustrations there is an image of rescue in the foreground with individuals being pulled from water or mire. In the foreground, both show a path snaking up steep cliffs, representing a difficult journey. They also share a shining beacon placed at a central point in the image. In the *Darkest England* frontispiece the beacon of hope is the Salvation lighthouse; in the 1870's *Pilgrim's Progress* it is a Christian cross lighting the way. At the top of both images, the final destination to be attained is a Heavenly City backlit by a radiant sun.

This comparison is not to prove a direct causal link between this particular 1870 edition of *Pilgrim's Progress* and the anonymous artists who designed the frontispiece of *Darkest England*, but to stress the importance of the narrative of pilgrimage as a way of expressing the difficult journey of spiritual salvation and emigration that is activated in the chromolithograph featured in Booth's publication. Pamela Walker explains that Salvationist conversion narratives combined passages from the Bible as well as references drawn from local cultures, noting in particular that "familiar writers like John

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<sup>234</sup> John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1870).

Bunyan were important.”<sup>235</sup> The image of pilgrimage could convey being “saved” from a life of sin and set on a path or journey to God. The undertaking of a difficult journey, and having faith and hope that this journey will lead to a better life, was also a powerful metaphor for emigration. There is some anecdotal evidence to suggest the importance of the book *Pilgrim’s Progress* to evangelical emigrants in the later nineteenth century. In May 1870 Evangelical Annie Macpherson sent East London orphan child emigrants to Canada with copies of *Pilgrim’s Progress* amongst their very small number of possessions.<sup>236</sup> The Salvation Army drew on the popular pilgrimage narrative in the *Darkest England* frontispiece, I argue, to express the promise of spiritual and social salvation through its colonial emigration scheme.

The pilgrimage traced out in *Darkest England’s* frontispiece begins in the violently churning waters at the bottom of the image. As noted at an earlier point in this study, figurative drowning and despair are called up here while simultaneously referencing the literal water bodies of the Thames River and the English Channel. But the dark waves also evoke the hellish “Slough of Despond” of Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*. Bunyan’s slough is described as a vast, miry bog, its filth and scum fed by sins and the fears and doubts of the sinner. In Booth’s frontispiece, slimy bricks which border on and contain the violent waters are labelled with Christian sins, such as “fornication,” “adultery,” “unrighteousness,” “gambling,” “lying,” “unbelief,” “pride,” “hatred,” “murder” and “envy.” The drowning and struggling figures reference the poor and destitute, but also conjure up the end awaiting those steeped in sin. Indeed, the turbulent waves may also represent familiar Christian depictions of hell; either the river

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<sup>235</sup> Walker, 69.

<sup>236</sup> Marjorie Kohli, *The Golden Bridge: Young Immigrants to Canada, 1833-1939* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 91.

Styx crossed in Dante's *The Divine Comedy* that is referenced in the opening chapter of *Darkest England*, or the waters of Last Judgment images popular from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century.

The water simultaneously refers to the social conditions of East London. The water, particularly with its brick embankments, could on a literal level evoke the main Thames river of London which runs through the city and borders on East London. The waves of this body of water are labelled with the social problems facing impoverished East Londoners: "3,000,000 in the sea," "starvation," "unemployed," "misery," "drunkenness," "asylums," "rags," "gin," "prostitution," "slavery" and "workhouses." The labels, some appearing on the lighter crests of the waves, literally and figuratively highlight these issues. Like the bold and cryptic titles of newspaper headlines, these short, mostly one-word labels, are meant to immediately summon associative linkages within and beyond the text, connecting to the widespread publicity concerning the conditions of East London. Some of these labels, like "outrage," "filth" and "despair," are meant to stimulate strong emotive responses in the reader and viewer. Others are more specific cultural references that are not discussed in text of Booth's publication. Superimposed on the turbulent waves, are text labels such as "Newgate," referring to the infamous Newgate prison, "Jack the Ripper," the press moniker given to the serial killer of prostitutes who terrorized East London in 1888, "Old Bailey," referring to the criminal court house and "Black Maria," the familiar name given to police wagons that carted away prisoners. All register the crime, danger and sense of the need for public enforcement linked to the social conditions of East London. These text labels also become smaller, less legible and more concentrated as they recede into the distance,

suggesting, like the masses of drowning figures, the interminability and scale of these problems.

