Roddy, Sarah, Julie-Marie Strange, and Bertrand Taithe. "Notes." *The Charity Market and Humanitarianism in Britain, 1870–1912*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019. 151–196. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350058019-008>>.

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Notes

Introduction

- 1 *Daily Mail*, 4 January 1912, 4; *Daily Telegraph*, 4 January 1912, 6; *The Times*, 6 January 1912, 8.
- 2 According to the *Daily Mail* of 24 January 1912, £66,000 was the total reported by the committee. Some months later, with stragglers presumably accounted for, another newspaper reported that a final total of £87,000 had been reached. *Hull Daily Mail*, 9 September 1912, 3.
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- 4 David Owen, *English Philanthropy, 1660–1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 470.
- 5 Brian Harrison, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', *Victorian Studies* 9, no. 4 (1966): 373; Brian Harrison, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', idem, *Peaceable Kingdom Stability and Change in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 219.
- 6 Frank Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950 vol. 3: Social Agencies and Institutions*, ed. F. M. L. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 358; Frank Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 21.
- 7 *All the World*, January 1900, 94.
- 8 *The Times*, 8 November 1927, xii.
- 9 A sum equivalent to over £200,000 in 1901 terms. *Daily Telegraph* Shilling Fund files, National Archives, Kew, NSC 21/501. *The Times* and *Daily Mail* also had national funds. For more detail on the various funds, see Andrew S. Thompson, 'Publicity, Philanthropy and Commemoration: British Society and the War', in *Impact of the South African War*, ed. D. Omissi and Andrew S. Thompson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 108.
- 10 Out-letterbook (1891), Rathbone papers, University of Liverpool Special Collections, RP.IX.5.5.

- 11 Letter to R. B. Martin (1882), Martin's Bank papers, Barclays Bank Archive, 9/325.
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- 14 Alan Kidd, *State, Society and the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Macmillan, 1999).
- 15 Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, 19.
- 16 Seth Koven, *The Match Girl and the Heiress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).
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- 19 C. L. Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
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- 21 Judith Flanders, *Consuming Passions: Leisure and Pleasure in Victorian Britain* (London: HarperCollins, 2006).
- 22 Aileen Fyfe, 'Commerce and Philanthropy: The Religious Tract Society and the Business of Publishing', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 9, no. 2 (2004): 164–88.
- 23 Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*; Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980); F. K. Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950*, ed. F. M. L. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, vol. iii, 1992), 357–94. Prochaska's work tends to concentrate on the archives of London charities.
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- (2013): 123–30; Andy Croll, ‘Starving Strikers and the Limits of the “Humanitarian Discovery of Hunger” in Late Victorian Britain’, *International Review of Social History* 56, no. 1 (2011): 103–31.
- 26 A debate that had its origins earlier in the nineteenth century: Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Nineteenth-Century Social Thought, 1795–1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
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1 The Emergence of Charity Enterprise

- 1 *New York Times*, 31 August 1912, 6; *Daily Mirror*, 28 August 1912, 4.
- 2 *Daily Mirror*, 30 August 1912, 4. See also *The Times*, 23 August 1912, 4; 24 August 1912, 9.
- 3 ‘William Booth funeral’ footage: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=utDd1awwPaE> (accessed 4 March 2016).
- 4 *Daily Mirror*, 30 August 1912, 9.
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- 9 See C. W. Leadbeater, *The Rise of the Social Entrepreneur* (London: Demos, 1997); John L. Thompson, ‘The World of the Social Entrepreneur’, *International Journal of Public Sector Management* 15, no. 5 (2002): 412–31; Ana Maria Peredo and Murdith McLean, ‘Social Entrepreneurship: A Critical Review of the Concept’, *Journal of World Business* 41, no. 1 (2006): 56–65; Roger Martin and Sally Osberg, ‘Social Entrepreneurship: The Case for Definition’, *Stanford Social Innovation Review* 5 no. 2 (2007): 27–39.

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- 19 See, for instance, Committee resolution not to take children from outside Manchester and Salford on summer holidays, 13 June 1904, JRL, WSM papers, Minute Book, WSM/1/1/2.
- 20 Annual Report (AR), 1911, JRL, WSM papers, WSM/2/1/2/10.
- 21 Letter book of Richard Brown, Portreeve of Tavistock, 1874, Devon Record Office (Exeter), MFC/81/1–11.
- 22 Manchester, Salford and District South African War Fund resistance to redistributing excess local funds to the national scheme, 27 November 1899, GMCRO, M21/1/1.
- 23 Publicity Sub Committee Minute Book, 25 September 1907, Barnardo papers, University of Liverpool Special Collections (ULSC), D/239/B3/6/1.
- 24 Annual Report 1900–1901, JRL, WSM papers, WSM/2/1/1.
- 25 Draft Minute Book, 1885–96, JRL, WSM papers, WSM/1/2/1.
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- 28 Susan Ash, *Funding Philanthropy: Dr Barnardo, Metaphor, Narrative and Spectacle* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016).
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- 30 *The Church Advocate*, 1 July 1887.
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- 41 *The Officer*, August 1905, 303.
- 42 *The Officer*, December 1893, 354.
- 43 *The Officer*, April 1904, 125.
- 44 See, for example, advice from the man who raised \$400,000 for a statue of Ulysses Grant in the United States. *The Officer*, June 1895, 188; April 1903, 187; April 1904, 125. Thomas Richards notes the idea of America as the centre of advertising in the late Victorian period (but argues that Britain had particular modes of innovation). Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1914* (Redwood, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).
- 45 *The Officer*, July 1905, 255.
- 46 *The Officer*, March 1899, 110; April 1899, 151.
- 47 *The Officer*, June 1904, 223.
- 48 See features in *The Officer* in April, May and June 1904.
- 49 *The Officer*, November 1904, 407.
- 50 *The Officer*, May 1904, 175.
- 51 *The Officer*, April 1904, 125. On value of personal appeal, see *The Officer*, December 1893, 357.
- 52 *The Officer*, June 1893, 174.
- 53 *The Officer*, May 1904, 175.
- 54 *The Officer*, May 1904, 175–9.
- 55 Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 196–8.
- 56 *The Officer*, April 1904, 125.
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- 59 *The National Waifs Magazine*, February 1902, 36–7. See also the Charity Organisation Society's investigation into Barnardo's 'snowball' or chain letter appeals, Barnardo files, COS Enquiry Dept, London Metropolitan Archives, (LMA), A/FWA/C/D/1-/8.
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- 63 Publicity Sub Committee Minute Book, 10 April 1907, Barnardo papers, ULSC, D/239/B3/6/1; they were placed free of charge.
- 64 League of Welldoers, Liverpool Record Office (LRO), M364 LWD/6/4, 1912.
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- 66 Ibid.
- 67 See Report included as supplement to Liverpool Temporary Home for Lost and Starving Dogs, Annual Report, 1899. LRO, 179 ANI/9/10/1–20.

- 68 Portrait of 'Railway Collecting Dog, Tim', 1900, National Railway Museum, Object number 1976–9335. See also, portrait of 'Carlo, Railway Collecting Dog for the ASRS Orphan Fund', 1912, Object number 1988–8158; Taxidermy specimen in display case, 'Railway Collecting Dog Laddie', 1948, Object Number 1990–7629.
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- 70 *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 8 April 1911, 6; *The Courier and Argus*, 11 November 1907, 7; *Nottingham Evening Post*, 27 October 1910, 2.
- 71 *All the World*, Special issue, January 1900, 2.
- 72 *The Officer*, December 1893, 372. A surviving collection receipt suggests small sums from 'streets.' Receipt, 1 December 1905, Darkest England Fund, Salvation Army International Heritage Centre (SAIHC), DEF 2.
- 73 *The Officer*, December 1893, 357.
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- 75 See, for instance, T. J. Barnardo, *The King's Business Requireth Haste* (London: Shaw & Co, c. 1894), Barnardo papers, ULSC, D239/A3/6/1.
- 76 *The Officer*, September 1893, 277.
- 77 *The Officer*, December 1893, 373.
- 78 *All the World*, 1891. See also The Nest Children's Home, SAIHC, GB 2133 TN.
- 79 Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 76, 82; Mary Clare Martin, 'Children Raise Money for Children: The "priceless" child, citizenship and hospital fund-raising in Britain and North America, 1850–1950', unpublished paper given at Voluntary Action History Society conference, Liverpool, July 2016.
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- 81 Annual Report, 1899, 12–13, WSM papers, JRL, WSM/2/1/1.
- 82 *The Times*, 18 December 1897, 8.
- 83 Annual Reports, passim, WSM papers, JRL, WSM/21/1–2. See also *Delving and Diving*, 1, July 1880, 169. One school's sale of work raised over eleven pounds.
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- 85 See, for example, the 'Star cards' collections in the Junior Corps. *The Officer*, 1905, 255.
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- 87 Membership Application Form, 1902, Barnardo papers, ULSC, D239/E1/1/9.
- 88 *Young Helpers' League Magazine*, 1892, 27–8.
- 89 *Delving and Diving*, 1, June 1880, 150.
- 90 *Young Helpers' League Magazine*, 1899, 53; *Delving and Diving*, 2, November 1882, 32.
- 91 *Young Helpers' League Magazine*, 1892, 28; 1893, 72.

