Roddy, Sarah, Julie-Marie Strange, and Bertrand Taithe. "The Emergence of Charity Enterprise." *The Charity Market and Humanitarianism in Britain, 1870–1912*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019. 9–34. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350058019.ch-001>>.

Downloaded from Bloomsbury Collections, www.bloomsburycollections.com, 26 April 2023, 07:37 UTC.

Copyright © Sarah Roddy, Julie-Marie Strange and Bertrand Taithe 2019. Released under a CC BY-NC-ND licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>). You may share this work for non-commercial purposes only, provided you give attribution to the copyright holder and the publisher, and provide a link to the Creative Commons licence.

The Emergence of Charity Enterprise

Julius Caesar, Napoleon Bonaparte and Abraham Lincoln are not names ordinarily associated with Victorian and Edwardian charity. But, on 31 August 1912, the *New York Times* name-checked them in a roll call of the most 'extraordinary' funerals in history, suggesting that an even more remarkable funeral had just taken place. General William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, was a '[n]onconformist religious leader, innovator, fanatic if you will' and his funeral in London reflected and perpetuated his astonishing success in the world of philanthropy. After lying 'in state' for five days, viewed by over 100,000 members of the public, Booth's corpse was moved to Olympia for a memorial service with a congregation of 34,000; thousands more were denied entry. The following day, an estimated 2 million spectators lined the six-mile route from central London to Abney Park Cemetery to witness the mile-long cortege comprising 6,000 international Salvationists.¹ The organizers shunned 'Victorian' obsequies for Booth's funeral, opting instead for vibrant Salvation Army colours (red and yellow), flags and hymns of rejoicing. According to the British popular newspaper the *Daily Mirror*, hundreds of spectators fainted and some had hysterics; the police strove to keep order; parents lifted children onto shoulders for a better view; global leaders sent wreaths and messages of respect.²

This was an extraordinary send-off for a missionary from Nottingham who first entered the world of philanthropy in the 1860s with the 'East End Christian Mission'. By the time of his death, Booth's charity venture had, after initial setbacks, burgeoned into a global enterprise. His 'Army' waged a staggeringly successful war on a global stage, such that the composite image in Figure 1.1, showing Booth with an array of 'soldiers' in their varied national dress, was no exaggeration. Sixty countries were represented at his funeral, all converts to his Army. Commentators described him as a 'true imperialist' and compared his influence to that of the Pope.³ How had this happened? Underpinning this

Figure 1.1 General Booth and representatives of his soldiers from all parts of the world. *Illustrated London News* (29 June 1907). Courtesy of the British Library.

extraordinary phenomenon was an organization that embraced innovation and modernity. In pursuit of mass Christian salvation and the delivery of welfare services, the Salvation Army, from its creation in 1878, was a visionary organization that harnessed technological and consumer novelties to become a remarkable fundraising machine. As the *Daily Mirror* noted, some people thought the Army's techniques 'vulgar'. Certainly, speaking salvation through a gramophone, harnessing jaunty music hall tunes for hymns, proselytizing the gospel of advertising and shamelessly exploiting commercial ventures did not fit with quaint notions of Christian humility and ladies bountiful. But vulgarity proved to be a formidable 'weapon' to the Booth enterprise.⁴

We use the term 'enterprise' advisedly. By the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the Salvation Army epitomized the philanthropic world's successful appropriation of entrepreneurial techniques. Booth's funeral was a microcosm of their spectacular success; it was a major promotional event, heavily branded, that was filmed for posterity and subsequent repeated use in fundraising and marketing activities.⁵ If Booth's internationalism made the Salvation Army a giant in the charitable marketplace, his embrace of consumerism, technology and innovation were replicated to varying degrees by charities operating at a national and regional level too. These dimensions not only enabled charities to expand their donor base, they also marked the transformation of philanthropic organizations from collecting alms based on appeals to Christian and moral

responsibility to models of business enterprise with target markets and tools of self-promotion.

This chapter examines that transformation, primarily through the lens of three case study organizations which reflect international, national and regional charities respectively: the Salvation Army (launched under this banner in 1878), Barnardo's (founded 1868) and Manchester's Wood Street Mission (WSM; founded 1869). The case studies share common features. Each of the charities' beneficiaries were 'the poor', broadly defined, and Christian conversion was, to differing degrees, embedded within the goals of each organization. They each had nonconformist male founder figures with forceful personalities: Booth, 'Dr.' Thomas Barnardo (whose funeral in 1905 was also filmed for posterity)⁶ and Alfred Alsop. However, this is not intended as a rehash of the great founder myths of the charities. Rather, we contend, each man conformed to Joseph Schumpeter's 1911 definition of the term 'entrepreneur', being both innovators and, crucially, motivators of others in the same pursuit. They, and others like them, were creators of new organizations and, in concert, a new industry.⁷ They, and others like them, took difficult decisions that made their organizations a success.⁸ While we might see a form of 'social entrepreneurship' at play in the development of concepts such as the poverty line in the late nineteenth century, late-Victorian charities were also entrepreneurial in a more literally understood, quasi-commercial sense.⁹

Some resembled what we would now call 'social enterprise', meaning organizations that have business-like features (they employ staff, manufacture and sell goods, have financial targets, a clear advertising and promotional strategy and a sense of their 'market' and competitors), but which direct profits (or at least a percentage of them) into social causes.¹⁰ By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many charities were operating on an enterprise model long before the terms 'social enterprise' or 'social entrepreneur' were invented. In particular, as this chapter will demonstrate, large and small charities alike displayed what Schumpeter identified as one of the key markers of entrepreneurship: an ability to open new markets. They did so in part by engaging with consumption (as Chapter 2 will detail) but they also utilized advertising, promotion, targeted marketing, publicity and what we would today term 'public relations' in order to raise funds for the social causes they helped identify and define.

The chapter begins with an analysis of charitable enterprises' enthusiastic appropriation of, and innovation in, modern advertising and promotional techniques that involved directly asking for money. It then discusses their

development of new ‘donor markets’ across the social spectrum, before exploring, finally, how they used aspects of the emerging mass media and the power of celebrity to manage their public profiles and create interest that boosted fundraising. Booth, Barnardo and Alsop, we argue, headed organizations that were exemplar exponents – though by no means the only exponents – of an entrepreneurship and a charitable business model which in virtually every facet engaged with and co-opted modernity even as they critiqued it.

