

ONE

Introduction

At 4.00pm on Monday 13 October 1890 the turnstiles closed at Olympia. London's largest indoor arena was accustomed to great crowds, but the staff estimated 38–40,000 people had entered the hall, which seated 25,000, two hours before the 6.00pm start.¹ The event was the funeral service of Mrs. Booth, the wife of General Booth of The Salvation Army. *The Banner* commented: "We suppose that no woman, crowned or uncrowned, has ever before passed to her grave amidst such vast manifestations of sorrow and sympathy."² Catherine Booth's biographer, William Stead, wrote, "It seems probable that the future historian may record that no woman of the Victorian Era—except it be the monarch who gives her name to the epoch—has done more to help in the making of modern England than Catherine Booth."³ What brought Catherine to this high point of public recognition?

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CATHERINE BOOTH

Catherine Booth was recognized as one of the Victorian era's pre-eminent evangelists. Stead described her as "the most conspicuous and the most successful preacher of righteousness this generation has heard."⁴ *The Manchester Guardian* praised her eloquence and "unstudied ease and grace," and concluded, "Mrs. Booth was a keen causist and a subtle dialectician. She had a strong apparatus of logic at her command, and led you into a corner with delightful ease."⁵

1. *Manchester Guardian*, "The Late Mrs. Booth."
2. *The Banner*, "The Funeral of Mrs. Booth."
3. Stead, *Mrs. Booth*, 232.
4. *Ibid.*, 230.
5. *Manchester Guardian*, "Mrs. Booth."

Catherine Booth was also a powerful advocate of social reform. In alliance with Josephine Butler and W. T. Stead, Catherine was responsible for bringing to the notice of the public the “iniquity of state regulated vice,”⁶ and for mobilizing the forces of The Salvation Army against sex trafficking and in support of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, which raised the age of consent for girls from 13 to 16. Within days of Catherine’s death, William Booth published his book *In Darkest England and the Way Out* and the Army embarked on a massive program of innovative social action.⁷ Stead claimed Catherine was “the prophetess of the new movement,”⁸ and stated, “that the Salvation Army thus entered upon that new development is due more to her than to any other woman, and in its new social work we see the best and most enduring monument to the memory of the saintly woman and her devoted husband.”⁹

Further, Catherine Booth was an effective campaigner for the rights of women. *The Manchester Guardian* claimed, “She has probably done more in her own person to establish the right of women to preach the Gospel than anyone else who has ever lived.”¹⁰ The *Daily News* attributed the Army’s “astonishing success” to the “very effective way in which they have testified to their belief in the spiritual and intellectual equality of the sexes. [. . .] In all the long history of religion there is not such instance as the Army affords of the absolute sinking of the disqualification of sex.”¹¹

Finally, Catherine Booth was recognized as the co-founder, with her husband William, of The Salvation Army. Stead wrote, “Mrs. Booth’s claim to rank in the forefront among the Makers of Modern England rests, of course, primarily upon her share in moulding and building up The Salvation Army.”¹² Catherine was a wise counselor who guided William Booth and his inner circle of leaders in their decision making; she was an apologist for the movement to society’s opinion formers and decision makers; but most of all she was the visionary thinker, the principal architect of the Army’s theology, the one through whom Salvationism was first formed, and the one who gave it coherent and eloquent expression.

6. Booth, “The Iniquity of State Regulated Vice.”

7. Booth, *In Darkest England and The Way Out*.

8. Stead, *Northern Echo*, “Mrs. Booth.”

9. Stead, *Mrs. Booth*, 213–14.

10. *The Manchester Guardian*, “Memorial Notices.”

11. *Daily News*, “Mrs. Booth’s Funeral.”

12. Stead, *Mrs. Booth*, 229.

The noun “Salvationist” and its concomitant “Salvationism” were coined soon after the birth of the movement.¹³ Salvationism has been taken to be descriptive not of the Army’s creed or organizational structures, but rather of the pulsating “heart of the Army.”¹⁴ According to Shaw Clifton, Salvationism “is the sum total or combination of various distinctive characteristics that are peculiar to the Army. Salvationism is a word that denotes certain attitudes, a particular worldview. It signifies an amalgam of beliefs, stances, commitments, callings that when taken together cannot be found in any other body, religious or secular.”¹⁵ David Baxendale suggests that “Salvationism is a spiritual quality that binds together Salvationists of whatever nationality, race, or social status.”¹⁶

Ian Randall has argued that “evangelicalism is essentially a strand of spirituality.”¹⁷ Similarly Salvationism is best understood as a mode of Christian spirituality. Although Kenneth Leech has suggested that “the word has come to be used in so general and vague a way that its continued usefulness needs to be questioned,”¹⁸ it might be argued that in a broad sense spirituality “describes that aspect of humankind that reaches out toward the transcendent and divine, and the practices employed to assist in this quest.”¹⁹ In respect of Christian spirituality, according to Philip Sheldrake, spirituality describes “how, individually and collectively, we personally appropriate the traditional Christian beliefs about God, humanity, and the world, and express them in terms of our basic attitudes, life-style, and activity.”²⁰ Because spirituality is formed at the nexus of ideas and experience, Alister McGrath suggests that “a substantial range of ‘spiritualities’ is to be expected, reflecting a set of differing (though clearly related) theological assumptions on the one hand, and a remarkable variety of personal and institutional circumstances [. . .] on the other.”²¹

Conceived in this way, Salvationism emerged as a culturally engaged and engaging spirituality, which incorporated a rich variety of means of

13. The Army’s first newspaper, published in 1878, was titled *The Salvationist*.

14. Read, “Salvationism,” 8.

15. Clifton, *New Love*, 19.

16. Baxendale, “Salvationism,” 501.

17. Randall, “Evangelical Spirituality,” 96; See also Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*.

18. Leech, *The Eye of the Storm*, 3.

19. Read, “Spirituality and Spiritual Formation,” 553.

20. Sheldrake, *Images of Holiness*, 2.

21. McGrath, *Christian Spirituality*, 10.

spiritual formation and expressions of the spiritual disciplines, encouraged, for example, by all nights of prayer, love feasts, and the development of new forms of retreat which reflected the Army's militant and missional emphases: Councils of War, Days with God, Spiritual Days, and expressed in the emergence of a new hymnody derived from popular cultural forms, and promoted by the publication of Orders and Regulations for soldiers and officers, which functioned in great part as guides to spiritual formation. The focus of this book is not however on the practices associated with the Army's nascent spirituality, but on the *formation* of a Salvationist spirituality, and in particular on the theological ideas which undergird it, the influences which shaped those ideas, and how they led to the emergence of this vibrant and distinctive spirituality in the life and thought of Catherine Booth.

