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Consuming Charity

It is easy to think of charity fundraising as an imbalanced, essentially one-way process, where organizations issue appeals and money flows in at varying rates from sympathetic, altruistic donors. Yet charitable giving has often been understood, particularly by anthropologists following Marcel Mauss, in terms of reciprocal gift exchange, where both parties derive something from the relationship: money for the charity, and various sorts of intangible ‘symbolic capital’ for the donor.¹ The latter is not an unreasonable or unenlightening perspective, and it certainly formed a significant part of the new charity landscape that the previous chapter described. However, we argue in this chapter that British charity entrepreneurs by the end of the nineteenth century were also increasingly conceiving of reciprocity in explicitly material terms, wherein both donor and charitable organization had something tangible to show for their interaction. This ‘charitable consumption’ was not an uncomplicated dynamic, but the chapter analyses it, first, through what we call ‘purchase-triggered donations’, which we divide into *directly* financially meaningful sales of goods and *indirectly* financially meaningful sales. Second, the chapter assesses the effect of the increasing commercialization of the religious calendar on the seasonal fundraising of charities. Finally, the chapter places developments in what we term ‘the experience economy’ of charity fundraising in this new context.

Purchases as donations

The growth and increasing sophistication of the public relations strategies of charities as outlined in the previous chapter has an obvious corollary that indicates an emerging conception of the donor as a consumer with choices and the charitable sector as a market where a growing raft of organizations competed for their ‘custom’. It should not surprise us that this period also witnessed a rise

in the overlap between social and commercial enterprise.² The usual suspects in this regard are investments in model housing developments and villages or schools,³ but voluntary charity fundraising also suggests this overlap, in part through the development of what is now sometimes referred to as the ‘purchase-triggered donation’.⁴ This was by no means a homogenous activity, and charities used it to different degrees, applied different meanings to it and expected different outcomes. Nonetheless, it represents a further change in how charities went about the business of fundraising in modern Britain.

Selling donated goods to raise money was, of course, not new. It was well established by at least the 1790s both in the sale of ‘good cause’ literature and, most famously, in the ‘charity bazaar’.⁵ These strategies remained reliable forms of fundraising throughout the nineteenth century and the bazaar in particular played a role in shaping Victorian consumer culture, particularly among women.⁶ Yet, while they were undoubtedly successful, there was also a sense among the new charity entrepreneurs that they lacked novelty and were not a sufficient basis on which to compete for evermore-pressed donors. By 1893, Barnardo’s *Young Helpers’ League Magazine* explained that it had become ‘the fashion of late to run down this old-established method of helpfulness’.⁷ Even Wood Street Mission could playfully ask in the 1880s ‘dolls again?’, referring to the endless run of ‘doll bazaars’ held by little girls in aid of the Mission.⁸ The Salvation Army, meanwhile, issued strict regulations to officers holding gift sales (sales of donated goods) because they had fallen into ‘disrepute’ and had ‘questionable practices’ associated with them,⁹ a sense reinforced by a litany of satirical portrayals of the bazaar in early nineteenth century and Victorian journalism and fiction,¹⁰ and by criticism from some religious figures.¹¹

Still, such ‘fancy fairs’ were too lucrative to discard entirely and, even here, charities advocated novelty to steal a march on competitors. Sales could, for instance, be elaborately themed. The Salvation Army’s suggestion in 1905 of stalls set up as Japanese shops, refreshments in a ‘tea house’ and stallholders in Japanese costume,¹² was of a piece with developments in contemporary church bazaars, where efforts at providing something new and spectacular to attract audiences well-used to such events meant that what Prochaska described as the ‘ingenuity and industry of scores of women’ was increasingly supplemented by overtly commercial partners.¹³ By the early twentieth century, several parish committees turned to bazaar ‘specialists’ with ‘well-established reputations’, professional companies who decorated the sale hall according to chosen themes: Frederick Le Maistre & Co. in Manchester and J. Tweedale and Co. in Rochdale among them.¹⁴ The tenders for the decoration contract that one

bazaar committee received, for example, involved suggested themes ranging from the exotic (Japanese, World fair, Italian Garden and Eastern City) to the more familiar (Cheshire village, Medieval Manchester) with quotes between 95 guineas and £120.¹⁵ Larger bazaars began to solicit corporate links, including, at various Manchester events, pleas to purchase 'Camp Coffee' samples for a penny and packets of 'Scotonia' tea 'if anxious to help the proceeds', as well as sideshows of 'ladies' washing competitions' that were sponsored by 'Sunlight Soap'.¹⁶ Deals with printers secured the gratuitous supply of elaborate bazaar handbooks in return for advertising revenue.¹⁷ By the end of the century, bazaars in and of themselves were hardly novel, but they were places where signs of a new kind of commercialism was increasingly apparent. They also had the virtue, certainly in Barnardo's case, of being events that could range from enormous, centrally organized, society calendar fixtures patronized by royalty, to small affairs organized by networks of local supporters.¹⁸

While the bazaar still had its place, it did not drive the expansion of the purchase-triggered donation. The satires of fancy fairs as places where female stall-holders flirtatiously encouraged men to buy useless items ('pen-wipers, Indian figures carefully repaired with glue, and Sealed Envelopes') for '[not] less than twice their market value'¹⁹ was an exaggeration, but only a slight one, which reflected the reality that these were not truly a part of the real commercial world. By the late nineteenth century, however, increasing numbers of charity entrepreneurs recognized that potential donors were not a captive bazaar audience, ready to be exploited, but consumers who might become loyal 'customers' if the right package was on offer. It was the Salvation Army which most clearly embraced this, and which went furthest in terms of commoditizing its own identity. Its enterprising initiative had come early. In its early days, Booth financed the East End Mission through the operation of a soup kitchen offering 'Hot soup for the millions' by day and cheap three course dinners in the evening. Within two years, this had expanded from one premises to five, with the shops providing a steady income.²⁰ Although the kitchens eventually failed, they served their purpose in providing the Booths with experience in operating a business and testified to the value of taking risks. At the time of acquiring the kitchens, the Booths were already in debt and Methodist colleagues strongly advised them to scale back their ambition.²¹

This early entrepreneurship continued with a pioneering and wide-ranging use of purchase-triggered donations. Print formed a significant part of this. The *War Cry* was a means of advertising and promotion, but it was equally a profit-making enterprise that allowed people to make small, regular donations and

have something to show for it. There were also more one-off pamphlet or novelty purchases, with officers in the Army explicitly encouraged to develop print initiatives in their own localities. One ‘enterprising officer’ created a pamphlet that was cut out in the profile of a ‘Hallelujah Lassie’²² (see Figure 2.1).