Advertising and promotion

In an increasingly competitive charitable world, philanthropic organizations recognized a need to expand existing and develop new ‘donor markets’, a phrase which reflects our contention that donors were consumers with choices when it came to bestowing their money. Existing scholarly analysis has highlighted key donor categories in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Most studied has been the status donor: the giver who gained social kudos from affiliation to philanthropic organizations and whose association with the organization might be exploited by the charity as a form of celebrity or elite endorsement.¹¹ High net worth and high-profile individuals were inundated with requests for charity patronage and donations, and their gifts could add impetus to organizations’ fundraising, especially through matched funding schemes.¹² Second, historians have shown how some organizations, hospital funds in particular, concentrated on developing localized giving relationships between more modest donors and specific institutions.¹³ Finally, work on the charity bazaar, perhaps the most common form of fundraising activity in the nineteenth century, highlights the importance of women as both donors and fundraisers.¹⁴ As Frank Prochaska pointed out in 1977, women were often behind the organization of charity balls, dinners, festivals and concerts, and they applied the skills and knowledge acquired in domestic visiting to canvas for subscriptions from middle-class men and women in the suburbs.¹⁵ However, these limited donor profiles aside, we know little about how charities developed strategies to target particular markets, establish new funding streams and improve their own competitiveness for donations within an increasingly crowded marketplace.

Charities had long adapted their services and structure in order to meet market demands, in terms of donor and recipient.¹⁶ But an expansion in the number of charities competing for donations in the second half of the nineteenth century made it imperative for organizations to develop a sharper sense of their

existing and desired donor bases. Donor markets tended to be shaped, first and foremost, by geographical, confessional and ethnic interests. Confessional charities could stem from particular communities' desire to construct ethnic and sectarian identities while, for example, the myriad nonconformist charities that emerged in the nineteenth century were also frequently motivated by a desire to save souls and promote temperance. The local charity usually developed by exploiting regional identity and civic pride, often (although not always) to address local or regional problems.¹⁷ All three case studies in this chapter began as localized, nonconformist missions situated in the thick of urban deprivation (the East End of London and Manchester) with fundraising rooted in liberal religious networks, although each came to conceive of their geographical donor markets in different ways. WSM continued to exploit the local market, Barnardo's prioritized the national and the Salvation Army pitched itself to both national and international donor markets. As a result, each approached advertising and promotion in diverse, but equally clever and innovative ways.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Wood Street Mission, originally called Manchester and Salford Street Children's Mission, was one of the largest voluntary organizations in Manchester. The change to a more precise, location-based name in 1886 reflected the provinciality, purpose and geography of the charity: Wood Street, just off Deansgate, was in the notorious 'slum' district of the industrial city.¹⁸ The charity's focus was firmly local and there is no evidence that organizers ever considered 'scaling up' by expanding beyond Manchester and Salford.¹⁹ It focused fundraising efforts on local markets too: appeals were made within Manchester and Salford and the wealthy commuter towns that delivered Manchester's businessmen to the city. Yet this was not a stagnant organization: Wood Street expanded, instead, by extending the welfare services offered, moving from a mission that fed children, to running a boys' home, soup kitchen for adults, summer camps for children and, for a while, a night shelter for homeless men. The strong local identity of the charity and its association with civic pride were at the core of its ethos and, importantly, of its marketing. At its AGM in 1911, one donor delighted other subscribers by drawing comparison with Liverpool where children did not receive the 'scrupulous' care exercised by WSM.²⁰ So strong were some provincial affiliations to localized need that national and international fundraising appeals might get short shrift from regional-based organizations. In 1873, clergy in Devon rejected appeals for the Indian Famine Appeal, arguing that local need was more pressing.²¹ National appeals could also fail to move the resolve of some localized initiatives. When the Manchester,

Salford and District South African War Fund was asked to redistribute excess local funds to the national pot, the committee vehemently resisted.²²

In contrast, both Barnardo's and the Salvation Army rapidly scaled up from similarly modest, localized beginnings, creating new markets and breaking into other regional markets dominated by the likes of WSM. Both Barnardo and the Booths raised considerable money from embarking on nationwide preaching tours, for example. But crucially, both also recognized the value of extensive paid-for advertising in realizing their expansionary ambitions. Indeed, more generally, the mutual benefit to the press and charity purse of charity advertising is suggested by the periodic discounts offered on philanthropic advertising rates. In 1907 Barnardo's took advantage of special discounts on advertising in the *Standard*, *Daily News* and the religious paper, *The Quiver*.²³ For local charities that remained local, like WSM, advertising costs might be kept to a minimum by exploiting the news columns of the local press to their fullest potential. As the final section of this chapter will show, there were forms of publicity that were virtually free and particularly valued because, unlike paid-for adverts, they gave the illusion of approval by external bodies. So strategic was WSM's utilization of the press in this manner that one minister in 1901 commended its annual advertising budget of only twenty pounds.²⁴ However, the contrasts went beyond press advertising, and one statistic neatly illustrates the vastly different promotional plains on which the likes of WSM and Barnardo's eventually came to operate. In 1895, WSM experimented with commissioning 40,000 leaflets for a Christmas appeal across Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire; in later years, the charity issued a still-impressive 10,000 at Christmas and less than half that number for its summer camp.²⁵ Barnardo's, however, thought nothing of issuing 1.5 million appeal flyers each winter.²⁶

The brashness indicated by such a vast number of appeals was matched in the content of campaigns. Without local ties to emphasize, Thomas Barnardo showed himself to be a supreme publicist with an appreciation of the theatrical. He saw the need to attract donors with arresting marketing content, and keep them entertained and engaged once attracted; he even exploited his own marriage for publicity.²⁷ Barnardo was clearly aware that he was working at a time when advertising was becoming more spectacular, and he made sure his organization partook in the process with gusto.²⁸ Most famously, Barnardo used photographs of 'waifs', implying that his homes turned shoeless street children into upstanding citizens, a device that landed him in legal hot water in 1877. It is telling that after he died in 1905, a publicity and advertising subcommittee scaled back the organization's advertising budget from around £8,000 to £3,000,

still a significant sum. The majority of this expenditure went on adverts in the *Times* and periodicals, where display pieces often broke down problems and their solutions into digestible numbers ‘5,000 orphan and outcast children needing bread!’²⁹ and ‘£16 will maintain a boy or girl in the homes for a year.’³⁰ Advertising in the *Times* was expensive but worthwhile because its readership tended to be ‘high net worth’ individuals.³¹

