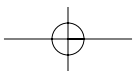
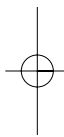
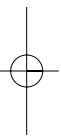


PART ONE

Conceptions of World Order
and Global Consciousness in
the Imperialist Age



CHAPTER 2

Global Civil Society and the Forces of Empire: The Salvation Army, British Imperialism, and the “Prehistory” of NGOs (ca. 1880–1920)

Harald Fischer-Tiné

“What, then, is my scheme? It is a very simple one, although in its ramifications and extensions it embraces the whole world”

—William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, London, 1980

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)¹ play a pivotal role in the current debate on globalization. Particularly, critics of the asymmetrical economic and political relationships ensuing from the processes of intensified communication and exchange on a global scale warn of the new forces of Empire—that is, the hegemonic role of the United States and multinational trusts—in a new postcolonial and post-cold war world order.² The establishment of a global civil society, would provide the only effective means of resistance to these perilous developments.³ The most recent world social forums held in Mumbai (formerly Bombay) in 2004 and in Porto Alegre in 2005 served as powerful demonstrations of the resolution of countless movements and organizations from all over the world—including many NGOs—to strengthen local interests and check the impact of the alleged

neoliberal forces. Recent scholarship has rightly criticized the lack of interest in the historical dimension of globalization⁴ that characterizes much of today's political discourse on the issue. While there is an abundance of historiographical writing on the prehistory of states and nations, we know comparatively little about the historical trajectory taken by what is today termed global civil society. Transnational interaction and communication on a global scale, however, is not as recent a phenomenon as is commonly understood. According to Jürgen Osterhammel, the intensity of globalizing processes had reached a first peak by the end of the nineteenth century.⁵ This holds true not only for the economic, political, and cultural level, but also for the emerging religious and philanthropic organizations that could be seen as forerunners of today's NGOs.⁶

Building on Kathleen Wilson's important insight showing that the British Empire provides us with a particularly striking example of interdependent sites that "allow us to rethink the . . . historiographies of national belonging and exclusion,"⁷ the present case study tries to illustrate these developments by analyzing the ideology as well as the practical endeavors of one of the most successful global philanthropic movements, in a transnational context: the Salvation Army. Founded as a modest lay-missionary organization in 1878 in England, the Salvation Army was represented in more than 30 states by 1910. It entertained a flourishing network of schools, hospitals, reformatories, factories, publishing houses, and other institutions almost all over the globe. Complementing and partly challenging previous work that tended to study the movement in isolation, either in Western—mostly British and American⁸—or non-Western contexts,⁹ I want to stress the interrelation between the metropolitan and the imperial (or even global) dimension of the Salvation Army's work that mutually influenced and informed each other in significant ways.¹⁰ Mainly focusing on the Army's activities in Britain and British India, I would like to make three basic arguments.

First, even when the Army's activities were largely confined to British or other European theaters, the epistemological base of Salvationist ideology was significantly shaped by what has been described as "imperial technologies of knowledge-gathering."¹¹ Britain's urban poor, the prime targets of the organization's reclamation activities, were constructed as "heathens" or "savages" in a rhetoric borrowing heavily from imperial travel writing. It is evident that extra-European points of reference had become commonplace in late Victorian public debates.

Second, apart from this ideological entanglement, the global outlook of Salvationism and the movement's imperial dimension became very concretely visible in its scheme to eradicate urban poverty in Britain. The Army's program of Social Salvation was conceived on a global scale, as one of its features was

the emigration of unemployed plebeian elements of British society to overseas colonies. Thus, not only the epistemological tools of the empire but also its infrastructure and the practical possibilities it offered were very much present in public debates and shaped what can, from that point on, no longer merely be called a metropolitan discourse.

Third, in the beginning, the Salvation Army had to cope with official suspicion, in the United Kingdom as well as in the British colonies and various other countries. During the first two or three decades after its inception it acted not only without any support from the state but often suffered outright repression by the state authorities. However, an exploration of the Indian example shows that the state attitude changed as soon as it was realized that the Salvation Army could be used as a helpful tool to control and “reform” segments of the population that were deemed dangerous. Within a few decades, the role of the organization changed fundamentally. From being denounced as troublemakers raising the concern of the colonial administration, the Salvationists had been transformed into guardians of the empire by the second decade of the twentieth century. They supported the colonial state in various important projects concerned with inculcating the natives with civility, thereby spreading the British/European standard of civilization¹² into a corner of the world regarded as half civilized at best. Meanwhile, and arguably not entirely unconnected to its imperial usefulness—the organization had also won respectability at home after initially being attacked for decades from various sides including, as previously mentioned, government officials. One result of the eventual recognition by the establishment was that it could extend its services to other colonies and dominions of the British Empire and thus became a truly imperial force, active all over the globe.

Thus, the example of the Salvation Army can serve to demonstrate that the new internationalism carried by organizations and agents belonging to the realm of the civil society did not necessarily “challenge state power,”¹³ nor did it unavoidably entail lofty aspirations “to a more peaceful and stable world order through transnational efforts”¹⁴ because it was intrinsically linked to imperial ideologies and practices in manifold ways.

The Emergence of Salvationism in Mid-Victorian England

Changing Religious Landscapes

The Salvation Army was a typical product of the economic, social, and intellectual cataclysms that took place in mid- and late Victorian England. The processes of industrialization and urbanization, with their endemic features

of hunger, housing problems, and unemployment had created two nations, not only in social and economic but also in religious terms.¹⁵ They had alienated many members of the lower strata of British Society from the Church of England and even partly from the nonconformist sects, which had been very popular among the working classes in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The fact that the popularity of the conventional type of organized Christianity was “receding in unprecedented rapidity”¹⁶ became evident in the nationwide religious census conducted in 1851 that unmistakably showed “how absolutely insignificant a proportion”¹⁷ of the congregations was composed of members of the urban laboring classes. As a result, a whole wave of evangelist groups and individuals embarked on what became known as the Home Mission Movement from the late 1850s onward. It was their avowed aim to save Christianity—already under siege on a different level through the spread of scientific modes of explaining the world and man’s place in it¹⁸—from further decline by reaching out for the working classes.

The Salvation Army has to be seen in the broader context of this religious revivalism that aimed to create a “middle of the road Christianity,” whose middle-class values could be adapted lower on the social scale. Conversion thus had not only a religious significance, it could also be used to contain a laboring population that—in the eyes of many upper-class observers—had grown more and more “unruly,” “degenerate” and “dangerous” by the 1880s.¹⁹ That the process of downward diffusion of middle-class values through a large-scale re-Christianization was regarded as a viable method to counter such threats can be gathered from the report of a Salvationist officer dating from the 1890s. He observes with obvious relief that “[c]onversion has a wonderful effect on a man; he is very soon decently clothed; his home becomes better, and, although he remains a working man, outwardly he might pass with the clerks.”²⁰ New techniques of organization, mobilization, and recruitment were used to convey this double message of spiritual and social upliftment, and traditional congregational religion was being increasingly supported (and sometimes replaced) by large-scale public organizations combining religious interests with an agenda of social reform.²¹ The Salvation Army was perhaps the most successful and doubtlessly the most original of these newly emerging bodies.

William Booth and the Rise and Growth of Aggressive Christianity

For what was to become a global movement, Salvationism had astonishingly narrow local origins. The movement’s founder William Booth (1829–1912),

originated from a humble working class family in Nottingham.²² At the age of 15 he underwent a religious conversion experience and came under the influence of Methodism. He served for several years as a minister for a Methodist sect, before he declared his independence in the early 1860s. Nonetheless, Methodism seems to have influenced his religious teachings in at least two important ways. His rather simplistic belief that eternal damnation was the inescapable fate of the unconverted that went in tandem with a strong conviction that personal salvation was possible in this world only due to the grace of the holy spirit, certainly bore traits of Wesleyan teaching. Undoubtedly his strong social commitment and concern for the “poor and degraded” also has moorings in this tradition.²³ It was the combination of both factors that made him eventually settle down in the capitol and found the East London Christian Mission in 1865.²⁴ After two years of preaching in tents or open air, a permanent headquarter of his mission was established in the Eastern Star, formerly a “low drinking saloon”²⁵ on Whitechapel road. This choice of place is significant, as the environs of Whitechapel were already infamous for being one of the most disreputable areas in the “heart of the empire” even before they acquired Jack-the-Ripper-fame.²⁶ The symbolic message was unambiguous: in England, as in India, later on the outcasts of society, were the main addressees of the Army’s proselytizing.

From the very beginning William Booth and his wife Catherine, who played an important role in the movement and was later given the honorary title “Mother of the Salvation Army,”²⁷ made use of the print media to disseminate their message—a feature it shared with countless other modern religious movements and organizations all over the globe.²⁸ In addition to the impressive number of pamphlets that Booth had circulated from the inception of his career as a *homme public*, the *East London Evangelist* was published from 1868 as the first regular journal of his movement. Several other periodicals including the *Salvationist* (1878) and *The War Cry* (1879) that was to become its most important mouthpiece, followed later.

In spite of the extensive use of the mass-media available at the time,²⁹ the organization’s rate of growth remained humble during the first decade of its existence. It was only during the years 1878–1880 that a major shift in matters of internal organization, strategy, and public appearance changed the course of its history: the “mission to the heathens of London”³⁰ became a quasi-military organization and was renamed Salvation Army. William Booth appointed himself as its General and introduced the complete range of military ranking for his fellow-Salvationists. The Army’s brass bands parading through the streets of poorer urban quarters, together with the uniforms³¹ and flags soon became one of the most powerful symbols of the restyled voluntary organization.

The adoption of military uniforms, terminology, music, and modes of organization reflected an important broader tendency in late Victorian intellectual and religious life: a growing militarization.³² Interestingly, the ground for this change of attitudes had partly been prepared by geopolitical developments of the 1850s, when the British Empire was shaken by the almost simultaneous outbreaks of the Crimean War and the Indian “Mutiny.”³³ The feelings of vulnerability and anxiety provoked by these conflicts that involved heavy losses of life on the side of the British, also led to a subtle change in religious sensibilities. Traditional concepts of peacefulness and piety slowly gave way to ideals of aggressive self-assertion and missionary activities of which the conspicuous popularity of military rhetoric and imagery in Christian circles is but one index. As Peter Van der Veer and others have argued, the new concept of “muscular Christianity,” propagated by influential literary and public figures like Thomas Carlyle and Charles Kingsley, must also be seen in this wider imperial connection.³⁴

One result of these masculinizing tendencies was a widespread enthusiasm for the figure of the soldier-saint, construed as a defender of the faith who was pious and yet strong, godly, and virile. By the middle of the 1860s, the phrase “Christian soldier” was becoming commonplace as warrior-like qualities seemed to be best fitted to spread Christianity in an age regarded as godless and impious. This was not only obvious in the case of missionary work in Britain’s various colonies that was pursued with renewed zeal from mid-nineteenth century onward,³⁵ but also in the crusade to win over the “heathens” in the metropolis. In a seminal pamphlet, Catherine Booth justified the militarization of the former East London Christian Mission with the simple argument:

[I]f you can’t get them in by civil measures, use military measures. Go and COMPEL them to come in. It seems to me that we want more of this determined aggressive spirit. . . . Verily, we must make them look—tear the bandages off, open their eyes, make them bear it, and if they run away from you in one place, meet them in another, and let them have no peace until they submit to God and get their souls saved. This is what Christianity ought to be doing in this land.³⁶

The advantages of an autocratic, army-like style of leadership for a religious outfit are outlined in even clearer terms by General Booth in a manual that was modeled after the British Army’s “soldiers” pocket-book and handed out to every new “cadet.” After denouncing the uselessness of any democratic

system of church government³⁷ Booth pointed out that:

Only with this absolute power over men can there be regularity. . . . [W]ith people who are always under the same control, it is possible, no matter who the officer may be, for the services to be continued day after day, and year after year, without a break or hitch. This is militarism—a settled, absolute, regular system of using men to accomplish a common settled purpose.³⁸

It was precisely the high degree of organization and discipline achieved through this “militarism” that transformed the former “Christian mission” into an authoritarian “imperial structure”³⁹ able to “overcome, conquer, subdue [and] compel all nations . . . to become the disciples of the son of god”⁴⁰ that later on made it an attractive partner for the common settled purpose of “reforming” segments of the population viewed as degenerate and dangerous both in the metropolis and in the outposts of the empire.⁴¹ Quite obviously, this scheme also fit in perfectly well with late Victorian society’s more general obsession with regularity and national efficiency.⁴² Whereas the attainment of a more effective style of leadership was thus the main goal of the organizational aspect of militarization⁴³ the expected results of its outward elements—the adoption of uniforms and other army paraphernalia—was threefold. First it was expected simply to “attract attention.” Second, it was calculated to “excite respect in the rowdy population”⁴⁴ whose souls were the prime targets of the Army’s religious zeal. Third, it was supposed to clearly demarcate the Salvationists from other Christian missionaries, making them distinguishable as a lay civil society organization that had nothing in common with the established churches. The latter point is significant insofar as it did indeed appeal to the members of the working classes, many of whom were, as we have already noticed, strongly prejudiced against the congregational versions of Christianity.