The water of the *Darkest England* frontispiece also conveys the threat and fears of urban degeneration associated with London's East End. Degeneration was perceived by many as an environmental and social contamination. At the bottom of the frontispiece, as nowhere else in the image, there is a lack of framing architecture, suggesting a lack of control. Through tilting perspectives, the water depicted in the frontispiece appears higher than the viewer, which creates a sense of implication and urgency as the contaminated waters threatens to spill over into the viewer's space. The dark water may represent the pollution and lack of sanitation present in East London.<sup>237</sup> The image of the water, also depicted as polluted with masses of destitute poor and concomitant social ills, resonates with concerns with the threats of degeneration that prompted the *Darkest England* emigration scheme. Consider for example, the frontispiece's uncanny resemblance to the comment of the social imperialist Samuel Smith: "while the flower of the population emigrate, the residuum stays, corrupting and being corrupted, like the sewage of the metropolis which remained floating at the mouth of the Thames last summer, because there was not scour sufficient to propel it into the sea."<sup>238</sup>

Beginning the process of regeneration, the uniformed men and women of Salvation Army are shown rescuing what Booth had termed the "submerged tenth" of the population out of these "corrupting" waters. These uniformed figures lean out over

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<sup>237</sup> These conditions caused the very real threat of contagious disease. Four major cholera epidemics, 1831, 1848-9, 1854, 1866, had been concentrated in impoverished areas such as East London. The area was also plagued by more common and ongoing diseases such as scarlet fever, smallpox, whopping cough and venereal disease. Ridenhour, 23-24.

<sup>238</sup> Samuel Smith, "The Industrial Training of Destitute Children", *Contemporary Review*, vol. XLVII (Jan. 1885), quoted in Gareth Stedman Jones, 309.

the edge of the water and brave the stormy waves in Salvation Army lifeboats. It is significant that the Army saves those who are reaching out for help, marking them out as “deserving” poor who will want to work and help themselves. Most of these figures are hastily drawn and barely differentiated which gives the impression of the limitless number of sufferers drowning in the sea of despair. However, highlighted in the foreground of the bottom left corner there is female Salvationist holding a man who has been pulled from the water. Significantly, the man’s clothing, unlike all of the other figures in this lower register is white. This whiteness again evokes both a spiritual and social conversion. The scene replicates the gendered conversion narratives of the Salvation Army; working-class women Salvationists were frequently portrayed as angels whose feminine characteristics helped civilize and convert working-class men.<sup>239</sup> The whiteness of the figure’s clothing also suggests a social cleansing from the contaminating pollution of the water. This was perhaps to convince readers of the ability of the Salvation Army to intervene in the process of social degeneracy, although themselves from the same class and same urban conditions.

Those whom the Salvationists have rescued from the waters begin their uphill journey, or pilgrimage, on the left of the fold-out frontispiece. Like the Evangelist who guides the Christian pilgrim in Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, the gestures of the Salvation Army officers demonstrate that they are helping these individuals to their feet, giving them advice and pointing the way to the path of regeneration. The central lighthouse, labelled ‘Salvation,’ in the lower register of the frontispiece, performs a similar function. Like the light of the Christian cross from the *Pilgrim’s Progress*

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<sup>239</sup> Walker, 78.



frontispiece, the Salvation Army lighthouse shines a beacon of hope that literally and figuratively lights the way up to The City Colony.

The Salvation lighthouse, however, also implies the reformatory aspect of the *Darkest England* scheme. It is placed in the darkest area of the frontispiece, in the centre of the stormy sky that provides the backdrop to both the turbulent and threatening waterscape and the lower portion of The City Colony. The beam of light emanating from the lighthouse penetrates deep into the darkness effectively illuminating the numerous vignettes that illustrate the various forms of Booth's remedial plan. This penetration illustrates what Booth claims his scheme can do and what other philanthropic organizations have found impossible, that is, "let light into [urban poverty], make a road clear through" *Darkest England*.<sup>240</sup> The lighthouse, however, is also a striking symbolic parallel to the philosopher Michel Foucault's panopticon<sup>241</sup> that is an institutional watch tower representing an authoritative and oppressive gaze, seeing all without being seen.<sup>242</sup> The lighthouse conveys the authority and discipline of the Salvation Army and the ability of its officers to oversee and control London's "degenerative" population.