John Rhemick has suggested that at the heart of Salvationism lies a theology of "grand ideas."²² It was in Catherine Booth that a Salvationist spirituality was first formed; she was a conduit through whom it was formed in others; and a series of grand ideas lay at the heart of her Salvationism. It might seem surprising that Catherine Booth's writings should have been neglected by the movement she co-founded, when her ideas were so critical to its foundation, and yet Chick Yuill argues that "one of the tragedies of Salvation Army history [is] that, despite the proper respect which has been paid to the *person* of Catherine Booth, her *teaching* has been often largely neglected."²³

The secondary literature is at least partly to blame for this neglect. The first biography, written by a senior Salvation Army officer, Commissioner Frederick Booth-Tucker, was wantonly verbose.²⁴ Buried within it were Catherine's own reminiscences, as well as lengthy quotations from correspondence and other writings, which lend scholarly value to Booth-Tucker's work without making it more readable. Every biography since has relied upon Booth-Tucker, including Stead's shorter, well-written memoir, which however was not intended to be a definitive work.²⁵ Many years later Catherine's grand-daughter, Commissioner Catherine Bramwell-Booth, wrote a personal and affectionate biography, which however added little to Booth-Tucker's memoir. More recently the American Salvationist scholar

22. Rhemick, *A New People of God*, 6.

23. Yuill, "Restoring the Image," 52.

24. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*.

25. Stead, *Mrs. Booth*.

Roger Green produced an informed account of Catherine's life, but again this relies on the earlier works. William Booth was served rather better by his biographers, Harold Begbie and St John Ervine, professional writers who both produced readable accounts, and by the time William died in 1912 a substantial secondary literature also illuminated the Army's history.²⁶ The historical context can be derived from works of church history looking especially at the nineteenth century.²⁷ In recent years, after a long period in which The Salvation Army was the primary narrator of its own history, a series of scholarly studies have shed light upon the nascent Army and its setting in Victorian society. A first wave might be identified, led by a trio of American scholars—Roger Green, Norman Murdoch, and David Rightmire; closely followed by a second wave that includes Glen Horridge, Diane Winston, and Pamela Walker.²⁸ Roy Hattersley's popular biography, *Blood and Fire*, fed off these works.²⁹ The latest wave includes the works of Andrew Eason, Harold Hill, and, for Catherine Booth particularly, Krista Valtanen's unpublished doctoral dissertation, as well as the meticulous work of David Bennett, who edited and published William and Catherine's correspondence and Catherine's journal and reminiscences.³⁰

Krista Valtanen was motivated in her research by her chance discovery of Stead's biography and her astonishment at Catherine's modern neglect. Valtanen asked rhetorically, "Has history, since Victorian times, genuinely done justice to Catherine Booth and her contribution?"³¹ Similarly, Roy Hattersley noted regretfully that Catherine and William Booth "have been virtually forgotten outside of the ranks of The Salvation Army."³² For Hattersley, Catherine and William "represented—as much as Brunel or Bright, Paxton, Arnold, Livingstone or Newman—much of what was

26. Begbie, *William Booth*; Ervine, *God's Soldier*.

27. Chadwick and Bebbington are important, but they give scant recognition to the Army in their comprehensive histories. Orr and Kent offer more on the Army. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*; Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*; Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening*; Kent, *Holding the Fort*.

28. Green, *War on Two Fronts*; Murdoch, *Origins of The Salvation Army*; Rightmire, *Sacraments*; Horridge, *Salvation Army Origins*; Winston, *Red-hot & Righteous*; Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*.

29. Hattersley, *Blood and Fire*.

30. Eason, *Women in God's Army*; Hill, *Leadership in The Salvation Army*; Valtanen, "Catherine Booth"; Booth and Booth, *Letters*; Bennett, *The General*; Booth, *Reminiscences*.

31. Valtanen, "Catherine Booth," 22.

32. Hattersley, *Blood and Fire*, 9.

best in nineteenth-century Britain. They deserve a place in the pantheon of Great Victorians.”³³ However, Hattersley’s work has little scholarly intent, focuses more on William than Catherine, and does not attempt to analyze Catherine’s ideas. Valtanen’s study breaks new ground in treating seriously Catherine’s theological contribution, but is limited by its method which catalogues and describes the explicit content of Catherine’s exhortations without identifying the core content of her theology. This partly explains why Valtanen concludes that Catherine was an *ephapax*, by which she means a unique individual with a singular and redemptive ministry.³⁴

Andrew Eason concludes his own survey of the literature: “In spite of these recent works, much more remains to be gained from studies of Catherine Booth within her Victorian environment and in relation to her evangelical convictions.”³⁵ The intention here therefore is to redress the deficit in understanding Catherine’s evangelical convictions, understood as the underlying conceptual structure of her Salvationism. Her theology has been understood to be broadly Wesleyan, and influenced by American revivalism, but little more has been said. An attempt will be made to provide an outline of Catherine Booth’s Salvationism, and to identify its sources. No attempt will be made to provide a new biography; however, much of Catherine’s theological development was an outcome of her life story, and an outline is necessary to provide a context in which the formation of her Salvationism can be understood.

THE LIFE OF CATHERINE BOOTH

Catherine Booth was born Catherine Mumford on 17 January 1829 in Ashbourne, Derbyshire, to staunch Methodist parents, John and Sarah Mumford. Catherine was the only daughter of five children; of her brothers, only the youngest, John, survived infancy. In 1834 the family moved to Boston where her father established a coach-building business. Catherine’s mother was her first teacher. Her early education was narrow but effective—by the age of five she could read; by the age of twelve she had read through the Bible eight times.³⁶

33. Ibid.

34. Valtanen, “Catherine Booth,” 270.

35. Eason, *Women in God’s Army*, 189–90.

36. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:14.

John Mumford was active in the temperance movement, and Catherine became secretary of the Boston Juvenile Temperance Society. She participated in parlor debates with her father's adult acquaintances and wrote articles anonymously for temperance magazines. Although John Mumford's Christian faith faltered, Sarah and Catherine remained "deeply attached to Methodism. Its literature was their meat and drink; its history was their pride; its heroes and heroines their admiration."³⁷ In his study *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* Jonathan Rose suggests that "all Nonconformist sects encouraged the habits of close reading, interpretive analysis, and intellectual self improvement."³⁸

In 1841 Sarah Mumford was persuaded to send Catherine to school; but in 1843 this brief experience was brought to a close by "a serious curvature of the spine." For months Catherine was forced to "lie on her face in a kind of hammock."³⁹ Catherine never returned to school, and instead she became her own teacher. Booth-Tucker claims, "It was during the next few years [. . .] she acquired the extensive knowledge of church history and theology which proved so useful in later years."⁴⁰ According to Booth-Tucker, Catherine studied the writings of John Wesley and John Fletcher, the works of the Lutheran historians Johann Lorenz Mosheim and Augustus Neander, and the American revivalist Charles Finney; she also read Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion* and Isaac Newton's writings on prophecy, and was familiar with John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*.⁴¹

Roger Green describes these works as "a diverse and unfocused smattering but nonetheless attractive to Catherine."⁴² However, though diverse, they do not form an unfocused list, but rather represent key influences on Catherine's thought. Jonathan Rose has argued that the reading of autodidacts in the nineteenth century tended, not least for reasons of economy and availability, to be in a sense canonical and not characteristically diverse and unfocused.⁴³ Each of the writers listed by Booth-Tucker was in some way canonical for Catherine. Bramwell-Booth concludes, "From these and similar books she gained her knowledge, and an informed appreciation of

37. *Ibid.*, I:22.

38. Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, 34.

39. Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth*, 27.

40. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:28.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Green, *Catherine Booth*, 23.

43. Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, 7–8, 116–46.

the first centuries of Christianity with a precocious understanding of the teachings and problems of the Early Church.”⁴⁴

In 1844 the Mumford family moved to Brixton; Catherine’s father, John Mumford, had “lapsed into drink [. . .] leaving his Boston business premises in the hands of his mortgagee.”⁴⁵ Catherine’s biographers imply that her education was complete by 1844.⁴⁶ However a page of notes précis-ing a section of Butler’s *Analogy* was written when Catherine was 16, that is, in 1845.⁴⁷ This confirms that Catherine continued to read with studious intent. The years 1844–51 were a time of significant personal development when the foundations of Catherine’s intellectual and spiritual life were laid.

On the morning of 15 June 1846, Catherine joyfully told her mother she was “saved.”⁴⁸ She had opened her hymn book to read the familiar words, “My God I am Thine! What a comfort Divine, What a blessing to know that my Jesus is mine!”⁴⁹ Later she recalled, “Scores of times I had read and sung these words, but now they came home to my inmost soul with a force and illumination they had never before possessed. It was as impossible for me to doubt as it had been before for me to exercise faith. [. . .] I no longer hoped that I was saved, I was certain of it. The assurances of my salvation seemed to flood and fill my soul.”⁵⁰

This experience followed on a “great controversy of soul”; although Catherine had always been devoted to God, she had no inner assurance of sins forgiven, and had not experienced that change of heart of which she had read and heard so much.⁵¹ But now everything had changed: “For the next six months I was so happy that I felt as if I was walking on air. I used to tremble, and even long to die, lest I should backslide, or lose the consciousness of God’s smile and favor.”⁵²

From 12 May 1847 through to 24 March 1848 Catherine kept a journal, recording her spiritual longings and her interest in the reforming movement then active in Methodism, as well as her struggles with the

44. Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth*, 27.

45. Wright, *Boston—A History and Celebration*.

46. Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth*, 28–29.

47. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I: facing page 27.

48. Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth*, 37.

49. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:33.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*, I:32.

52. *Ibid.*, I:34.

symptoms of scoliosis, which along with the side effects of the treatment blighted her adolescence.⁵³ In a letter to her mother from Brighton, Catherine expressed her indignation at the treatment of the reformers by the Annual Conference.⁵⁴ This governing Conference, established after John Wesley's death but at his direction, consisted of one hundred ministers appointed for life. It resulted in widespread dissatisfaction, and in 1844 the first of a series of anonymous flysheets was published attacking the alleged abuses of Conference and advocating sweeping reforms. The Conference of 1847 decided to act against the reforming "men in masks" responsible. All ministers were required to sign a document declaring whether or not they were guilty. Seventy refused to sign, forty of whom offered an implicit denial. Those who remained under suspicion were required to appear before Conference and answer a direct "brotherly" question. In 1849, three ministers considered to be leaders of the agitation were expelled from the Methodist society, while others were reprimanded. This action caused the conflict to spread, and reformers began to set up their own chapels.⁵⁵

Catherine became an outspoken supporter of the reform movement and ignored all counsels to moderation.⁵⁶ Consequently her quarterly Wesleyan Methodist membership ticket was not renewed. Catherine later reflected, "Nursed and cradled in Methodism I loved it with a love which has altogether gone out of fashion among Protestants for their church. Separation from it was one of the first great troubles of my life."⁵⁷

There is an intriguing gap in the record for the years 1848–51. Catherine Bramwell-Booth writes, "At nineteen, the Catherine we have seen reflected in her journal vanished; there are no more self-revealing records until her love-letters begin."⁵⁸ St John Ervine describes Catherine through these years, "growing in physical pain and spiritual anguish,"⁵⁹ and "stretched on a sofa by spinal curvature and incipient tuberculosis."⁶⁰ However the letters provide a glimpse of intense personal development.

53. Booth, *Reminiscences*.

54. Booth, "2nd Letter to her Mother: from Brighton, 1847."

55. For the reform movement in Methodism see Davies, George, and Rupp, *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*.

56. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:45–50.

57. Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth*, 49.

58. *Ibid.*, 47.

59. Ervine, *God's Soldier*, I:28.

60. *Ibid.*, I:45.

On 15 January 1853, William wrote to Catherine, “I have made Mr. Shadford believe that you really are a first rater by telling he and Mrs. S. that you are on the Bazaar Committee, Exeter Hall, and about that letter to the *Wesleyan Times*, and that great meeting.”⁶¹ Exeter Hall in The Strand was synonymous with pan-denominational evangelicalism.⁶² William’s picture of Catherine’s activities belies that drawn by Ervine.

By the close of 1851 Catherine was attending a Reformers’ chapel in Binfield Road, Clapham. Here she first met William Booth. Although the arguments of the Reformers passed William by, through a misunderstanding he was thought to be on their side, and his ticket of Wesleyan Methodist membership was withheld. In June 1851 the Reformers invited William to join them. Edward Harris Rabbits, a prosperous bootmaker and a force among the Reformers, took William under his wing.⁶³ Towards the end of 1851 William preached at Binfield Road. Rabbits asked Catherine what she thought of William’s sermon. “One of the best I have heard in this chapel,” she replied.⁶⁴

William and Catherine met again early in 1852 when Rabbits invited some of the leading members of the Reform movement to his home for tea and conversation.⁶⁵ Their next meeting proved decisive. On Good Friday, 10 April 1852, his 23rd birthday, William ran into Rabbits who “carried him off to a service held by the Reformers in a school room⁶⁶ in Cowper Street, City Road.”⁶⁷ Catherine was already there. Towards the end of the evening Catherine became unwell, and Rabbits asked William to escort her home. On the journey a deep mutual affection “flashed simultaneously into [their] hearts.”⁶⁸ They became engaged on 15 May 1852. Again Rabbits proved to be a good friend, providing financial support that allowed William to leave his business and give himself to preaching the gospel.⁶⁹ However, it was a

61. The letter and meeting, though unexplained by William, evidently provide examples of Catherine’s activism. Booth and Booth, *Letters*, 56.

62. Cf. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, I:5.

63. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:56.

64. Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth*, 60.

65. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:57.

66. The Royal British Institution, a large hall in frequent use for such events. The hall was close to Whitefield’s Tabernacle, John Campbell’s church, where Charles Finney preached in 1849–50. Finney held his enquirer’s meetings in this hall.

67. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:63.