- 92 *Young Helpers' League Magazine*, 1910, 13; 1912, 16.
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- 124 *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 30 June 1894, 410.
- 125 *Illustrated London News*, 13 November 1920, 782.
- 126 Programme for service of song, Young Helpers' League Ephemera, 1896–1901, Barnardo papers, ULSC, D239/E1/1/9.
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- 128 *The Star*, 11 April 1891, 1, reprinted a piece from *Truth* on Booth's daughter falling ill and being attended by five carers in a chic part of Cannes; while doubting its veracity, the *Star* suggested that 'the way out' of 'darkest England' had been found as far as General Booth's own family was concerned.
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2 Consuming Charity

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- 17 East Cheshire Union Bazaar Committee, 3 November 1904, Tameside Local Studies and Archives, NU1/12.
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- 19 Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Charity Bazaar: An Allegorical Dialogue* (London: Privately Printed, 1868), 1.
- 20 Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom*, 49.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 49ff.
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- 23 YHL ephemera, c. 1910s, Barnardo papers, ULSC, D239/E1/1/9.
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- 33 Trade Journal, November 1907, 13, Trade Dept Files, SAIHC.
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- 35 More forward thinking was in evidence in its disavowal of cigarette advertising which claimed dubious medical benefits. Trade Journal, July 1907, 22, Trade Dept Files, SAIHC.
- 36 *Yesterday's Shopping The Army & Navy Stores Catalogue 1907* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1969); Harrod's Stores, *Victorian Shopping: Harrod's Catalogue 1895* (London: David & Charles, 1895); Trade Journal, Autumn 1907, 16, Trade Dept Files, SAIHC.
- 37 Richard Coopey, Sean O'Connell and Dilwyn Porter, 'Mail Order in the United Kingdom, c. 1880–1960: How Mail Order Competed with Other Forms of Retailing', *International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research* 9, no. 3 (1999): 264; Sean O'Connell, *Credit and Community: Working-Class Debt in the UK since 1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 94.
- 38 Briggs, *Victorian Things*, 40.
- 39 For example, the Jewish Sanitary Association (Manchester) made a small profit from selling bars of carbolic soap to visiting beneficiaries. Minutes of the Visiting Association, 1884, Jewish Sanitary Association papers, GMCRO, MF2687. Meanwhile the 'scientific' Manchester League of Help charged for (stamped)

- second-hand clothes acquired from its depot 'to prevent pauperisation'. Minute book, May 1910, League of Help papers, GMCRO, M294/10/1/3.
- 40 *The Officer*, December 1893, 358.
 - 41 T. J. Barnardo, *A Year's Work in 'Dr. Barnardo's Homes'* (London: J.F. Shaw & Co, 1884), 142–3, Barnardo papers, ULSC, D239/A3/17/2.
 - 42 T. J. Barnardo, *Something Attempted, Something Done!* (London: J.F. Shaw & Co., 1889), 161; emphases in the original.
 - 43 Draft COS report on National Working Boys' Home [undated], NWBH files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/025/004. The Peckham-based Working Boys Depot was another. Working Boys Depot files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/102/1.
 - 44 Loch to C. Chapman, 1881, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/025/002.
 - 45 Seth Koven, *The Match Girl and the Heiress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).
 - 46 *Women's Herald*, 12 November 1892; *Women's Signal*, 7 June 1894, 403; *Woman's Penny Paper*, 11 January 1894, 31; *The Friend*, 3 June 1892, 8; see also Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885–1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), passim, for discussion of the discourse involved in the branding of the matches.
 - 47 Voluntary Action History Society, 'The origins of flag days': <http://www.vahs.org.uk/vahs/papers/vahs3.pdf> (accessed online 2 November 2016); Littler, *Radical Consumption*.
 - 48 Annual Report, 1911, Manchester and Salford's Invalid Children's Aid Association papers, GMCRO, M802/4/1.
 - 49 For examples of postcards, see Barrow Colliery Disaster Commemorative Postcard, 1907, National Coal Mining Museum, YKSMM.1992.1409; Disaster at Bullcroft Colliery postcard, 1912, Wakefield Museum 1996.1695; Hampstead Mine Fire Commemorative Postcards, 1908, Birmingham Museum, 1995V632.324; 1995V632.322; 1995V632.328 (this includes an unusual one with a photographed image of 'the miners' last message', a chalked note on 'trusting in Christ') and Postcard view of scene at Stanley Pit Disaster, Stanley, County Durham, 1909, Northumberland Museum, NRO 085564/2 and NRO 08564/4.
 - 50 Souvenir Paper Handkerchief commemorating Suffragette March, 1908, Museum of London, 003570; Serviette commemorating West Stanley Pit Disaster, 1909, National Coal Mining Museum, Wakefield, YKSMM:1995.477; Paper Napkin commemorating John Welsby and Rescued Miners in Barnsley, 1900, Birmingham Archives, MS1841/7; Paper Napkin commemorating death of Edward VII, 1910, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.953–1988. For more on their origins, see Maurice Rickards and Michael Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the*

Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian (Hove: Psychology Press, 2000), 221.

- 51 Commemorative Ceramics Collection, Lancaster City Museum, LANMS.1974.149.6 and LANMS.1974.31.3.a.
- 52 Commemorative Ceramics Collection, Lancaster City Museum, LANMS.1974.60.6.
- 53 Inkwell, 1889, Museum of Science and Industry, 2002.19.290 & CC/OC/35/3/B/1; Tray, 1893, Great Western Warehouse and National Coal Mining Museum, YKSMM: 2003.25.
- 54 See, for example, in Northumberland Museum: Memorial glass for the Hartley Colliery disaster, 1862, ASHMM 1988.101/1; Memorial glass to the Whitehaven Pit Disaster, 1910, ASHMM 2001.21/1; Memorial glass to the West Stanley Disaster, 1909, ASHMM 2003.47/1; Memorial glass to the Barrington Colliery accident, 1894, ASHMM 2005.83/1; Memorial glass to the Seaham Colliery Explosion, 1880, ASHMM 2006.272/1. See also Memorial glass dish for the Newbiggin Fishing Disaster 1904, ASHMM 2004.73/10.
- 55 'Disaster glass', 1883, Tyne and Wear Museum, TWCMS.2008.1142 and 'Victoria Hall Disaster Book', 1883, Tyne and Wear Museum, TWCMS. 2008.1141.
- 56 Musical score [undated], National Coal Mining Museum, YKSMM.1999.83.1.
- 57 *Daily Mail* [supplement], 31 October 1899, 4.
- 58 Handkerchief, *The Absent-Minded Beggar*, c. 1901, National Army Museum, NAM.1999-10-138-1.
- 59 F. K. Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', in F. M. L. Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950 vol. iii* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 383.
- 60 Minutes, 3 December 1890, Jewish Sanitary Association or Jewish Ladies Visiting Association, GMCRO, MF2687.
- 61 News cuttings books, 1905–12, WSM papers, JRL, WSM/14/1–2.
- 62 *The Quiver*, 137, January 1905, 137–42. See also Laura Foster, 'Christmas in the Workhouse: Staging Philanthropy in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 22, no. 4 (2017): 553–78.
- 63 *Liverpool Mercury*, 27 December 1895, 6.
- 64 *The Social Beacon*, December 1895, 6–7.
- 65 See, for example, comment pieces in the *Derby Mercury*, 22 December 1880, 1 and *The Times*, 27 December 1881, 7.
- 66 *The Times*, 10 December 1888, 9.
- 67 Elizabeth Sloan Chesser, 'The Evils of Christmas Shopping', *The Quiver* 46, no. 2 (December 1910): 161–2; Wilfrid Randall, 'A Christmas Assembly', *The Academy*, 28 December 1912, 820. This was a recurring anxiety in seasonal editorials at the *Times* newspaper. See, for instance, *The Times*, 26 December 1911; 25 December 1908; 25 December 1912, 9.
- 68 *The Times*, 24 December 1913, 7.

- 69 *Bow Bells*, 12, no. 156, 26 December 1890, 620; Lottie Brown, 'Christmas Day', *The London Journal*, 26, no. 680, 26 December 1896, 16; *The London Journal*, 18, no. 468, 17 December 1892, 11.
- 70 See *The Times*, 10 December 1888, 9; 27 December 1881, 7; 9 January 1885, 9; 26 December 1911, 7; 25 December 1908; 24 December 1913, 7; and 24 December 1910, 9. F. J. M., *The Speaker*, 22 December 1906, 348–9. See also *Belgravia*, 77, January 1892, 47–56, for similar comments.
- 71 News cuttings book, 1905–10, WSM papers, JRL, WSM 14/1.
- 72 See multiple toy and in-kind Christmas appeals by Manchester organizations: *Manchester Guardian*, 11 December 1905, 12; 17 December 1907, 5.
- 73 See Henry C. Burdett in *The Times*, 18 December 1897, 8.
- 74 G. K. Chesterton, 'The Soul of Christmas', *The Speaker*, 13 December 1902, 272.
- 75 *The Officer*, September 1893, 277. James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society, South Lindsey, 1825–75* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 158–60.
- 76 *The Officer*, December 1893, 356–7.
- 77 *Delving and Diving*, 3, January 1882, 62; 3, November 1881, 31.
- 78 *All the World*, May 1908, 229. See *All the World*, March 1907, for tabulated annual increments from 1888.
- 79 *The Officer*, September 1893, 275–8; September 1895, 272–5.
- 80 *Young Helpers League Magazine*, 1892, 37–8; 1899, 181.
- 81 *All the World*, March 1897, 101.
- 82 *Daily Mail*, 4 November 1903, 3; *Grantham Journal*, 7 November 1903, 7.
- 83 *Portsmouth Evening News*, 29 September 1903, 2.
- 84 *The Times*, 17 November 1903, 10.
- 85 *Grantham Journal*, 7 November 1903, 7; *Daily Telegraph*, 7 October 1903, 12.
- 86 *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 2 November 1903, 2.
- 87 Prochaska, *Royal Bounty*.
- 88 See, for example, *Evening Telegraph*, 12 January 1898, 3, and *Morning Post*, 6 March 1900, 3.
- 89 Correspondence, Governor of Texas, Joseph Sayers, to Henry Irving, 20 November 1900, Henry Irving Papers, V & A Theatre Museum, THM/37/1/40.
- 90 John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, Annie Horniman Papers, AEH 3/2–15.
- 91 See, for instance, Croydon Dramatic Club, patronized by local politicians and civic dignitaries, gave unspecified 'dramatic performances' in the parish rooms in aid of Croydon's Institution for Trained Nurses. John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, Annie Horniman Papers, AEH 3/2–15.
- 92 *Truth*, 9 July 1891, 58.
- 93 *The Graphic*, 25 June 1870, 44.
- 94 *Truth*, 16 July 1891, 112.