The Salvation Army's projects to provide "Work for All," the keystone of the *Darkest England* scheme and literally emblazoned on the keystone of the framing arch of the frontispiece, are illuminated in vignettes in the centre of the frontispiece. For example, the vignettes on the bottom right show Salvation Army officers, as one vignette label reads, "compelling them to come in" and at work in rescue homes and

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<sup>240</sup> Booth, 19.

<sup>241</sup> Observation also made by Agathocleous, 167.

<sup>242</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).

slums. “Crusade” depicts a woman, perhaps reading the bible to a sick man, in hopes to save his soul. Other efforts, as labels on the image indicate, include “local officers,” “household salvage brigade,” “prison gate brigade,” “cheap food depots,” “poor man’s lawyer,” “labour bureau,” “poor man’s bank” and “inquiry offices.” Many of the illustrated schemes suggest preventative measures, including age- and gender-appropriate housing projects. The many temporary work projects of the Salvation “factories” to address unemployment in the City are also illustrated. As literary historian Agathocleous has suggested, these vignettes, similar to the allegorical tradition of Renaissance emblem books, evoke an instructive moral lesson to be interpreted with the text.<sup>243</sup> The City Colony “factories” were after all designed to test out the “deserving” colonists, conveying the moral lesson that those who show their willingness to work and to improve themselves will continue to the next stage of the Salvation Army scheme.

A procession of Salvationists is shown in the centre of The City Colony traveling upwards along an open road to the third register of the image representing The Farm Colony. At this point in the frontispiece, and as noted in the Introduction, there is a significant shift in perspectives. The multiple vignette views of The City Colony are opened up with more elevated and expansive views that look onto The Farm Colony and beyond from a birds-eye perspective. In contrast to the degenerating influences of the overcrowded, polluted, unsanitary urban environment imaged at the base of the frontispiece, the spaciousness, fresh air and vigorous lifestyle of the country was perceived, as I have noted in Chapter One, as contributing to healthier citizens. The bird’s-eye view provided in the frontispiece of the green, rolling hills of the countryside conveys a sense of spaciousness while the lighter, warmer colors, in contrast to the dark

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<sup>243</sup> Agathocleous, 167.

smog of the turbulent waterscape and infiltrating the area of The City Colony, are suggestive of a healthier, unpolluted atmosphere. Mimicking the restorative benefits of the country, this shift in perspectives is also restful for the eye. Rather than having to quickly circulate amongst the maze of detailed vignettes of The City Colony, the aerial view of The Farm Colony allows the eye to gaze more “naturally” into the distance.

The bird’s-eye view also allows this portion of the image to become more abstract and less detailed while paradoxically maintaining a sense of control and knowledge in the reader. Indeed, the vantage point of the Salvation lighthouse is granted to the viewer; giving the impression that they can see the full extent of the *Darkest England* scheme. As noted, The Farm Colony is noticeably less detailed than The City Colony, where many of the projects were already established by the publication of the book. There are fewer text labels explaining the areas of The Farm Colony, with only designations like “co-operative farms,” “small farm allotments 5 acres and a cow,” “Whitechapel by the sea” and “embarkation” being provided. While these are aspects of The Farm Colony proposed by Booth in the text of *Darkest England*, the farm itself, the main component of The Farm Colony,<sup>244</sup> is not marked, nor is what Booth had prescribed in his text—a proposed industrial village.<sup>245</sup> This disjunction between the book’s text and the map-like image of the frontispiece may have been because, as noted in Chapter One, the Salvation Army farm, Hadleigh, would only come into existence after the publication of the book in March 1891, through donations to the *Darkest England* scheme itself. Significantly, rather than provoke criticism for this absence, the bird’s-eye view naturalizes this lack of detail.

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<sup>244</sup> Booth explicates The Farm Colony from pages 136-143.

<sup>245</sup> Booth proposes the industrial village from pages 144-148.