Similarly, photographs had a double novelty value because they were still sufficiently rare as a technology for many consumers, and as Barnardo realized in the 1870s with his lucrative sale of packets of ‘waif’ portraits, they could feature unorthodox subjects that aroused fascination. By the 1910s, Barnardo’s had moved to selling postcard images of previous residents of homes or of the Rev. Mayers, senior deputation secretary, at large on fundraising spectacles in New Zealand and Australia or ‘at home’ with ‘Barnardo babies.’²³ In 1899, the Salvation Army’s *The Officer* magazine reported that, where photographs were still sufficiently new to elicit curiosity, soldiers might make tickets of admission to Army events that resembled carte de visites (cheap to acquire if ordered in bulk). Cheap admission tickets (priced around 6d) printed with the portraits of three or more photogenic officers carried novelty value even if buyers had no intention of attending the meeting.²⁴

The Salvation Army’s most photographed and depicted officers, however, were its own resident celebrities, General and Mrs Booth, whose images were familiar to readers of the illustrated press, but which also found their way onto common household items.²⁵ Not only did the General feature frequently as a decorative Staffordshire pottery bust, alongside contemporaries including Gladstone and various national war heroes, but also on more practical items: teapots, plates, cups and needle cases.²⁶ The Army itself traded in Booth-branded goods but the market also extended beyond the Army’s trade outlets (advertisements in Tasmanian newspapers in the 1890s noted a store as ‘sole agent for General Booth teapots’ suggesting considerable consumer demand for them).²⁷ It may be that these items involved a form of licencing of the popular Booth image to other manufacturers, since this certainly happened in other contexts. Booth’s celebrity and his embrace of new technology was sometimes turned into a commercial proposition for external businesses that also had returns for the charity itself: the supplier of the tyres for the General’s 1907 motorcar tour was able, for a price that may have gone beyond the in-kind contribution of the tyres themselves, to use his name in subsequent advertising for his product²⁸ (see Figure 2.2). Meanwhile, recordings of the General’s voice for the ‘graph-o-phone’ could be purchased from the Columbia Phonograph Company as early as 1907, part of the proceeds of which, purchasers were informed, would go towards the Army’s social work²⁹ (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.1 *The Officer*, March 1905, 99 'Hallelujah Lassie'. Courtesy of Salvation Army International Heritage Centre.

Display Ad 3 — No Title
The Manchester Guardian (1901-1959); Jul 19, 1907;
 ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian (1821-2003) and The Observer (1791-2003)
 PG. 4

GENERAL BOOTH'S TOUR.

Sprint Racing v. Touring

Tests for Tyres.

After testing them on his last tour, the General is again using

MOSELEY

DETACHABLE TYRES

This is more genuine than a costly racing test.

Full particulars of these, and also of TYRES to fit STANDARD RIMS, TUBES, &c., from

DAVID MOSELEY & SONS (LTD.)

Chapel Field Works, MANCHESTER.

Enquiries to 2, 4, 6, NEW BROWN STREET.

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Figure 2.2 Booth tour tyres. *Manchester Guardian*, 19 July 1907, p. 4. Courtesy of the British Library.

General Booth

Commander-in-Chief, Salvation Army,
Addresses the World through
Columbia Graph-o-phone Records

The venerable founder and chief of the Salvation Army has spoken a stirring address into the Columbia GRAPH-o-phone. In short, forceful sentences, he paints a graphic picture of the misery of the unfortunate "submerged tenth." He tells how they can be and are being helped.

The address is Practical Christianity in a nutshell.

The General's voice is vibrant with earnestness. The records are distinctly enunciated and have all the incisiveness and oratorical vigour that characterize the General's platform utterances. Conveying as they do so much of his personality and magnetism, they are a most interesting souvenir of this leader of men.

Order one to-day.

Gold-moulded Records, 1/6 each
Fit all makes of Cylinder Talking Machines.

10-inch Disc Records, 4/- each
Fit all makes of Disc Talking Machines.
(Extra for postage, 3d. for Cylinder, 4d. for Disc.)

Part of the proceeds of the sale of these records will be credited to the Salvation Army's fund for reclaiming the outcast and criminal and aiding the unemployed.

Ask your Dealer to-day to order the "Gen. Booth" Record for you, or send coupon and remittance direct to nearest branch.

COLUMBIA PHONOGRAPH COMPANY,
Gen'l.,
Largest Talking Machine Manufacturers in the World,
64 & 66, Oxford St., London, W.
GLASGOW: 50, Union Street.
MANCHESTER: 54, Market Street.
CARDIFF: 98, St. Mary Street.

COLUMBIA PHONOGRAPH COMPANY's Record for
Please send me "Gen. Booth's" Record for _____
Cylinder or Disc (Give at least 12 in. for postage amount)
Name _____
Address _____
B S

Figure 2.3 Booth graph-o-phone. *Daily Mail*, 4 February 1907, p. 3. Courtesy of the British Library.

If these forays into the commercial world seem forward thinking for a charity, and they certainly foreshadow the kind of corporate-charity partnerships which scholars tend to see as much later, twentieth-century developments,³⁰ then the Army's own Trade Department surely trumps all.

As its monthly 'trade journals' show, the Army operated what amounted to a modern department store, supplying a vast range of items to both members and non-members. Their London workshops (which manufactured some of the items sold) and warehouses offered everything any soldier in any part of the world could possibly need to carry out his or her duties: uniforms, musical instruments, pens, inkstands, books, boots and even boot polish. Other less directly Army-related items were also on sale. General clothing for men, women and children, sewing machines, cutlery, toilet items including razors, hairbrushes, light fittings, bicycles, home furnishings ranging from tea-sets to sideboards, bassinets, luggage, mangles and wringers and myriad other products were advertised for sale, all of the profits going back to fund the Army's

social and religious work. Accounts for most of the later period of the Trade Department's operation do not survive, although two (slightly singed) pages from 1890 suggest a healthy net profit of £12,838, a figure that must surely have expanded as the business did over the next two decades or more.³¹ Far from taking advantage of the charitable consumer in turning this profit, the Army claimed to compete favourably with commercial rivals. Notes in one issue assured readers that the Army had the foresight to buy materials in bulk so despite wool prices rising, their woollen items would remain at 'old prices' even as their competitors saw prices rise 15–20 per cent.³² While competing on price, they also promised a better customer experience: 'When disheartened by shopping elsewhere', the journal proclaimed, 'come to the International Trade Headquarters', where 'your judgement will be assisted by expert and friendly advice, instead of being mystified'.³³