Barnardo was not alone in his advertising genius. The Salvation Army was extraordinarily innovative in developing an advertising ethos and training soldiers in the techniques of enterprise, pushing the charity from its London base to replicate the ‘multiples’ model of retail businesses nationally and internationally.³² Their methods for identifying and developing new markets were similar to the techniques of manufacturers like J. and J. Colman (mustard retailers) and Isaac Reckitt (soap powders) who matched aggressive marketing with the strategic deployment of travelling agents charged with developing new or penetrating existing markets.³³ By the end of the nineteenth century, the Salvation Army had not only reproduced the East End model across Britain, it had exported it, with sensitivity to local conditions, across the globe. In 1893, the in-house magazine for Army staff, *The Officer*, ran a series of features over several months on ‘How to advertise.’ This was, the author noted, an ‘advertising age.’³⁴ Many of the ideas advanced were techniques commonplace to shops and manufacturers by the 1880s: chalking catchy announcements on the pavements; using rubber stamps on the front of magazines; billposting; illuminated transparencies (especially effective at night); sandwich boards; hand carts and handbills. The novelty lay in a philanthropic organization appropriating the techniques of large advertisers in a ‘sprit of enterprise’ to unashamedly develop the Salvationist market (‘Break up some new ground!’) and ‘get money.’³⁵ The series offered advice on fonts, design, use of images, colour and the strategic placing of adverts.

To differing degrees, all three charities harnessed new technological innovations to boost their advertising and appeal campaigns. While paper manufacture was cheaper than ever, and photography and illustration were perhaps ‘the most significant invention(s) of the century for graphic design’, there were less obvious developments in visual design that charities also seized upon.³⁶ Beginning in the 1880s, photolithography, a process that facilitated large print runs at reduced cost and expanded design possibilities far beyond the conventional letterpress, was widely employed by charities for their appeal literature. Some used it to develop the old-fashioned personal appeal letter into a mass-market message; as the Salvation Army found, lithography allowed

letters in General or Catherine Booth's handwriting to be sent to thousands of recipients, an endeavour which was otherwise too time-consuming to be considered. WSM's 40,000 Christmas appeal letters presumably used the same technique.³⁷ The effect of this 'personal' touch from foundational figureheads on donors, however impersonal in reality, was likely significant.

Yet there were more exciting and eye-catching design tricks also now open to charities. The last decades of the nineteenth century saw print workshops and enthusiastic amateurs devise thousands of new typefaces. Much of this work went towards periodicals, advertising for commercial purposes or political posters, but it is clear that charities were just as willing to experiment with new designs. In the absence of illustration of any kind, single-sheet appeal literature had been indistinguishable from other pieces of printed ephemera, a title in a larger font size giving way to paragraphs of text conventionally arranged below. As Figure 1.2, an appeal leaflet for Dr Barnardo's homes, amply demonstrates, there were now myriad techniques to distinguish a flyer. An unusual and striking bubbled font emphasized key pieces of information that any donor would need: the name, address and financial scale of the charity's work. Discrete, rounded boxes of text contained validating testimony on the charity's behalf, as well as a personal appeal 'signed' by Dr Barnardo. The simplest innovation of all was its printing on coloured paper – pastel shades of yellow, blue and pink were most common – which, as well as sometimes being cheaper, acted as a surprisingly effective distinguishing trait, one that the *Financial Times* famously adopted in 1893.³⁸

Unmistakably 'modern'-looking appeal leaflets were within the reach of virtually all charities by the end of the Victorian era. Yet the Salvation Army took this process, and advertising strategy more generally, to greater heights than even the successful Barnardo. Clever pastiches of commercial advertisements demonstrated their keen attention to the emerging art. Handbills could be disguised as adverts for niche products: quack remedies (Universal Medicine), shipping companies (Salvation Navigation Co.), house rentals (To Let signs) or other paper forms that would rouse public curiosity (the telegram, railway ticket, five pound notes, reward notices and so on).³⁹ Other suggestions included playing into consumer desires and anxieties with handbills headlining 'Which is the best soap?' or mimicking the adverts of popularly branded goods such as Lemco, a beef extract. Soldiers were encouraged to play around with acronyms (handbills headlining V.C. referred not to the Victoria Cross but the Army's 'Vigorous Campaign') or to print a purse that folded out into an appeal. There was also a suggestion of customizing the latest advertising tools such as

The National Incorporated Waifs' Association

(Dr. Barnardo's Homes)

The King's Opinion.

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY
(when Prince of Wales) said:

"These Homes are, I believe, carrying out a work dear to all who wish well to their country, inasmuch as they have reclaimed thousands of children from the slums, and are still continuing their benevolent labours. . . It must be our great wish that continually increasing success may attend the operations of this beneficent and National work."

18 to 26, Stepney Causeway,
London, E.

Dear Friends,

When the Christmas Bells are sounding and you feel the warmth of Christmas in your hearts, I want you to remember my Great Family of Orphan Bairns, who, but for the kind sympathy which you and others have already shown them, would have been homeless, foodless and friendless this Christmas Season.

Do you know that this is the THIRTY-SIXTH CHRISTMAS in succession that I have been working at my life-task of Waif-Rescue? And in that long stretch of years, from 1866 to 1901, 44,003 Boys and Girls have passed in at our open doors and out again, of whom the great majority have done well in their after lives. Of these, 12,604 have been emigrated, 1,013 having gone out to Canada this single year. Over 25,000 others have been placed out in service in England, or given trades to, or sent to sea, etc., etc.

I have 96 FAMILIES in town and country all made up of little Waifs, and all looking forward eagerly for their Christmas dinner and for some of the brightness that Christmas brings in its wake!

Please think lovingly of my poor Boys and Girls, and help them if you can by using the Collecting Form on the next page.

Your faithful Fellow Servant in the Children's cause,

Dr. Barnardo

Christmas, 1901. [P.T.O.]

**The Food alone of our
5,450 Children costs
£200 per day.**

**18 to 26, Stepney Causeway,
London E.**

P. T. O.

Figure 1.2 Promotional leaflet, Barnardo's papers. Courtesy of Barnardo's Photographic Archive.