Whichever aspect may have been decisive, the restructuring along military lines doubtlessly was a tremendous success. From the 31 branches existing in 1878 the movement’s strength grew to 519 branches (now called corps) all over the United Kingdom by 1883.⁴⁵ In the following decades the Army’s rise across Britain steadily continued, though at a somewhat slower pace: there were 1507 corps by 1890 and 1557 by 1900.⁴⁶ These impressive figures could easily mislead one to believe that the Army’s growth was a neat and uncomplicated success story. Quite the reverse— from the outset, the Salvationists’ catchy methods of spreading their gospel provoked what one author has called “Salvophobism”:⁴⁷ fierce opposition from various quarters.⁴⁸ Young workers formed skeleton armies and disturbed the public sermons and

procession of the Christian revivalists. The clergy of the Church of England and other established denominations were often hostile, and the local authorities not seldom regarded the zealous revivalists as troublemakers and had them arrested. It was only after the organization became significantly engaged in social service and philanthropic activities from the 1890s onward that things began to change slowly. By the turn of the century, the Army was increasingly recognized in official circles as an efficient agent of both social reform and social control.⁴⁹ George Bernard Shaw even saw it as a “sort of auxiliary police” as it was “taking off the insurrectionary edge of poverty”⁵⁰ thus “preserv[ing] the country from mob-violence and revolution.”⁵¹ The newly acquired official acclaim became most apparent in two symbolic acts. In 1904 General Booth was received by King Edward VII, and three years later he was even awarded an honorary doctorate from Oxford University.⁵² Thus, by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, there could no longer be a doubt about it: Salvationism had gone mainstream.

Long before such a recognition by the establishment was even imaginable, the international expansion of the movement had begun. As early as 1880 the first branches were opened in other countries, by 1910 the Salvationists had “seeded themselves”⁵³ in more than 30 countries (including British colonial territories)⁵⁴ and by the 1930s the movement had become an almost universal force, entertaining branches in 41 countries and territories spanning 5 continents.⁵⁵ Before we look more closely at the Army’s actual activities overseas, it is worth exploring the ideological base of its social and philanthropic work in the metropolis, which eventually made the organization respectable in official circles. An analysis of this discursive dimension also demonstrates the importance of global (mostly colonial or exotic) metaphors and points of reference. On the basis of the conspicuous omnipresence of imperial rhetoric in the core texts produced by leading figures of the Salvation movement, I would suggest reading the Army as a colonizing agency within the boundaries of the United Kingdom.

The Imperial Mission Within

“Darkest England” and the Tools of Empire

In the first decade after the foundation of the Salvation Army, the organization’s religious objective—“saving” as many souls as possible—seems to have clearly outweighed its ambitions for social reform.⁵⁶ Soon it became evident that the targeted *Lumpen* elements of urban society would be hard to convince in terms of focusing their attention on their spiritual “sanctification”⁵⁷ whilst

they had to struggle with their utter material distress. Social reform thus appeared to be the first necessary step to realize the more ambitious goal of the “the devil’s children’s”⁵⁸ spiritual regeneration.

The publication of William Booth’s⁵⁹ controversial book *From Darkest England and the Way Out* in 1890 reflects this reorientation toward the material needs of the “submerged tenth” of England’s population.⁶⁰ *In Darkest England* is today rightly regarded as a classic of Victorian reform literature. Apart from being a tremendous commercial success (more than 300,000 copies were sold within one and a half years after its release),⁶¹ the book provoked a vibrant public debate about poverty, philanthropy, and the responsibilities of civil society, involving such prominent intellectuals as T.H. Huxley and George Bernard Shaw.⁶² In spite of the fact that Booth focuses on England—almost all the examples he gives are taken from the London poor—the arguments brought forward in the book and in the ensuing debate reveal not only the omnipresence of imperial points of reference, they also show the extent to which Victorians were used to thinking in a global framework. The catchy title itself is a perfect illustration for this point. It capitalizes on the popularity of a book written by one of Britain’s imperial heroes, brought out shortly before Booth’s manifesto appeared: Henry Morton Stanley’s *In Darkest Africa*.⁶³ Whereas Stanley describes his expedition through Central Africa as a voyage into the heart of a hostile, repulsive, and dangerous wilderness, inhabited by uncivilized and degraded specimens of the human race “nearly approaching the baboon,”⁶⁴ Booth takes his readers to the poorer parts of London, the “urban jungle” whose “denizens” he describes in astonishingly similar terms:

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. . . . Just as in Darkest Africa . . . much of the misery of those whose lot we are considering arises from their own habits. Drunkenness and all manner of uncleanness, moral and physical abound. . . . A population sodden with drink, steeped in vice eaten up by every social and physical malady, these are the denizens of Darkest England among whom my life has been spent and to whose rescue I would now summon all that is best in the manhood and womanhood of our land.⁶⁵

A painstakingly detailed description of the slum areas in the heart of the empire and a meticulous categorization of its populace (the homeless, the out-of-work, the vicious, the criminals, etc.) follows.⁶⁶ The sociologist Mariana Valverde has persuasively argued that Booth’s description of Darkest England and her “degenerate” inhabitants is a typical example for the impact of imperial technologies of knowledge production on the emerging

metropolitan discipline of urban social studies.⁶⁷ Cartographical mapping of “spaces of disease and disorder” as well as taxonomic projects like the classification of human types (later on called ethnology or race science) had first been developed in an imperial context by explorers, surveyors, and “scholar administrators.”⁶⁸ In a process Valverde describes as “the dialectic of the familiar and the unfamiliar” hegemonial knowledge, based on metropolitan premises but produced in the colonial “contact zone”⁶⁹ was re-imported into the metropolis to provide the attempts at categorization and hierarchization in the more familiar arena “with scientific authorisation.”⁷⁰ Booth’s tropicalization of London’s East End—some of his contemporaries were indeed engaged in the drawing of an ethnographic map of the capital—shows that these imperial technologies of exploration, far from being objective scientific methods, were shot through with pre-assumptions and laden with value judgements.⁷¹ One certainly has to admit that General Booth had a genuine interest in the poor, and helped considerably in improving their material lot. Yet at the same time his “benevolent despotism,”⁷² characterized by the constant use of the “language of empire,”⁷³ resulted in a widening of the gap between middle-class “explorers” and the slum dwellers in England’s industrial cities whose life-world was put under scrutiny.⁷⁴ Ultimately, the “Sunken Millions”⁷⁵ of the urban poor were put on par with the savage “natives,” “pygmies,” and “baboons” out there in the colonies. Such rhetoric compellingly demonstrates the impact of the powerful late Victorian trope of race and more specifically the fear of “racial degeneration.”⁷⁶

Booth was perfectly aware of the fact that the prevalence of excessive poverty and low life in London and other English cities severely threatened the credibility of an imperial nation that boasted of spreading “moral and material progress” over the globe and held it to be “a satire . . . upon our Christianity and our civilisation that these colonies of heathens and savages in the heart of our capital should attract so little attention!”⁷⁷ He was convinced, however, that “for Darkest England as for Darkest Africa, there [wa]s a light beyond”⁷⁸ in the form of responsible representatives of superior “races” or individuals embarking on a civilizing mission “to snatch from the abyss those who, if left to themselves, w[ould] perish.”⁷⁹

Global Solutions for Domestic Problems

Booth’s diagnosis of poverty in Britain was gloomy. According to his calculations no less than three million, 10 percent of the country’s population, were living beneath the poverty line, but there were substantial differences between them, even if the boundaries between the groups were fuzzy. According to Booth, Darkest England could be imagined as a territory

demarcated by three concentric circles.⁸⁰ The outer was inhabited by the homeless and unemployed but honest poor. Next came the vicious, and the innermost was the domain of the criminals. All of them were threatened by the constant temptation of the brothels and gin shops in their vicinity. Echoing a current stereotype,⁸¹ Booth believed that moral weakness and particularly the affinity to drink was almost a natural character trait of the urban “residuum.”⁸² His program of “social salvation” hence had two basic goals that could be aptly described in the imperial rhetoric of the time as “material and moral improvement.”⁸³ Both were centered on the notion of work as a panacea for various kinds of evils and the ultimate key to salvation.⁸⁴ Work not only as a key to self-help, that is, economic self-sufficiency, but also as a moralizing force,⁸⁵ inculcating virtues like regularity and self-discipline, encompassed in the Victorian omnibus term “character.”⁸⁶ The actual instrument of upliftment was to be a threefold scheme of self-sustaining communities, significantly termed “colonies.” This scheme, Booth argued, should be entirely financed by donations and public subscriptions, thus setting an example for the self-healing capabilities of civil society. The “city colonies” were supposed to be “harbours of refuge” in the “centre of the ocean of misery” and had the task of saving the “poor destitute creatures”⁸⁷ from the most immediate forms of distress by providing shelter, food, and temporary employment in factories and industrial workshops.

Those who had passed a test “as to their sincerity, industry and honesty”⁸⁸ could then proceed to the farm colony, situated a safe distance from the temptations of the city and the unhealthy and corrupting influences of urban life. Booth made it unmistakably clear that every person admitted into the settlement would not only be “instructed in the needful arts of husbandry, or some other method of earning his bread” but also “taught the elementary lesson of obedience.”⁸⁹ Drunkenness, falsehood, and even the use of “profane language” would be severely punished.⁹⁰ The rule that repeat offenders were to be expelled from the rural colony was designed to ensure that the “scum of Cockneydom”⁹¹ was sorted out and only the “deserving,” the refined products of this process of internal colonization, should reach the third and final stage in the Salvationists’ regenerative scheme. For our present purpose the proposed establishment of New Britain or the colony over-sea is certainly the most interesting aspect of Booth’s ambitious plan. The General’s awareness of the significance of recent improvements in transport and communication and the resulting intensity of ongoing processes of globalization was at the bottom of the whole project. His description of an Anglophone global village must strike today’s readers.