One historian has suggested that in doing all of this, the Army 'borrowed from, but did not fully partake of the consumerist ethos', but this assertion is difficult to sustain.³⁴ There was certainly a moral edge to its marketing and a refusal to sell some products that commercial rivals would have had fewer qualms over supplying and promoting (including tobacco).³⁵ But comparing the Army trade journals with similar mail-order catalogues of the period, including those of the co-operative 'Army and Navy' stores and of the more upmarket Harrod's, indicates, if anything, more of a 'hard-sell' approach by the Salvationists, the particular virtues of each product often clearly emphasized in display advertisement style.³⁶ The trade journals slot neatly into commercial mail-order history, where the most successful companies entered the market in order to make the most of an existing network of consumers. Kays, for instance, in the 1880s expanded upon its working-class 'watch club' lists, and Littlewoods in the interwar period used its pools customers.³⁷ This is precisely what the Salvation Army Trade Department had done, marrying its ready-made workforce, the poor inmates of its institutions, with its ready-made market for goods, that is, a relatively stable worldwide membership and numerous donor markets.

The Army pioneered a new kind of purchase-triggered charitable donation and an expanded, distinctly new, material culture of philanthropy. Asa Briggs suggested in *Victorian Things* that contemporary philanthropy was 'often expressed not through the creation of new things to last but to the giving away of old things, notably food and clothes'.³⁸ Even leaving aside the fact that this supposed 'gifting' of goods to the poor was often commoditized via small, sometimes nominal, charges designed to avoid 'pauperisation', Briggs's

conclusion is questionable.³⁹ Charities manufactured and sold a host of new, tangible items, the crucial difference being that they were designed for their subscribers and donors rather than for beneficiaries. By 1893, the Salvation Army's annual profits from literature and 'trade' combined were, according to *The Officer*, 'simply enormous'.⁴⁰

On a rather less elaborate scale than the Salvation Army, many charities adopted elements of this practice. As Chapter 1 indicated, literature was the primary output for sale for many of them. But, just as the Army's beneficiaries manufactured much of its retail stock, other charities that provided an institutional home to the poor (particularly boys, women or those with disabilities) also endeavoured to give them 'useful employment'. From the very beginning of his boys' mission, Barnardo recognized that while teaching boys the valuable lesson of self-sufficiency, their work could also provide a regular funding stream, and that notions of 'reform' and 'rehabilitation' could be used, obliquely or explicitly, to push sales and boost profits. Audited accounts from 1882 containing a 'summary of industries' indicate that brush-making, boot-making, tailoring, carpentering, messengering and shoe-blackening, together with sales of bundles of firewood, an aerated water factory and two East-end 'coffee palaces' housed in former public houses, produced an annual income of almost £10,000 for the charity.⁴¹ By 1889, Barnardo's trade manager reported that three vans were engaged in fulfilling water and wood orders across London, and that the wood-choppers could 'turn out 50,000 bundles per week' in busy periods. A 'large and thriving business' was carried on, although the manager noted that until he could 'establish a large *family* or *private* connection in and around the Metropolis, these industries will not really flourish', a claim followed by a plea for both wholesale and retail buyers to consult their product lists and place orders.⁴²

A number of other contemporary 'working boys' institutions purported to do something similar, and the Charity Organisation Society (COS) kept a close eye on a few which it felt may have strayed too far into the commercial world. One such, the 'National Working Boys' Home', had boys hawking across the country tin goods that they had not themselves made. The organization eventually became a limited company.⁴³ Yet there was in this case a judgement by the COS secretary Charles Loch that the Home's handbill circulars offering goods for sale amounted to charitable appeals despite not asking for subscriptions, since people were being asked to 'buy the tinware not on the merits of the ware but to help the destitute'.⁴⁴ Though clearly disapproving of an institution whose charitable status was doubtful, this acknowledgement by the self-appointed charity watchdog that

selling items could amount to charitable fundraising shows that the purchase-triggered donation was a real, if in their view wrong-headed, phenomenon in the new charity landscape.

The implications, however misleading, of 'ethical consumption' that some organizations promoted were most clearly manifest by the Salvation Army, whose ventures into this territory were explicitly crusading. The Army's 'Darkest England' campaigns are well known. One of the most famous of the scheme's innovations was a campaign, begun in 1891, to improve conditions in the notoriously dreadful match factories of London, where 'phossy jaw' ravaged poorly paid female workers, despite the famous strike of three years earlier.⁴⁵ The Army opened its own match workshop, using safer resources and paying better rates to workers. The advertisement shown in Figure 2.4, one of several aimed specifically at women, suggests the Booth genius for marketing.⁴⁶ 'Lights in Darkest England' safety matches reinforced the Salvation Army and Darkest England brands, while at the same time offering purchasers an early form of 'caring' or 'radical' consumption, wherein consumers were prepared to pay over the odds for a product because doing so rendered a social good.⁴⁷ The purchase was simultaneously a simple way for charitable consumers to buy into a good cause, a show of support for the vision of working life the matches represented, a souvenir of the donor's own virtue and, because of its everyday use and branding, an ongoing reminder, to them and to others, of the organization that manufactured and sold it to them.

There is clear evidence of significant direct financial gain to be made from creating opportunities for purchase-triggered donations and proceeds could be used by charities to defray the cost of running homes and other schemes to help the poor. But direct profit was not always the point, and the symbolism invested in such purchases, profitable or not, should not be underestimated. Where sales were on a much smaller scale or where the items sold were of a more nominal character – 'flag' pins, and one Manchester charity's small sales of work made in its leatherwork and sewing classes come to mind⁴⁸ – the longer-term financial worth of even the most modest purchase-triggered donation was still apparent. Just as with printed matter, items sold served purposes that might lead indirectly to greater financial returns further down the line. The fact that a sum of money and a physical item changed hands materialized and lent greater meaning to the traditional charitable gift exchange for both parties. If the item were displayed – a badge on the lapel, a newspaper under the arm – it could instantly accrue elements of the social capital that many donors valued. From the point of view of the charities, it could help establish and sustain donor

MOTHERS & DAUGHTERS.—
 Do you care sufficiently for the sufferings of your Sisters, the poor Match Girls, to pay ONE PENNY A DOZEN more for your Boxes of Matches than for the common imported Swedish Match? If you do, you will
USE ONLY SALVATION ARMY SAFETY MATCHES.