‘advertising balloons’: one particularly playful idea being to paint balloons with the face of the devil and then, of course, explode them.⁴⁰ The Army not only drew inspiration from commercial advertising, but also saw themselves as being in direct competition with it.⁴¹

Reflecting on why they were so good at raising money, a feature in *The Officer* in 1893 concluded that the Army had a ‘systematic, methodical, businesslike manner’. The hierarchical structure of the organization ensured uniformity and precision while guaranteeing adaptation to local law and custom in whichever part of the country or the world the Army operated.⁴² The amount expended on advertising mattered less than the advertiser’s ‘bite’.⁴³ Each officer was encouraged and equipped to become an advertising whizz, an individual marketing entrepreneur. Army publications for soldiers regularly carried features on the latest techniques in advertising or examples of extraordinary fundraising feats from across the globe, with a strong emphasis on ‘How we do it in America’, the home of ‘hustle’ and advertising training colleges.⁴⁴ Why, asked one feature, should the Army not be as up to date in advertising as ‘worldlings’?⁴⁵ At the kernel of the Army’s advertising ethos lay recognition that constant fundraising, or ‘begging’, was tedious for fundraisers and donors. The public were fickle and organizations faced constant competition which made ‘perpetual advertising’ with innovation and imagination essential, as evinced in the ‘Novelty corner’ column in *The Officer* in 1899.⁴⁶ Officers, this column emphasized, should understand that ‘ruts and routines are fatal to the advertiser’.⁴⁷ The Army constantly urged soldiers to look to the world of business where advertising managers were as important to success as managing directors: advertisers needed ‘ingenuity, enterprise, originality, the qualities of surprise, novelty, unexpectedness’.⁴⁸ There was, as one feature stated, nothing new under the sun but there were new ways of selling old things.⁴⁹

All of this advertising and appeal literature worked so well because at the core was a strong sense of the target market. Again, the Army urged soldiers to look to business strategies where adverts were always tailored to specific markets.⁵⁰ Like other charities, the Army had long used the personal written appeal but, lithography notwithstanding, this was time-consuming and not always appropriate in a mass economy.⁵¹ Certainly, the Army had a clear sense of adapting advertising and fundraising strategies, encouraging officers to exploit or challenge stereotypes as circumstances demanded: two young female officers burst into tears when refused donations from a curmudgeonly man who immediately gave them five pounds⁵²; a female officer in Sweden composed her posters and handbills in Latin to flatter male undergraduates.⁵³ Other examples

carried suggestions for marketing to theatregoers, habitual drinkers or the peculiarities of rural donors.⁵⁴

Much of the Army's fundraising targeted working-class districts where 'sensation' was perennially successful. Officers were encouraged to mislead the public so long as they did not deliberately falsify information. Good examples of sensation advertising included promoting speakers with depraved pasts (the emphasis had to be on their crimes rather than their names), apparent promises of celebrity ('The King is coming to Edinburgh!' meant Christ the King) and extraordinary feats ('20,000 miles for 2d!' referred to a speaker from India and the entrance fee to hear him). Historian Pamela Walker has pointed to Salvationists' dubious blurring of boundaries between commercial entertainment and promotion that relied on the appeal of attractive young female officers to a cynical male public.⁵⁵ It is notable that Army advice on advertising looked not only to business but, also, to highly successful global entertainers like Buffalo Bill, and Barnum and Bailey.⁵⁶ Even Army fundraising and advertising through the medium of a donkey cart brought a sense of the spectacular: ribbons, flags and bells transformed mundane philanthropic begging into a 'circus' aesthetic.⁵⁷

Social depth and the donor market

These advertising examples show how new voluntary charities recognized and sought to develop the social depth of the donor market. Histories of philanthropy have rightly drawn attention to the mutual benefit arising from high status patrons and the targeting of high net worth individuals in fundraising strategies. Yet most of the new voluntary charities also used what we would now call 'crowd funding', establishing mass, small-donor markets in less affluent contexts. As Alfred Alsop of WSM noted, small sums multiplied could make a significant difference.⁵⁸ Crowd funding had a long established pedigree, not least through the 'collection' model that operated in churches and chapels. The 'chain letter', although attracting much disapproval, especially from the Charity Organisation Society (COS), could also herald considerable profits. Thomas Barnardo took the disingenuous step of relating in one of the charity's magazines a story of the phenomenal financial haul (£3,768) of a chain letter scheme that began in Kenilworth while simulating disapproval for the method.⁵⁹ Likewise, collecting boxes were a common and reliable source of income for most charities, large and small. Wood Street distributed collecting boxes to public houses and hotels in Manchester, and used them on special events, such as the opening of its Summer

Camp, although the sums collected annually could be small in the context of its broader income: less than forty shillings in 1900.⁶⁰ Collection boxes could, however, be used to forge a strong connection between a specific set of donors and recipients. In Liverpool, workmen from J. Bibby and Sons, an oilcake manufacturer, annually donated over £100 to one of the city's largest voluntary organizations from weekly contributions in its workplace collection boxes.⁶¹

One of the difficulties facing smaller charities' use of collecting boxes was competition with the nationals. Barnardo's, for instance, could afford to pay for large posters proclaiming its successful work with children positioned at key railway stations with collecting boxes placed beneath.⁶² These were sufficiently effective for the charity to pay for framed posters at large exhibitions across the country: Earls Court, the Irish Exhibition and the Blackpool Exhibition.⁶³ While the collecting box was a reliable method for raising money, it lacked novelty. Some smaller charities were most successful with boxes when collections were tied to spectacular events. A charity in Liverpool, for instance, initiated Christmas tours of the city with a 'travelling Christmas tree' in 1912, pulled by a pony and cart, decked out with Chinese lanterns and mock presents. The parade facilitated the promotion of Christmas events while volunteers accompanied the cart rattling boxes borrowed from the Hospital Saturday Fund.⁶⁴

Other charities used novel collecting boxes. As illustrated on the front cover of this book, William Simpson, a beloved public figure in Liverpool, introduced a 'bowl' on the landing stage at Liverpool docks to touch 'free will' donations from passersby for causes including the Indian Famine, and South Wales and St. Helen's Mining disasters. An analysis of the first day's collections for the Haydock Colliery Relief Fund showed that the majority of donations were made up of pennies and halfpennies. In just eight days, 'Simpson's bowl' had raised over £200.⁶⁵ Another initiative for the same Relief Fund was an 'ingenious' mechanical box featuring a model of a colliery engine house with a collier and pit brow girl: with every penny dropped through a slot, the figures of the collier and girl made a bow of thanks.⁶⁶ Railway widow and orphan funds favoured using dogs wearing a collecting pouch or box. 'Tim', a rough-coated terrier, collected over £800 between 1892 and 1902 at Paddington Station for the Great Western Railway Widows and Orphans Fund. The Ladies Brigade of Collecting Dogs had, by 1899, collected over £3,000 for widows and orphans of soldiers killed or maimed in the South African War.⁶⁷ So successful were some of these dogs that their remains were preserved, along with their collection tins, for posterity.⁶⁸