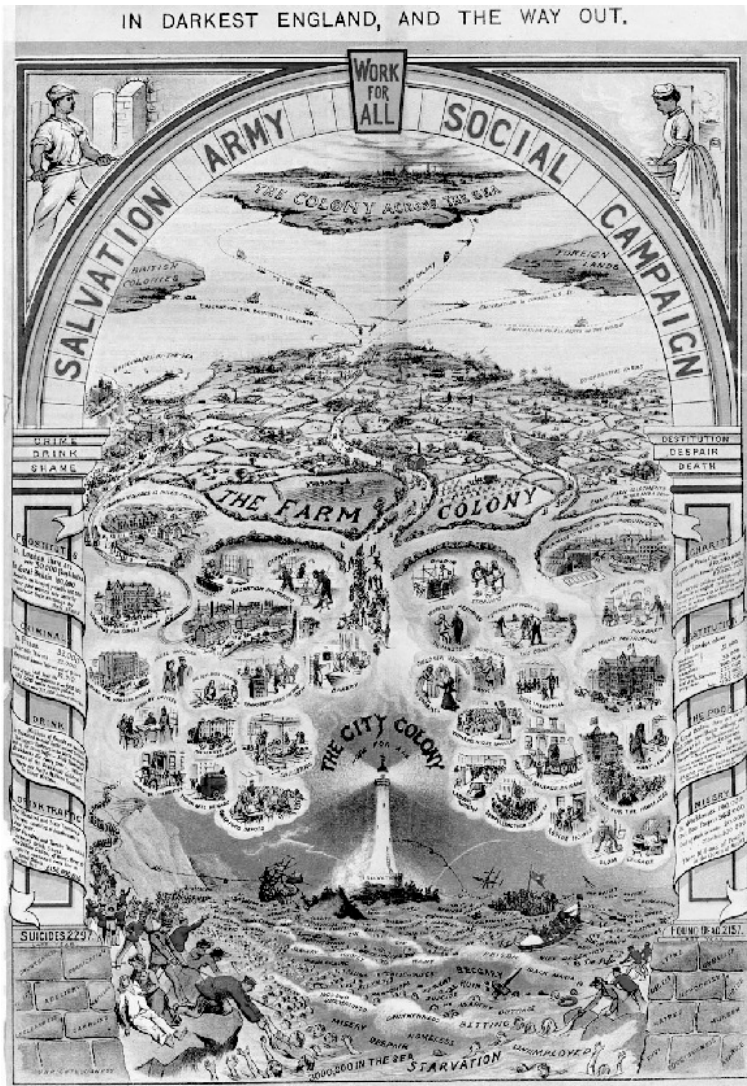
The world has grown much smaller since the electric telegraph was discovered and side by side with the shrinkage of this planet under the influence of steam and electricity there has come a sense of brotherhood and

a consciousness of community of interest and nationality on the part of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world. The change from Devon to Australia is not such a change in many respects as merely to cross over from Devon to Normandy.⁹² Given his awareness of the global character of his age and the resulting possibilities, it seems to be logical for the founder of the Salvation Army to solve Britain's domestic problems of recurrent economic crises and unemployment by exporting surplus labor to other parts of the world. That this new type of expansion of England was only conceivable thanks to Britain's imperial expertise becomes evident when Booth assured that he would revise the details of his scheme according to the "best wisdom and matured experience of the practical men of every colony in the empire."⁹³ The importance of the existing imperial infrastructure comes out even more sharply when one considers the places Booth suggests for his proposed New Britain Colony: South Africa was his first choice but Australia and Canada were also considered suitable to establish similar settlements in the future. Borrowing again heavily from the imperial rhetoric of his times, the general made it a point that emigration did not mean a clean break with the motherland. Quite the reverse: the family ties would become even stronger through the diaspora situation:

It will resemble nothing so much as the unmooring of a little piece of England, and towing it across the sea to find a safe anchorage in a sunnier clime. The ship which takes out emigrants will bring back the produce of the farms, and constant travelling to and fro will lead more than ever to the feeling that we and our ocean-sundered brethren are members of one family.⁹⁴

The Salvationists' gravest concern seems to have been the right selection and adequate preparation of the would-be colonists for their new lives overseas. Booth was fully aware of the fact that the sending of colonists, "whose first enquiry on reaching a foreign land was for a Whisky shop,"⁹⁵ could endanger the whole scheme. He therefore wanted to make sure, through a rigid training program, that only the most "trustworthy characters" were eventually sent out. At the same time, he pointed to the necessity for the establishment of a "strong and efficient government" in the colony and constant control and surveillance of the immigrants, as "nothing less than the irresistible pressure of a friendly and stronger purpose" would constrain them to give up their old degraded ways.⁹⁶

Another obstacle to overcome was the problem of transport.⁹⁷ Here again, Booth was most anxious about the moral state of the passengers. Being onboard the ship for several weeks without an occupation could easily lead to



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Figure 2.1 The colored centerfold from *In Darkest England and the Way Out* powerfully illustrates the global dimension of William Booth's threefold scheme of social salvation

Source: William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, London: International Headquarters of the Salvation Army 1890.

the “downfall” of female passengers and to the men “contracting habits of idleness.” He therefore opted for the Army acquiring a ship of its own, wherein the female colonists would be compelled to engage in “knitting, sewing, tailoring, and other kindred occupations” and the men could perform manual work on the ship. To ensure that unskilled men would be sufficiently occupied and the “Salvation Ship” could indeed become both a “floating temple” and a “hive of industry,” Booth recommended buying a sailing vessel rather than a steamer.

Anybody with only cursory knowledge of the rhetoric of the British colonial civilizing mission⁹⁸ will see how closely the twin enterprises of imperial philanthropy and the rescuing of the lower classes in the metropolis were intertwined both on a discursive and practical level: England’s regenerated jungle population would eventually contribute to the providential task of spreading the English version of civilization in the dark corners of the world. It should not come as a surprise, therefore, that the plan was received very warmly by the usual advocates of British imperialism, such as Rudyard Kipling, Henry Rider Haggard,⁹⁹ Cecil Rhodes, and Winston Churchill¹⁰⁰ as a useful strategy to foster imperial unity.¹⁰¹ However, whereas Booth’s appeal to pledge funds in order to finance the Darkest England Scheme was by and large a success, and both city and farm colonies soon became a reality, the proposed overseas colonies were “destined to be still-born.”¹⁰² Therefore, we have so far mainly been concerned with analogies, influences, and mutual borrowings between Christian revivalism and the forces of empire. In the concluding part of this chapter we see how the Army ultimately became an active *agent* of British imperialism. This can best be demonstrated by analyzing the Salvationist engagement in Britain’s oldest and most important colony: India.

The Imperial Mission Without

A Difficult Passage to India

In-house histories of the Salvation Army mention that the movement “recognized its obligation to assume an international character”¹⁰³ immediately after it had been refashioned into a quasi-military body. The international expansion began in 1880 with the founding of a branch in the United States. Australia and several European countries (including France and Switzerland) followed almost immediately. India was thus only the sixth country to be “invaded,”¹⁰⁴ as the Salvationist rhetoric had it. Nevertheless, it is also emphasized that India was the army’s first “Missionary field in the East,” and

was hence regarded as a country of “vast opportunities”¹⁰⁵ and a convenient bridgehead for the conquest of Asia’s “teeming millions.”¹⁰⁶

It would be no exaggeration to say that the Indian campaign was in its initial phase a one-man enterprise, driven almost entirely by the missionary zeal of Frederick St. George De Lautour Tucker (1854–1928), who had the vision “to see the whole of India kneeling at the feet of Jesus.”¹⁰⁷ For a Salvationist—most officers came from the lower middle or “respectable” working classes—De Lautour Tucker had a rather untypical “gentlemanly” background.¹⁰⁸ A graduate of Cheltenham College and fluent in several Indian languages, he had served as magistrate in the Indian Civil Service, a highly paid and very prestigious post in British India. The legend has it that, after reading the Christmas 1880 issue of *The War Cry* while posted in the Punjab, he was so impressed that he took home leave to hear William Booth’s sermons in London and immediately afterward offered his services to the general.¹⁰⁹ He resigned from his lucrative post, joined the Salvation Army, and became not only Booth’s most loyal lieutenant but also his son-in-law a few years later.¹¹⁰ In September 1882, De Lautour-Tucker returned to India as the head of a small invading force consisting of merely four officers. In spite of the numerical insignificance of the expedition corps, both colonial officials and the Anglo-Indian public seem to have been extremely alarmed when it arrived in Bombay. Ironically, one British magistrate suggested dealing with them under the European Vagrancy Act, a law that allowed for the deportation of unemployed and distressed Europeans back to the country of their origin.¹¹¹ Nobody would have imagined at the time that three decades later, the Salvation Army would become a state-financed agency to reclaim European vagrants. The reasons for this official distrust are obvious. First, the traumatic experience of the Indian “Mutiny” had made the colonial government extremely sensitive toward a possible provocation of native religious sensibilities. The Queen’s proclamation of 1858 had therefore stressed the absolute neutrality of the government of India in matters of religion.¹¹² In addition, it was well known that the Army’s aggressive style of conveying its religious propaganda to the public had provoked controversies and outright disturbances even in England and some other European countries—much worse things could happen, it was feared, in the delicate religious landscape of India.¹¹³

Second, what was regarded by the Salvationists as the quintessential strategy for the successful evangelization of non-European races was considered a taboo in the extremely race- and class-conscious social environment of British India:¹¹⁴ “going native.” As with what happened later on in other Asian and African countries,¹¹⁵ the complete assimilation of indigenous modes of

dressing, eating, and living and even the adoption of local names was attempted in India from the outset. De Lautour-Tucker (who changed his name to Booth-Tucker in 1888) thus became Fakir Singh. General Booth himself had instructed him before leaving Britain that “to the Indians you must be Indian . . . in order that you may win them to your Master.”¹¹⁶ This transgression of the unwritten imperial law of keeping social distance toward the natives at any cost must have been even more disturbing because of Fakir Singh’s biography. To see a former representative of “the conquering race, the white aristocracy, the civilising power”¹¹⁷ traveling in third class railway compartments or walking around barefooted, begging for funds, wearing turbans and a long Indian *kurta* (shirt) could not cause but the gravest concern of the British-Indian authorities.¹¹⁸ Whether such a tactic of “go[ing] down low enough to meet the lowest India on its own level”¹¹⁹ indeed signified the denial of a fundamental racial or civilizational difference, as Jeffrey Cox has recently argued,¹²⁰ remains doubtful if one takes into account the heavily racialized language of contemporary Salvationist publications on India, not even to speak of the organization’s later activities. It is beyond doubt, however, that most colonial officials tended to read it that way. Fully aware of the provocative effect, Fakir Singh paraded his exotic dress through the streets of London a few years later when he led members of the Army’s Indian division through the imperial metropolis on the occasion of the first International Salvation Congress in 1886.¹²¹

From Conflict to Cooperation

Accordingly, the newly arrived invasion force was closely observed by the Bombay police. When Major De Lautour Tucker (*alias* Fakir-Singh) and his four subalterns tried to organize a musical procession, parading on “war chariots” (converted bullock-carts) through the Bazaars of Bombay,¹²² they were immediately arrested on the ground that their activities “would be the cause of disorder and serious breaches of peace.”¹²³ Once again, it became obvious that the Army possessed a remarkable flair for publicity: Booth-Tucker’s first arrest (several others followed) was stylized as “martyrdom”¹²⁴ and brought the Army unprecedented sympathy from Europeans and declarations of solidarity from Indian elites. The Hindu reformer Keshav Chandra Sen, for instance, sent a memorial to the viceroy complaining that “the action of the government of Bombay against the Salvationists . . . has been most unjust, arbitrary, and improper and contrary to the enlightened policy of the Government.”¹²⁵

Despite the growing popularity of Salvationism, the Bombay Presidency continued its hostile politics toward the religious body. Thus, Frederick De