- 95 Wandering Minstrels Archive, British Library (BL), K.6.e.2.
- 96 Wandering Minstrels Archive, Album III, BL, 188201899, K.6.e.3, Item 56.
- 97 Wandering Minstrels Archive, Album I, BL, K.6.e.1.
- 98 London cyclists also proposed annual races in aid of the Metropolitan Hospitals Fund. *Cycling: An Illustrated Weekly*, 5 November 1892, 246.
- 99 Minute book 2, 15 February 1897, WSM papers, JRL, WSM 1/1/2. Sums ranging from £50 to £60 accrued to the Mission as a result over the next few years. Other charities including hospitals also benefited. *Manchester Guardian*, 15 August 1898, 10; 27 August 1900, 9.
- 100 Manchester and Salford Harriers Cyclists' Procession (1901), BFI Mitchel and Kenyon collection: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J8FLeQpeVT8>. Similar parades took place elsewhere contemporaneously: *Burnley Express*, 19 June 1895, 3; *Isle of Man Times*, 11 June 1898, 8; *Gloucester Citizen*, 26 September 1902, 3; *Hull Daily Mail*, 19 March 1909, 3.
- 101 Annual Reports, passim, WSM papers, JRL, WSM/2/1/1.
- 102 Chris Waters, *British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture, 1884–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 86–9.
- 103 Minute book 2, 12 October 1903, WSM papers, JRL, WSM 1/1/2.
- 104 Children from beneficiary charitable institutions were also often invited to take part in the cycling parades. Minute book, June 1901, WSM papers, JRL, WSM 1/1/2; *Manchester Guardian*, 9 July 1901, 7.
- 105 *Aberdeen Journal*, 22 February 1886, 3; *Northampton Mercury*, 14 July 1888, 6.
- 106 *The Philanthropist*, January 1910, 7.
- 107 *Evening Telegraph*, 19 June 1903, 4.
- 108 *Manchester Courier*, 8 August 1905, 5.
- 109 *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 11 September 1903, 4.
- 110 Donald E. Hall, ed., *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); J. J. McAloon, *Muscular Christianity and the Colonial and Post-colonial Worlds* (London: Routledge, 2008).
- 111 See Christopher Y. Olivola and Eldar Shafir, 'The Martyrdom Effect: When Pain and Effort Increase Prosocial Contributions', *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making* 26, no. 1 (2013): 91–105.
- 112 *Hull Daily Mail*, 14 November 1908, 5.
- 113 Ming Lim and Mona Moufahim, 'The Spectacularization of Suffering: An Analysis of the Use of Celebrities in "Comic Relief" UK's Charity Fundraising Campaigns', *Journal of Marketing Management* 31, nos. 5–6 (2015): 525–45.
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- 115 *Daily Telegraph*, 9 August 1904, 9.
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- 117 Shusaku Kanazawa, ‘“To Vote or Not to Vote”: Charity Voting and the Other Side of Subscriber Democracy in Victorian England’, *English Historical Review* 131, no. 549 (2016): 353–83.
- 118 J. Ward, National Working Boys’ Home, to C.S. Loch, 2 June 1880, National Working Boys’ Home files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/025/002.
- 119 Walker, *Pulling the Devil’s Kingdom*, 59.
- 120 Founder’s Day Programmes, 1898 and 1904, Scrapbook, Barnardo papers, ULSC, D239/E1/1/10.
- 121 See, for instance, *The Philanthropist*, January 1910, front matter/classifieds.
- 122 *The Officer*, January 1905, 18–20.
- 123 Ibid.
- 124 *The Officer*, December 1893, 357.
- 125 Hyde PSA bazaar booklet, 1909, Tameside Local Studies and Archives, NPSA1/7/2.
- 126 St Catherine’s, Barton-upon-Irwell bazaar booklet, 1894, GMCRO, L37/1/35/1.
- 127 First Manchester Rifle Volunteers Grand Military bazaar booklet, 1884, Tameside Local Studies and Archives, MR1/3/1/26.
- 128 Grand floral bazaar booklet, 1910, GMCRO, L60/1/7/4.
- 129 Hyde PSA bazaar booklet, 1909, Tameside Local Studies and Archives, NPSA1/7/2.
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3 Building and Protecting Charity Brands

- 1 Karl Moore and Susan Reid, ‘The Birth of Brand: 4,000 Years of Branding’, *Business History* 50, no. 4 (2008): 419–32; Carlo Marco Belfanti, ‘Branding before the Brand: Marks, Imitations and Counterfeits in Pre-Modern Europe’, *Business History* [online] (2017): 1–20.
- 2 Teresa da Silva Lopes and Mark Casson, ‘Entrepreneurship and the Development of Global Brands’, *Business History Review* 81, no. 4 (2007): 651–80.
- 3 Philippa Hankinson, ‘Brand Orientation in the Charity Sector: A Framework for Discussion and Research’, *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 6, no. 3 (2001): 231–42.
- 4 Moore and Reid, ‘Birth of the Brand’, 420.
- 5 Examples of each of these from the COS files include the ‘Distressed Gentlefolk’s Aid Association’, the ‘Mariner’s Friend Society’, the ‘Children’s Country Holiday Fund’, the ‘Christian Men’s Union’, the ‘Rural Labourers’ League’, the ‘Providence Row Night Refuge’, the ‘Domestic Servants Benevolent Institute’, the ‘Royal

- Caledonian Asylum, the 'Good Templar and Temperance Orphanages' and the 'Hostel of St. Luke'. COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D.
- 6 Baker Ahmed Alserham and Zeid Ahmed Alserham, 'Naming Business: Names as Drivers of Brand Value', *Competitiveness Review: An International Business Journal* 22, no. 4 (2012): 329–42.
 - 7 Letter from National League of the Blind to COS, 8 April 1907, National League of the Blind files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/285/1.
 - 8 Appeal leaflet, 14 October 1882, Fegan's Boys' Home files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/68/1. St. Giles Chapel Mission and North East London Mission were others who did the same. Appeal circular, 1893, North East London Gospel Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/027/001; Appeal leaflet, c. 1900, St. Giles Chapel Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/019/005.
 - 9 Letter, 23 July 1889, Children's Country Holiday Fund files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/140/1.
 - 10 Letter, 23 April 1872, London Society for Employment of Necessitous Gentlemen files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/39/1.
 - 11 Fifty-eight annual report, 1906, Mariners' Friend Society files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/14/1; Appeal leaflet, c. 1890s, St. Andrew's Waterside Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/105/1.
 - 12 Letter, 2 June 1892, Church Lads' Brigade files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/230/1.
 - 13 See League of Welldoer publications, LRO, M364LWD/7/1.
 - 14 Letter, 1 November 1873, Drury Lane Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/30/1.
 - 15 See cards from William P. Blevin, and others in League of Welldoers printed materials, LRO, M364LWD/12/6.
 - 16 Appeal leaflet, c. 1904, Guild of Brave Poor Things files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/279/1.
 - 17 Eleventh annual report, 1903, League of Welldoers files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/283/1.
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 - 19 Ibid.
 - 20 Appeal circular, 1911, Home of the Holy Rood files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/236/1.
 - 21 Donation slip, undated, North East London Gospel Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/027/001.
 - 22 Appeal leaflet, c. 1870s, Female Mission to the Fallen, files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/69/1.

- 23 Appeal leaflet, undated, Christian Mission to the Fallen and Outcast Women files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/9/1; Annual report, 1874, Drury Lane Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/30/1.
- 24 Annual report, 1895, St. Andrew's Waterside Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/105/1.
- 25 Juliana Horatia Ewing, *The Story of a Short Life* (London: SPCK, 1885).
- 26 'Bitter cry' pamphlet, 1913, Tower Hamlet Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/57/1
- 27 See Ash, *Funding Philanthropy*, 13–82, on the power of the 'open door' metaphor in Barnardo's brand.
- 28 John Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse: A History of the Liverpool-Irish, 1800–1939* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), 70–94.
- 29 Mark Griffiths, 'Building and Rebuilding Charity Brands: The Role of Creative Agencies,' *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 10 (2005): 121–32.
- 30 Roy Church and Christine Clark, 'Product Development of Branded, Packaged Household Goods in Britain, 1870–1914: Colman's, Reckitt's, and Lever Brothers,' *Enterprise and Society* 2, no. 3 (2001): 503–42; Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'Turning Trademarks into Brands: How Advertising Agencies Practiced and Conceptualized Branding, 1890–1930', in *Trademarks, Brands and Competitiveness*, ed. Teresa da Silva Lopes and Paul Duguid (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 165–93.
- 31 T. J. Barnardo, *A Brief Account of the Institutions known as 'Dr. Barnardo's Homes'* (London, 1879).
- 32 Annual report of Home for Destitute Children, 1874, LRO, 286 OWE/10/7.
- 33 North End Domestic Mission Annual Reports, LRO, 266/NOR/2/1.
- 34 Minute book, 15 November 1912, Santa Fina records, GMCRO, M802/1/15; Annual reports, Santa Fina records, GMCRO, M802/1/16. The name seems to have been dropped in Annual Reports by 1915, although for a couple of years Annual Reports and fundraising material retained the 'sub' name 'Santa Fina Branch' to avoid losing established donors.
- 35 Jennifer L. Aaker, 'Dimensions of Brand Personality,' *Journal of Marketing Research* 34, no. 3 (1997): 347–56.
- 36 Edward F. McQuarrie and Barbara J. Phillips, *Visual Branding: A Rhetorical and Historical Analysis* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2016), 9.
- 37 Schwarzkopf, 'Turning Trademarks into Brands'; Church and Clark, 'Product Development of Branded, Packaged Household Goods', 503–42.
- 38 Present-day studies on charity brand personality indicate that benevolence remains a key element of brand personality across all charities. Adrian Sergeant, John B. Ford and Jane Hudson, 'Charity Brand Personality: The Relationship with Giving Behaviour,' *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (2008): 474.