Clearly then, even schemes aimed at penny donations were deemed to benefit from novelty, not least in a context where more and more charities chased after

such donations. One of the most successful fundraising initiatives in Manchester at the turn of the twentieth century was the Jewish Poor of Manchester's sale of 'Penny-a-brick' tickets to raise 'substantial' amounts for a new soup kitchen.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, in Edinburgh in 1911, the Scottish Children's League of Pity sought to collect a 'mile of pennies' to endow a cot in a children's shelter, an innovation which seems to have had American evangelical roots.⁷⁰ The Salvation Army also introduced collection boxes for individual families, the development of habitual giving being seen as intrinsic to becoming a Salvationist. 'Grace before meal' boxes were placed in living rooms and families urged to drop a penny in before consuming their evening meal as thanks for their comfort. Army agents collected the boxes quarterly.⁷¹ Although the sums donated were small (two surviving collection receipts suggest quarterly donations of around 2 shillings), the national scope of the initiative meant that the officers responsible for this scheme had fundraising targets of £10,000 per annum.⁷² Although hardly novel, the Army also used collecting cards to target similar demographics, deeming them a 'good old fashioned up and down way of getting money'.⁷³

Within the parameters of the small sum donor market, there could be further distinctions that targeted subgroups according to their available resources. A simple technique that demonstrated charities' aspiration to social depth of donor bases was an appeal leaflet or advert that explicitly suggested different levels of donation and what that specific sum could do to transform beneficiaries' lives. Barnardo's appeal booklets routinely noted what £5 might pay for (a child's apprenticeship) and what £30 might do (maintain a sick child in the infirmary for a year),⁷⁴ thus distinguishing between different income demographics within the middle classes. But they also proclaimed, 'Even the smallest gift gratefully received',⁷⁵ and this ethos was suffused throughout many charities' fundraising strategies. The Salvation Army very clearly operated a sliding scale of donor expectation and soldiers were encouraged to exercise discretion in identifying optimum giving potential in donors. Elderly ladies rarely had spare cash but could usually be persuaded to make things for sale.⁷⁶ One shilling collecting cards could be distributed to artisans or skilled working-class families. Rather more democratic 'one penny receipts' were surprisingly effective too: the sum was so small that 'very few felt inclined to refuse' and many contributed more.⁷⁷ Army fundraising also included former recipients. The 'Out-of-Love' fund, for example, targeted former residents of welfare homes to donate a penny a week after leaving. Founded in 1891, this made direct claims on obligations and ties: the fund offered former residents a 'beautiful' chance, said Florence Booth, to repay some of 'the toil, the care, the love, and the expense which has been

so freely and gladly expended upon them.’ Women who refunded a significant amount (it is not clear how it was calculated) were given a finely bound Bible and placed upon a roll of honour. It operated on the premise that if 2,000 of the 5,000 women and girls that passed through Army homes could be persuaded to contribute, the initiative would raise between £400 and £500 per annum, equal to the cost of accommodating a further 25 women residents.⁷⁸

Working-class donors were therefore a popular ‘small sum’ market, and well-timed, well-placed novelty could exploit that funding stream to its fullest. But if this was sometimes a process that required considerable organizational effort for what could be one-off penny donations, the other great ‘small sum’ market – children – was targeted in a more systematic, if no less novel, fashion, and with an expectation of even greater returns in the long term. Frank Prochaska has pointed to mission organizations that, by at least the 1840s, were encouraging middle-class children to donate.⁷⁹ By the latter half of the nineteenth century, regional and national organizations had perfected child-focused fundraising campaigns. Appeals to ‘comfortably clothed, well-fed children’ prompted self-reflection on their privilege and difference from the ‘poor waif’, an innocent victim of want and adults’ profligacy.⁸⁰ As one subscriber observed at the WSM AGM in 1899, the rising generation should be trained to ‘feel their responsibilities.’⁸¹ The cultivation of donating habits in youth incorporated giving as social responsibility, but it also encouraged a form of ‘brand loyalty’. The small donors of today were, potentially, the keystone of a charity’s tomorrow. Sir Henry Burdett, an energetic fundraiser who transformed hospital fundraising on commercial lines, directed royal fundraising and moved from his career as a physician into the stockbroking world, thought the recruitment of children essential to maintain the vitality of the donor market. He launched a Prince of Wales Fund initiative in 1897 designed to bring the ‘privilege’ of fundraising to children in the hope of creating a ‘children’s army’ of donors in memory of the jubilee year.⁸²

The targeting of a children’s market operated in several ways. First, child donor patterns were often created as extensions of organized adult networks based on confessional culture and geography. Schools and Sunday schools were a common forum, especially when fundraising initiatives were organized in relation to a seasonal calendar. WSM coffers received an annual boost from school-based Whit Week collections while teachers encouraged children to develop fundraising skills through holding sales of work.⁸³ Some children, motivated by fundraising at school, took the initiative and embarked on collecting schemes at home. One industrious child sent WSM over £5 from 140 separate collections.⁸⁴ Large organizations tapped into child donor markets

through establishing junior clubs. The Salvation Army had a youth arm, divided into 'Junior' and 'Senior' corps, each with tailored fundraising schemes for children,⁸⁵ while Barnardo formed the Young Helpers' League (YHL) in 1892, an explicit acknowledgement of the value of the children's market. Within ten years, Barnardo's claimed to have 63,000 members enrolled in the YHL, each paying a subscription fee dependent on age.⁸⁶

Like the Salvation Army, the YHL operated within a vaguely militaristic model: members became 'Companions of the League' and a system of badges and medals, such as the Distinguished Order of Waif Service and the Silver Badge of YHL, rewarded children who met donation targets and recruited other members. The League exploited loyalty, so subscriptions were cheaper for Junior companions transferring to the Senior. An annual winter entertainment for the YHL at the Royal Albert Hall (see Figure 1.3) encouraged identification and group loyalty while presenting further fundraising opportunities: children paid for tickets to attend but were also encouraged to participate by presenting a 'purse' of (minimum) donations at the ceremony.⁸⁷ Companions could establish localized groups, called 'habitations', enabling local identities to form part of a large national organization. Members and subscribers appeared to derive from across Britain with some donors from the colonies too.⁸⁸