Lautour-Tucker was denied the right to solemnize marriages as a minister of religion in 1884. The central government—eager to avoid another storm of protest—somewhat uneasily asked the Bombay authorities to reconsider their decision, reminding them that the Salvationists were “as much a Christian sect as the Jumpers of Wales or a dozen of odd bodies that could be named.”¹²⁶ Nonetheless, the relationship between the Salvationists and colonial authorities remained a strained one in other provinces as well. In Punjab, for instance, W.M. Drysdale, an English police officer who had been converted to Salvationism during his home leave and started preaching to the natives and selling *The War Cry* in public places, was reported to his superiors as “being both mad and a fool” by the district magistrate. Having refused to “give up all interference with the religion of the Natives” he was eventually dismissed from service in 1891 for disobedience.¹²⁷

Regardless of the continuing distrust of many colonial administrators, the Army managed to quickly extend its network from Bombay to other provincial cities and from there make inroads into the rural areas, getting increasingly engaged in what they termed “village warfare.”¹²⁸ The pioneers were reinforced by scores of new officers from England, Sweden, Switzerland, Australia, the United States, Canada, and other countries.¹²⁹ By 1889, Fakir Singh could boast of his “devoted band of 170 officers gathered from all around the world” supported by “more than 100 Indian officers . . . who have caught from them the real Army spirit.”¹³⁰ *The War Cry* started an Indian edition that was soon translated into several vernaculars.¹³¹ Other periodicals and pamphlets followed. Salvationist popularity also benefited considerably from two visits by William Booth in the early 1890s. The General’s rhetorical skills were proverbial and his brief Indian tours seem to have resulted in thousands of conversions, although most of them were from Christian communities.¹³² In order to further widen its basis among the native population—the main attention was focused once again on the outcast[e]s of Indian society¹³³—the organization’s commitment to social service was also intensified. Educational institutions were established and many of the Salvationist Corps regularly engaged in philanthropic activities during famines and natural catastrophes.¹³⁴ In the early 1890s, rescue homes for “fallen women” were opened in the red-light districts of Colombo, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.¹³⁵ The year 1895 witnessed the inauguration of a medical institution in Travancore, South India and several other dispensaries and hospitals followed in other parts of the country¹³⁶ although the professional qualification of the Salvationists running these institutions was sometimes rather doubtful.¹³⁷

Acting as a fully self-financed nongovernmental organization *stricto sensu*, the Army had made considerable progress. However, it had also become

evident that a truly large-scale expansion would remain impossible without the approval and financial aid of the colonial state. This is probably the reason why the Army gave up its policy of strict autonomy and the first attempts to curry the favor of the colonial authorities began. In early 1907, "Commissioner" Booth-Tucker asked the government of India for financial support to extend the Army's activities to the medical field.¹³⁸ The proposal was declined as the majority of the colonial officials were still of the opinion that hospitals run by the Army would "tend to become . . . instruments of religious propaganda."¹³⁹ Some of the reports on which the government's refusal was based betray the continuing distrust toward an organization that was at times denigrated as a "safe haven for the mentally disturbed,"¹⁴⁰ even by fellow missionaries of other denominations. The assessment of one of the Salvationists' medical institutions in the Bombay Presidency by the responsible district collector is quite typical for the position of the colonial authorities. He states:

I have the honour to report that the Salvation Army Hospital at Anand is a superfluous institution, founded for the purpose of competing for patients and possible converts with other Missions previously planted at the place. . . . Had they been guided by unmixed motives, whether philanthropic or even Christian, they could not have selected Anand for their centre . . . I . . . express my strong opinion against Government mixing itself up with any form of Missionary activity, and least of all with anything undertaken by the Salvation Army.¹⁴¹

The interests of the British-Indian Empire thus still seemed to be clearly at odds with the interests of the "Kingdom of Christ" after more than two decades of the Salvationists' presence in India. Despite such discouraging reactions, Booth-Tucker and his fellow officers did not give up, and eventually the considerable ideological overlap in the common project of "civilising the native population" began slowly to be acknowledged by representatives of the colonial state. Education was one field where the Salvationists sought the recognition and financial support of the colonial government by bringing attention to the imperial value of the Army's work. By 1908 they had managed to establish more than 200 day-schools all over the subcontinent, daily attended by about 10,000 pupils without receiving any grants-in-aid.¹⁴² In his effort to convince the highest representatives of the state¹⁴³ the Commissioner not only mentions that "physical drills ha[d] been introduced" in these primary schools "with great success"¹⁴⁴; he also tries bringing to bear the organization's worldwide experience. In connection with the appropriate language and script to be taught to transform the Indian populace into loyal citizens of the empire, he draws on his experience

in the United States, where he had been working in the Army's headquarters from 1896–1903:¹⁴⁵

It seems to us further that an improvement might be made in these schools by an adoption throughout India of the Roman character. This would greatly simplify the teaching of the various languages, and would tend toward the unification of the country. A similar result would . . . be obtained by extending largely the study of the English language. . . . Having spent so many years in the United States, I should like to have an opportunity of explaining something of the general policy of that country with regard to that question. For instance the despatch of one thousand "school marms" [sic!] to teach the Philippinos English probably did more for the pacification of those turbulent and many-languaged Islanders than could have been accomplished by fifty times that number of soldiers.¹⁴⁶

With the government of India's eventual approval to integrate the primary day-schools run by the Salvationists into their grants-in-aid scheme, the "imperial romance" of the organization had begun. It was going to last until the end of the Raj.

Reclaiming "Savages," Brown and White

We have already discussed at length the homologies occurring in the Salvationists' (as in other Victorian reformers') discourse on the British working classes on the one hand and the "heathens" or "savages" on the other. The formula "Soup, Soap and Salvation" coined by William Booth to describe the pillars of the Army's reclamation work¹⁴⁷ was believed to be applicable to savages worldwide—regardless of their color. As early as 1890, Commissioner Booth-Tucker had written a book entitled *Darkest India*, echoing General Booth's *In Darkest England*, in which he claimed that "the gospel of social salvation, which has so electrified all classes in England can be adopted on this country almost as it stands."¹⁴⁸ From about 1908 onward, more and more imperial administrators recognized that this potential as a civilizing agency made the Salvationists an ideal partner of the colonizing state. One could assume that the sudden change of attitude by representatives of the colonial state was facilitated by the growing influence of Indian philanthropic organizations that often combined their social agenda with nascent forms of nation-building and hence posed a serious threat to the legitimacy of colonial rule.¹⁴⁹ A joint venture with the Salvation Army promised to regain some of the lost ground in this particular situation.¹⁵⁰ It seems also likely that the general fear of losing grip over the Indian population has played a certain role—a fear that was prevalent among the British

in the wake of the Swadeshi Campaign 1905–1907 and the first wave of “terrorist” activities that accompanied it. Whatever may have been the exact reason for the government’s conciliatory position, there is no doubt that the most spectacular cooperation between the Salvation Army and the British-Indian state was largely based on the official acknowledgment of the former’s ability to teach “the elementary lesson of obedience”: the “reclamation” of criminals and particularly of entire communities that were regarded as “criminals by birth.”¹⁵¹

The so-called Criminal Tribes were itinerant groups of the rural Indian population whose uncontrolled mobility and “predatory propensities” were seen as a threat to British authority and that were hence discriminated against as “hereditary criminals.”¹⁵² Two Criminal Tribes Acts were passed in 1871 and 1911 to provide for their confinement in segregated settlements and their gradual education to a sedentary lifestyle. Initially, the settlements had been run directly by the state. However, they soon turned out to be extremely costly and inefficient. The Salvation Army became the chief agency in this program, as it was believed that it could do a better and, more importantly, a cheaper job. Already in 1908 prominent government officials approached the Army offering them a grant to open a weaving school and industrial homes for the Doms, a low-caste community classed as “criminal,”¹⁵³ with a view of “bringing them into discipline and subjection.”¹⁵⁴ A few years later the Indian edition of *The War Cry* would celebrate the way in which “these poor despised off-scourings of the U.P.¹⁵⁵ were adopted, civilised and evangelised by . . . saintly Salvation Army Officers.”¹⁵⁶

Soon afterward the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab entrusted the reeducation of ex-convicts from Lahore prison in state-financed reformatories to the Salvationists, and was obviously pleased with the results of the Army’s work as “prison sub-contractors,”¹⁵⁷ described by one of his highest officers as “unqualified success.”¹⁵⁸ In an effort to capitalize on the positive reaction of colonial officials, General Booth addressed India’s Secretary of State, in person, to make a more far-reaching offer of cooperation. He suggested the introduction of a “system of reformation and employment” for all the “tribes to whom, by force of circumstance, criminality has become a hereditary occupation.”¹⁵⁹ That the program was apparently based on the Army’s Social Salvation scheme developed for the “savages” at home becomes clear when he explains the details of the proposed “treatment”:

To carry out this scheme two kinds of treatment are essential: (a) Reformatory and kindly influences must be brought to bear on them which will appeal to their better instincts and . . . (b) they must not be allowed to wander about disposing of the products of their labour, as this

will probably result in their relapsing into crime. Markets must be found and their produce must be sold for them. To the attainment of both these objects, our numerous agencies and extensive ramifications are favourable.¹⁶⁰

To further strengthen his argument, Booth pointed to the success of the industrial homes and agricultural settlements already existing in the Punjab and the United Provinces. He apparently managed to overcome the initial skepticism of the colonial government, and the cooperation between the colonial state and what had been a nongovernmental social service organization was extended to an unprecedented scale. By 1919, the Army entertained 28 settlements (varying in size from 100 to 1,800)¹⁶¹ for altogether 6,812 “Crim”¹⁶² and had become a sort of a huge service business in social control. There can be no doubt that it played a crucial role in sustaining colonial rule. The work of Rachel Tolen and Meena Radhakrishna has shown that the transformation of “very unpromising material”¹⁶³ into “decent, law-abiding citizens”¹⁶⁴ of the empire, living up to civilized standards of cleanliness and self-discipline and productivity, was at the core of the Army’s reclamation work.¹⁶⁵ The results of the reeducation processes were shown in quasi-imperial exhibitions, organized in Simla, British India’s summer capital in the Himalayas, and displaying various agricultural and industrial goods produced by the “reformed tribesmen.”¹⁶⁶ These products were also available in special shops run by the Army that provided a handsome extra income in addition to the government grants.