- 39 'To Church People' appeal circular, c. 1890s, St. Andrew's Waterside Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/121/1.
- 40 *The Harvest*, October 1892, 19. Different dioceses gave their rescue societies different names: Westminster Archdiocese operated a 'Catholic Children's Rescue Society'; Salford diocese a 'Catholic Protection and Rescue Society' and Birmingham a 'Rescue Society for the Protection of Homeless and Friendless Catholic Children.'
- 41 *The Harvest*, October 1892, 24.
- 42 *The Harvest*, January 1893, 78.
- 43 Mary Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 156–61.
- 44 'Mission' as a nomenclature was of course not exclusive to nonconformist organizations and a number of Anglican and Catholic organizations also used the term; they might signal a confessional identity by prefixing with a saint, for example.
- 45 For example, prompted by complaints of proselytizing of Catholic children in Protestant homes levelled by the Catholic bishop of Salford, a raft of letters and editorials in Manchester publications sustained a long debate in 1887. News cuttings book, 1882–1911, Manchester and Salford Boys and Girls Refuges papers, GMCRO, M189/8/5/2.
- 46 This fraying was partly a result of doctrinal changes and divergences. Richard J. Helmstadter, 'The Nonconformist Conscience', in *Religion in Victorian Britain Vol IV: Interpretations*, ed. Gerald Parsons (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 83–8. On the development of nonconformist missions and enthusiasm for empire, see Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Redwood, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).
- 47 Appeal leaflets, c. 1880s, St. Giles Christian Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/019/007.
- 48 COS report, 5 January 1892, Watercress & Flower Girls' Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/85/1.
- 49 Neil Pemberton and Michael Worboys, *Mad Dogs and Englishmen: Rabies in Britain, 1830–2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); and Philip Howell, *At Home and Astray: The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2015), 73–101.
- 50 Annual reports, 1884–1904, Liverpool RSPCA files, LRO, M364 CHC/126.
- 51 Information from City Police Chief Officer, 4–5 January 1871, Great Arthur Street Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/26/1. Tarling brothers to COS, October 1894, Great Arthur Street Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/26/17.

- 52 Wagner, *Barnardo*, 62.
- 53 Although see Lori Loeb, 'George Fulford and Patent Medicine Men: Quack Mercenaries or Smilesian Entrepreneurs', *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 16 (1999): 126–7, on the point that other alternative medicines were marketed on the basis of *not* being from the established and, by implication, ineffective medical profession.
- 54 In response, Barnardo did later do enough to legitimately use the title. See Gillian Wagner, 'Thomas John Barnardo' entry, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30600> (accessed 5 September 2017).
- 55 See Chapter 4 for more on the various Gordon homes.
- 56 Julie-Marie Strange, 'Tramp: Sentiment and the Homeless Man in the Late-Victorian and Edwardian City', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 16, no. 2 (2011): 242–58.
- 57 Lopes and Casson, 'Entrepreneurship', 291.
- 58 Minute book, 27 October 1908, WSM papers, JRL, WSM 1/1/3; *Manchester Guardian*, 25 November 1908.
- 59 Wagner, *Barnardo*, 134–5; see also John Plunkett, 'Celebrity and Community: The Poetics of the *Carte de Visite*', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 8, no. 1 (2003): 55–79.
- 60 *The Mirror*, 27 October 1890, 4, London Cottage Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/066/010. See also *Truth*, 6 November 1890, 929–35, for full charges against Austin.
- 61 *The Child's Guardian*, April 1889, 65; Society for the Protection of Women and Children files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/37/3.
- 62 Appeal leaflet reprinted from *Sunday Words*, 22 November 1885, London Cottage Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/066/007.
- 63 In 1876, May promoted the sale of his *carte-de-visite* as a fundraising initiative. Appeal circular, 1876, Great Arthur Street Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/026/2. 'Notes and reminiscences of a twenty-one years' mission' by Reuben May, 1881, Great Arthur Street Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/026/1.
- 64 'Mrs Birt's good work among the slum children of Liverpool', *Liverpool Citizen*, 14 January 1888, 10, LRO, 050 CIT.
- 65 Liverpool Infant asylum, also known as 'Salisbury House School', LRO 362 SAL/4/1–4.
- 66 See League of Welldoer printed materials, LRO, M364LWD/7/1.
- 67 Two of the most popular bogus collection tricks were posing as a religious fundraiser, and posing as collecting money for miners. Ad Clerum (warning to check if clerical collectors genuine), 1899, Salford Diocesan Archives, Bilborrow Acta, Vol. 1899–1900, 103. *Sheffield Independent*, 8 June 1886, 6; *Morning Post*,

- 9 August 1888, 6. *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 25 August 1902, 3. Many of these frauds were prosecuted under vagrancy laws.
- 68 *Manchester Guardian*, 9 May 1907, 5; *Daily Despatch*, 9 May 1907.
- 69 *Glasgow Herald*, 30 September 1898, 9.
- 70 *The Standard*, 23 January 1884, 3.
- 71 John Mercer, 'A Mark of Distinction: Branding and Trademark Law in the UK from the 1860s', *Business History* 52, no. 1 (2010): 18.
- 72 Intellectual Property Office trademarks database (IPO), UK0000036066 (11/03/1884); IPO, UK0000036069 (11/03/1884); IPO, UK0000038350 (01/07/1884): <https://trademarks.ipo.gov.uk/ipo-tmtext> (accessed 12 January 2017).
- 73 IPO, UK00000158534 (01/09/1891); IPO, UK00000158696 (09/09/1891); IPO, UK00000158697 (09/09/1891): <https://trademarks.ipo.gov.uk/ipo-tmtext> (accessed 12 January 2017).
- 74 IPO, UK00001397391: <https://trademarks.ipo.gov.uk/ipo-tmtext> (accessed 12 January 2017).
- 75 See letters of inquiry to COS, 1880–81, National Working Boys' Home files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/025/002.
- 76 David M. Higgins, '“Forgotten Heroes and Forgotten Issues”: Business and Trademark History during the Nineteenth Century', *Business History Review* 86 (2012): 267.
- 77 *Morning Post*, 17 April 1892, 5.
- 78 See *Morning Post*, 7 July 1884, 3.
- 79 *Morning Post*, 5 January 1886, 3.
- 80 Birmingham boasted a 'Home for Destitute and Working Boys', which enjoyed mayoral and local elite support. By 1885 it was known as the Home for Working Boys. Unlike the commercial outfits, Birmingham boys were assisted in finding employment or training to a trade. The boys received a penny per shilling earned and had further cash incentives towards good behaviour and self-improvement. The boys' earning in total amounted to an estimated third of the running costs for the Home although its fortunes fluctuated over the next twenty years. *Birmingham Daily Post*, 12 July 1883, 5; 30 November 1886, 4. The word 'destitute' was dropped in 1885 on account of the stigma attached to it and associated bullying of boys in factories and so on. *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 November 1892, 3. See *Birmingham Daily Post*, 2 December 1892, 3, for an article on whether or not to continue.
- 81 *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 8 December 1885, 5. *Cheshire Observer*, 23 April 1892, 7; *Liverpool Mercury*, 6 August 1891, 5; *Sunderland and Daily Echo*, 21 April 1893, 2; *Gloucester Citizen*, 7 June 1895, 3; *Edinburgh Evening News*, 11 June 1895, 2.
- 82 'Caution to the subscribers of the Indigent Blind Visiting Society', London Society for the Employment of Necessitous Gentlewomen files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/39/1.

- 83 *Illustrated Police News*, 23 August 1879, 4.
- 84 *The Christian World*, 7 November 1879, London Society for the Employment of Necessitous Gentlewomen files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/39/1.
- 85 Memories of scandal did stick. Some twenty years after being exposed for poor financial management and exploitation, the damaged reputation of the 'Kilburn Sisterhood' (criticized in the *Times* and *Truth* in the mid-1890s) was raising queries in the mind of potential donors over the worthiness of the 'Sisterhood of St Peters, Kilburn'. Letter to COS, 1896, St Peter's Home & Sisterhood files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/34/1.