Schemes aimed at the children's market trained children in how to fundraise, often mimicking established forms of fundraising, such as 'self-denial' (the forfeiting of luxuries to donate), collecting cards and the children's bazaar,⁸⁹ while encouraging children to develop novel ideas of their own.⁹⁰ Charities may have aimed to cultivate fundraisers and donors of the future but the sums raised from the children's donor market were far from negligible. If figures printed in the YHL magazine are to be believed, youngsters raised between £90 and £100 in the first quarter of the first year (1892), rising to £747 17s 8d in the third quarter of 1893.⁹¹ Annual donations appeared to peak in 1910 at a remarkable £23,706.⁹² Meanwhile, in the early 1880s, Wood Street's children's collecting card scheme to send poor children to the seaside was so successful that the charity had to justify how excess funds would be disbursed.⁹³ Little wonder that with such success, children were built into most charities' media and print campaigns.

Print and public relations

For most voluntary charities, advertising and marketing nous was allied to the careful management of public image and maximizing opportunities for positive

Figure 1.3 Making good citizens of waifs. *Illustrated London News* (25 January 1908). Courtesy of the British Library.

publicity. For almost every new charitable institution, regardless of size or location, this meant exploiting the print medium in diverse ways. Rising popular literacy and an explosion in the number of newspapers and periodicals made this possible. Increasingly, the need to be heard above a growing cacophony of rivals also made it necessary. The Salvation Army, Barnardo's and WSM each displayed this skillfully at different levels, demonstrating an acute and responsive understanding of the emerging media landscape and employing a variety of what we might now term public relations strategies to ensure valuable and, importantly, regular coverage in the press. Part of the strategy for each charity centred around the shaping of a charity calendar that provided editors outside their organizations with reliable, seasonal copy and charities with reliable, seasonal publicity, a phenomenon we will explore in the next chapter. But, as this section will detail, charities also cleverly adapted their in-house publications to mimic the rapidly changing mainstream press, as well as recognizing and attempting to harness the power of the emerging phenomenon of 'celebrity' in their dealings with the popular media.

Charities produced a bewildering variety and volume of communication material from in-house, much of which benefited from the same technological innovations as their advertising campaigns. Perhaps most famous was the Salvation Army newspaper *The War Cry*, edited by General Booth and his son Bramwell, published weekly from 1879 and bought by soldiers and casual readers alike. For the latter group, it certainly stood out from a crowd of Christian publications for its lively, engaging style. As one historian of the Army notes:

Its editors employed all the aesthetic conventions of the day: colour covers, bold use of display type, etchings, photographs (by the mid-1890s), and a mix of stories including news, human interest, and fiction. There were features for women, a children's page, and contests. Blending a Victorian visual aesthetic with a penny-press news sensibility, the sixteen-page broadsheet aimed for mass appeal. It offered religion without the stultifying formality that characterised a good deal of the religious press.⁹⁴

The newspaper was, as one senior Army officer interviewed about its success noted, 'instinct with the energy and vitality of youth', most of its writers being aged under thirty.⁹⁵ *The War Cry* certainly achieved the mass-market appeal it aimed for; it had a reported peak circulation in 1883 of over 350,000, was widely bought beyond Army members and attracted a degree of debate over what some saw as its 'un-Christian' content and distribution as a result.⁹⁶ Meanwhile, *All the World*, like other popular missionary magazines of the period, informed readers

of the Army's growing international work and similarly appealed to Salvationists and the wider public. *The Officer* was aimed explicitly at the Army's soldiers. Yet across all three titles, there is a palpable sense that central office was fashioning a print empire that not only raised the profile of the Army's work but that also raised significant revenue in its own right and promoted other print-based fundraising initiatives. Readers of *The Officer* (soldiers) were urged to 'push our books and papers desperately' and to form networks of street sellers, or what were often called 'boomers'. Aggressive marketing techniques (the 'paper war') were justified because the end result was the salvation of souls.⁹⁷

Thomas Barnardo sought a similarly wide audience with his *Night and Day* magazine, a publication whose subtitle, 'A monthly record of Christian missions and practical philanthropy', and first editorial implied a general focus on missionary charity designed to reach out to non-members, but which became, in practice, almost wholly concerned with promoting the efforts and events of Barnardo's.⁹⁸ Like *The War Cry*, it represented a revenue stream while simultaneously creating news and carrying further appeals for money. Barnardo's memoirs, edited by his wife after his death, claim that in the mid-1890s, *Night and Day* was selling 145,000 copies,⁹⁹ suggesting a readership beyond a core of subscribers and workers, who were presumably attracted by the magazine's content of sensational stories of child rescue. These large circulation figures for what amounted to propaganda sheets gave Barnardo and the Booths immense latitude in managing the public image of their organizations. For all that coverage in the mainstream press was sought and valued by charities, it could, as founding figureheads in particular knew, entail as much negative as positive publicity. Barnardo, indeed, told one correspondent that he felt himself more under attack than even General Booth; being a public figure and necessarily seeking publicity for one's organization meant placing oneself under 'a light so illuminating and yet distorting'.¹⁰⁰ Producing one's own publications and making them high-sellers went some way towards correcting this focus.

As well as producing media for an adult readership, all three charities excelled in producing children's magazines, a relatively new innovation that proved a vital tool in creating and defining a children's donor market. The Salvation Army had its 'children's War Cry' *The Little Soldier*, later the *Young Soldier*, while Barnardo, in particular, took to the task of child-centred journalism with aplomb.¹⁰¹ As we have seen, the *Young Helper's League Magazine*, directed at those who were already members of the scheme, pushed its readers to new heights of fundraising. Barnardo also acquired, in 1867, a magazine called *Father William's Stories*, changing its name to *The Children's Treasury*, then in 1881 to *Our Darlings* and

in 1894 to *Bubbles*. These were, like the *Little Soldier*, largely compilations of waif stories, poetry and pictures (most eventually in colour) and they gave him direct access to children's nurseries and schoolrooms. He undoubtedly took his lead from the vastly expanding commercial market for children's literature. Although charged with recruiting fundraisers for a worthy cause, the magazines copied the format of popular magazines such as *Boys' Own* or *Chatterbox*.¹⁰² As Barnardo recognized, his magazines were in direct competition with commercial products, and charity magazines that were worthy and 'sermonized' to children at the expense of entertainment were unlikely to flourish. One writer for the *Young Helpers'* magazine noted that Barnardo, as editor, had an abhorrence of 'dullness' in submitted copy.¹⁰³ Indeed, the periodic name changes may reflect an effort to keep the magazine fresh and in keeping with the wider children's magazine market, the better to draw in new readers.