During World War I women of the Haburah tribe, “whose entire character had . . . undergone a radical change” under the firm tutelage of the Salvationists, were employed to make uniforms for the military department, and actively supported the imperial war effort.¹⁶⁷ An even bigger contribution to Britain’s warfare was the role the Salvation Army played in the recruitment of a Porter’s coolie corps from among their “depressed” clientele for service in Mesopotamia.¹⁶⁸ The successful conversion of some of the “reclaimed” was, of course, another welcome side-effect.¹⁶⁹

The cooperation with the colonial state was extended to several related fields, one of which, perhaps, deserves special mention. The so-called “European loafers” (mostly unemployed railway men or sailors and ex-soldiers), roaming all over the subcontinent, often behaving in a way that was hardly suited to enhance the prestige of the ruling race, had become a major problem by the late 1860s.¹⁷⁰ As already conveyed, a special European Vagrancy Act was promulgated in 1869 to deal with the problem. But similar to the “Crim” settlements run by the government, the workhouses opened in its

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wake proved to be expensive rather than effective institutions. Here opened another opportunity for the Salvationists who possessed matchless experience in “reclaiming” members of the lowest classes at home. Frederick Booth-Tucker approached the government of Bombay with a scheme for running an industrial home for European vagrants in 1910. Pointing to the expertise tried and tested in similar fields in England as well as in India, the Commissioner promised to run the institution with the utmost efficiency:

But the reformatory influence thus exercised is not limited to the “deserving” men, who come within our reach. The undeserving and most degraded are frequently reformed. Cut off from their old associates, protected from those who often prey upon their weaknesses, surrounded with good and kindly influences, fed well, clothed well and found work of a not too repulsive and severe character, supplied with good wholesome literature, looked after during their leisure moments as well as when employed, with a firm, yet fatherly counsellor always at their side, thousands of them respond to the new atmosphere of hope and help.¹⁷¹

Booth-Tucker was allowed to proceed with his project and an industrial home for the deserving cases was opened with grand *éclat* by the Governor of Bombay in December 1910¹⁷² in addition to the already existing government workhouse. The colonial authorities were so satisfied with the working of the King Edward Home¹⁷³ that the Salvation Army was soon asked to take over the government institution as well, which it subsequently did.¹⁷⁴ Such was the official acclaim of the Army’s achievement, that the government sponsored the establishment of two more industrial homes for stranded Europeans: a house called The Bridge was opened in Calcutta in November 1914, and in March 1915 the Chief Commissioner of Delhi inaugurated a branch of the Institution in the new capital of British India,¹⁷⁵ justifying his approval by stating that

the institution . . . is desirable in order to obviate the difficulties arising from the fact that Europeans and Eurasians of this class at present resort in some numbers to Delhi, and that their numbers are likely to increase rather than diminish in the future. [T]he Salvation Army offers an excellent agency for dealing with this class and the proposed terms appear to me very economical.¹⁷⁶

The financial support of the government for the various Salvation Army projects was continually extended until the 1920s,¹⁷⁷ and the organization

continued to blossom under the protection of the colonial state. By 1922, the Salvationists' British Indian detachment counted 3,700 officers and cadets as well as 100,000 soldiers in the rank and file. The Army had established more than 4,500 centers in India and developed into a "well-organized fighting force, ready and eager to be led on to the attack on the millions of non-Christians who surround each Corps and institution."¹⁷⁸

Most Salvationists seem to have been proud of their newly acquired respectability within the empire framework. In an article in *The War Cry* one writer celebrates the Army as a "regenerative force" of imperialism and asks the rhetorical question "In what do the imperial services of the Army consist?" The answer he subsequently provides himself is revealing:

In its endeavours to soften and remove the effect of extreme poverty, to raise the fallen to succour to the needy and assist the distressed, the products of a civilisation which turns out an appalling proportion of waste products—paupers, prostitutes, criminals and lunatics in every class of society, and by this means to soften the conflict between the "haves" and the "have-nots" which constitute a fertile soil for the seeds of the rebellion that threatens the mother country.¹⁷⁹

By the same time, Booth-Tucker, who had been arrested several times in the 1880s, came to be held in the highest esteem by the colonial authorities. He was regarded as *the* expert on the reclamation of criminal and dangerous segments both in the Indian as well in the white colonial society. In 1913, the prestigious *Kaiser-i-Hind* medal was conferred upon him for "public services in India"¹⁸⁰ and few years later he was asked to lecture on "Criminocurology"—the Army's scientific method of classification and treatment of people infected with the "disease" of criminality—before an audience of high government officials including the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.¹⁸¹ He also published a book with the same title,¹⁸² explaining in detail how to transform "criminals" into "productive and subjected bodies."¹⁸³ With *Criminocurology* the imperial taxonomic techniques that had shaped the understanding of the London poor, had finally come back to the environment from where they had originated: the colonial outposts of the British Empire.

Concluding Remarks

Our probes into the history of the Salvation Army from a transnational perspective have thus produced some significant, if preliminary, results. First and foremost, the close entanglement of Europe with the wider

non-European world not only in economic, social, and political, but also in epistemological terms has been made clear. In the case of Britain, as with many other colonizing European countries, this global framework was predetermined to a large extent by the infrastructure of the empire. Even organizations and historical actors like the Salvationists who, at the outset, viewed themselves as distinctly apolitical and sometimes even antigovernment, were marked by the imperial rhetoric and modes of knowledge production that were regarded as authoritative at the time: the imperial social formation heavily influenced the ways to look at and make sense of the world. The Salvationists' venture to map the "swamps" and "jungles" of Darkest England and "rescue" their denizens by civilizing them through a paternal but rigorous course of training, have vividly illustrated this point. The fact that General Booth's plan to deport the Sunken Millions to overseas colonies was seriously discussed (and partly realized through the practice of assisted emigration) shows the extent to which global thinking prevailed at the time under survey.

Most intriguing, perhaps, was the analysis of the Salvation Army's transformation from a Home Mission movement, based on traditions of lower middle and upper working-class religiosity and often viewed as disturbing by the authorities, into a worldwide service business for social control. As we have seen, this transformation happened almost simultaneously in India and Great Britain and the developments on both sides mutually influenced each other. As a recent study on the role of the Salvationists in East Asia suggests, similar developments seem to have taken place in Meiji Japan, where Charles Booth was granted an audience with the emperor in 1907 and his organization accepted as a "useful handmaiden of the state."¹⁸⁴

The Army's metamorphosis in India was particularly spectacular. From a small band of idealists "gone native" and placed under the constant surveillance of a colonial government anxious to avoid blurring the colonial boundaries, it developed into a powerful force whose high degree of organization, rigid discipline, experience in projects of disciplining and reforming "unruly" segments of society, and, last but not least, entrepreneurial skills, turned it into an attractive partner in empire-building. The knowledge gathered about "criminals by birth" and other marginalized groups in British India then circulated back to England and onward to other parts of the world, including the United States, Scandinavia, Canada, Japan, and Africa—together with the officers, who usually served only a limited time in one foreign field—and arguably played a role in further shaping the view on the "waste products" of their respective home societies. Although the present discussion has focused on these two sites for analytical purposes, the worldwide ramifications underscore once more that the phenomenon under study cannot be reduced to a simple Britain-India relationship. As the Salvation Army was already a universal organization by the

1910s, its impact went much further once the imperial connection had been established. Thus the Salvationists also acted as prison-subcontractors in Canada, and were engaged in the reeducation of ex-convicts in Japan, Australia, South Africa, and French Guyana, to give just a few examples.¹⁸⁵

On a more general level, the Army's undeniable contribution to the softening of the effects of extreme poverty helped sustain the existing asymmetrical power relations both at home and in the various colonies and dominions. The social activities of the movement were therefore ultimately welcomed by the establishment: the harbingers of global civil society had been hijacked, as it were, by the empire. Being aware of this ambiguous relationship between British imperialism and a predecessor of today's NGOs, one would probably have to be cautious *vis-à-vis* the fashionable uncritical view that postulates an "epic struggle" between global civil society and the "forces of empire," extending back "to the earliest human experience."¹⁸⁶ At least the example of the Salvation Army should help to stir up our interest in gaining a better historical understanding of institutions that characterize globalizing processes in today's world.

Appendix

Statistics on the Salvation Army's social, industrial, agricultural, educational, and training work in British India in 1918.

28	Settlements for criminal tribes with population of	6,812
3	Homes for released prisoners and beggars	106
8	Industrial boarding schools for Crim children, inmates	246
4	Non-Crim colonies and farms	1,314
5	Women's industrial homes accommodating	110
2	Weaving and silk schools	100
5	Centers for nonresident workers, employing	960
2	Industrial homes for Europeans and Anglo-Indians accommodating	45
1	Military hospital for wounded soldiers, beds	100
10	Dispensaries, beds	45
3	General hospitals, beds	90
3	Naval and military Furlo homes accommodating	115
4	Hut and refreshment bars for troops	6
6	Depots for sale of institutions	
17	No-criminal hostels for boys and girls, inmates	775
14	Training garrisons for cadets	181
118	Institutions providing food, shelter, and employment for	11,059
550	Day schools for education for children	16,664
668	Institutions caring for	27,723

Source: *The War Cry*, 24, no. 10 (October 1918): 6.

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Notes

The archival research for this chapter has been conducted at the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, the National Archives of India, New Delhi, the Maharashtra State Archives in Mumbai, the Oriental and India Office collection of the British Library, and the Salvation Army Heritage Centre in London. I wish to express my gratitude to Francis Meynell, Vanessa Ogle, Margrit Pernau, Carey Watt, Clare Anderson, and the members of the “global history group” for reading earlier drafts of this chapter and making valuable suggestions for its improvement.

1. According to a recent study “the term nongovernmental organization . . . represents any organisation of a voluntary nature engaged in either welfare or developmental activities.” R. Sooryamoorthy and K.D. Gangrade, *NGOs in India: A Cross-Sectional Study* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2001), p. 15. On the basis of this working definition, I think it is safe to treat the Salvation Army as an NGO.
2. For one of the most influential treatments of these forces see Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000).
3. For a typical, though not very sophisticated, articulation of this position see, for instance, David C. Korten, Nicanor Perlas, and Vandana Shiva, “Global Civil Society: The Path Ahead,” available online at <http://www.pcdf.org/civilsociety/path.htm>. This discussion paper was put on the Internet in November 2002.
4. See, for instance, Arif Dirlik, “Is there History after Eurocentrism? Globalism, Postcolonialism and the Disavowal of History,” in Arif Dirlik, Vinay Bahl, and Peter Gran, eds., *History after the Three Worlds: Post-Eurocentric Historiographies* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), pp. 25–47; Prasenjit Duara, “Transnationalism and the Challenge to National Histories,” in Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 25–46. See also Akira Iriye, “The Internationalisation of History,” *American Historical Review* 94 (1989): 1–10, especially 3–7 for an early statement to that effect.
5. Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels Petersson, *Geschichte der Globalisierung. Dimensionen, Prozesse, Epochen* (München: Beck, 2003), pp. 60–70.
6. This point has been most recently made in Frank L. Lechner and John Boli, *World Culture: Origins and Consequences* (Malden: Blackwell, 2005), especially pp. 119–34. See also Carey A. Watt, *Serving the Nation: Cultures of Service, Association and Citizenship* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 30–33. See also John Boli and George M. Thomas, eds., *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
7. Kathleen Wilson, “Introduction: Histories, Empires, Modernities,” in Kathleen Wilson, ed., *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire 1660–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1–26. See also Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 10–19. Both authors, in turn, are drawing on the well-known models of the “common

- analytical field” and the “imperial social formation” as introduced by Cooper and Stoler, and Mrinalini Sinha respectively.
8. The most valuable newer research includes Pamela J. Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Roy Hattersley, *Blood & Fire: William and Catherine Booth and their Salvation Army* (London: Little, Brown, 1999); Norman H. Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994); Lillian Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads & Lasses: Remaking the Salvation Army in America, 1880–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).
 9. The only comprehensive work to date of the movement in a non-Western context is on Japan: R. David Rightmire, *Salvationist Samurai: Gunpei Yamamuro and the Rise of the Salvation Army in Japan*, *Pietist and Wesleyan Studies*, vol. 8 (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1997). In her masterly study on the emergence of the Salvation Army in Britain, Pamela Walker deplors that the imperial significance of the movement has only met with scant scholarly attention. Walker, *Pulling the devil's Kingdom Down*, p. 245, endnote 2. The only attempt so far to understand the Salvation Army in a transnational perspective has recently been undertaken by Peter Van der Veer. However, the army does not feature very prominently in his book on *Imperial Encounters*, as he devotes only four pages to the topic. See Peter Van Der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 151, 153–55. Nevertheless, his stimulating but somewhat superficial exercise in “interactional history” was the main inspiration to pursue this project.
 10. A somewhat similar argument has been persuasively made by Laura Thorn with regard to earlier forms of missionary activity in Britain and its colonies. See Laura Thorn, “Missionary Imperialism and the Language of Class,” in F. Cooper, and A.L. Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 238–62.
 11. Mariana Valverde, “The Dialectic of the Familiar and the Unfamiliar: ‘The Jungle’ in Early Slum Travel Writing,” *Sociology* 30, no. 3 (1996): 493–509. See also John Marriott, *The Other Empire: Metropolis, India, and Progress in the Colonial Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University press, 2003), pp. 130–59.
 12. See also Roland Robertson's interesting discussion of the political implications of Norbert Elias' concept of the “civilizing process” in a global framework: Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage, 1992), pp. 115–28.
 13. Michael Walzer, “The Concept of Civil Society,” in Michael Walzer, ed., *Toward a Global Civil Society* (New York: Berghahn, 1995), pp. 7–27, 23–24. For a similar optimistic view see Tony Spybey, *Globalization and World Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), chapter 7.
 14. Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 3.
 15. The metaphor was famously introduced by Benjamin Disraeli in the 1840s to describe the growing gap between the rich and the poor. See Deborah E. Nord, “The Social Explorer as Anthropologist: Victorian Travellers among the Urban Poor,” in