68. Begbie, *William Booth*, I:125.

69. *Ibid.*, 112.

temporary arrangement, and together William and Catherine considered the future. Their relationships with the Reformers had become strained.⁷⁰ They were disturbed by what they saw as lawlessness, a lack of authority and respect, and a tendency to extremism.⁷¹

The attention of William and Catherine turned at this point to the Congregational ministry. Catherine later wrote, “This was my doing [. . .] to leave Methodism seemed an impossibility [to William]. His love for it at that time amounted almost to idolatry.”⁷² William was accepted as a ministerial student at the Congregational Cotton End College, having been assured that Congregationalism’s Calvinism would not be forced upon him; but he was expected to be persuadable. He was asked to read Abraham Booth’s *Reign of Grace*⁷³ and Payne’s *Divine Sovereignty*.⁷⁴ Thirty pages in, William hurled *Reign of Grace* across the room; he would not go to Cotton End.⁷⁵ The Methodist Reform movement had formed a network of districts and circuits that mirrored those of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, and the Spalding district needed a minister. Enquiries were made, and William was recommended.⁷⁶ An invitation was forwarded and accepted, and on 30 November 1852, William wrote from Spalding, “My own dear Kate, I have arrived safe.”⁷⁷

Catherine continued to be dissatisfied with the Reform movement, however, and preferred to attend Stockwell New Chapel, London, where she came under the influence of the Congregationalist minister David Thomas.⁷⁸ Catherine’s letters to William reveal the extent of Thomas’s influence, an influence which has not been adequately recognized. From 1852–55 at least, Catherine was effectively a member of Thomas’s congregation.⁷⁹ Catherine frequently sent William sketches of Thomas’s sermons.⁸⁰

70. Cf. Booth and Booth, *Letters*, 48.

71. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:64.

72. Begbie, *William Booth*, I:131.

73. Booth, *The Reign of Grace*.

74. Payne, *Lectures on Divine Sovereignty*.

75. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:74.

76. *Ibid.*, I:76.

77. Booth and Booth, *Letters*, 17.

78. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:70.

79. Bramwell-Booth has Catherine hearing Thomas in July 1847; however Bennett shows this is a mistake. Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth*, 45; Booth, *Reminiscences*, 26.

80. Booth and Booth, *Letters*, 36.

With her engagement, Catherine's intellectual development entered a new phase. In her reminiscences she described how she set herself to prepare for her responsibilities as a minister's wife: "I added to the number of my studies, enlarged the scope of my reading, wrote notes and made comments on all the sermons and lectures that appeared at all worthy of the trouble."⁸¹ Catherine's interests encompassed the physical as well as the spiritual. She wrote to William on 3 January 1853, "I intend to make myself acquainted with those natural laws, on the observance of which God has made health and happiness so much to depend, more fully than I am at present."⁸² Her letters to William are replete with references to her interest in natural remedies and alternative therapies such as homeopathy and hydrotherapy.⁸³

Catherine's letters to William reveal her intense struggles with her own calling at this time. She reckoned she was "trimming between half service and perfect consecration";⁸⁴ but she resisted any public ministry, telling William, "I do want to be useful, but it must be in retirement and quietness."⁸⁵ She confessed, "Scores of times I have determinedly opposed what I cannot doubt were the direct leadings of the Spirit to some particular work and thereby brought condemnation and barrenness and hardness into my soul."⁸⁶ Catherine described the "strange feelings" that she should witness to and pray with friends and strangers.⁸⁷ She complained, "Why should I have such a singular and difficult work assigned me and one for which nature has so unfitted me?"⁸⁸ She was tempted to think it was "fanaticism, anything but the voice of God."⁸⁹ And yet she believed her soul was starving because she refused to walk in this path.⁹⁰ Another case was "pressing on [her] mind continually." This was "a poor, degraded, sinking drunkard, living in Russell Gardens." Catherine determined to speak to

81. Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth*, 71.

82. Booth and Booth, *Letters*, 48.

83. Cf. *Ibid.*, 373.

84. *Ibid.*, 186.

85. *Ibid.*, 145.

86. *Ibid.*, 126.

87. *Ibid.*

88. *Ibid.*

89. *Ibid.*

90. *Ibid.*

him.⁹¹ A month later Catherine, exhilarated, having attended a meeting addressed by a brilliant temperance speaker John Gough (to which she took her father), wrote to William saying she was going again with three more guests, including “the poor man I told you about.”⁹² Methodist women of an earlier generation, such as Mary Bosanquet Fletcher, inspired Catherine by their example: “I admire, revere her character as much as ever I did, and as ardently desire to follow her as she followed Christ.”⁹³

William thrived in Spalding, but the separation was hard and they were uncertain of the future of the Reform movement; consequently Catherine and William cast around for an alternative route into the ordained ministry. In February 1854 William returned to London and joined another Methodist denomination, the Methodist New Connexion.⁹⁴ For a few months William attempted to study for the ministry under the supervision of Dr William Cooke, the New Connexion’s foremost scholar.⁹⁵ William was a poor student but Cooke recognized his qualities and, to William’s surprise, recommended him as a District Superintendent. When William demurred, he was appointed as assistant to an older man. This arrangement freed William to conduct revivals through 1854–55 in the Midlands and the North of England.⁹⁶ In June 1855 William was appointed to continue his revival ministry by the New Connexion’s Annual Conference in Sheffield.⁹⁷

On 16 June 1855 William Booth and Catherine Mumford were married at Stockwell New Chapel by David Thomas.⁹⁸ For the next two years William was fully engaged in revival ministry, campaigning in Sheffield, Dewsbury, and Leeds. Catherine gave birth to their first son, William Bramwell, in Halifax on 8 March 1856. Begbie wrote of these days that “since Wesley no such evangelist had appeared in England.”⁹⁹ However, the New Connexion Conference of 1857 brought William’s itinerant revivalist

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid., 138.

93. Ibid., 66.

94. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:106.

95. For a description of Cooke’s “School of the Prophets” see Hulme, *Memoir of the Rev. William Cooke, D.D.*, 98,100; For a recent appraisal of Cooke’s life, work and influence see Larsen, *A People of One Book*, 91–100.

96. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:113–14.

97. Ibid., I:139.

98. Ibid., I:133–34.

99. Begbie, *William Booth*, I:281.

career to an end, appointing him to the Brighthouse circuit. Catherine called Brighthouse “a low smoky town,” and she said, “We are situated in the worst part of it.”¹⁰⁰ The Booths’ second son Ballington was born on 28 July 1857. The Brighthouse people were unresponsive; it was a difficult year. At Brighthouse Catherine took her first timid steps into a public ministry, leading a class meeting, teaching some of the senior girls in Sunday school, and giving a temperance lecture to the Junior Band of Hope.¹⁰¹ In May 1858 William was ordained as a minister at the New Connexion’s Annual Conference and appointed to Gateshead.¹⁰² On 18 September 1858 the Booths’ first daughter, Catherine, was born. After the 1859 Conference, which refused his request to be returned to evangelistic work, William was made Superintendent Minister.