In its more local context, WSM also realized the value of literature in capturing child donors and fundraisers, and its *Delving and Diving*, a monthly penny magazine, published from 1879, initially featured a children's corner as well as serial fiction from what appear to have been relatively well-known and popular local authors. Within two years, the magazine had evolved more clearly into a juvenile publication: it featured a mix of waif stories and other fiction, an avuncular page aimed at encouraging well-to-do child fundraisers with reports on children's fundraising successes, novelties and ideas, as well as poetry and puzzles.¹⁰⁴ By 1883, the magazine claimed a monthly circulation of 60,000.¹⁰⁵ Effective distribution arrangements helped here. *Delving and Diving* was available through any bookseller or could be ordered by subscription. Other organizations, such as the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society, were able to distribute magazines through the existing national network of churches and Sunday schools.¹⁰⁶ Products such as *Delving and Diving* tapped into local nonconformist markets, especially where Sunday schools were keen to cement confessional identities. Notably, *Delving and Diving* could be supplied in bulk to schools on special terms.¹⁰⁷

If waif stories were a cornerstone of children's magazines, they were also a bankable form of literature directed at adults and a means of publicizing the organization's work without boring potential readers. The founders of WSM and Barnardo's shared a vocation in writing books of supposedly true-life, but in any case arresting, stories of slum children transformed. Alfred Alsop's *Ten Years in the Slums* and its follow-ups, published under the pseudonym 'A delver', were hugely popular.¹⁰⁸ In just nine weeks, one of Wood Street's publications, *From Dark to Light*, sold upwards of 6,000 copies. It cost one shilling and was

recommended as the perfect Christmas gift for Sunday school scholars.¹⁰⁹ Barnardo was well attuned to what his many booklets, ranging from ‘My First Arab’ to ‘Kidnapped! A Narrative of Fact’, might do. As he noted with refreshing honesty in the introduction to one, ‘nobody reads [annual] reports’, hence his ‘informal and readable accounts’ of work carried out by the charity over the preceding year were designed to be read by as wide an audience as possible, even if their lack of actual accounts and balance sheets attracted critics in the long run.¹¹⁰ The first, ‘Nobody’s Children’, which reached a circulation of over 20,000, was sold post free for sixpence, or two for a shilling; many of the later booklets went for sixpence a dozen, suggesting a secondary market from which Barnardo’s might have expected to derive only indirect financial benefit.¹¹¹ These booklets, generally pocket-sized, invariably featured direct appeals, often for graduated amounts, on their back covers, showing their author’s wish to have them appeal to an occupational cross-section of society.

Another key element of the booklets, subsequently much copied by others (including the Salvation Army)¹¹² but wildly controversial, were the sets of ‘before and after’ photographs that showed wretched waifs transformed by their encounter with a Barnardo home into clean, well-fed and well-dressed future citizens. The scandal and court arbitration that attended these ‘artistic fictions’ in 1877 are much studied, with allegations of staging, use of models and unseemly poses eventually found to have some basis.¹¹³ They therefore represent an interestingly double-edged public relations case study. Clearly, pre-controversy, as an innovative fundraising device, they had it all: exploiting new technology, appealing to new audiences and strikingly drawing attention to the value of the organization’s work (and of the donor’s contribution to it) via an unmistakable visual message. They helped Barnardo establish relationships with new potential donors among the general populace, to persuade them of his organization’s worth and to maintain an ongoing dialogue with them. These are all important facets to modern definitions of public relations.¹¹⁴ Yet, equally clearly, the result of the arbitration over the photographs could have dealt a fatal blow to that carefully constructed relationship: there was found to be some level of misrepresentation in some of the photographs, and Barnardo came under sustained, personal and media-saturated attack from prominent forces that included the COS. That he and his organization did not merely weather the storm of the arbitration, but eventually thrived on foot of it – beneficiaries and income virtually quadrupled in the decade after 1877 – is testament to Barnardo’s skill in public relations. His memoirs explain that after the arbitration, ‘the public saw him as a persecuted man and deep wells of sympathy poured refreshing waters

upon him,¹¹⁵ a result that was no accident, and reflected a constant effort on Barnardo's part to keep his own side of the story before the public, and a strategic embracing of the arbitration panel's judgements once made; Barnardo's trustees pointedly thanked the panel for their 'comprehensive' inquiry, implying that its failure to find truth in most of the charges against Barnardo represented a vindication.¹¹⁶ What began as a potentially devastating external attack was instead moulded into a form of external validation.

Barnardo's arbitration travails can be seen as a function of another significant trend in the public relations strategies of the new voluntary charities. As much as the spotlight on a flamboyant founder could bring unwanted attention and prompt probing questions, it was also a very effective means of keeping an organization in the public eye. This was part and parcel of the risk management that historians of entrepreneurship have identified as being central to the concept,¹¹⁷ but it was also an embracing of 'celebrity culture'. The history of celebrity is relatively recent but there is little doubt that the late-nineteenth-century growth in mass media was a watershed in its development. Simon Morgan has defined a celebrity, for historical purposes, as a person in whom 'a sufficiently large audience is interested in their actions, image and personality to create a viable market for commodities carrying their likeness and for information about their lives and views.'¹¹⁸ Given that mass consumption and mass communication are integral to the concept, it should not be surprising that charities strategically used celebrity in their fundraising efforts. Despite recent work on celebrity humanitarianism as a new phenomenon, the early scholarship on high status patronage indicates that versions of this strategy have a long trajectory.¹¹⁹ WSM may have been a regional organization, but even it attracted international stars to its premises, among them the Australian comedian Ed. E. Ford and the male drag performer Vesta Tilley. Such visits had a double function: as fundraising events in themselves but, also, with photo calls for the local newspapers, orchestrated media exposure.¹²⁰ When their starry likes were not available, the Bishop of Manchester or the Lady Mayoress served as reliable, if less colourful, substitutes.