The bird's-eye view is tilted almost vertically towards the picture plane where The Farm Colony ends and a text label on the coast indicates the embarkation point of The Farm Colony for lands and colonies across the seas. Imaged as distant land masses labelled "British Colonies," "Foreign Lands" and The Colony Across the Sea, this view of the colonies functions to create a more generalized and idealized representation.<sup>246</sup> Robert Grant's study of colonial promotional literature has argued that the use of "scenic prospects" in representing the colonies constructed views to make safe the threateningly unknown and chaotic prospects of emigration.<sup>247</sup> Such images of colonial landscapes were contrasted with representations of the city as "dark, confined and teeming."<sup>248</sup> Such a "scenic prospect" is used at the top of the illustrated map of Booth's publication. Here, in contrast to the chaotic waters below The City Colony, the distant ocean appears completely smooth and calm. Ships are shown safely traveling to their destinations; they are guided by a dotted line, marked out with labels such as "emigration for domestic servants," "to the colony," "emigration to Canada, US," and "emigration to all parts of the world." Far away, abstracted land masses are labelled, "British Colonies," "Foreign Lands" and, at the top, the utopian Colony Across the Sea.

This representation of colonial emigration in the *Darkest England* frontispiece exemplifies the image's potent combination of Christian tropes. The image transitions from sin to salvation. Darkness in the stormy waters at the base of the image is contrasted with the light, calm waters in the upper register that separate The Farm

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<sup>246</sup> The ships that travel to "Foreign Lands", for example, are labelled emigration to Canada and the U.S., while the ships traveling to "British Colonies" are labelled emigration for domestic servants. As noted in the Introduction, The Colony Across the Sea is neither "British Colonies" nor "Foreign Lands" and is therefore, figured as a utopian place--a representation also suggested by the fantastic, visionary skyline of The Colony Across the Sea.

<sup>247</sup> Robert Grant, *Representations of British Emigration, Colonization and Settlement, Imaging Empire, 1800-1860* (Great Britain: Palgrave and Macmillan, 2005).

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid*, 100.

Colony from The Colony Across the Sea, the latter appearing almost as a vision within a heavenly sky. The figures of a man and woman in the topmost corners of the frontispiece above the arch and dressed in the white, uniform-like garb of a baker and laundress represent the regenerated urban poor, but can also be interpreted as white angels. The path of the pilgrim continues through The Farm Colony and follows the dotted lines of the ships to The Colony Across the Sea. The Colony Across the Sea, with its glowing urban skyline, is therefore like the Celestial City, or Heavenly Jerusalem, signaling the spiritual salvation of the pilgrim.

This transition from sin to salvation, within the framing pillars, scrolling banners and triumphal arch of in the *Darkest England* frontispiece, may also refer to a kind of Last Judgment scene. The Last Judgment, referring to Christ's second coming to sit in judgment separating the damned and the saved, was a popular theme in medieval and renaissance religious iconography. Whether sculpted on the facades of medieval cathedrals or, in the Renaissance and after, depicted in fresco or on canvas behind the altars of numerous Christian churches, scenes of the Last Judgment portrayed the tortures of the damned and the glory awaiting redeemed souls as they ascend into heaven.<sup>249</sup> Such imagery was designed to convey important messages to worshippers. In the case of the Last Judgment scenes on medieval cathedrals, the importance of Christians performing pilgrimages and giving donations to the church was underlined as

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<sup>249</sup> Sculptural reliefs depicting the Last Judgment were featured prominently in the tympanum above the entrances to Romanesque cathedrals, for example, the well known Giselbertus' Last Judgment decorating the west tympanum of the pilgrimage church of Saint-Lazare in Autun France, ca.1120-1135. In this example, there is a depiction of Christ in the centre, enthroned in a halo-like mandorla, while swaying, anxious souls are lined-up, awaiting their fate on the lower register. Two of these figures are marked with symbols indicating that they are pilgrims to Jerusalem and the medieval pilgrimage destination, Santiago de Compostela. On the right of the relief carving, those who have been weighed by angels on a scale and condemned to Hell are shown tortured by hideous demons. In contrast, angels intercede on the behalf of the righteous pilgrims represented on the tympanum.