4 Policing Fraud: Regulation and Accountability in the Charity Market

- 1 Leslie Hannah, 'Pioneering Modern Corporate Governance: A View from London in 1900', *Enterprise and Society* 8, no. 3 (2007): 642–86.
- 2 James Taylor, *Boardroom Scandal: The Criminalization of Company Fraud in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- 3 Hugh Cooke and R. G. Harwood, *The Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853, 1855, 1860, the Charity Commissioners Jurisdiction Act, 1862; the Roman Catholic Charities Acts; Together with a Collection of Statutes Relating to or Affecting Charities, Including the Mortmain Acts* (London, 1867); Mae Baker and Michael Collins, 'The Governance of Charitable Trusts in the Nineteenth Century: The West Riding of Yorkshire', *Social History* 27, no. 2 (May 2002): 165; A. H. Oosterhoff, 'The Law of Mortmain: An Historical and Comparative Review', *University of Toronto Law Journal* 27, no. 3 (Summer, 1977): 257–334. These rules applied best to hospitals and schools: see, in particular, Keir Waddington, *Charity and the London Hospitals, 1850–1898* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000); and Anne Borsay, *Medicine and Charity in Georgian Bath: A Social History of the General Infirmary, c.1739–1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).
- 4 Every county archive in Britain will contain examples of exchanges and bureaucracy relating to endowments. See, for instance, in the West Yorkshire Archives the papers of the Nettleton charity set up in the parish of Almondbury, Nettleton's Charity Almondbury 1613–1977, WYA, WYK/KC643/2/2.
- 5 Nettleton's Charity Almondbury 1613–1977, WAY, WYK/KC643/3/6.
- 6 The Charities Act of 1960 also repealed various mortmain and charitable Trusts Acts of 1853, 1856 and 1860.
- 7 The concept of virtuous marketplace is borrowed from Victoria E. Thompson, *The Virtuous Marketplace: Women and Men, Money and Politics in Paris, 1830–1870* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000). It also refers to the

- constitutive role of virtue in the language of relief work. See Deborah Mindry, 'Nongovernmental Organizations, "Grassroots", and the Politics of Virtue,' *Signs* 26, no. 4 (2001): 1187–211.
- 8 The notable exceptions were specific war charities which were regulated and registered as a result of two acts in 1916 and 1940 respectively. The 1940 act was repealed by the 1992 Charities act. In contrast, organizations such as Friendly Societies were formally subjected to auditing and transparency rules by the 1872 Friendly Societies Act.
 - 9 Harrison, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', 364.
 - 10 Harrison, *Peaceable Kingdom*, 217–59.
 - 11 See, for example, *The Times*, 5 July 1872, 11; *Manchester Guardian*, 25 November 1908, 10. See also, Rachel Vorspan, 'Vagrancy and the New Poor Law in Late-Victorian and Edwardian England,' *English Historical Review* 92, no. 362 (1977): 59–81.
 - 12 Anna Clark, *Scandal: The Sexual Politics of the British Constitution* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), 2–15.
 - 13 Mary Poovey, ed., *The Financial System in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 3–5.
 - 14 Owen, *English Philanthropy*, 218.
 - 15 *The Times*, 10 December 1888, 13.
 - 16 *The Times*, 17 November 1888, 15. The allure of well-known figures on committees as a successful marketing tool was replicated in the financial world with the appointment of public figures on Boards of Directors. Taylor, *Boardroom Scandal*, 177.
 - 17 *The Times*, 7 December 1888, 13.
 - 18 Charles Loch Mowat, *The Charity Organisation Society, 1869–1913: Its Ideas and Work* (London: Methuen, 1961); Helen Dendy Bosanquet, *Social Work in London, 1869–1912: A History of the Charity Organisation Society* (London: J. Murray, 1914); Robert Humphreys, *Sin, Organised Charity and the Poor Law in Victorian England* (London: Palgrave, 1995).
 - 19 A. M. McBriar, *An Edwardian Mixed Doubles: The Bosanquets Versus the Webbs A Study in British Social Policy 1890–1929* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); C. S. Loch, *Charity and Social Life* (London: Macmillan, 1910); Owen, *English Philanthropy*, 239–46; Keith Laybourn, *The Guild of Help and the Changing Face of Edwardian Philanthropy: The Guild of Help, Voluntary Work and the State, 1904–1919* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1994).
 - 20 Owen, *English Philanthropy*, 229.
 - 21 Low's and Fry's guides went through several editions and name changes. Sampson Low, *Low's One Shilling Guide to the Charities of London: Corrected to April 1863* (London: S. Low, 1863); Herbert Fry, *The Shilling Guide to the London Charities for*

- 1864–65 (London: unknown publisher, 1864); Thomas Hawksley, *The Charities of London and Some Errors of the Administration* (London: John Churchill, 1869).
- 22 *Annual Charities Register and Digest* (London: Longman, 1890), i.
 - 23 Samples of Cautionary Cards available in COS archives: for example, Cautionary Card, 1897, Cautionary Card, 1907, COS papers, LMA, A/FWA/C/A/03/035 and A/FWA/C/A/03/043/01.
 - 24 Charles Stewart Loch, initially a COS volunteer, became secretary in 1875, serving until 1914. According to his *Times* obituary, ‘He made the COS. He was the COS’. *The Times*, 25 January 1923, 13.
 - 25 COS correspondence: letter from Miss S. M. Arnott, undated, Hostel of St Luke files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/225/1; Harry Smith to COS, 28 June 1897, Mission to Fallen Women, files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/009/2; W. Tweed to COS, 13 December 1901, Gordon Boys Orphanage files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/178/1.
 - 26 See, for example, undated news cutting, Great Arthur Street Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, COS, A/FWA/C/D/26/008; News cutting, March 1882, National Union for the Suppression of Intemperance files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/86/001.
 - 27 See, for example, a sequence of responses to a COS *Times* advert against Reuben May, 1880–81, Great Arthur Street Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/26/6–9.
 - 28 For a superb example of this, see the archives of the third Duke of Sutherland held in Staffordshire County Record Office, Series D 593/V/10 – used extensively in Chapter 6 below.
 - 29 On the Barnardo arbitration controversy, see Wagner, *Barnardo*, 86–172; Koven, *Slumming*, 88–139. There were other ways of dealing with the risk of libel: one *roman à clef*, in vague terms, ‘exposed’ a fraudulent charity mission; see H. W. Pullen, *The World of Cant* (London: Walter Scott, 1892), 329–36; see also on this general topic, Sean Latham, *The Art of Scandal: Modernism, Libel Law and the Roman a Clef* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
 - 30 For the similarly dichotomous role of the press in the financial markets, see James Taylor, ‘Watchdogs or Apologists? Financial Journalism and Company Fraud in Early Victorian Britain’, *Historical Research* 85, no. 230 (2012): 632–50.
 - 31 Henry Du Pré Labouchere (1831–1912) was Liberal parliamentary representative for Northamptonshire for twenty-five years from 1880 and an energetic journalist whose exposés often pre-empted those of W. T. Stead, the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Labouchere is best remembered for proposing the clause on homosexuality to the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885 under which Oscar Wilde was tried. Gary Weber, ‘Henry Labouchere, *Truth* and the New Journalism of Late Victorian Britain’, *Victorian Periodicals Review* 26, no. 1 (1993): 37; Claire Hirshfield,

- 'Labouchere, *Truth* and the Uses of Antisemitism', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 26, no. 3 (1993): 134–42. See also A. L. Thorold, *The Life of Henry Labouchere* (London: Putnam, 1913).
- 32 *Truth*, 5 July 1877–23 August 1877.
- 33 *Truth*, 26 July 1877, 123–4; 2 August 1877, 156–7; *Padroni*, more usually associated with America, were middlemen who rented out the labour of their fellow Italian immigrants. See Joseph P. Cosco, *Imagining Italians: The Clash of Romance and Race in American Perceptions, 1880–1910* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003), 15.
- 34 *Truth*, 9 August 1877, 188–9.
- 35 *Truth*, 19 July 1877, 90–2; 23 August 1877, 251–3. The COS had extensive files on all of these institutions: Barnardo files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/10/1; Great Arthur Street Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/26/1; London Society for Employment of Necessitous Gentlewomen files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/39/1; Middlesex Soup Kitchen files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/28/1. For a report on the COS investigation of Reuben May, see also *Christian Commonwealth*, 22 April 1886.
- 36 *Truth*, 23 August 1877, 251–3.
- 37 For Labouchere versus the Zierenbergs, proprietors of the St James Home for Inebriates, see *The Standard*, 14 December 1893, 2; for the unsuccessful libel case taken by the begging letter writer G. Brooks, see *Liverpool Mercury*, 18 December 1896, 7; for a rare case that went against Labouchere, see *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 2 December 1894, 3. However, the plaintiff, a Reverend Macmillan, was granted only a farthing in compensation and told he should never have taken the case.
- 38 Wontner and Co. solicitors to C. S. Loch, 2 November 1892, St James Home for Female Inebriates files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/70/6.
- 39 Loch to *Times* editor, 16 February 1887, Great Arthur Street Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/26/015.
- 40 This was initially carried in the columns of the main paper as a 'twelve month's black list' from 1903; from 1906 it was a supplement to the paper; from 1907 it was available to buy separately. *Truth*, 22 January 1903; 6 February 1907; 12 February 1908. The association between *Truth* and scandal reportedly cost Labouchere a post in the 1892–95 Liberal government when Queen Victoria refused to sanction the editor and proprietor of *Truth* holding office under the crown. Herbert Sidebotham, rev. H. C. G. Matthew, 'Henry Du Pré Labouchere' entry, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30600> (accessed 5 September 2017).
- 41 See, for example, *Dundee Courier & Argus*, 4 January 1894, 3; *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 26 January 1895, 6; *North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, 27 August 1896, 4.