One Sunday evening, as Catherine walked through the squalid, teeming streets, “it was suggested to her mind with great power” that instead of going on to the chapel she should speak to the women in the houses she was passing and invite them to the service.¹⁰³ Emboldened by a friendly response, she spoke to a woman carrying a jug of beer to her husband who was drunk and incapable of leaving the house. Catherine followed the woman indoors, listened to the couple’s story, and read them the parable of the Prodigal Son; they wept freely, and after praying with them Catherine left.¹⁰⁴ This was the beginning of an evangelistic ministry of visitation, prayer, and practical help.¹⁰⁵

In autumn 1859 the American holiness revivalists Walter and Phoebe Palmer conducted services in the region. Catherine was unable to attend their meetings, but she wrote to her parents on 16 September 1859: “The celebrated Mrs. Palmer of America, authoress of *The Way of Holiness*, *Entire Consecration* and *The Blessing of Salvation* [. . .] is now in Newcastle speaking every night in the Wesleyan Chapel and getting 30 and 40 of a night up to the communion rail.”¹⁰⁶ Phoebe Palmer’s preaching aroused opposition. Arthur Rees, minister of the Bethesda Free Chapel, Sunderland, issued a

100. Ibid., I:282.

101. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:210–16.

102. Ibid., I:222.

103. Ibid., I:236.

104. Ibid., I:236–37.

105. Ibid., I:238–39.

106. Booth, “Letter to her Parents: 16 September 1859.”

pamphlet excoriating the revivalism of the Palmers and attacking women's right to preach.¹⁰⁷

Catherine, who had never spoken publicly but believed firmly in her right to do so, was sufficiently incensed to consider "going to Sunderland and delivering an address in answer to him."¹⁰⁸ In the event, she responded by publishing a pamphlet defending the principle of female ministry.¹⁰⁹ She wrote to her mother, "I am determined that fellow shall not go unthrashed."¹¹⁰ This pamphlet is the only work in which Catherine writes with anything like scholarly intent, but it indicates the level of scholarship that underpins all her writing. Catherine constructed her argument from a range of Old and New Testament texts, and engaged in detailed exegesis of those New Testament passages that supposedly prohibited female ministry. Catherine quoted Adam Clarke; referenced Richard Watson, Philip Doddridge, Daniel Whitby, and Ingram Cobbin; argued against Alfred Barnes; discussed the nuances of the Greek text, with reference to the lexicons of Johann Friedrich Schleusner, Edward Robinson, John Parkhurst and Henry George Liddell, and Robert Scott; cited John Locke; revealed her knowledge of Phoebe Palmer's writings on female ministry; and quoted Henry Dodwell in his dissertations on Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, and Eusebius.

Despite her views Catherine remained silent in church services. On 8 January 1860 William and Catherine's fourth child, Emma Moss, was born. After the birth Catherine was unwell, but during her convalescence she became convinced she was called to a public ministry.¹¹¹ Then on Whit Sunday, 27 May 1860, towards the close of the morning service, Catherine felt the Spirit urging her to get to her feet and speak, but resisted, until "the Devil said, 'You will look like a fool.'"¹¹² Ready to be a fool for Christ, Catherine stepped to the front of the chapel, and said to William, "I want to say a word."¹¹³ William, astonished, announced his wife and sat down.

107. Rees, *Reasons*; Pamela Walker traced a surviving copy of Rees' pamphlet to the Ryland's Library and was first to analyze both Rees' and Catherine Booth's arguments from the earliest extant primary sources. Cf. Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 254-55.

108. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:243.

109. Booth, *Female Teaching*.

110. Booth, "Letter to her Parents: 25 December 1859"; Pamela Walker was first to note this extraordinarily robust remark: Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down*, 26.

111. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:253.

112. Booth, *Aggressive Christianity*, 138.

113. *Ibid.*

Catherine confessed her stubborn resistance to God's calling, and promised to be obedient in the future. To Catherine's consternation William announced her as the preacher for the evening service. That night she preached on the subject "Be Filled with the Spirit." From that day, Catherine later declared, God "has never allowed me to open my mouth without giving me signs of His presence and blessing."¹¹⁴

Catherine's pamphlet and her preaching brought her notoriety but also established her as a celebrity, and she received more invitations than she could accept.¹¹⁵ She wrote to her mother, "My name is getting trumpeted around the world I suppose. Mr. Crow says it is getting into the foreign papers now, and that in one of them I am represented as having my husband's clothes on! They would require to be considerably shortened before such a phenomenon could occur would they not?"¹¹⁶

The Palmers inaugurated a revival among the churches of the North East that continued into 1861. The Booths' Bethesda Chapel was called "the Converting Shop."¹¹⁷ Robert Young, minister of the Brunswick Chapel in Newcastle, reported in autumn 1859, "The Revival with which this town is favoured is advancing with increasing power and glory."¹¹⁸ In the midst of this revival Catherine found her voice. Brunswick Chapel was one of many churches where she preached.

In September 1860 William's health broke, and he travelled to Matlock Spa in search of a cure. Catherine agreed to undertake William's preaching responsibilities and supervise the general management of circuit affairs.¹¹⁹ William was absent for nine weeks; the congregation prospered, and Catherine preached to packed chapels in Gateshead and elsewhere. Catherine Bramwell-Booth suggests the immense strain on Catherine at this time exacerbated her sense of spiritual dissatisfaction and intensified her longing for holiness.¹²⁰

Catherine's journal and letters reveal her long quest for holiness; but the experience had eluded her, she believed, because of her disobedience in not speaking publicly. Catherine had also resisted William's desire to take

114. *Ibid.*, 141.

115. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:259.

116. Booth, "Letter to her Parents: 24 September 1860."

117. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:225.

118. Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening*, 63.

119. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:258–59.

120. Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth*, 200.

up a peripatetic revival ministry; this too, she believed, had compromised her absolute consecration to God. Early in February 1861 Catherine wrote to her parents describing how she had finally surrendered fully to God. On 11 February she wrote again describing more completely how, on the evening of Friday 1 February, she had entered into an experience of holiness.¹²¹

As a consequence of Catherine's surrender, William's hopes of evangelistic work revived. On 5 March 1861 William and Catherine wrote to the President of the New Connexion Conference, James Stacey, appealing for William's release as a revivalist.¹²² They attended the Conference in Liverpool with high hopes, but once again the opposition prevailed. As a compromise, William was appointed to the Newcastle circuit with the expectation he might come to some arrangement locally that freed him for evangelistic work.¹²³ However, the terms were ambiguous, and after an unsatisfactory conversation with the President of Conference on 18 July 1861, Catherine recalled, "after a day's deep anxiety [. . .] we decided to send in our resignation."¹²⁴

According to Begbie, in July 1861 William and Catherine entered what he calls the "wilderness."¹²⁵ This is somewhat misleading, since in fact they were caught up in what James Edwin Orr has called the Second Evangelical Awakening, along with evangelists such as Walter and Phoebe Palmer, Charles Finney, James Caughey, Reginald Radcliffe, Richard Weaver, and Hay Aitken.¹²⁶ According to Orr "the most effective work" in the Cornish Revivals of 1861–62 was that undertaken by William and Catherine Booth, with 4,247 new members added to the Wesleyan churches in Cornwall.¹²⁷ Their reward was hardly commensurate with their success. In June 1862 the Methodist New Connexion accepted William's resignation, regretting his revivalism; the Primitive Methodist Conference passed a resolution urging its ministers to "avoid the employing of Revivalists so called"; and in July the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, meeting in Camborne, directed its superintendents not to allow outsiders to conduct continuous services

121. Booth, "Letter to her Parents: 11 February 1861."

122. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:277.