one means of redeeming one's soul.<sup>250</sup> In these and in later images, such as Michelangelo's fresco of the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel and painted between 1537 and 1541, where the damned writhe in the turbulent waters of the river Styx described in Dante's *Inferno*,<sup>251</sup> Last Judgment imagery also gave graphic emphasis to teachings that salvation from an eternity in hell lay in Christian devotion and the performance of a virtuous life. While the *Darkest England* frontispiece was not referring to any particular example of a Last Judgment scene, its contrast of the perils of sin and the virtues leading to salvation similarly evokes the fear of judgment to increase a sense of spiritual urgency to gain support from the readers of the *Darkest England* scheme.

The pilgrimage through the frontispiece of *Darkest England* also leads to the Salvation Army's colonization of the world and here the frontispiece demonstrates a spectacular imperial rhetoric. The fantastic geography of the frontispiece represents Britain as an imperial centre.<sup>252</sup> London, represented by the drowning figures in the waterscape and The City Colony, along with the portrayal of The Farm Colony that extends into the British countryside, comprise three-quarters of the frontispiece map. From Britain, ships travel outwards as the direction of their billowing steam indicates. This colonization of the world and indeed the globe stands a radical imperial imaginary.

Equally imperial is the desire to recreate Britain in all of these places of the world.<sup>253</sup> This is a powerful gesture demonstrating the authority of the colonizer "to remake colonial spaces in the image of the mother country and to occlude extant, local

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<sup>250</sup> Andreas Petzold, *Romanesque Art* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1995), 54-55.

<sup>251</sup> Loren W. Partridge, *The Art of Renaissance Rome, 1400-1600* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1996), 133-136.

<sup>252</sup> Agathocleous, 169.

<sup>253</sup> See Radhika Mohanram, *Black Body: Women, Colonialism and Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

history in the renarrating and remaking of places.”<sup>254</sup> *Darkest England* subscribes to this imperial worldview. In the text of the book, Booth explains that “it is absurd to speak of the Colonies if they were a foreign land. They are simply pieces of Britain distributed to parts of the world, enabling the Britisher to have access to the richest parts of the world.”<sup>255</sup> The distant and hazy Colony Across the Sea, perhaps resembling the skyline of London, with tall buildings, smoke stacks, domes and church spires, exemplifies this replication of “pieces of Britain” on distant shores. Aligned horizontally and just above the colonies of the frontispiece are male and female workers, a baker and laundress, wearing white clothing and assertively Caucasian these figures also convey this imposition of the British-ness onto the rest of the globe.

The baker and laundress also signal the completion of the regeneration of London’s “degenerate” population. Unlike the unemployed masses drowning in the polluted and contaminating waters at the bottom of the illustration, these two figures are shown busy at work. It is through such labour that the unemployed are to be cleansed of their former degenerative influences. The whiteness of both the figures and the spandrel-like space around them suggests this cleanliness. As noted earlier, the woman in white in the top right corner is a laundress, actively engaged in washing and sanitizing clean white linen. Soap carried several meanings for Victorians; the fetishization of soap as a consumer commodity culture reflected the “cult of domesticity and the new imperialism” of late nineteenth-century Britain.<sup>256</sup> For Salvationists, soap expressed the spiritual purity of Christianity. They participated in this late Victorian commodity

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<sup>254</sup> Mohanram, 150.

<sup>255</sup> Booth, 152.

<sup>256</sup> Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (Routledge, 1995), 208.

culture by producing and selling their own Salvation Army soap and towels.<sup>257</sup> Soap also expressed “class control (cleansing the great unwashed) and the imperial civilizing mission (washing and clothing the savage).”<sup>258</sup> As Anne McClintock and Pamela Walker have noted, the laundress’s action of washing in the frontispiece would be important in representing the cleansing of the working classes to make them more appealing candidates for colonial emigration.