These Matches are manufactured under perfectly healthy conditions, and entirely without the POISONOUS PHOSPHORUS which causes NECROSIS, or the terrible disease known as "PHOSSY JAW." Higher wages are paid to the employees—25 PER CENT. AT LEAST, in one department—than by any firm in the trade.

If you cannot obtain them of your local tradesman, send a postcard for name of nearest shopkeeper, and copy of "An Anti-Phossy Jaw Blast," by a Chemical Scientist, which will be sent FREE to all readers of *The Life of Faith*, on application to Commissioner CADMAN, 101, Queen Victoria Street.

THE STAR says:—"Darkest England Matches bring brightness to sweated workers, and scotch the Phosphor Fiend."

Watson Smith, Esq., F.I.C., F.C.S., Lecturer in Chemical Technology, writes:—"The sticks or stems of Salvation Army Matches **BURN LIKE WAX.**"

Figure 2.4 Light in Darkest England matches. *Woman's Herald*, 12 November 1892. Courtesy of the British Library.

relationships by identifying a latent sympathy in an individual for their aims. The exchange could also make donors feel a valued part, however small, of the organization's effort and thus more likely to donate again. None of this was impossible in the absence of physical markers of donations, but they certainly made it easier.

One of the most protean purchase-triggered donations was the commemorative object. By the late nineteenth century, graphic and photographic postcards as well as paper napkins were common examples of cheap, mass-produced purchases

that could be sold to fundraise.⁴⁹ From the 1880s, the United Kingdom became flooded with imported Japanese paper napkins, their delicately decorative printed borders overlaid by London printers with black text that generally referred to a recent event: perhaps a royal occasion, a political event or, commonly, a tragic mining accident. Often sold as commemorative items, it is unclear whether all sales went to colliery relief funds but, akin to numerous material objects sold for fundraising purposes, many buyers undoubtedly believed their purchase was in a good cause.⁵⁰ Charity bazaars also tapped into the collecting culture with specially branded ceramics commemorating that year's fair. Wesleyans at Fleetwood in 1878 commissioned china decorated with pink roses and the name and year of the bazaar printed in gold lettering; Chorley Primitive Methodists in 1883 opted for a floral band with heraldic style symbols, the name and date of the bazaar.⁵¹ Clearly a purchase-triggered donation, the objects were designed to be useful, beautiful and promotional; with distinct annual markers, they were also likely items intended for individual collections. Even one-off pieces, such as an etched glass plate in aid of the Boer War fund, 1900, could capitalize on a collecting culture.⁵² Although commemorative paper, ceramics and glassware could be produced relatively cheaply, items held aesthetic value in their own right. A silver inkwell inscribed with details commemorating the Mossfield Colliery disaster in Stoke-on-Trent in 1889 or a painted tin tray sold in aid of the 1893 miners' lockout catered to a range of pockets while raising money towards relief funds.⁵³

The sale of commemorative goods tapped into preexisting social and cultural practices, notably, cultures of mourning and remembrance. Commemorative objects were typically etched with detail of the disaster and symbols of death and mourning, such as the fern leaf denoting eternity.⁵⁴ Commemorative ware could also act as a 'badge' of honour; the display of such items in the home advertised the purchaser's sympathies and generosity to visitors. Based on plain goods, most of these commemorative objects could be brought to market quickly, simply engraved or stamped with pertinent information and sold through local fundraising initiatives. When a stampede at Victoria Hall in Sunderland killed almost 200 children in June 1883, the machinery of the purchase-triggered donation swung immediately into action: etched glass goblets were available and the local newspaper produced a commemorative book, bound in black leather with gold lettering and decoration. Inside, the book contained a miniature copy of the special edition of the *Herald and Daily Post* published the day after the tragedy, alongside the names of those killed and the proceedings of the inquests.⁵⁵ Not all commemorative purchases were visual display driven. The

popular if maudlin song ‘Don’t go down the mine dad’ was sold to raise money for the Whitehaven Colliery Relief Fund in 1910.⁵⁶

The majority of these items were small and cheap to produce and to buy, but when they generated sufficient interest, could be significant money-spinners and draw on the crowd-funding model outlined in Chapter 1. One of the most famous examples is Rudyard Kipling’s poem ‘The Absent Minded Beggar’, written to help raise money for dependents of soldiers engaged in the Boer War. The poem appeared first in a *Daily Mail* supplement in 1899,⁵⁷ but enjoyed an afterlife in fundraising performances and material objects, such as handkerchiefs printed with the poem, sheet music to accompany it, patriotic postcard images and a map of the war zone. In total, the ‘Absent Minded Beggar Fund’ raised an estimated £250,000.⁵⁸ Not all purchase-triggered donations were so directly lucrative, but charities certainly came to understand the value of material exchange to their fundraising business.

Seasonal shop windows

Charity entrepreneurs’ understanding of emerging consumer tendencies in late-Victorian Britain therefore went far beyond the bazaar and what Prochaska has quaintly described as ‘provid[ing] a pleasure dear to the human heart, shopping’.⁵⁹ Their uses of commerce in fundraising betrayed a sophisticated appreciation of the psychology of consumption, something exemplified in the development of distinct ‘charity calendars’, which engaged with existing festivals and seasonal customs as well as creating new ones individual to specific organizations, all with the intention of realizing funds. Christmas was unsurprisingly common to most charities (even some Jewish ones).⁶⁰ Passover, Whitsun, Easter and Harvest festival were variously exploited while myriad invented traditions of ‘founder’s days’ and ‘self-denial weeks’ peppered the calendars of particular organizations.