123. *Ibid.*, I:294.

124. *Ibid.*, I:304.

125. Begbie, *William Booth*, I:292–307.

126. Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening*, 62–75.

127. *Ibid.*, 71,72.

in their chapels.¹²⁸ The Booths left Cornwall in February 1863 with “the jeers of the Wesleyan President about ‘the perambulations of the male and female’ ringing in their ears.”¹²⁹ The Booths’ fifth child, Herbert Henry Howard, had been born in Penzance on 26 August 1862.

From Cornwall William and Catherine travelled to Wales, where the shipping merchants and colliery owners John and Richard Cory became patrons of their work. The Cory brothers named one of their ships *William Booth* and allocated a portion of its profits to support William’s ministry.¹³⁰ During 1863 the Booths followed Walter and Phoebe Palmer to Cardiff, Walsall, and Birmingham. Leaving Birmingham, they were followed there by James Caughey. In Walsall William organized open-air services which attracted large crowds, and for the first time worked with the Hallelujah Bands.¹³¹ In 1864 they campaigned in Leeds, Halifax, Hyde, Bury, Stalybridge, Sheffield, and Gateshead. On 4 May 1864 their sixth child, a daughter, Marion, was born in Leeds.

Increasingly William and Catherine were each valued in their own right, and from June 1864 Catherine began to accept invitations on her own. An invitation to Catherine brought her to London, alone, at the end of February 1865 to lead a campaign at the United Methodist Free Church, Rotherhithe.¹³² William joined Catherine in London, and Catherine’s campaign continued through to May, in Rotherhithe, Bermondsey, and finally Deptford. During this time Catherine held two meetings in connection with the Midnight Movement for prostitutes. The *Wesleyan Times* reported the occasion, “[Mrs. Booth’s address] was inimitable, pointed, evangelical, impressive and sympathetic, and delivered in a most earnest and affectionate manner, drawing tears from many of those present and securing the closest attention from all. She identified herself with them as a fellow-sinner, showing that if they supposed her better than themselves it was a mistake; [. . .] Then the Saviour was exhibited as waiting to save them all, urging them by a variety of reasons to decision at once.”¹³³

128. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:345–46.

129. Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening*, 72.

130. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:361.

131. *Ibid.*, I:371; “Hallelujah Bands” emerged in the early 1860s in the Midlands; formed by men who had been rough, often notorious, characters before their conversion, they held lively, unconventional meetings. Cf. Booth, *The Christian Mission Magazine*, “Hallelujah Bands.”

132. Booth, *Reminiscences*, 83.

133. *The Wesleyan Times*, “Mrs. Booth amongst Lodging-House Females.”

After the meeting Catherine joined in conversation with these young women. The report continued: “Mrs. Booth, to whom they freely opened their minds, soon discovered how futile was the task of attempting to benefit them spiritually without the means of temporal deliverance.”¹³⁴ Sympathetic as she was, Catherine regretted the movement’s lack of practical assistance for the women and her own inability to help. The report concluded that Catherine’s “adaptiveness for this work, as well as preaching the Gospel, is very plain, and in her great mission, we wish her God-speed.”¹³⁵ In its report of the Bermondsey campaign the *Gospel Guide* described the preacher:

In dress nothing could be neater. A plain black straw bonnet, slightly relieved with a pair of dark violet strings; a black velvet loose-fitting jacket, with light sleeves, which appeared exceedingly suitable to her while preaching, and a black silk dress, constituted the plain dress of this female preacher. A rather prepossessing countenance, with, at first, an exceedingly quiet manner, enlists the sympathies and rivets the attention of the audience. Mrs. Booth is a woman of no ordinary mind, and her powers of argument are of a superior character. Her delivery is calm, precise, and clear without the least approach to formality or becoming tedious.¹³⁶

However, the following week the same writer took Catherine to task. After praising again “her quiet but confident manner, her powers of mind, her depth of thought, her clear and lucid style of argument” the writer decried the “strong influences [. . .] brought to work on the minds of the people,” the energy and enthusiasm of the prayers, and the excitement of the “extraordinary measures” such as “special hymns to exciting tunes.” He concluded, “There are many [. . .] who with us admire Mrs. Booth’s preaching talents; but they are as much surprised as we are that a lady of such extensive mind and large Biblical information should [. . .] conduct such services.”¹³⁷ A week later, a letter signed “B. S.” made a strong repost: “The writer evidently is in a fog; he forgets the Spirit acts on the spirit of man, the spirit of man on the mind, and the mind on the body. The writer

134. Ibid.

135. Ibid.

136. *The Wesleyan Times*, “Mrs. Booth’s Revival Services in London.”

137. *The Wesleyan Times*, “Mrs Booth’s Revival Services in London: Concluding Notice.”

thinks the closet, and solitude, is best for the seeker of salvation; if so the times are altered since the day of Pentecost.”¹³⁸

On 2 July 1865, at the invitation of the East London Special Services Committee, William began to conduct services in a tent erected on a disused Quaker burial ground in Whitechapel.¹³⁹ On 17 August William reported in *The Revival*, “We have no very definite plans, we shall be guided by the Holy Spirit.”¹⁴⁰ In the same letter William proposed the establishment of a Christian Revival Association. Catherine remembered when their future was settled.

[William] came home one night from one of the meetings, worn out, between 11 and 12 o'clock. Throwing himself into an easy chair, he said to me, “Oh, Katie, as I passed the flaming gin palaces and the doors of the public houses tonight I seemed to hear a voice sounding in my soul, “Where can you go where there are such heathen as these and where is there so great a need for your labours?” And I felt as if I ought to stop and preach to these East End multitudes.”¹⁴¹

Despite her disquiet, Catherine replied, “Well, if you feel you ought to stay, stay. We have trusted the Lord once and we can trust him again.”¹⁴² In her reminiscences she reflected, “He had no idea himself of what he was going to do and no plan of how he was going to work,” and, she continued, in a line crossed out by an unknown hand as not for publication, “much less had he any notion of what was going to follow.”¹⁴³ At the same time Catherine was speaking in the Assembly Rooms, Kensington, “in the very midst of the rank and fashion of the West End, so we were just about at the opposite poles [of] society,” she reflected, in another crossed out line.¹⁴⁴ At first Catherine did not share William’s vision, as is apparent from another crossed out sentence: “William’s work was a tangled affair, I could not see my way through it. Of course, I was away from his battlefield, and to me it was entirely a new departure. I saw where he had gone in, but I could not

138. B.E, *The Wesleyan Times*, “Revival Services.”

139. Sandall, Wiggins, and Coutts, *History*, I:254.

140. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:392.