Booth’s frontispiece does more than represent colonization by the Salvation Army; more importantly, it enacts this colonization. Given the visual complexity of the *Darkest England* frontispiece, what is clear is that the image was meant to be unfolded and studied many times. The key to the frontispiece tells the reader that “the more the chart is examined the more will be seen of the great blessings the Scheme is intended to convey...and the more the Scheme contained in this book is studied and assisted, the more will the beautiful prospect held out on the Chart be likely to be brought into reality.”<sup>259</sup> Furthermore, the image’s transition from dark to light encourages the eye to repeatedly journey from top to bottom, each time following the path through the image that ultimately leads to colonization. The way the frontispiece folds out from the book also encourages multiple viewings. The image is therefore, performative, in the sense that by merely unfolding and looking at the image, the viewer is drawn into repeatedly enacting this colonization in their imagination. As the key to the frontispiece indicates, if the viewer donates to the *Darkest England* scheme, this performance will literally be “brought into reality.”

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<sup>257</sup> Walker, 205.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid, 208.

<sup>259</sup> Booth, key to the frontispiece.



This need for Booth's project of colonization to be repeatedly reinforced and reenacted by the viewer underlines the instability of the book's global emigration scheme. Global emigration of the unemployed poor was, as I discussed in Chapter One, the most difficult aspect of the book to sell. This difficulty makes the advertisement-like frontispiece all the more important. The frontispiece was a crucial part of the marketing campaign of *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, and was an important element that set the Salvation Army's plan above other contemporary colony schemes. Visual imagery, more than the text, allowed the doubling of Christian and imperial tropes to bolster support for the Salvation Army's colonial mission. The representation of colonization as a pilgrimage demonstrates the imperial power of the Salvation Army and its global reach while conveying a moral justification for this imperial expansion. As I argued in the opening chapter, the Christian missionary, fighting against barbarism and sin, represents the 'good' colonizer. The spiritual mission embedded in the Salvation Army's social mission makes eventual colonization seem part of God's divine plan, and in turn is a powerful justification for readers to support the *Darkest England* scheme.<sup>260</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Agathocleous, 169.



Fig.2: Frontispiece of John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 1870.<sup>261</sup>

<sup>261</sup> Scan from John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1870).

## Conclusion

The frontispiece and the opening chapter of William Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out* form an important part of the marketing strategy of the book. Both utilize a powerful combination of sensational imperial and Christian tropes. There are, however, significant differences between the frontispiece and the text; indeed, the relationship between the two is fraught with tensions and contradictions. Underlying these tensions is the book's complex negotiation between evoking the threat of the unemployed poor to support the necessity of the *Darkest England* project, while obscuring this threat to demonstrate the possibility of the regenerative scheme's success.<sup>262</sup> As the literary historian Joseph McLaughlin aptly describes, *Darkest England* is "a darkness that [Booth] paradoxically illuminates and produces simultaneously."<sup>263</sup>

It is within this context that the opening chapter of *Darkest England* exaggerates the savagery and darkness of the urban jungle in order to justify the presence of the Salvation Army and win support for its mission.<sup>264</sup> Both the metaphor of the urban jungle and the very title of Booth's publication capitalized on the popularity of Henry Morton Stanley's recent bestseller, and created an invigorating and heroic call to action to excite donations and revive support for the Salvation Army. In the context of the *Darkest England* scheme, as I have discussed in Chapter One, these metaphors also positioned the Salvation Army as leaders of colonization into the "darkest" reaches of the Empire. Significantly, as the Salvation Army was a predominantly working-class

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<sup>262</sup> Boone, 113.

<sup>263</sup> McLaughlin, 82.

<sup>264</sup> This was also a common technique of colonial missionary literature (Brantlinger, 182).

organization and the book was making an appeal for donations from more affluent readers, such evocations of heroic imperial action offered ways to circumvent class-based anxieties.

Chapter Two has discussed the use, in the opening pages of *Darkest England*, of the binary of “civilized versus savage” to construct the poor as a race apart. This technique would have also been crucial in mitigating class anxieties through the discourse of race. Thus the description of the two specimens of “human baboon” and “handsome dwarf” in Booth’s publication served to separate the unemployed poor from the Salvationists who intended to save them.<sup>265</sup> Setting up the unemployed poor as racial “Others” effectively called for the civilizing intervention of the Salvation Army. However the civilized and savage binary also obscured what the many testimonials in the book indicated, namely that many of the Salvationists themselves were precisely these “specimens” of the “urban jungle,” that is, rehabilitated alcoholics, prisoners and prostitutes.<sup>266</sup> As I have discussed in Chapter Two, the ethnographic depiction of the poor also suggested a “potentially irredeemable backwardness” that undermined the possibility of the Salvation Army’s program of regeneration.<sup>267</sup>