This was, in part, a straightforward story of publicity strategies. Seasonal copy for charitable publications and the popular press operated as a spectacular shop window for organizations seeking to promote their brand. Charities large and small inaugurated regular events in pursuit of press coverage at particular times of year, and they largely got that coverage. Wood Street Mission’s news cuttings, for example, show that its media year primarily revolved around toy distribution to thousands of children at Christmas and the opening of its summer camp during Whit week.⁶¹ Pictures of children receiving toys

from an avuncular 'Santa', in particular, were well suited to the increasingly sentimentalized Victorian Christmas. Reporting on the 'strangely pathetic' scenes on Christmas Day at Coram's Foundling Hospital in central London, nonconformist magazine *The Quiver* noted that scenes of children receiving welfare on Christmas Day were so quaint that all Christmas special issues should represent it.⁶² Most already did. Such press features, often written and submitted by the voluntary organizations themselves, legitimized the charity and provided free advertising. Local reports on Barnardo's Christmas treats cannily gave contact details for any 'friendless' child.⁶³ It was unlikely that friendless children were reading the papers on Boxing Day. What mattered was the opportunity to pitch the Barnardo name, slogan and 'mission statement' in palatable and timely copy for the countless potential donors who *would* be reading. Although some charities initially resisted festive charity, lambasting it as 'farcical' 'flash in the pan generosity', they eventually capitulated.⁶⁴ Such were the marketing dividends of offering Christmas treats that charities would have been foolish not to capitalize.

But if Christmas was a 'shop window' in publicity terms, the connotations the festival carried of Christian compassion and, conversely, its increasing commercialization, also presented opportunities for charity entrepreneurs to capture donors' attention. Christmas fundraising made sense in part because, coming in the depths of winter, it was a period of elevated need among the poor. It was also a time of heightened consciousness among potential donors, and charities were equipped to tap into that. By the 1880s, social commentators were already bemoaning the transformation of Christmas into a secular celebration of excess.⁶⁵ An editorial in *The Times* in 1888 complained that the commercial extension of Christmas cast such a 'long shadow' over the weeks and months before Christmas Day that readers would soon need a calendar to tell them when Christmas was not.⁶⁶ By the start of the twentieth century, such sentiments had taken the form of truism as periodicals and newspapers declared that the romance of Christmas had been replaced by commercialism: an 'evil' of 'toiling, weary, feverish' consumerism that made life hell for shop staff while preparations for Christmas Day had adopted 'nightmare' aspects.⁶⁷

One way of saving Christmas from this secular frenzy of consumption was to harness the dormant spirituality of Christmas, even if fewer people identified with the theological doctrine at the heart of the festival. The Christmas story was, at bottom, about humanity and all hearts could respond.⁶⁸ The popular press managed to combine the promotion of Christmas as a commercial entertainment with reminders of the 'Christmas spirit' of compassion and suggestions for

charitable giving.⁶⁹ It is no surprise that newspapers such as *The Times* ran 'Christmas lists' of approved charities while provincial newspapers sponsored local initiatives. Charities were, of course, complicit in this, capitalizing on critiques of consumer excess to push philanthropic giving as part of the seasonal splurge. The main motors of Christmas philanthropic publicity, the toy appeals and distributions, also co-opted what many Christian commentators anxiously saw as a modern corruption of this spirit, namely, personal overindulgence and excessive commercialization.⁷⁰

Pictures of poor children engaged in consumption of relatively indulgent food and new toys were designed to prompt two more emotional, related responses from the general public, both of which might prompt a donation. Those who took the anti-commercialization rhetoric to heart were offered a platform for enacting the 'true' meaning of the festival: humanity and compassion towards what were invariably decreed to be grateful, 'most deserving' children.⁷¹ Moreover, donating to the less fortunate in this manner might soothe an individual's residual Christian guilt about festive consumption, particularly since this form of charity was framed as a constitutive part of that consumption. It was no accident that, while cash was certainly solicited at Christmas, in-kind contributions of toys were pointedly sought, perhaps more than at any other time of year. The implication was that patrons might simply add another item to their personal shopping list, or regift a present received in a previous year.⁷²

Some fundraising initiatives plugged even more explicitly into commercial practices. The Prince of Wales Fund suggested that parents combine gift giving and Christmas card practices by purchasing a specially commissioned photo-cum-stamp album for their offspring. The album had space for the autograph and 'midget photograph' of the owner inside the front cover. A special deal struck with commercial photographers meant that the first 100,000 children to present their album would win a free portrait of themselves if they could produce their album with a shilling and half crown donation stamp fixed inside. The initiative combined individual materialism with moral sentiment. As a festive gift, the album was 'full of tender meaning' but also promised to 'afford much amusement' as children offered themselves as photographic subjects. As more photographs and donation stamps were pasted after Christmas, the album would be 'preserved and treasured', a memento of childhood for later life. More importantly, tapping into the 'collecting' market, the Fund hoped to create a 'children's army' of donors: recipients would seek to collect more stamps, thereby cultivating a lifelong habit of giving.⁷³ In other words, charities' exploitation

of Christmas rested on a paradox: Christmas consumption begat Christmas compassion. For the author G. K. Chesterton, the conflation of materialism, indulgence and morality in the name of Christmas threatened to destroy the 'soul' of the season.⁷⁴

Christmas offered the clearest opportunity for drawing these links between individual personal consumption and the demands of charity. But other Christian and secular holidays could be similarly exploited. The Salvation Army, sensitive to the peculiarities of rural economies, developed giving patterns around Harvest time. As clergy had long known, farmers were unlikely to give cash donations but were far more amenable to donating gifts in kind, especially at periods of glut.⁷⁵ In Canada, Harvest festival was so successful for the Army that it was potentially more lucrative than Christmas.⁷⁶ Wood Street Mission also solicited Harvest festival donations before the big push towards Christmas fundraising. In between, Bonfire night might be exploited. One teacher told the Mission's magazine *Delving and Diving* that 'my little pupils have given up their fireworks' in order to contribute over £2 to the feeding fund after the magazine published a request that children and their parents not waste money on 'squibs and crackers'.⁷⁷

That sentiment, a belief in the goodness of foregoing personal consumption in favour of or by way of encouraging charitable consumption, formed the basis of one of the more successful inventions of the new charity calendars. From 1886, the Salvation Army annually ran 'self-denial week' aimed at existing supporters worldwide which asked them to give up something, for example, an intended purchase, in favour of a donation to the Army's funds. To avoid 'fleshly comfortableness' for a week was painted by *The Officer* as an act of personal reflection and prayer for the Salvationist. The Army was cautious about presenting the week as 'solely a money-raising campaign'. This was disingenuous: by 1908, the event had raised £72,670 in Britain alone,⁷⁸ and *The Officer's* manual was replete with suggestions for how to collect cash. Tips on advertising at railway stations, using empty shops and chalking lines on roads to draw attention to the self-denial effort played with consumer anxiety much as Christmas efforts did, contrasting soldiers' (temporary) lack of consumption with what were presumably bustling streets of shoppers.⁷⁹