141. Booth, *Reminiscences*, 89.

142. *Ibid.*

143. *Ibid.*

144. *Ibid.*, 90.

see where he was going to come out.”¹⁴⁵ Catherine gradually became deeply involved in the life of the mission, but the separation of their spheres of work continued.

At first William had no definite plan for the future and was opposed to forming a new organization.¹⁴⁶ However, converts needed to be nurtured and mobilized. They would not go when sent to other churches, and if they did, they felt unwanted.¹⁴⁷ In February 1867 the Evangelisation Society began to support the mission’s work financially.¹⁴⁸ The mission occupied more halls and opened new stations. On 6 April 1867 *The East London Observer* reported that “enormous audiences” had been drawn to listen to William’s “exordiums” at the Effingham Theatre. In June the Eastern Star, once a public house, became the mission’s first headquarters, and in September a new name appeared—the East London Christian Mission.¹⁴⁹ On Christmas Day 1865 a seventh child was born to William and Catherine, Evelyn Cory, known to the family as Eva, and eventually to the Army as Evangeline; and on 28 April 1867 their eighth, Lucy Milward, was born.

Catherine continued to lead her own campaigns, speaking to large congregations in London’s West End and in the suburbs. The wealthy Non-conformist philanthropist Samuel Morley supported William financially, but Catherine’s income was essential.¹⁵⁰ Catherine’s campaigns publicized the work of the mission and led to the opening of new mission stations. Through the summers of 1867–73 Catherine campaigned on the south coast, in Ramsgate, Margate, Brighton, Folkestone, Hastings, Portsmouth, and Southsea, filling some of the largest theatres and music halls. The mission stations were generally small; by going outside Catherine “obtained large buildings, numerous audiences, and exerted a powerful influence upon whole neighbourhoods.”¹⁵¹ These were extended campaigns. Catherine was in Southsea for seventeen weeks; she rented a music hall, which was packed every night.¹⁵² She preached on eleven successive Sundays from

145. *Ibid.*, 95.

146. Sandall, Wiggins, and Coutts, *History*, I:66.

147. *Ibid.*

148. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:431.

149. *Ibid.*

150. *Ibid.*, I:400.

151. Booth, *Reminiscences*, 136.

152. *Ibid.*, 139.

the text “Go work [today] in my vineyard.”¹⁵³ After the Margate campaign a deputation of gentlemen offered to build Catherine “a church similar to Mr. Spurgeon’s Tabernacle.”¹⁵⁴

In October 1868 the first edition of the *East London Evangelist* was published. Booth-Tucker wrote, “The publication of the magazine afforded Mrs. Booth the fulfilment of the wish [. . .] of being able to edit a paper which should advocate more advanced views in regard to the privileges of Christians and their duty of working for God.”¹⁵⁵ In 1870 the movement became The Christian Mission. Article XII of the Mission’s constitution, which provided for every role to be open to godly women as well as men, testified to Catherine’s influence.

William was ill for three months in the spring of 1870 from typhoid fever, which left him in a weakened state, and in March 1872 he suffered a complete breakdown.¹⁵⁶ Catherine was compelled to “take his place and do his work in the superintendence of the Mission.”¹⁵⁷ At this point in the Christian Mission’s history all would have been lost if Catherine had not taken charge. Norman Murdoch alleges that “Catherine never assumed a position of authority over men,” but she surely did.¹⁵⁸ William’s search for a cure took him to Matlock, Nottingham, Limpley Stoke, near Bath, Tunbridge Wells, Hastings, and finally Folkestone where he met Catherine who was leading a campaign. They returned to London in October, though William was still far from well and unable to resume his duties completely. During this time, Catherine “preached wherever I had an opportunity, met the evangelists/officers, cheered the sorrowful, directed the perplexed, appealed for funds, and kept everybody at work as far as I had the ability.”¹⁵⁹ While William was at Tunbridge Wells, “his heart was drawn out in desire to do something for it, so he begged [Catherine] to come down and hold a few meetings.”¹⁶⁰ Catherine hired the largest hall in the town and preached for two or three nights each week and four Sundays in a row. As a result a

153. Ibid.

154. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:417.

155. Ibid., I:446.

156. Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth*, 252; Begbie, *William Booth*, I:326; Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, II:17,42.

157. Booth, *Reminiscences*, 129.

158. Murdoch, “Female Ministry,” 354.

159. Booth, *Reminiscences*, 130.

160. Ibid.

branch of the Mission was established. Through the 1870s, despite setbacks and retrenchments, the Mission grew steadily if unspectacularly until by the end of 1877 there were thirty-one stations in operation.¹⁶¹

The Mission's transformation into an Army was a gradual process. The conceptualization of mission as warfare and the introduction of military terminology reflected the spirit of the age. The Christian Mission became The Salvation Army at the "War Congress" held in August 1878, when the identity of the movement shifted decisively, and those assembled reported a pentecostal outpouring equipping them for the "Salvation War."¹⁶² From fifty corps and 127 officers in 1878 the Army grew to 1,445 corps and 4,314 officers in Great Britain and 1,269 corps and 3,698 officers overseas in 1889.¹⁶³ These figures explain Stead's opinion that The Salvation Army was "a miracle of our time."¹⁶⁴ Norman Murdoch claims that "by 1888, overseas expansion made The Salvation Army the world's fastest growing Christian sect in an age of missions."¹⁶⁵ Writing in 1905 George Bernard Shaw captured a sense of the Army's impact upon national life:

Yet in the poorest corner of this soul-destroying Christendom vitality suddenly begins to germinate again. Joyousness [. . .] rises like a flood miraculously out of the fetid dust and mud of the slums; rousing marches and impetuous dithyrambs rise to the heavens from people among whom the depressing noise called "sacred music" is a standing joke; a flag with Blood and Fire on it is unfurled, not in murderous rancour, but because fire is beautiful and blood a vital and splendid red; Fear, which we flatter by calling Self, vanishes; and transfigured men and women carry their gospel through a transfigured world, calling their leader General, themselves captains and brigadiers, and their whole body an Army.¹⁶⁶

The Army aroused opposition from clergymen, magistrates, politicians, and publicans. A "Skeleton Army" was raised with serious and violent intent. Salvationists were jailed for proclaiming their faith in public. There were riots and questions in parliament. The Army featured in daily newspapers and weekly journals, and was the butt of satirical humor in

161. Horridge, *Salvation Army Origins*, 20.

162. *The Christian Mission Magazine*, "The War Congress."