The frontispiece image, with its powerful combination of Christian and imperial tropes, played a significant role in mediating these tensions. It is significant that references to the jungles of both Africa and urban Britain are avoided in the frontispiece. Rather, as the scholar Tanya Agathocleous has observed, the messages of Christian salvation provided by the frontispiece image, represent the “progressive force that will inevitably override degeneration” to “bypass the disturbing ethnographic questions of

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<sup>265</sup> Booth, 18.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>267</sup> Agathocleous, 169.

racial and cultural difference” that emerged in the text of *Darkest England*.<sup>268</sup> Moreover, by representing colonization in the frontispiece through references to a pilgrimage narrative, Booth justified the Salvation Army’s position as a Christian missionary organization. Both the image’s composition, that offers a transition from damnation to salvation, and its religious symbolism (the waters of hell, the framing pillars and scrolling banners and heavenly celestial city flanked by the angelic baker and laundress), also make reference to Last Judgment imagery. This serves to underscore a sense of spiritual urgency in terms of the eradication of sin, while also calling for the donations sought from the readers of *Darkest England*.

As I have noted, the frontispiece, in distinction to the text, avoids representing East London as an impenetrable, dark jungle. The success of the *Darkest England* project depended on colonizing jungles, in London and abroad, by bringing light and civilization into the “darkness.” Thus, the darkest area of the frontispiece surrounds the Salvation Lighthouse where rays of light are shown penetrating and illuminating the stormy sky and lighting up the projects of regeneration in the areas of The City Colony. Mapping, surveying and the gathering of statistical information represent similar techniques of colonization employed in the frontispiece. These techniques demonstrate that the darkness of the urban jungle has been overcome. Paradoxically, the success of the frontispiece depends on its relationship with this darkness; a dependence that is similar to the relationship between the construction of the urban jungle in the text and the necessity of the Salvation Army’s project for social reform. The dark areas of the frontispiece activate the juxtaposition between the bottom and top of the image: damnation and salvation, degeneration and regeneration, which lead the eye repeatedly

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<sup>268</sup> Agathocleous, 169.

through the image, performing the Salvation Army's colonization of both urban centres and the globe.

It is not an exaggeration to suggest that the frontispiece imagery literally enacted the colonization projects set out in *Darkest England*. As I have emphasized throughout this thesis, the tropes activated in Booth's publication were incredibly seductive. Like the role of images in advertisements, the visual modes employed in the frontispiece could work beyond the text to evoke the fears and desires of the reader. The frontispiece, working in conjunction with the opening chapter of *Darkest England* thus was a key element behind the book's highly successful marketing strategy.

Although Booth's plans for large-scale emigration of the unemployed poor were never realized, as I have noted in Chapter One, *Darkest England* did have a significant international impact. Donations given by readers of the book funded many important Salvation Army projects for social reform in England and across the world, for example in continental Europe, in America and Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and South America.<sup>269</sup> The book was quickly circulated internationally and, by the end of 1890, it had been translated into Japanese, German, French and Swedish.<sup>270</sup>

Such success, however, did not obscure the problematic agendas that were at play in *Darkest England and the Way Out*. T.H. Huxley's criticisms of the project, discussed in Chapter One, suggest that some Victorians may have been disconcerted with Booth's colonial ambitions. Reactions such as Huxley's remind us that Victorians were far from unanimous in their support of Empire and that some were critical of the

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<sup>269</sup> Sandall, vol.3, 114-119.

<sup>270</sup> Sandall, vol.3, 81.

methods of imperialism.<sup>271</sup> In addition, as modern critical scholars and readers of *Darkest England* can readily discern, the book's explicitly colonial tropes relied on brutally oppressive representations of both Africans and the poor. It is precisely such contradictions and tensions, as I have argued, that are mediated and performed by the book's frontispiece image as the reader and viewer enact the spiritual and social regeneration that was *Darkest England's* central goal.

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<sup>271</sup> Driver, 194.

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