Barnardo's ran a similarly conceived 'self-denial day', which asked Young Helpers to 'give up something' – some luxury or some pleasure, in the context of a post-Christmas 'gift week' which also included a 'bazaar day' and a 'collecting day'.⁸⁰ These overtly Christian (but not doctrinal) events were clearly Lent-like, but specific to organizations, and, usefully, moveable: the Army's self-denial

week was changed from autumn to spring when its Harvest appeal took off.⁸¹ In a society that remained overwhelmingly Christian in outlook but was consumption oriented, with all the anxieties that this seeming contradiction wrought, the success of these self-denial efforts is hardly surprising. The new voluntary charity entrepreneurs' ability to manipulate these conflicting emotions in the donating public, according to a carefully worked-out timetable, is nonetheless impressive.

Nevertheless, the charity calendar could also generate unashamed celebrations of consumption and the good it might do. In 1903, the Kings Hospital Fund held a 'Hospital Shopping Day' in London, where, on an appointed Tuesday in November, hundreds of retailers agreed to put orange posters in their windows, and cab-drivers flew orange pennons from their vehicles, indicating to shoppers that a portion of their turnover from that day's business would go to the Fund.⁸² 'The idea,' noted one newspaper, 'is that people will choose that day to anticipate some want or to satisfy some long-deferred wish, and perhaps even make it a day for the selection of their Christmas presents.'⁸³ This very literal 'seasonal shop window' was judged a 'qualified success' with £1,027 raised,⁸⁴ but it was not repeated, primarily because many traders had been persuaded to take part on condition they were not asked to do so again, and many other retailers objected to it in the first place as a 'levy' on them.⁸⁵ Yet even as a one-off, it indicated that charities were not simply searching for, as one newspaper suggested in respect of it, 'novel enterprises – something that will "catch on".'⁸⁶ They were, in fact, cleverly plugging into emerging leisure activities, in this case shopping, in any way that they could.

The experience economy

Allied to the purchase-triggered donation was the 'experience economy'. Like the purchase, the exchange of philanthropic gift for an experience was a mainstay of charitable fundraising. Events including musical concerts, grand balls, theatre performances, 'entertainments', garden parties, 'conversazione', lantern shows and sporting fixtures such as athletics days and cycling events formed some part of most charities' fundraising strategy from at least the eighteenth century and remained an integral component of the donation market at the beginning of the twentieth. Entertainments organized in the name of, or with the patronage of celebrities, aristocrats and, as Prochaska has shown, royalty⁸⁷ continued to hold cachet where attendance was less an expression of support for the specific

cause than it was an opportunity to mix with a particular social set: a kind of 'in-crowd funding' to coin a term. Sometimes, it allowed attendees to step inside magnificent, normally off-limits spaces. The Duke and Duchess of Sutherland's Stafford House in London was a favourite venue for myriad benefits. The hall, famous for its staircase, had capacity for 600 guests, and depending on the scale of the entertainment, the grandeur of the setting was enhanced with elaborate floral displays and electric lighting, still a novelty in the late nineteenth century. The Duke and Duchess were selective in which events, or rather causes, they endorsed in person, a fact no doubt reflected in the cost of tickets; some had entry fees for as little as five shillings. This meant, however, that some event organizers ended up hosting guests personally in Stafford House: a privilege for which it was surely worth getting up any charity event.⁸⁸

Similarly, enlisting the support of celebrities could transform a charity entertainment. A performance by Henry Irving at Drury Lane Theatre in November 1900 raised a staggering \$6,085 for victims of extreme weather in Texas.⁸⁹ Those in attendance may well have intended to donate to the Texas storm fund in any case, but it is probable that many would have looked askance at yet another fundraising effort for natural disasters overseas. The audience's 'giving' and what they were giving for was incidental; it was the recently knighted Henry Irving that most were paying to see. For Irving, meanwhile, there was also an interest beyond the charitable cause itself. America remained a mainstay of his revenue although profits from touring the United States had fallen at the end of the century.

It was not only in London theatres that such events took place, however. By the end of the nineteenth century, the majority of provincial theatres hosted charitable events regularly throughout the year: Manchester's Gaiety Theatre hosted an annual charity dance while the nearby Prince's Theatre hosted a week of charity performances just before Christmas.⁹⁰ For the theatrical venues, charges for use of the venue covered the costs while offering promotional opportunities, both in newspaper reports of fundraising events and in advertising upcoming commercial performances to a captive audience. Often, charitable entertainments featured a local celebrity or an established theatrical company, thereby aping the kind of celebrity appeal that Irving demonstrated. But local entertainments could also provide an opportunity for amateurs to drum up audiences from an otherwise disinterested public by appealing to their compassionate spirit.⁹¹ Manchester's 'Minnehaha Minstrels', an amateur music and comic troupe, appear to have made their reputation on charity events for the likes of Wood Street Mission and the Manchester and Salford Refuges; one 1891

estimate featured in the periodical *Truth* suggested that over the previous eleven seasons they had raised ‘no less that £5,848’ for local causes.⁹²

Some amateur events were glamorous simply by virtue of their illustrious participants. The ‘Wandering Minstrels’ were an orchestra with amateur but largely aristocratic musicians and conductors, notably the Hon. Seymour Egerton (son of the Earl of Wilton), who gave charity concerts, predominantly in London, but also in the provinces, between 1860 and 1898. In their first ten years, the Minstrels claimed to have handed over £8,000 (clear of expenses) to charities.⁹³ Between 1870 and 1895 they raised almost £17,000 in their own right, and were sufficiently proud of their fundraising prowess that they wrote to *Truth* about their efforts after that publication had commended the rival Minnehaha Minstrels.⁹⁴ Fundraising initiatives in conjunction with other organizations, such as the Mansion House Fund, raised further revenue. One of their last major concerts was in aid of Princess Mary’s Ward at Richmond Hospital, raising £480.⁹⁵ Again, audiences need not actively support the cause in question. Reports in *The Graphic* and *Vanity Fair* were potentially more interested in reporting who was in attendance, both in the orchestra and the audience.⁹⁶ For the Minstrels themselves, the orchestra appears to have begun as a leisure pursuit. Early ‘smoking concerts’ were for friends rather than funds while humorous poems, drawings and photographs of each other suggest that the orchestra was, for members, simply a fun thing to do.⁹⁷ Likewise, the causes were so diverse, from hospitals to institutes for the blind to clubs for working men and crèches, it is difficult to identify any specific philanthropic agenda.