- W. Sharp and L. Wallock, eds., *Visions of the Modern City: Essays in History Art and Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp. 122–34, 123. For an exhaustive discussion of Victorian readings of poverty see also the two monumental volumes by Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (New York: Knopf, 1984), especially pp. 489–503; and Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Poverty and Compassion: The Moral Imagination of the Late Victorians* (New York: Knopf, 1991). A more concise account can be found in Gertrude Himmelfarb, “The Colour of poverty,” in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff, eds., *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, vol. 2 (London and Boston: Routledge & Keegan, Paul, 1973), pp. 707–38. For the late Victorian development of the “two-nation theory” see David Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 112–13.
16. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2000), p. 265. See also Himmelfarb, *Poverty and Compassion*, pp. 150–52.
 17. Quoted in K.T. Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846–1886* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 453.
 18. Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), p. 5.
 19. *Ibid.*, pp. 286–300; Marriott, *The Other Empire*, pp. 171–81.
 20. Quoted in 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* 29 (1984): 133–71.
 21. Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870–1914* (London: Penguin Books, 1994), p. 163. As studies of continental countries indicate, this seems to have been a broader European trend. See, for instance, the essays in Collette Bec, Catherine Duprat, Jean-Noël Luc, and Jacques-Guy Petit, eds., *Philanthropies et Politiques Sociales en Europe (XVIIIe-XXe Siècles)* (Paris: Anthropos, 1994).
 22. For biographical details on Booth see Walker, *Pulling the Devil’s Kingdom Down*, pp. 13–22; The general of the Salvation Army, ed., *The Salvation Army. Its Origin and Development* (London: Salvation Army, 1938), pp. 1–15. The most comprehensive, though uncritical, treatment remains in Harold Begbie, *Life of William Booth, Founder of the Salvation Army*, 2 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920).
 23. See also Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, pp. 21–39.
 24. A more comprehensive account on the background and early years of the Salvationist movement can be found in Glenn K. Horridge, *The Salvation Army: Origins and Early Days, 1865–1900* (Godalming: Ammonite Books, 1993).
 25. Salvation Army, ed., *The Salvation Army. Its Origin and Development*, p. 20. This choice is typical for the Army’s strategy of consciously “capturing” places associated with leisure activities of the working classes that were regarded as corrupting, like pubs, music-halls, theaters, etc. Walker, *Pulling the Devil’s Kingdom Down*, p. 188. See also Robert Sandall, *The History of the Salvation Army*, vol. 1 (1865–1878) (London: Nelson, 1947), pp. 150–51, 220.

26. See Peter Keating, "Fact and Fiction in the East End," in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff, eds., *The Victorian City*, p. 589–93. See also Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 30.
27. Salvation Army, ed., *The Salvation Army Year Book. 1939, Thirty Fourth Year of Issue* (London: Salvation Army, 1938), p. 39.
28. C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 357–59.
29. In the early twentieth century, the organization also played a pioneering role in using film and radio as media for religious propaganda. See Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818–1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 238; and Salvation Army, *The Salvation Army Year Book. 1939*, pp. 7–10.
30. Christian Mission Report 1867, quoted in Horridge, *The Salvation Army*, p. 17. See also the programmatic statements in William Booth, *Heathen England: Being a Description of the Utterly Godless Condition of the Vast Majority of the English Nation, and of the Establishment, Growth, System and Success of an Army for Its Salvation Consisting of Working People etc.*, 3rd ed. (London: 1879), passim.
31. The uniforms made out of plain simple dark blue cloth, trimmed with red braid, and marked with the letter "S" on the collar, were worn by both male and female members of the organization, which was regarded as repulsive by quite a few contemporaries.
32. The following is based on Olive Anderson, "The Growth of Christian Militarism in mid-Victorian Britain," *The English Historical Review* 86, no. 338 (1971): 46–71. See also Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, pp. 60–63.
33. Anderson, "The Growth of Christian Militarism," pp. 46–52; Brian Stanley, "Christian Responses to the Indian Mutiny," in W.J. Shiels, *The Church and War*, Studies in Church History, vol. 20 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 277–99. See also Victor Bailey, "Salvation Army Riots: The 'Skeleton Army' and Legal Authority in a Provincial Town," in A.P. Donajgrodzkij, ed., *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), pp. 231–53, 236–37.
34. Van Der Veer, *Imperial Encounters*, pp. 83–94. See also H.J. Field, *Toward a Programme for Imperial Life: The British Empire at the Turn of the Century* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982). For a thorough discussion of "Muscular Christianity" see also Norman Vance, *Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Donald Hall, ed., *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
35. Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846–1886*, p. 454.
36. Mrs. [i.e., Catherine] Booth, "Aggressive Christianity," in Catherine Booth, *Papers on Aggressive Christianity* (London: 1891), pp. 1–19, p. 13. (Emphasis in the original text.) See also The Salvation Army, ed., *All about the Salvation Army* (London: 1882), pp. 4–5.

37. "Now surely the least-witted person can see that it cannot be possible to do a great spiritual work for the deliverance of people from what is wrong about them by a system under their own direction!" William Booth, *Orders and Regulations for the Salvation Army*, Pt. I. (London: ca. 1880), p. 3.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 5. See also Horridge, *The Salvation Army*, pp. 52–59.
39. Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, p. xi.
40. William Booth, "The Salvation Army," in William Booth, *Salvation Soldiery. A Series of Addresses on the Requirements of Jesus Christ's Service* (London: S.W. Partridge & Co., 1882), pp. 27–33.
41. A Salvationist pamphlet published in 1882 states that "We have 300 officers and thousands of the rank and file, who are so far disciplined as to regularly discharge their duty, or who are willing to go to any part of the world simply at the word of command." The Salvation Army, ed., *All about the Salvation Army*, p. 23.
42. See Geoffrey R. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study of British Politics and Political Thought, 1899–1914* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971).
43. When the adoption of a military strategy was discussed autumn 1877, the General's entourage was convinced that "if we can only drill and mobilize fast enough, we can overrun the country before Christmas." Letter of G.S. Railton to W. Booth, October 11, 1877, cited in Sandall, *History of the Salvation Army*, vol. 1, p. 225.
44. Booth, *Orders and Regulations for the Salvation Army*, pp. 11–12.
45. Horridge, *The Salvation Army*, p. 38.
46. Peter Adolf Clasen, *Der Salutismus: eine sozialwissenschaftliche Monographie über General Booth und seine Heilsarmee*, Schriften zur Soziologie der Kultur, vol. 2 (Jena: E. Dierichs, 1913), p. 322.
47. F. Booth-Tucker, *The Short Life of Catherine Booth the Mother of the Salvation Army*, 2nd ed. (London: The Salvation Army, 1895), pp. 332–41.
48. For the following see Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, pp. 206–34; Bailey, "Salvation Army Riots," pp. 241–49; and Horridge, *The Salvation Army*, pp. 101–13.
49. The "social control" argument has been brought forward most clearly in Bailey, "Salvation Army Riots." Bailey, however, later revised his thesis somewhat by pointing to the similarities between the socialist workers' movement and the army's work. For a critical general discussion of the concept of social control see also Karel Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty* (London: Routledge & Keegan, Paul, 1981), pp. 136–39.
50. Cited in Meena Radhakrishna, *Dishonoured by History: "Criminal Tribes" and British Colonial Policy* (New Delhi: Oreint Longman, 2001), p. 78.
51. Cited in Bailey, "Salvation Army Riots," p. 236.
52. Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, p. 242.
53. Salvation Army, *The Salvation Army Year Book.1939*, p. 28.
54. Clasen, *Der Salutismus*, p. 322.
55. Salvation Army, *The Salvation Army. Its Origin and Development*, pp. 29, 41–50.
56. Bailey, "In Darkest England and the Way Out," p. 136.

57. William Booth, *Holy Living: Or What the Salvation Army Teaches about Sanctification* (London: ca. 1880), passim.
58. William Booth, *Sociales Elend und Abhilfe. Vortrag gehalten in der Schweiz etc.* (Bern: 1896), p. 21.
59. For the sake of convenience, I refer to William Booth as the author. It is almost certain, however, that the book was not the product of Booth's limited literary talent, but at least partly ghost-written by the investigative journalist and social reformer W.T. Stead of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. See Joseph McLaughlin, *Writing the Urban Jungle: Reading Empire in London from Doyle to Eliot* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), p. 209, endnote 6.
60. After being largely neglected for a long time, *In Darkest England* has only in recent decades received some critical scholarly attention. The most insightful treatments are: Bailey, "In Darkest England and the Way Out"; McLaughlin, *Writing the Urban Jungle*, pp. 79–103; and Valverde, "The Dialectic of the Familiar and the Unfamiliar," passim.
61. McLaughlin, *Writing the Urban Jungle*, p. 94.
62. For a detailed account of the debate between "Boothites" and "anti-Boothites" see Herman Ausubel, "General Booth's Scheme of Social Salvation," in *American Historical Review* 56, no. 3 (1953): 519–25.
63. Henry Morton Stanley, *In Darkest Africa, or the Quest, Rescue and Retreat of Emin, Governor of Equatoria* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1890).
64. Cited in Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, p. 11.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15. For a similar powerful example of Booth's rhetoric see William Booth, "Getting Rid of the Filth," in William Booth, *Salvation Soldierly*, pp. 34–40.
66. Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, pp. 24–66.
67. Valverde, "The Dialectic of the Familiar and the Unfamiliar," pp. 495–500.
68. Sudipta Sen, *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 57–84; Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 3–5; and Marriott, *The Other Empire*, pp. 130–59. See also Melitta Waligora, "What Is Your Caste?" in H. Fischer-Tiné and M. Mann, eds., *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India* (London: Anthem Press, 2004), pp. 141–62 for categorization of human "tribes" and Ian J. Barrow, *Making History, Drawing Territory: British Mapping in India, c. 1756–1905* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), as well as Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping and Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997) for the imperial relevance of topographical mapping. For a concise general discussion of colonial knowledge production, see Trutz Von Trotha, "Was war Kolonialismus? Einige zusammenfassende Befunde zur Soziologie und Geschichte des Kolonialismus und der Kolonialherrschaft," *Saeculum* 55, no. 1 (2004): 49–95, 81–86.
69. Mariel Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).
70. Valverde, "The Dialectic of the Familiar and the Unfamiliar," p. 494.