- 42 Arthur Newman to C. S. Loch, 9 March 1897, Christian Mission to the Fallen and Outcast Women files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/92.
- 43 COS to J. P. Watson, 11 December 1914, Tower Hamlets Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/57/1.
- 44 It should be noted that some charitable schemes in this period openly advertised 'for profit' returns, notably Octavia Hill's guaranteed returns for 'investments' on model lodging programmes. The transparency of this model, and the distribution of dividends among shareholders, placed such schemes in an entirely different category to private individuals siphoning 'profit' for personal use. See Susannah Morris, 'Market Solutions for Social Problems: Working-Class Housing in Nineteenth-Century London', *Economic History Review* 54, no. 3 (2001): 525–45; A. S. Wohl, 'Octavia Hill and the Homes of the London Poor', *Journal of British Studies* 10, no. 2 (1971): 105–31.
- 45 *Truth*, 13 December 1877, 713–14.
- 46 Peter Shapely, *Charity and Power in Victorian Manchester* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 2000).
- 47 See Taylor, *Boardroom Scandal*, 39–42, on regulation by reputation in joint-stock companies.
- 48 Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London: Routledge, 1930); Derek Matthews, *A History of Auditing: The Changing Audit Process in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 2006), 4.
- 49 St Agatha's Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/31/1; League of Welldoers files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/283/1.
- 50 Loch to Mr Cruckenthorpe, 12 December 1900, St Giles Christian Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/19/005.
- 51 Note by J. W. B. Hunt, 9 November 1911, Great Arthur Street Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/026/022; COS to the C. Mayell, Scotland Yard, 10 October 1927, Great Arthur Street Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/026/022.
- 52 So much so that, as with Lee and Lloyd Jones, those who denounced others were also liable to investigation.
- 53 Correspondence between Lee Jones and Lloyd Jones, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364LWD/28/5/1.
- 54 See Jones's list in correspondence with Asst. Head Constable and Head Constable of Liverpool Police and editors of Liverpool press, 8 February 1905, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/5/4. The 'questionable' charities were: Pastor Black's Children's Homes and Mission; Mr Baxter's Old Forecastle Mission; Mr Housley's United Christian Mission; Rev. Hugh L. Jones's Gospel News Children's Mission; Mrs. Morris's White Rock Home for Children; Mrs. H. S. Pike's Shoeblack's Home. Later investigations extended to include Mrs. Price's Bethesda

- Mission and Training Home for Friendless Girls. League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/1/58.
- 55 For the sake of consistency with the archival references, this book will use the name League of Welldoers throughout.
- 56 For extent of charity's debts, see assorted correspondence and documents in League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364LWD 15/40–41; 15/50–59; 15/61 and 15/107.
- 57 Lee Jones's anxiety about confused identities was not misplaced; the metropolitan-based Charity Organisation Society investigated whether Lee Jones was, in fact, Lloyd Jones. See League of Welldoers files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/283/1.
- 58 Lee Jones's notes, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/5/1. No record of ordination could be traced and in census returns for 1901 and 1911, Lloyd Jones's occupation appeared as a publisher and 'missioner'. Census of England and Wales, return for Hugh Jones, 8 Grey Rock Street, West Derby, 1901; Hugh Jones, 2 Elgin Street, Birkenhead, 1911.
- 59 *Porcupine*, 3 February 1905.
- 60 Press cuttings from *Birkenhead News* and *Liverpool Courier*, 20 April 1907, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD 28/5/1–2.
- 61 Press cutting, *Birkenhead News*, 1907, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD 28/5/1–2.
- 62 Unspecified press cutting, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/5/1, and *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 17 January 1902, 3.
- 63 Lee Jones's notes, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/5/1.
- 64 See letter from James McKinley to J. Griffin, editor of *Birkenhead News*, forwarded in correspondence to Lee Jones, 31 May 1908, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/5/8.
- 65 Census of England and Wales, return for William Ellis Jones, 2 Elgin Street, Birkenhead, 1911; Gospel News Mission Appeal, 28 November 1910, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/5/7.
- 66 Correspondence between Jones and Asst. Head Constable Liverpool Police, 16 August 1907, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364.LWD/28/5/4. Some proceedings were brought against suspect children's charities for neglect. See, especially, details of prosecution against White Rock Home for child neglect, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/3/10–11.
- 67 See, for instance, collected press cuttings relating to Bethesda and White Rock Children's Homes, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/1/21 and 27; M364 LWD/28/2/24. For the complex appeal of waifs to the public, see, especially, Anna Davin, 'Waif Stories in Late-Nineteenth-Century England', *History Workshop Journal* 52, no. 1 (2001): 67–98; Lionel Rose, *The Erosion of Childhood: Child Oppression in Britain, 1860–1918* (London: Routledge, 1991), 80–90.

- 68 Balance sheet and commentary reprinted in the *Welldoer*, March 1908, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/5/1.
- 69 Jones was aware of national 'cautionary list' schemes; copies of the *Truth Cautionary List* scheme, discussed below, and correspondence with the editor of *Truth* are collated in his archive, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/5/6, and he corresponded with the editor of this list regarding several of his 'questionable' charities: League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/1/12 and LWD 28/1/2; M364 LWD/28/2/15; M364 LWD/28/3/15–18.
- 70 Jones's petitioning echoed the Newspaper Society's monthly circular that warned editors of fraudulent advertisers. See Jonathan Silberstein-Loeb, 'Puff Pieces and Circulation Scams: Middlemen and the Making of the Newspaper Advertising Market, 1881–1901', *Business Archives* 103 (2011): 77–92.
- 71 See, for instance, Lee Jones's correspondence with editor of *Courier*, 20 December 1907, regarding Pastor Black's Children's Homes; and J. Griffin, editor of *Birkenhead News*, 31 May 1908, regarding Reverend Jones League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/5/8.
- 72 *Liverpool Courier*, 26 December 1909. Jones was adept at transforming the mundane into something extraordinary: a routine letter from the Royal palace congratulating the correspondent on good works was trumpeted as a personal endorsement of the Mission from the king and queen. See cuttings from *Birkenhead News*, 1911, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/5/1.
- 73 Correspondence between Lloyd Jones and Lee Jones, 9 October 1907, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/5/17–18 and 23.
- 74 Correspondence between Lee Jones and key local figures 1893–1910, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364LWD/11–22. Rathbone thought that the elite had a responsibility to lead efforts to relieve the poor. See William Rathbone, *Social Duties: Considered with Reference to the Organization of Effort in Works of Benevolence and Public Utility* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1867).
- 75 Cutting from *The Guardian*, 15 March 1905, League of Welldoers files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/283/1. Margaret Simey in her history of charitable effort in Liverpool was less forgiving, arguing that Jones had all the 'skill of an advertising agent', was combative in denouncing others but had no regard – in his first decade at least – for accounting of income and expenditure. See Margaret Simey, *Charity Rediscovered: A Study of Philanthropic Effort in Nineteenth-Century Liverpool* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), 119–23.
- 76 League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD 15/145 and 20/29–35; for instance, M364 LWD 15/38; 15/78–79; 15/81–85 and 15/5–6.
- 77 Correspondence with John Rowland, 21 February 1905, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364 LWD/28/5/12.

- 78 For practices associated with 'naming and shaming', see Andy Croll, 'Street Disorder, Surveillance and Shame: Regulating Behaviour in the Public Spaces of the Late Victorian British Town', *Social History* 24, no. 3 (1999): 250–68.
- 79 *Truth*, 25 March 1880, 398–9.
- 80 Loch to George Prior, 6 August 1885, Great Arthur Street Mission files, COS Enquiry Dept, LMA, A/FWA/C/D/26/012.
- 81 That newspapers performed a contradictory role in promoting and exposing frauds is underscored here; the editor of *John Bull* was the fraudulent Horatio Bottomley. See Alan Hyman, *The Rise and Fall of Horatio Bottomley: The Biography of a Swindler* (London: Cassell, 1972).
- 82 'A Reverend Rascal', *John Bull*, 4 July 1914, 8, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364LWD/28/5/21.
- 83 *The Times*, 2 July 1880; *Truth*, 24 May 1900, 1258. Labouchere had long been a strong ally of Chamberlain. On the Charity Commission's inadequacies, see Owen, *English Philanthropy*, 215–46.
- 84 H. L. Hansard, 'Prevention of Frauds on Charitable Funds Bill', 3rd series, 216 (London, 1873), 1848–51; Bosanquet, *Social Work in London*, 119–21.
- 85 Michael French and Jim Phillips, *Cheated Not Poisoned? Food Regulation in the United Kingdom 1875–1938* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Oliver MacDonagh, *Early Victorian Government 1860–1870* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1977).
- 86 *The Times*, 10 December 1888, 9.
- 87 *Truth*, 19 July 1877, 90–2.
- 88 *Truth*, 25 March 1880, 398–9; 20 November 1890, 1012–14; 20 April 1905, 1001–3.
- 89 *Truth*, 25 March 1880, 398–9; 14 August 1890, 576–7.
- 90 For some, the legislation was 'tardy and ineffective'; more recently James Taylor has disputed this, suggesting that more cases (approximately ten per year), of corporate crime came before the courts in the late nineteenth century than is generally imagined. Taylor, *Boardroom Scandal*. See also, John Briggs et al., *Crime and Punishment in England: An Introductory History* (London: Routledge, 1996), 187–8; and George Robb, *White-Collar Crime in Modern England: Financial Fraud and Business Morality, 1845–1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- 91 *Truth*, 20 November 1890, 1012–14.
- 92 Jerome Caminada, *Twenty-Five Years of Detective Life* (Manchester: J. Heywood, 1895), 236.
- 93 'A Reverend Rascal', *John Bull*, 4 July 1914, 8, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364LWD/28/5/21.
- 94 Lloyd Jones fundraising material, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, M364LWD/28/5/9.