The same can be said of some of the numerous charitable efforts of a new breed of hobbyists. Cycling was the occasion for several benefits in aid of Wood Street Mission at the turn of the century.⁹⁸ Manchester and Salford Harriers suggested a charity cycling parade in 1897, to which the committee readily agreed.⁹⁹ Making money for charity was the stated purpose of the event, but the experience of raising it was evidently a jolly for all involved. The fancy dress procession, the 1901 version captured on film by Mitchell and Kenyon, was replete with participants dressed as cavaliers, clowns and so-called Native Americans, all playing up to an ‘amused crowd’.¹⁰⁰ But there were also overtly political leisure organizations whose members’ philanthropic agenda was more explicit. The Christian socialist Clarion movement, which encompassed cycling and later rambling clubs, also included ‘Cinderella clubs’ which frequently made common cause with Wood Street Mission, contributing hundreds of pounds to the charity’s summer camp or Christmas breakfast annually, and providing

entertainments to children at the Wood Street premises.¹⁰¹ The value of charity was in itself a debated concept within the Labour Church movement,¹⁰² but these were contributions that seemed to chime with the movement's overall aims, while also offering an outlet for members' activism and camaraderie. Cinderella club entertainments, as Wood Street Mission was aware and tried to mitigate, were also potentially a means of seeding socialist, rather than Gospel, messages in the next generation.¹⁰³

The 'experience economy' of the charitable world could therefore be vastly more complicated than an experience provided in exchange for a donation: the provision of the experience, to donor or to charity recipient, could constitute a sought-after experience for the volunteer. For many who gave of their time, skills and talents for fundraising purposes charity was, if not exactly an afterthought, then at least a tangential output or justification of the whole process. This is not to suggest that it was entirely lacking in compassion and altruism, but just as Christmas consumption bred a kind of guilty compassion in some, the pleasures of social life and leisure activities could be directed to help those denied the same luxuries.¹⁰⁴ Fundraising gave additional meaning and drew extra attention to an annual, pleasurable cycle of society galas, amateur concerts, fancy dress parades and even political activism, a fact of which voluntary charities were, unsurprisingly, happy to be the frequent beneficiaries.

If pleasure was a key purpose of some voluntary fundraising, pain, or at any rate, physical endurance, was also sometimes writ large. Beyond cycling and sports clubs holding charity versions of their normal races and matches (and in the 1880s, 'champion female walker Madame Englo' offering her services for charitable purposes),¹⁰⁵ there were also feats from ordinary citizens. One ardent advocate of temperance walked twice between Brighton and London to raise awareness for the cause,¹⁰⁶ but group charity walks also became common at the turn of the century. In 1903, one newspaper reported that 'the sporting men of Perth' in Scotland had realized they would have to have a 'walking contest' or they would find themselves left behind; they fixed on a walk around Perthshire, with an entry fee of 1s and with money to be collected along the route.¹⁰⁷ A group of Lancashire and Cheshire schoolboys took part in a similar walk on behalf of Manchester Royal Infirmary in 1905,¹⁰⁸ while the glibly monikered 'Flat Foot' suggested in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* that 'the pedestrians of Leeds' should get up a forty- to fifty-mile walk in aid of that city's General Infirmary and Public Dispensary.¹⁰⁹ There are echoes here of the kind of muscular Christian masculinity that had emerged from the middle of the nineteenth century and which would be promoted by the Boy Scout movement, founded in 1908. For

participants, the charity walks meant fresh air, vigorous physical activity, male company and, by virtue of their philanthropic purpose, good citizenship.¹¹⁰

Unusually lengthy treks also evoked a sense of martyrdom, sending a signal to would-be donors that if participants were prepared to sacrifice time and shoe leather in a cause, spectators might at least spare a few pennies for it.¹¹¹ There could also be a kind of entertainment for the spectators expected to donate. This was evidently the case when one young woman sought a contribution for a bazaar from a farmer: '[He] promised a fat sheep, provided that the lady would wheel the live animal in a wheelbarrow to Calverhall village. The challenge was accepted, and the young lady gallantly accomplished the feat, wheeling the sheep, which weighed 90lb, a distance of nearly three miles unaided.' 'This unique performance', it was reported, 'was witnessed by a large company', and of course, reported in the newspaper.¹¹² Walking may have found its feet, so to speak, as a fundraising mechanism at this point in part because such long walks had become increasingly unusual in a world of widespread rail and growing motor transport, rendering them worthy of attention when undertaken for charitable purposes. In their own context, they were precursors of the sponsored charity marathons and mountain climbs so prevalent in the present day, even if charities themselves tended not to organize them.

Meanwhile, the more 'extreme' celebrity endurance feats which have become the mainstay of the umbrella appeal Comic Relief¹¹³ had not yet emerged, although two of their key aspects were present and merely awaiting full exploitation by charities and volunteers. First, Matthew Webb, the naval officer who was the first to successfully swim the English Channel in 1875, was personally enriched by his effort; even 'working men' were invited to contribute to a large testimonial in his honour, suggesting the strong fundraising potential of such notable heroics.¹¹⁴ Second, similar principles of a well-known personality sweeping into town on a wave of publicity underpinned General Booth's previously mentioned motor-car tours, in which the convoy of cars (including one provided for the press) went – note the language now familiar from many a fundraising effort – 'from Land's End to John o' Groats', 'making a magnet of his motor-car wherever he appear[ed]'.¹¹⁵ Newspaper readers were given schedules of where the tour would visit and precisely when, and were even told details of what the General ate on the tour.¹¹⁶

If most of this represented an accidental boon for charities, there were also ways in which charitable organizations engaged directly in developing an experience economy. Some of the older manifestations of this were still around in the late nineteenth century, although they were increasingly subject to

controversy; as Shusaku Kanazawa has recently shown, voting charities, which allowed subscribers to determine where their donations were spent, were not entirely killed off by the new breed of professionalizing voluntary charities and the concerted opposition of the COS.¹¹⁷ Donors could still be given opportunities to visit institutions that catered to charity recipients (the Foundling Hospital is a good example) and subscribers expected to see exactly how their money was disbursed.¹¹⁸ Yet there were new departures in charities' direct forays into the experience economy too, and more spectacular, ambitious and self-consciously modern events were organized to take advantage of charity consumers' thirst for experiential novelty.