71. For an analysis of the symbolical meanings of such value judgements see also Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), pp. 125–48.
72. The term, perhaps most frequently used by contemporaries to describe the nature of British rule in India during the later nineteenth century, is employed by Anthony Wohl to describe the social philosophy coupling material improvement with moral reformation that was underlying much of the philanthropic efforts in Victorian England. See Anthony S. Wohl, *The Eternal Slum: Housing and Social Policy in Victorian London* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 179–99.
73. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 28. See also McLaughlin, *Writing the Urban Jungle*, p. 80.
74. For the diverse motives and contradictory effects of Victorian urban philanthropy see also Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), particularly pp. 3–14, and Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 75–100.
75. Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, p. 40.
76. For a further exploration of this impact see Sally Ledger, “In Darkest England: The Terror of Degeneration in *fin de siècle*-Britain,” *Literature and History* 4, no. 2 (1995): 71–86; Kenan Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 91–100; Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: a European Disorder ca. 1848–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 189–203; and Tim Barringer, “Images of Otherness and the Visual Production of Difference: Race and Labour in Illustrated Texts, 1850–1865,” in Shearer West, ed., *The Victorians and Race* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996), pp. 34–52.
77. Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, p. 16.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
80. See also the analysis of Booth’s scheme in Clasen, *Der Salutismus*, pp. 237–39.
81. See for instance John Briggs et al., *Crime and Punishment in England: An Introductory History* (London: UCL Press, 1996), p. 194.
82. Interestingly, the term “residuum,” frequently used by Booth, was soon employed by the advocates of eugenics. See Pauline M.H. Mazumdar, “The Eugenicists and the Residuum: The Problem of the Urban Poor,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 54, no. 2 (1980): 204–15.
83. For a discussion of the Salvation Army’s program of “religious colonisation” of the working classes see Himmelfarb, *Poverty and Compassion*, pp. 228–30. For the twin aim of moral and material improvement in a colonial setting see also Michael Mann: “Torchbearers upon the Path of Progress,” in Fischer-Tiné and Mann, eds., *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission*, pp. 1–26.
84. Booth, *Sociales Elend und Abhilfe*, p. 18.
85. That similar discourses existed in continental Europe is evident from recent work on the policies of “education to work” in late-nineteenth-century Germany and the German colonies in Africa. See Sebastian Conrad, “Eingeborenepolitik

- in Kolonie und Metropole. 'Erziehung zur Arbeit' in Ostafrika und Ost-Westfalen," in Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel, eds., *Das Kaiserreich transnational. Deutschland in der Welt 1871–1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), pp. 107–28.
86. Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850–1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 92–118, and Richard Bellamy, *Liberalism and Modern Society: A Historical Argument* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), pp. 9–14.
 87. Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, p. 92.
 88. Ibid.
 89. Ibid., p. 134.
 90. Ibid., pp. 137–38.
 91. Ibid., p. 129. In spite of quoting this phrase, Booth places emphasis on the fact that most of the urban poor were not "real" Cockneys but country dwellers who had moved to the capital only recently, and hence it could be expected that they proved useful in the farm colony. He thus implies that "the real Cockney" was a lesser species, unfit for rural life.
 92. Ibid., p. 143.
 93. Ibid., p. 149.
 94. Ibid., p. 152. This idea of a global "Greater Britain" had earlier been formulated in Charles Wentworth Dilke, *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries During 1866 and 1867*, 2 Vols. (London: 1869).
 95. Ibid., p. 145.
 96. Ibid., pp. 146 and 157. See also F. Booth-Tucker, *The Short Life of Catherine Booth*, p. 515.
 97. For the following see Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, pp. 152–55.
 98. For a general discussion and case studies of the concept's application see Boris Barth and Jürgen Osterhammel, eds., *Zivilisierungsmissionen. Imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Konstanz: UVK Verlag, 2005), passim.
 99. Agricultural reformer Sir Henry Rider Haggard, better known for his adventure novels like *King Solomon's Mines* or *She*, was appointed as the head of an inspection committee by the Colonial Secretary to evaluate the Army's farm colonies in Britain and the United States. He recommended them as an appropriate means to stop the "racial degeneration" supposedly resulting from urbanization. See H. Rider Haggard, *The Poor and the Land: Being a Report on the Salvation Army Colonies in the United States and at Hadleigh, England* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905). See also Jose Harris, *Unemployment and Politics: A Study in English Social Policy, 1886–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 130.
 100. Clasen, *Der Salutismus*, p. 273, and Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, pp. 163, 213, end note 34.
 101. See McLaughlin, *Writing the Urban Jungle*, p. 211, fn. 37.
 102. Hattersley, *Blood & Fire*, p. 370. The Salvation Army did, however, support schemes of aided emigration, especially to Canada, see Clasen, *Der Salutismus*, pp. 272–73; Marjory Harper, "British Migration and the Peopling of the Empire," in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Nineteenth Century. The Oxford History of*

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- the British Empire*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 75–87, p. 82; Harris, *Unemployment and Politics*, pp. 131–32; and Desmond Glynn, “‘Exporting Outcast London’: Assisted Emigration to Canada, 1886–1914,” in *Social History* 15, no. 29 (1982): 209–38.
103. Salvation Army, *The Salvation Army. Its Origin and Development*, p. 41
 104. Booth-Tucker, *The Short Life of Catherine Booth*, p. 374.
 105. Clasen, *Der Salutismus*, p. 89. See also Salvation Army, *The Salvation Army. Its Origin and Development*, pp. 41, 45.
 106. *India's Cry: A Monthly Record of the Spiritual and Social Operations of The Salvation Army in India and Ceylon*, 1 (2) (May 1896), p. 1.
 107. Solveig Smith, *By Love Compelled: The Salvation Army's One Hundred Years in India and Adjacent Lands* (London: Salvationist Pub. & Supplies, 1981), p. 9.
 108. See Harry Williams, *Booth-Tucker: William Booth's First Gentleman* (London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., 1980). Other biographical monographs include Madge Unsworth, *Bridging the Gap: Frederick Booth-Tucker of India*, Eagle Books no. 52 (London & Edinburgh, 1944); and F.A., Mackenzie, *Booth-Tucker: Sadhu and Saint* (London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., 1930).
 109. Hattersley, *Blood & Fire*, pp. 289–90; and Clasen, *Der Salutismus*, pp. 85–86.
 110. Hattersley, *Blood & Fire*, *Ibid.*, p. 300.
 111. For details see David Arnold, “European Orphans and Vagrants in India in the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 7, no. 2 (1979): 104–27, especially pp. 119–21, and Aravind Ganachari, “White Man's Embarrassment: European Vagrancy in 19th Century Bombay,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 37, no. 2 (2002): 2477–85, especially pp. 2481–84.
 112. Reprinted in A.B. Keith, ed., *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, 1750–1921*, vol. 1 (London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1922), pp. 370–86.
 113. Williams, *Booth-Tucker*, p. 71.
 114. See, for instance, Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and Their Critics, 1793–1905* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980), *passim*. See also E.M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, ca. 1800–1947* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), particularly chapter 4. For an interesting compilation of insiders' accounts see Charles Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj: Images of British India in the Twentieth-Century* (London: Futura Publications, 1999).
 115. The “native policy” proved to be counterproductive in Japan, where people “roared with laughter” at the sight of the Salvationists wearing night kimonos they had erroneously bought in Hong Kong as typical “native dress.” Rightmire, *Salvationist Samurai*, pp. 16–17.
 116. Quoted in Smith, *By Love Compelled*, p. 3.
 117. According to a typical British self-representation in a contemporary weekly journal for Europeans: *The Friend of India* 24, no. 5 (1866): 607.
 118. On a completely different level, the Salvationists also transgressed cultural and “civilizational” boundaries by arranging their pious songs in the style of traditional

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- Indian music and playing them with Indian instruments. See e.g. Salvation Army (India), *Salvation Army Songs*, rev. and enl. ed. (in Kannarese), (Bapatla: The Salvation Army, 1918).
119. Anonymous, *Catherine Bannister Given for India* (London: The Salvation Army's Miniature Biographies no. 10, 1930), p. 10.
 120. Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, pp. 236–37.
 121. *The War Cry*, 25 no. 10 (1919): 5, and Williams, *Booth-Tucker*, p. 220.
 122. F. Booth-Tucker, *Muktifauj, or, Forty Years with the Salvation Army in India and Ceylon* (London: Salvationist Publishing & Supplies, 1923), p. 14.
 123. National Archives of India (hereafter quoted as NAI), GoI, Home Dept. Progs., Public A—201–202, October 1882, Viceroy Lord Ripon to members of the Viceregal Council, October 25, 1882.
 124. Booth-Tucker, *Muktifauj*, pp. 15–35; Mackenzie, *Booth-Tucker: Sadhu and Saint*, pp. 65–81; and Smith, *By Love Compelled*, pp. 6–9, 13–15.
 125. NAI, GoI, Home Dept. Progs., Public A—202, “Petition of the inhabitants of Calcutta protesting against the treatment of some members of the Salvation Army.”
 126. NAI, Home Dept. Progs., Ecclesiastical, A—19–30, September 1884, Letter No. 158, dated Simla, September 15, 1884, A Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government of India to the Government of Bombay.
 127. OIOC, IOR: L/PJ/6/411, File No. 2249, “Letter of W. McG. Drysdale to William Booth.”
 128. *India's Cry (Special Self-Denial Number)* 11, no. 11 (November 1906): 5.
 129. Smith, *By Love Compelled*, pp. 34–35, 39.
 130. Quoted *ibid.*, p. 43.
 131. *Ibid.*, p. 44 and Salvation Army, *The Salvation Army Year Book. 1939*, p. 92. The journal was renamed *India's Cry* between 1896 and 1908.
 132. Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, p. 138. See also Booth-Tucker, *The Short Life of Catherine Booth*, p. 376. For a more detailed account of Booth's visits see Booth-Tucker, *Muktifauj*, pp. 140–48.
 133. Williams, *Booth-Tucker*, pp. 100–08. The pragmatic reasons for this were made plain by Fakir Singh in 1891: “Religious by instinct, obedient to discipline, . . . inured to hardship, and accustomed to support life on the scantiest conceivable pittance we cannot imagine a more fitting object for our pity, nor a more encouraging one for our effort, than the members of India's submerged tenth.” F. Booth-Tucker, “Preface,” in F. Booth-Tucker, *Darkest India: A Supplement to General Booth's In Darkest England and the Way Out* (Bombay: Bombay Gazette Steam Printing Works, 1891), pp. 5–6. See also *The War Cry*, 14, no. 3 (March 1910): 6.
 134. See for instance *India's Cry* 1, no. 6 (September 1896): 4; 1, no. 9 (December 1896): 1–2; 2, no. 1 (April 1897): 1–6; 2, no. 3 (June 1897): 3–6, 11–13; 5, no. 7 (July 1900): 1–2. See also Smith, *By Love Compelled*, pp. 71–72.
 135. *India's Cry* 1, no. 6 (September 1896): 5; 1, no. 7 (October 1896): 1; 2, no. 4 (July 1897): 1–2; 2, no. 3 (September 1897): 3. See also Salvation Army, *A Year's Advance: Being the Eleventh Annual Report of the Salvation Army in India*