- 95 Samuel Hawkes to Lee Jones, 18 May 1908, League of Welldoers papers, LRO, LWD M364, 28/1/5.
- 96 *Truth*, 14 August 1890, 576–7.
- 97 *Annual Charities Register and Digest*, xlvii.
- 98 See Joanna L. Krotz, *Town and Country, a Guide to Intelligent Giving: How You Can Make a Difference in the World* (New York: Hearst Books, 2009); see also web-based donor guides at www.thinknpc.org (New Philanthropy Capital, which has now subsumed the sometimes controversial www.intelligentgiving.com) and www.charitynavigator.org.
- 99 David B. Farber, 'Restoring Trust after Fraud: Does Corporate Governance Matter?', *Accounting Review* 82, no. 2 (2005): 539–65.
- 100 *Truth*, 14 August 1890, 332.
- 101 *Truth*, 20 April 1905, 1001.
- 102 Michael R. Darby and Edi Karni, 'Free Competition and the Optimal Amount of Fraud', *Journal of Law and Economics* 16, no. 1 (1973): 67–88.
- 103 Stephen Hopgood, 'Saying No to Wal-Mart? Money and Morality in Professional Humanitarianism', in *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power and Ethics*, ed. M. Barnett and Thomas G Weiss (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008), 98–123. See also, Farber, 'Restoring Trust after Fraud', 539–65; Matthews, *A History of Auditing*, 16–17.
- 104 John H. Hanson, 'Strategic Management and Fundraising: A Planning Model for Resource Development in the Nonprofit Organisation', *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 2, no. 4 (1997): 323.

5 Aristocratic Fundraising and the Politics of Imperial Humanitarianism

- 1 F. M. L. Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain', *Economic History Review* 34, no. 2 (1981): 189–208; A. P. Donajgradski, ed., *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Croom Helm, 1977).
- 2 Extract from the *Bulletin International*, 12 July 1872, Archives du Comité International de la Croix Rouge (ACICR) A, AF/21.5; Rebecca Gill, *Calculating Compassion: Humanity and Relief in War, Britain 1870–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013). Gill's final chapters turn to British wars between 1884 and 1914.
- 3 Harrison, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians'; Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988).
- 4 T. L. Haskell, 'Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility', Part I, *American Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (1985): 339–61; and T. L. Haskell, 'Capitalism

- and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility', Part II, *American Historical Review* 90, no. 3 (1985): 547–66; Alan Lester and Fae Dussart, *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- 5 Gill, *Calculating Compassion*, 25–47.
 - 6 Dana L. Robert, 'The First Globalization: The Internationalization of the Protestant Missionary Movement between the World Wars', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 26, no. 2 (2002): 50–66.
 - 7 Jenny Hartley, *Charles Dickens and the House of Fallen Women* (London: Methuen, 2008).
 - 8 Gill, *Calculating Compassion*, 98.
 - 9 Smythe, a keen traveller, became committed to nursing following the death of her husband in 1869 after just five years of marriage. See Anne Summers, *Angels and Citizens: British Women as Military Nurses, 1854–1914* (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988).
 - 10 Gill, *Calculating Compassion*, 73–96.
 - 11 Sutherland's name is now best remembered for his family's role in the clearances in Sutherland, rural improvement in Scotland as well as railways. Eric Richards tends to argue that the Sutherlands were weary of the excesses of the highland clearances and keen to remove themselves from controversies. Eric Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth: The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2013), 283–4; Susanna Wade Martins, 'A Century of Farms and Farming on the Sutherland Estate, 1790–1890', *Review of Scottish Culture* 10 (1996): 33–54; David M. M. Paton, 'Brought to a Wilderness: The Rev. David Mackenzie of Farr and the Sutherland Clearances', *Northern Scotland* 13, no. 1 (1993): 75–101; Eric Richards, 'An Anatomy of the Sutherland Fortune: Income, Consumption, Investments and Returns, 1780–1880', *Business History* 21, no. 1 (1979): 45–78.
 - 12 Richards, *The Highland Clearances*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2013). 'The Sutherlandshire reclamations', *The Daily Free Press*, The Sheep Grazing of Sutherland, from the *Transactions of the Highland Society*, 1890, Miscellany Scrap Book, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/24/7/7. Richards argues that the expenditure on estate improvement in Scotland grossly exceeded the income. The third Duke thus inherited the largest aristocratic fortune in Britain but one that was unsustainable on traditional revenue streams. The third Duke's subsequent investment strategy continued on the agrarian lines of his predecessors but included a greater reliance on industrial ventures. Richards, *Highland Clearances*, 283–97.
 - 13 George Charles Bingham was implicated in the disastrous charge of the light brigade, and was also known for his harsh terms as a landlord in Ireland.
 - 14 Report and record of the Committee, 1879, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/1/1.

- 15 William Ewart Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (London: J. Murray, 1876); David Harris, *Britain and the Bulgarian Horrors of 1876* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Pub Co, 2007); Richard Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876* (London: Nelson, 1963); Anne Pottinger Saab, *Reluctant Icon: Gladstone, Bulgaria and the Working Classes, 1856–1878* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).
- 16 Heraclides and Diaila, *Humanitarian Interventions*, 169–96; Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 141–69.
- 17 Dimitris Livanios, ‘The “Sick Man” Paradox: History, Rhetoric and the “European Character” of Turkey’, *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans* 8, no. 3 (2006): 299–311; Andrew Wheatcroft, *Infidels: A History of the Conflict between Christendom and Islam* (London: Penguin, 2004).
- 18 R. B. MacPherson, *Under the Red Crescent; or, Ambulance Adventures in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78* (1885; repr., New York: Scribner, 1897).
- 19 Letter from Vicountess Strangford to Austen Layard, 8 September 1877 (ff. 54), vol. LXXXV (ff. 289), September–October 1877, Layard Papers, BL, add MS 39015.
- 20 She later led hospitals in Adrianople and Sophia during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. She was captured with her hospital staff in 1877. On her death aboard the *Lusitania* in 1887, her *Times* obituary noted that Strangford had never recovered from the sufferings inflicted by her captivity at the hands of the Russian. *The Times*, 28 March 1887, 10.
- 21 Letter from Angela Burdett Coutts to Layard, 9 April 1878 (ff. 208), vol. LXXXVII, December 1877–January 1878, Layard Papers, BL, add MS 39017. Note, we use ‘Constantinople’ for consistency with contemporary sources.
- 22 Letters from Vicountess Strangford, 24 October 1877 (ff. 86) and 21 November (ff. 137), vol. LXXXVI, October 1877, Layard Papers, BL, add MS 29016.
- 23 Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 145.
- 24 Vincent Barrington Kennett changed his name to Kennett-Barrington later in life, and we have used the name under which he is best remembered. *The Times*, 14 July 1903, 11; Peter Morris, ed., *First Aid to the Battle Front: Life and Letters of Sir Vincent Kennett-Barrington (1844–1903)* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992); Bertrand Taithe, ‘Sir Vincent Kennett-Barrington’ entry, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/50267> (accessed 13 September 2017).
- 25 Letter from Viscountess Strangford, 15 January 1878 (ff. 367), vol. LXXXVII, December 1877–January 1878, Layard Papers, BL, add MS 39017.
- 26 See, for example, *The Morning Post*, 24 November 1877, 5.
- 27 *Daily Telegraph*, 3 September 1877, 5.
- 28 Florence Nightingale to Paulina Irby, c. 1875–76, Nightingale papers, British Library, Ms45795, ff. 86–91.

- 29 William Lehman Ashmead Burdett-Coutts to Layard, 3 December 1878, Layard papers, British Library, Ms39023, ff. 290.
- 30 *The Morning Post*, 24 November 1877, 5.
- 31 See, for instance, *Daily News*, 15 February 1877, 2; and *The Morning Post*, 13 April 1877, 5.
- 32 *The Morning Post*, 15 March 1878, 5.
- 33 *The Graphic*, 22 December 1877.
- 34 Charities catalogue pages, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/V/10. Unfortunately, the accounts of this estate are less precise than for other large estates. It includes a range of contributions to Foxley Charity, Deaf and Dumb Institute, Working Men's mission Winter appeal, a British Belleville Mission (in Paris) and so on. See Fortescue papers, Devon Record Office (Exeter), 1262M/FZ26, for a considerably more comprehensive account of a large estate's charitable expenditures. The Fortescue supported around thirty-one individuals and charities per quarter. Though a wealthy family with large estates in Ireland and the South West, their wealth could not be compared with the Sutherlands' estate.
- 35 Letter from Angela Burdett-Coutts to Layard, 28 September 1877 (ff. 185), vol. LXXXV, September–October 1877, Layard Papers, BL, add MS 39015.
- 36 Central committee minute book, 1877–79, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/4/1.
- 37 Report and record of the Committee, 1879, 3, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/1/1.
- 38 Minutes of the Stafford House Committee, 5 July 1878, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/4/2.
- 39 James E. Mapleson, *The Mapleson Memoirs, 1848–1888* (New York: Belford, Clarke, 1888).
- 40 Report and record of the Committee, 1879, 183, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/1/1. This calculation is based on the methods of www.measuringworth.com. On a GDP per capita or income value, the figure would be £38,630,000.
- 41 Report and record of the Committee, 1879, iii, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/1/1.
- 42 Out-letter book (England no. 2), March 1878–September 1878, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/2/4.
- 43 Report and record of the Committee, 1879, 11, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/1/1.
- 44 Morris, *First Aid*, 152.
- 45 Report and record of the Committee, 1879, 40, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/1/1; Month lists of ambulance and hospital staff of the Stafford House Committee and those under Lord Blantyre, 1877–78, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/1/2.