This could include individual participation in synchronized activities for the purposes of raising money, such as the seasonal 'self-denial' events discussed above. It could also, as organizations like Barnardo's and the Salvation Army understood, involve adjusting their offerings to compete against commercial forms of leisure and entertainment. One of Barnardo's first bold ventures was to purchase a public house, the Edinburgh Castle, and reinvent it as a coffee house-cum-Mission hall. The Salvation Army took this further, appropriating not just the spaces of popular culture but its forms too: the songs and conviviality of Salvationist meetings were copied directly from the music hall. Little wonder that seaside resorts were early target markets in the Army's life.¹¹⁹

Meanwhile, by the turn of the century the magic lantern show was giving way to cinefilm as *the* novelty entertainment as commercial leisure became ever more sophisticated. Barnardo's annual YHL entertainment at the Royal Albert Hall featured a short 'kinematograph' demonstration as early as 1898, although, in a reverse, by 1904, its place in the line-up had been taken by a lantern slide exhibition, suggesting that new technologies were not always readily available.¹²⁰ Indeed, suppliers of lantern slides (for sale or hire) continued to advertise in the industry magazine *The Philanthropist* into the 1910s.¹²¹ With characteristic enterprise, the Salvation Army did understand the commercial potential of the new technology and in 1905 introduced the 'Popular Saturday Night'. This entertainment was abbreviated to 'PSN' to give a clubby feel and also billed as 'Pops for the People'. The PSN exploited new modes of entertainment to play to a leisure market that, notably, was not overtly Salvationist. Aimed at families, it also took into account working-class weekly habits: Saturday nights were popular for family marketing and the Army advised soldiers to advertise that entertainments finished around 9 pm, giving families time to catch late-night markets en route home. *The Officer* ran advice on how to run successful PSNs, emphasizing the appeal of 'modernity' to family audiences. Halls must make use

of electricity to illuminate entrances and signs announcing the entertainments to create excitement and vie with beautifully lit commercial venues; indoors, electricity should flood the room to create wonder. The most important element of these events, however, was the Kinematograph. Interspersed with a bill of music, songs, talks and refreshments, three cine films on different ‘catchy, educational, interesting, pathetic, humorous, striking’ subjects, ideally alongside one feature with a ‘lesson in it’, would lure the curious public inside.¹²²

The PSN suggested the Salvation Army’s sensitivity to exploiting experience as a commodity but, also, their appreciation of the timing of fundraising. The sample advert for PSNs printed in *The Officer* deliberately made no mention of the Salvation Army, highlighting instead the word ‘Kinematograph’, modernity, family entertainment and compatibility with existing leisure practices. Likewise, the bill of entertainment printed was mild in its religious focus. Crucially, PSN admission costs were low and officers instructed to resist eliciting donations from the audience during the evening. They could, however, ‘push’ Army literature.¹²³ The objective was less to raise large amounts than to get lots of people into the Hall for a small fee and to advertise Army events in the following week. Indeed, by the 1890s, the Salvation Army had developed a fledgling notion of spectacular entertainment as a potential ‘loss leader’. The expense of sending ‘specials’, that is, guest speakers, across the country to feature in regional meetings was so productive in developing markets that speakers who ran at a loss were still worth it.¹²⁴

Even bazaars were, by this period, trading as much on the notion of patrons paying for an experience as on them purchasing goods. With a combination of stalls and entertainments such as musical and dramatic performances, pictorial exhibitions, marionette shows and games including darts and shooting ‘jungles’, attendees were able to, and many did, spend a full day (or more) at the larger bazaars. As much as organizers exhorted visitors to ‘SPEND’ at the stalls, promotional material tended to emphasize the ‘irresistibly funny’ or ‘weirdly thrilling’ sideshows and amusements in ‘unexpected places.’¹²⁵ As noted above, organizers transformed their venues into elaborate sets and saw no contradiction in marrying historical themes with the parallel lure of modernity. ‘Telegraphic, telephonic and electrical exhibitions’ were put on and the visitor to one bazaar in 1894 was promised ‘as much as he wants in the way of electricity’ from an ‘electric machine.’¹²⁶ Gramophone demonstrations were common, and one Lancashire event had at its centre, ‘The Illuminations’, where ‘Electric Arc Lamps’ would enable visitors to ‘enjoy beauties which cannot be got elsewhere.’¹²⁷ Patrons of a bazaar near Rochdale, meanwhile, were promised a glimpse of a ‘head without

a body', a carnival touch that was echoed in the increasingly common palmistry tent.¹²⁸ By this time, therefore, one could attend a bazaar, handing over multiple admission fees to various sideshow attractions, and leaving only with the memories of the experience rather than a tangible item bought from a stall. As one booklet concluded, 'Of all the ways I've ever heard / Both serious and funny / This one – it surely takes the cake / For getting people's money'.¹²⁹

Conclusion

Charities large and small demonstrated that they had at their disposal multiple ways of co-opting a growing consumerist tendency among diverse donor markets. Donors still had the option of 'gifting' in return for nothing more tangible than a sense of self-worth or an inchoate form of social capital, but as many more active fundraising volunteers showed, that was not always sufficiently satisfying. The material souvenir of a donation, however small, the 'radical' purchase of everyday items and services and the effortful fundraising feat were among the means by which charity fundraising became embedded in the later Victorian and Edwardian period. Religion, and what Prochaska has called 'kindness', remained motors of much charitable endeavour as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth, but charities could not and did not ignore the fact that the world around them was gradually becoming less formally religious (that recognition was the basis of the very existence of many charities that had started as 'missions') and rapidly becoming more commercial. Thus, when the COS called the aforementioned 'Hospital Shopping Day' a 'preposterous proposition' and a 'dodge', it was simply demonstrating its own inimitable capacity to misjudge the prevailing public mood. 'It is a mistake', its magazine said, 'to appeal to selfishness and vulgarity instead of to charity. There is plenty of charity in England if it is properly approached. There is unfortunately plenty of vulgarity too, but it is not generous'.¹³⁰ Even in its own terms, that assertion could not, as the foregoing chapter has demonstrated, have been more wrong.