At a more elevated level, Barnardo's pursued royal patronage as a legitimizing and publicity-generating tactic from at least the 1890s: by the turn of the century, several senior royals, including the king and queen, had lent their names to its causes.¹²¹ In a sense, this echoed the fundraising of earlier in the Victorian era, when the queen and prince consort routinely endorsed campaigns by heading donations lists. As Frank Prochaska has shown, such was the benefit to royalty in being the nation's 'philanthropists-in-chief' that their patronage was spread widely, among hundreds of charities, large and small.¹²² Still, Barnardo's use of

ROYAL MESSAGES.

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

1896.

“THESE HOMES are carrying out a work dear to all who wish well to their country, inasmuch as they have reclaimed thousands of Children from the Slums.”

1905.

“THE KING has always recognised the immense benefit which Dr. Barnardo conferred on Poor and Destitute Children by his untiring energy, by his constant devotion to the object of his life, and by his courage and perseverance.”

HER MAJESTY QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

“THE QUEEN wishes to express her heart-felt condolence and sympathy with Mrs. Barnardo and her family on the irreparable loss which they and the whole country have sustained in the death of that great philanthropist, Dr. Barnardo, whose existence was devoted to alleviating the sufferings of all poor and forsaken children. THE QUEEN prays that his splendid life-long work may be kept up as an everlasting tribute to his memory.”

Figure 1.4 Young Helpers' League promotional leaflet. D239/E1/1/9. Courtesy of Barnardo's Photographic Archive.

royalty showed a development beyond simple patronage with attempts not only to extend the lustre of royal celebrity to the organization but, also, to generate as much publicity as possible from it. A name on a subscription list was one thing but Barnardo's promotional material routinely featured drawings and photographs of, and personal messages from, royal patrons (see Figure 1.4). They might well have said very similar things about other charities, but Barnardo's exploited royal approval to its fullest extent.

The charity promoted stories on its seemingly special royal connections: Princess Mary of Teck opening the 'Babies Castle' in Kent in 1886 prompted much press coverage, including the appearance of the illustration below (Figure 1.5) which highlighted her contribution¹²³; the use of Queen Victoria's box at the Royal Albert Hall by the charity's trustees for the annual Barnardo's event was cast as a special privilege bestowed on a favoured charity¹²⁴; and later, Princess Alice's personal rather than lithographed signature on 2,000 promotional letters was offered as proof of particular royal approval for the charity's work.¹²⁵ Royal connections were insinuated through more generic language too, with Barnardo cast as 'prince of philanthropists'.¹²⁶

Figure 1.5 Dr Barnardo's Good Work. *Penny Illustrated Paper* (27 November 1886), p. 340. Courtesy of the British Library.

As illustrated above, the importance of Thomas Barnardo, as well as royal personages, to the charity's media strategy is clear. Much of the organization's marketing rested on the energy and personality of Barnardo, who became, in effect, a celebrity in his own right. Yet if we apply Morgan's definition, General Booth may have fitted the bill even more, and conceivably just as much as the most popular royal. The Salvation Army did not reject external endorsements, but it created in-house celebrities who could be used for all kinds of publicity and fundraising endeavours. Both the General's image and that of Catherine Booth featured heavily in Army literature while information about the wider family's

exploits regularly appeared in the press; the Army even sold tickets to the Booth offsprings' weddings.¹²⁷ More often than not, popular press commentary on the Army was positive and a controlled part of the Army's publicity drive, although it sometimes came with a snide gloss that suggested healthy disrespect for putting people on pedestals.¹²⁸ Yet, Booth's wax likeness stood in both Madame Tussauds and in the Eden Musée in New York and he received the freedom of the City of London. By 1907 he was conducting regular, well-attended (and widely reported) motorcar tours of England and receiving an honorary degree from Oxford University alongside Mark Twain.¹²⁹ Booth's public profile occasionally invited catty remarks, including a crack about how the General ought to be seen 'elsewhere than at Madame Tussauds not asking for money'; in other words, only his waxwork did not beg for donations. However, the very fact that the Booths were subject to backbiting in the press shows that the effort to make them famous had worked. From an entrepreneurial standpoint, the success of their organization suggests that they navigated the risk of public exposure with some skill. Ultimately, for all three charities, strategic use of existing stars and high-profile patrons, and cultivation of new 'in-house' celebrities generated great public interest and raised the profile of their enterprise.

Conclusion

The discussion above on advertising, marketing and promotion demonstrates the extent to which, in their communication with donor and potential donor bases, voluntary charities of all sizes embraced the new, took risks and fashioned themselves much as contemporary commercial businesses did. Debates about the precise nature of Victorian entrepreneurship still rage among historians. However, Martin Daunton's stress on the idea that specific and changing social, political and economic contexts all had a hand in the peculiar development of British capitalism in the late nineteenth century is equally applicable to the contemporary British charitable scene.¹³⁰ While we might be able to trace particular kinds of fundraising techniques back to roots in much earlier periods – the medieval 'mailshot' being just one example – charities like the Salvation Army, Barnardo's and WSM, partly by virtue of the transformative age in which they operated, were taking part in and shaping a qualitatively new philanthropic world. Key to the charities' success in doing so was an ability to harness, often in inventive, clever and effective ways, the many and varied technological and social advancements of the period for their own purposes.

These entrepreneurs and their organizations made a measurable difference, if not necessarily in terms of bringing about the kind of society they wanted to see, then at least in the way they went about funding that endeavour. The overall growth of income for our case study charities, despite an increasingly crowded philanthropic marketplace, indicates their success at keeping their local and national profiles buoyant, at selling their 'product' to diverse donor markets and creating sustainable organizations, often reflecting the fact that long before their own demise (with or without showy funeral rites) these founding entrepreneurs had shaped an institutional culture resting on a wealth of know-how and support networks.

In that respect, what Alsop, Barnardo, Booth and many other charity founders and overseers of the period helped to create was a professional business model of charity enterprise, which, far from rejecting or decrying modern society *in toto*, sought to harness some aspects of modern urban life – the market, communication technologies – in a crusade against others – chiefly poverty and its many causes and symptoms, but also secularism. This continual pursuit of the new penetrated every level of their organizations, and in part ensured their survival. This need not imply a perfect model; there were failures even for the three main charities focused on here, and there were outright failures of other similar organizations which did not endure beyond a few years. The filming of Booth's and Barnardo's funerals might seem a modern touch in the passing of a couple of 'great Victorians', a signal of the dying of an old world and the emergence of a new. In fact, it was of a piece with their careers, and the marketing clout they had injected into their organizations. As the following chapters show, their generation did much else to make modern humanitarianism.