- 46 Monthly lists of ambulance and Hospital Staff printed in Constantinople, format c. A2, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/1/2.
- 47 Florence Nightingale to Paulina Irby, c. 1875–76, Nightingale papers, British Library, Ms45795, ff. 86–91.
- 48 Stafford House Minute book, 21 December 1877, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/4/1–2.
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- 50 Stafford House cheque stubs, 1877–79, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/3/5.
- 51 See Taylor, *Boardroom Scandal*.
- 52 Third Duke's non-estate business interests, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/27.
- 53 Third Duke's non-estate business interests, 1865–82, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/27/1–6; Railway interests in Great Britain, 1829–1914, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/33.
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- 58 *Evening Standard*, 2 September 1877, Scrapbook, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/7.
- 59 *Vanity Fair*, 5 January 1878, Scrapbook, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/7. See also Gill, *Calculating Compassion*, 117–23.
- 60 Report and record of the Committee, 1879, 14, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/1/1.
- 61 See, for example, Richard Williams to Sir E. Cromwell, 30 August 1878, Out-letter book, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/2/2.
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- 64 *Daily Telegraph*, 3 September 1877, p. 5; for definitions of 'accountability to beneficiaries', see Elizabeth G. Ferris, *The Politics of Protection: The Limits of Humanitarian Action* (Washington: Brookings Institute, 2011), 194.

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- 67 H. Ada, 'The First Ottoman Civil Society Organization in the Service of the Ottoman State: The Case of the Ottoman Red Crescent' (Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti) (MA diss., Sabancı Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 2004); Nadir Özbek, 'Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876–1909', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no. 1 (2005): 59–81.
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- 69 Letters from Kennett-Barrington commissioner General to the Committee, March 1878, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/2/1.
- 70 *Judy*, 29 August 1877, 201.
- 71 *The Morning Post*, 24 January 1878, 5.
- 72 *Bath Chronicle*, 31 January 1878, 6.
- 73 *The Morning Post*, 25 April 1878, 5.
- 74 *The Morning Post*, 6 March 1880, 5; and *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 12 June 1880, 2.
- 75 Report and record of the Committee, 1879, 26, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/1/1.
- 76 Report and record of the Committee, 1879, 40, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/1/1. Of the forty-five working for the Red Crescent, seven had died; in the British Red Cross, three out of fourteen were ill.
- 77 The Turkish Compassionate Fund was reported as being in charge of around 40,000 people by April 1878. *The Advertiser*, 6 April 1878.
- 78 Morris, *First Aid*, 157.
- 79 Report and record of the Committee, 1879, 41, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/26/2/1/1.
- 80 At the outset of the war, Forbes had been attached to the Russian army and wrote of the 'splendid valour', 'bravery and humanity' of the Russian soldier opposed to the 'barbarism' of the Turks. See Gill, *Calculating Compassion*, 80–4.
- 81 *Wakefield Express*, 26 January 1878, Miscellany scrapbook, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/24/7/7. The scandal led to significant lobbying addressed to the committee to limit his association to their cause. Dorothy Anderson, *Baker Pasha: Misconduct and Mischance* (Norwich: Michael Russell, 1999). Valentine Baker, *War in Bulgaria: A Narrative of Personal Experiences*, 2 vols (1879, repr., London: British Library Historical Print, 2015).
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- 83 *Punch*, 26 January 1878, Miscellany Scrap Book, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/24/7/7.

- 84 *Vanity Fair*, 26 January 1878, Miscellany Scrap Book, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/24/7/7.
- 85 *Vanity Fair*, n.d. (c. January 1878), Miscellany Scrap Book, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P/24/7/7.
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6 Franchise Fundraising: Mansion House Appeals

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 - 47 Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño, Famines and the Making of the Third World* (London: Verso, 2002), 110, 158.
 - 48 The *Western Mail* opened several funds in aid of major Welsh colliery disaster victims in the 1890s. *Western Mail*, 12 June 1890, 3; 19 November 1892, 7; 21 June 1893, 4. The *Daily Telegraph*'s famous 'Shilling Fund' during the South African war at the end of the century was therefore part of a growing tradition. (Indeed, the same paper had had a similar, if smaller, 'shilling fund' in 1895 on the rather less disastrous occasion of the cricketer W. G. Grace's 100th first class century. See Derek Birley, *Sport and the Making of Britain* [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993], 341).
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 - 53 These dates refer to the Hartley Colliery disaster of 1862, the Lancashire 'Cotton Famine' of the same year and the Oaks Colliery disaster of 1866, each of which benefited from Mansion House Funds. The 'Captain' shipping disaster fund of 1870 and the Franco-Prussian War fund opened at the Mansion House in 1871 widened the remit and set the tone for the next several decades of funds. See Anna Milford, 'Charity begins at the Mansion House', *The Lady*, 6 November 1984.
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- Scotland in 1889. *Manchester Times*, 15 June 1878, 3; *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 20 June 1885, 8; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 September 1889, 4.
- 56 *The Times*, 24 February 1874, 6; Corporation minute book, 1874, LRO, MIN/SPE/1/4.
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- 66 *Sheffield Independent*, 7 July 1874, 6.
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- 68 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 9 October 1874, 8; Scrapbook, Regent's Canal Relief Fund, 1874, Royal and Sun Alliance files, LMA, CLC/B/192/DD/028/MS38840/003.
- 69 *Aberdeen Journal*, 12 October 1877, 3.
- 70 *Bristol Mercury*, 4 February 1878, 5.
- 71 *Liverpool Mercury*, 16 September 1878, 7.
- 72 *Leeds Mercury*, 16 November 1878, 2; Steamer 'Princess Alice' and Abercarne Colliery relief fund, 1878, Yarmouth Town Clerk's files, Norfolk Record Office, Y/TC 90/2/19.
- 73 *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 12 March 1882, 2.
- 74 *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 12 January 1878, 3.
- 75 *The Times*, 26 October 1871, 9.

- 76 *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 14 January 1880, 4. This was also set up to rival the Duchess of Marlborough's Fund, named for the then Lord Lieutenant's wife. *The Irish Crisis of 1879–80: Proceedings of the Mansion House Relief Committee* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1881).
- 77 Mansion House Committee for the Defence of Property in Ireland, 1881–82, Sutherland papers, SCRO, D593/P26/7b; *The Times*, 5 May 1881, 10.
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- 82 *Morning Post*, 8 August 1882, 2; *The Standard*, 8 August 1882, 6; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 24 August 1882, 6; Richard L. Harris, 'William Morris, Eiríkur Magnússon, and Iceland: A Survey of Correspondence', *Victorian Poetry* 13, nos. 3–4 (Fall–Winter, 1975): 121.
- 83 Harris, 'William Morris, Eiríkur Magnússon, and Iceland', 125.
- 84 *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 September 1882, 6. Although at least one scholar has noted the checkered demographic history of the country. Richard F. Tomasson, 'A Millennium of Misery: The Demography of the Icelanders', *Population Studies* 31, no. 3 (1977): 405–27.
- 85 See, especially, *The Standard*, 5 October 1882, 5; *Daily News*, 6 October 1882, 2; *Belfast News-Letter*, 12 October 1882, 5. A pamphlet war also ensued; the distress was real, it would appear, and the sceptics motivated by 'greed' and 'pedantry'. See Richard L. Harris, 'William Morris, Eiríkur Magnússon, and Icelandic Famine Relief Efforts of 1882', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 20 (1978–81): 31–41.
- 86 *Northern Echo*, 30 September 1882, 3.
- 87 *York Herald*, 11 November 1891, 4.
- 88 *York Herald*, 3 May 1892, 5; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 17 November 1892, 7; *York Herald*, 21 December 1892, 4; *Aberdeen Journal*, 19 September 1892, 5.
- 89 *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, 26 July 1892, 2; 30 August 1892, 7.
- 90 Hope, *My Lord Mayor*, 160.
- 91 *The Times*, 8 November 1927, xii.
- 92 *Daily Telegraph*, 21 February 1913, 13.
- 93 *The Times*, 5 January 1894, 6.
- 94 It is worth pointing out that Mike Davis greatly misrepresents the second of these funds as 'desultory' in relation to the parallel South African War funds, suggesting it amounted to just '7 per cent' of the latter. Davis cites a figure given in the *Times* on 17 February 1900, the day after the lord mayor opened the fund, which was,

- given the age of the fund, a creditable £52,000; by the end of 1900 it was well over a third of a million pounds. Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts*, 164. The claim is uncritically repeated in James Vernon, *Hunger: A Modern History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 289.
- 95 *The Times*, 21 March 1903, 5; 17 April 1909, 4.
- 96 Sarah Gregson, 'Women and Children First? The Administration of Titanic Relief in Southampton, 1912–59', *English Historical Review* 127, no. 524 (2012): 83–109.

Conclusion

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- 2 Donileen R. Loseke, '“The Whole Spirit of Modern Philanthropy”: The Construction of the Idea of Charity, 1912–1992', *Social Problems* (1997): 425–44.
- 3 Gill, *Calculating Compassion*, 213.
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- 6 Helen Dendy Bosanquet, *Social Work in London, 1869–1912: A History of the Charity Organisation Society* (London: E.P. Dutton, 1914).
- 7 One of its main advocate was of course a historian of Victorian Britain: Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The De-moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995).
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- 9 Matthew Hilton and James McKay, eds, *The Ages of Voluntarism: How We Got to the Big Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- 10 Helen Haugh and Michael Kitson, 'The Third Way and the Third Sector: New Labour's Economic Policy and the Social Economy', *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 31, no. 6 (2007): 973–94.
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Smith and Michael Lipsky, *Nonprofits for Hire: The Welfare State in the Age of Contracting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

- 12 Transparency of Lobbying, Non-party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration Act 2014; Peter Bradley, *The Lobbying Bill Risks Gagging Charities and Campaign Groups, While Letting Lobbyists off the Hook: Democratic Audit Blog* (30 August 2013), Blog Entry: <https://www.theguardian.com/voluntary-sector-network/2014/jan/13/five-things-explain-lobbying-bill> (visited 23 August 2017).
- 13 <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/charities-act-2016-new-fundraising-rules>. This new legislation intended to tackle the commercial arm of the charitable market: so-called professional fundraisers to whom charities might subcontract their fundraising activities.