- and Ceylon 1892–93 (Bombay: 1893), pp. 47–48; *The Bombay Guardian*, March 8, 1890, p. 10, Matilda Hatcher, *The Undauntables: Being Thrilling Stories of the Salvation Army's Pioneering Days in India* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1933), pp. 133–34; and *The Sentinel. Organ of Movements for Social Purity and National Righteousness* 17, no. 10 (October 1895): 145. See also F. Booth-Tucker, *Darkest India*, p. 94.
136. Salvation Army, *The Salvation Army Year Book. 1939*, p. 91. See also Smith, *By Love Compelled*, pp. 77–79.
137. OIOC. IOR: L/PJ/6/544 File No. 1291. “Salvation Army Headquarter’s Enquiries Regarding the Practice of Medicine in India by Persons Not Having the Legal Medical Qualifications Required in Great Britain.”
138. NAI, Home Dept. Progs., Medical, A—19–21, July 1907.
139. NAI, Home Dept. Progs., Medical, A—14–19, June 1908, “Offer Made by the Salvation Army to Cooperate with the Government in Supplying Medical Assistance to the People of India.”
140. Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, p. 228.
141. NAI, Home Dept. Progs., Medical, A—15, June 1908, Letter No. 4424, Arthur Wood, ICS, Collector of Kaira to the Commissioner, Northern Division, dated Kaira, September 25, 1907.
142. NAI, Home Dept. Progs., Educational, A—48, July 1908, Letter No. 596, dated June 18, 1907, E.D. Maclagan, Chief Secretary to the Govt. Of Punjab to the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, “Forwarding extracts of a letter dated 19-2-1907 from Mr. F de L. Booth Tucker, Commissioner, Salvation Army.” Three years later the figures in *The War Cry*, 17, no. 11 (November 1911): 6, mention even 400 day schools.
143. Booth-Tucker was granted interviews by Lord Minto, Viceroy of British India and Herbert Hope Risley, one of the most influential members of his Council on February 5, 1905. He was also in contact with John Morley, the Secretary of State for India in Whitehall.
144. NAI, Home Dept. Progs., Educational, A—48, July 1908, Letter No. 596, “Forwarding extracts of a letter dated 19-2-1907 from Mr. F de L. Booth Tucker, Commissioner, Salvation Army.” To impart “English Drill” was indeed one of the most prominent features of the Salvationists schools. See *India's Cry*, 1, no. 11 (February 1897): 3.
145. Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, p. 236. Interestingly, Booth-Tucker had been engaged in the United States amongst other places in the founding of “farm colonies,” an experience that would prove valuable for his later work in India. For an account of his American career see Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads & Lasses*, pp. 108–30.
146. NAI, Home Dept. Progs., Educational, A—48, July 1908, Letter No. 596, “Forwarding extracts of a letter dated 19-2-1907 from Mr. F de L. Booth Tucker, Commissioner, Salvation Army.”
147. See *The War Cry*, 22, no. 5 (May 1916): 6.
148. Booth-Tucker, “Preface,” in Booth-Tucker, *Darkest India*, p. 3.

149. See Watt, *Serving the Nation*, pp. 2–13. *passim*. I am grateful to Carey Watt for guiding my attention to this likely interconnection. Before drawing final conclusions, however, further research on this point is required.
150. For the context of the Swadeshi movement and Indian “terrorism” see Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885–1947* (Madras, New Delhi: Macmillan India, 1983), pp. 111–47 and Rajat Kanta Ray, *Social Conflict and Political Unrest in Bengal, 1875–1927* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 160–206.
151. As this particular aspect has received some scholarly attention recently I will confine myself largely to a brief summary. For a more exhaustive treatment of the Salvation Army’s work with the “Criminal Tribes” see also Radhakrishna, *Dishonoured by History*, and the same author’s “Surveillance and Settlements under the Criminal Tribes Act in Madras,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 29, no. 2 (1992): 171–98, as well as Rachel Tolen, “Colonizing and Transforming the Criminal Tribesman: The Salvation Army in British India,” in Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla, eds., *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 78–108.
152. There is a vast body of literature on “hereditary criminality” in colonial India. For some recent general accounts see, for instance, Marie Fourcade, “The So-Called Criminal Tribes of India: Colonial Violence and Traditional Violence,” in D. Vidal, G. Tarabout, and E. Meyer, eds., *Violence/Non-Violence. Some Hindu Perspectives* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2004), pp. 143–73. Mark Brown, “Race, Science and the Construction of Native Criminality in Colonial India,” *Theoretical Criminology* 5, no. 3 (2001): 345–68. Mark Brown, “Ethnology and Colonial Administration in Nineteenth-Century British India: The Question of Native Crime and Criminality,” *British Journal of the History of Science* 36, no. 2 (2003): 201–19; A. Major, “State and Criminal Tribes in Colonial Punjab: Surveillance, Control, and Reclamation of the ‘Dangerous Classes,’” *Modern Asian Studies* 33, no. 3 (1999): 657–88; Sandria B. Freitag, “Crime in the Social Order of Colonial North India,” *Modern Asian Studies* 25, no. 2 (1991): 227–61; Jacques Pouchepadass, “Criminal Tribes of British India: A Repressive Concept in Theory and Practice,” *International Journal of Asian Studies* 2, no. 1 (1982): 41–59.
153. Booth-Tucker, *Mukhtifauj*, p. 164; Smith, *By Love Compelled*, pp. 103–104; Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, p. 240; and Radhakrishna, “Surveillance and Settlements,” p. 179.
154. *The War Cry*, 16, no. 4 (April 1910): 13.
155. United Provinces: One of the British Presidencies in Northern India.
156. *The War Cry*, 25, no. 11 (November 1919): 6. See also Charles, R. Henderson, “Control of Crime in India,” *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* 4, no. 3 (1913): 378–401.
157. Tolen, “Colonizing and Transforming the Criminal Tribesman,” p. 94. See also NAI, Home Dept. Progs., Jails, A—35–36, April 1914, “Report on the Experimental Salvation Army Settlement, Lahore for the Reclamation of Juvenile Criminals.”

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158. The OIOC, IOR: P/9453, GoI, Home Dept., Jail Progs., 1914, Letter No. 364 G.I., Lieut.-Col. G.F.W. Braide, IMS, Inspector-General of Prisons, Punjab to the Revenue Secretary to the Government of Punjab, January 30, 1914.
159. NAI, Home Dept. Progs., Police, A—102—03, November 1910, “Letter from General Booth of the Salvation Army Making Certain Proposals in the Connection with the Reclamation of Criminal Tribes.”
160. Ibid.
161. Commissioner Booth-Tucker, *India's Millions: Being a Summary of a Lecture on the Work of the Salvation Army in India* (London-Edinburgh s.a. 1923), p. 13.
162. *The War Cry*, 25, no. 11 (November 1919): 6.
163. Booth-Tucker, *Muktifauj*, p. 208.
164. Smith, *By Love Compelled*, p. 103.
165. See Radhakrishna, *Dishonoured by History*, chapter 3; and Tolen, “Colonizing and Transforming the Criminal Tribesman,” pp. 94–99.
166. *The War Cry*, 17, no. 7 (July 1911): 1; 21, no. 7 (July 1915): 1–4; Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, p. 241; and Booth-Tucker, *Muktifauj*, pp. 163–64. See also *The War Cry*, 22, no. 1 (January 1916): 5–7 for a similar exhibition in Bombay, inaugurated by the governor of that presidency.
167. “Address Presented to his Excellency the Viceroy by Commissioner Fakir Singh. At the Industrial Exhibition and Sale of Work at Simla,” *The War Cry*, 21, no. 7 (July 1915): 2; and Booth-Tucker, *Muktifauj*, pp. 212–13.
168. In 1916, two corps consisting of 800 “coolies” each were sent to the Persian Gulf under the command of European Salvation Army officers; they served in loading and unloading ships. *The War Cry*, 22, no. 10 (October 1916): 11 and *The War Cry*, 24, no. 8 (August 1918): 1.
169. Salvation Army, *The Salvation Army. Its origin and development*, pp. 61–62. Quite astonishingly, a critical evaluation of the army’s role in the reeducation of the so-called Crims seems not to have taken place, as the reclamation work it is still described as “one of the greatest and most successful enterprises in the history of the Salvation Army in India” in semiofficial accounts published in the 1980s. See Smith, *By Love Compelled*, p. 103, and Williams, *Booth-Tucker*, p. 178.
170. For the following see also Harald Fischer-Tiné, “Britain’s Other Civilising Mission: Class Prejudice, European Loafism and the Workhouse-System in Colonial India,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 42, no. 3 (2005): 295–338, 323–26.
171. Maharashtra State Archives, Government of Bombay, Judicial Dept. Progs., Vol. 134, 1910, “The Loafer Problem in Bombay,” Memorandum by F. Booth-Tucker, Salvation Army.
172. *The War Cry*, 17, no. 1 (January 1911): 6, 9; Oriental and India Office Collection, London [hereafter cited as OIOC], India Office Records [hereafter IOR]: P/8599, Government of Bombay Judicial Progs., September–December 1910 A—30 November 1910, “Opening of the Industrial Home for Europeans Vagrants in the City of Bombay.”
173. OIOC, IOR: P/9851, Government of Bombay, Judicial Progs., 1915, Letter No. 13538–6, December 10, 1914. S.M. Edwardes, Commissioner of Police,

- Bombay, to Under Secretary, Judicial Dept., Bombay A-24, January 1915, "Report on the Working of the European Vagrants Labour Home, Managed by the Salvation Army," and NAI, GoI, Home Dept. Progs., Police, A—141–52, April 1915, "Despatch from the Secretary of State for India (Public) No. 56 to the Governor General of India in Council," March 12, 1915.
174. OIOC, IOR: P/10054 Government of Bombay, Judicial Progs., No. A-5, March 1916, Letter No. 1476, March 6, 1915. Secy. to Government of Bombay to Commissioner Booth-Tucker of the Salvation Army, "Proposal to Transfer to the Salvation Army the Management of the Government Workhouses in Bombay and the Erection and Provision of New Buildings for the Male and Female Workhouses." See also "The Salvation Army (Western India Territory)," *Reclamation. A Review of the Salvation Army's Social and Medical Activities*, (Bombay n.d. [ca. 1927]), p. 14.
 175. *The War Cry*, 21, no. 4 (April 1915): 18; 21, no. 7 (July 1915): 8. See also NAI, Home Dept. Progs., Judl., A—28–29, February 1915, "Establishment by the Salvation Army of a Labour Home for Indigent Europeans and Eurasians at Delhi."
 176. *Ibid.*, Prog. 28, Letter No. 8854, W. M. Hailey, Chief Commissioner of Delhi, to GoI, Home Dept., December 14, 1915.
 177. See for instance NAI, Home Dept. Progs., Judicial, A—61–62, July 1912, "Further Continuance of the Scheme Relating to the Establishment of a Labour Home for European Vagrants, by the Salvation Army, Bombay," NAI, Home Dept. Progs., Police, A—36–50, November 1912, "Reclamation Of Criminal Tribes Through the Salvation Army and Grant to the Salvation Army of a Plot of Land in Madras Presidency"; NAI, Home Dept. Progs., Jail, A—62–63, March 1918 "Proposal to Increase Grants to the SA in Madras for Reclamation Work."
 178. Commissioner Booth-Tucker, *India's Millions*, p. 9.
 179. *The War Cry*, 17, no. 1 (January 1911): 14.
 180. At least four other Salvation Army officers (Col. E. Sheard, Brig. S. Smith and W. Francis and Maj. L. Gale) engaged in the reclamation of "Crims" later received the same award. See also Smith, *By Love Compelled*, p. 110.
 181. Cox, *Imperial fault lines*, p. 240.
 182. F. Booth-Tucker, *Criminocurology or the Indian Criminal and what to do with him: being a review of the work of the Salvation army among the prisoners, habituals and criminal tribes of India*, 4th ed. (Simla: Liddell's Printing Works, 1916).
 183. Tolen, "Colonizing and Transforming the Criminal Tribesman," p. 98.
 184. Cited in Rightmire, *Salvationist Samurai*, p. 111.
 185. See Clasen, *Der Salutismus*, pp. 84–85, 103–04; Rightmire, *Salvationist Samurai*, p. 90 and Salvation Army, *The Salvation Army Year Book 1939*, pp. 61, 63–64.
 186. Kortjen, Perlas and Shiva, "Global Civil Society: The Path Ahead." <http://www.pcdf.org/civilsociety/path.htm>, accessed February 1, 2005.