163. Woodall, *What Price the Poor?*, 148–49.

164. Stead, *Mrs. Booth*, 199.

165. Murdoch, *Origins of The Salvation Army*, 136.

166. Shaw, *Major Barbara*, 27.

Punch. Catherine became the prime apologist for the movement, addressing crowds of opinion formers in the City and the West End of London. Collections of her addresses were published.¹⁶⁷ With many others the scholarly Bishop Joseph Lightfoot read her works and approved.¹⁶⁸ Catherine's daughter Evangeline wrote, "My mother never lost the habit of meditation. She was a diligent reader, particularly of books with which she sharply disagreed. [. . .] She met scepticism, sophistication, and aggression on their own ground. She was an intellectual among intellectuals."¹⁶⁹

On Tuesday 21 February 1888 Catherine kept an appointment with her doctor, Sir James Paget, who told her that she was suffering from breast cancer and advised an immediate operation. Catherine, who was opposed to surgery, partly because of the high risks involved, but also because of her commitment to natural remedies, asked him how long she had to live. Paget told her between eighteen months and two years. In the cab on the way home Catherine prayed. William was watching for her and helped her inside the house. Smiling through her tears, Catherine told him she was dying.¹⁷⁰

Catherine preached her last sermon on 21 June 1888 at the City Temple in Holborn.¹⁷¹ In August she moved from the family home in Hadley Wood to the Army's home of rest for staff officers, Oceanville, in Clacton on Sea, where she remained until she died. Here the final drafts of *Darkest England* were prepared, Catherine's reminiscences were recorded, and a constant stream of visitors came on pilgrimage. According to Booth-Tucker, "her sick bed became an altar; round which there gathered daily in spirit, the great and growing Army of Salvationists scattered throughout the world."¹⁷²

Catherine died on Saturday 4 October 1890. Her body was taken to the Army's Clapton Congress Hall, and an estimated 50,000 people came to her lying in state. The funeral service was held on Monday 13 October in Olympia's vast arena. The next day Catherine's body was processed from the Army's International Headquarters in Queen Victoria Street to Abney Park Cemetery. Three thousand officers marched in the procession; crowds

167. Booth, *Practical Religion*; Booth, *Aggressive Christianity*; Booth, *Godliness*; Booth, *Life & Death*; Booth, *Church & State*; Booth, *Popular Christianity*.

168. Booth, *On the Banks of the River*, 143.

169. Booth, *The Officers' Review*, "My Mother."

170. Booth, *On the Banks of the River*, 16–17.; Irvine, *God's Soldier*, 671.

171. Booth-Tucker, *Catherine Booth*, I:418.

172. *Ibid.*, II:442.

thronged the four-mile route. Admission to the cemetery was limited to 10,000.¹⁷³

In its obituary the *Methodist Times* described Catherine as the Army's "inspiring soul" and "restraining genius."¹⁷⁴ According to her son Bramwell, "In the early days of the Salvation Army movement her hand was upon many matters to an extent unknown to anyone outside the inner circle."¹⁷⁵ Conferences on anxious or difficult matters were held at times and in places that enabled Catherine's participation.¹⁷⁶ Catherine had the capacity to "at once discern and fasten on the potentialities of a situation and carry us all to the future outcome of the thing proposed".¹⁷⁷

While the Founder had the creative genius, she had the analytical mind. He [William] made things, she improved them. He inspired the Army, raised its colours (though literally the Army flag was her idea, and the design finally resolved upon was hers), pointed its weapons, and ever urged it forward to new fields of labour. She thought out the why and wherefore of it all, and in her more cultured sphere justified the Army's methods to circles which, accustomed to conventional religious expression, were shocked by ours. And further, she enhanced the reasonableness and beauty and value of the work we were doing in our own eyes. She discerned, and helped us to discern, the philosophy behind the roughness and awkwardness and seeming contradictions of the struggle, and strengthened the Founder's hands in a hundred ways.¹⁷⁸

Bramwell reflected sadly, "Her voice is silent now, and her chair in the inner counsels is empty. It is a terrible and irreparable loss."¹⁷⁹

THE PURPOSE OF THIS BOOK

Catherine Booth was the principal architect of The Salvation Army's theology; her Salvationism gave birth to a movement within the church marked by extraordinarily effective cross-cultural mission, an apparently complete acceptance of the place of women in ministry, and an astonishing optimism

173. *Ibid.*, I:463–90.

174. Booth, *On the Banks of the River*, 146.

175. Booth, *These Fifty Years*, 22.

176. *Ibid.*

177. *Ibid.*

178. *Ibid.*, 22–23.

179. Booth, *On the Banks of the River*, 16.

regarding the potential of human lives transformed by grace. In William and Catherine's life together it was she who provided the intellectual and theological foundation and framework for their shared mission. In so far as the radical moves and departures of the movement sprang from the theological convictions of its founders, the source lay with Catherine.

Krista Valtanen's doctoral study of Catherine identifies and analyses the explicit topics of Catherine's exhortations. However, Valtanen concludes, "Beside Booth's expressed theology, there is a strong implied theology that this study has not been able to capture in its entirety. In reality, it seems that Booth's expressed theology is driven by her implied theology."¹⁸⁰ The "implied"—or rather implicit and embedded—theology to which Valtanen refers is the hidden skeletal structure which gives coherence and consistency to her exhortations. Catherine's Salvationism finds fullest expression in the addresses delivered between 1879 and 1887, which were mostly prepared in brief outline and presented with great freedom. There are no scholarly references and footnotes. They were not addressed to the academy but in the most part to educated and enquiring audiences who were familiar with the religious controversies of the time, but who in Catherine's view also desperately needed to hear the gospel. In these addresses Catherine gave final expression to the ideas she had developed and refined over her lifetime.

A close reading of these addresses reveals that Catherine did, in fact, give sufficiently precise expression to her theological ideas for the underlying structure of her thought to be reconstructed and its formative influences analyzed. Although many of her exhortations in these addresses were topical and contextual, there was a strong doctrinal core which was expressed consistently—certainly in the published versions of her exhortations. The underlying theology can be discerned, not so much by reading between the lines (a method which might rightly be questioned), but by reading out of those sections, sometimes noting sentences or even phrases, where Catherine sets her ideas in their doctrinal context. The recent publication of Catherine and William's correspondence and the rediscovery and publication of Catherine's journal and reminiscences has provided another rich source for Catherine's thinking on theological matters.¹⁸¹ The purpose

180. Valtanen, "Catherine Booth," 271.

181. Although Catherine and William's correspondence has previously been accessible through the collections in the British Library and The Salvation Army's heritage centre, Catherine's handwriting, legible only by means of a close and necessarily slow scrutiny, has in practice proved to be a stumbling block to the analysis of her ideas.

of this book is, therefore, by means of a close reading of these primary sources, to discover and then to lay bare the underlying structure of Catherine Booth's Salvationism, to examine its characteristic features, to identify its sources, and to consider the extent of its abiding influence.

Catherine was co-founder of a *Salvation Army*. Consequently this exploration has two parts. The first three chapters examine Catherine's doctrine of salvation, which embraced the doctrines of justification and sanctification. Her soteriology had ecclesiological implications and resulted in the birth of an Army. The following three chapters examine Catherine's doctrines of church, ministry, and sacraments as they sprang from her doctrine of salvation.

SAMPLE