



THE SALVATION ARMY INTERNATIONAL HERITAGE CENTRE SUBJECT GUIDE

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1885:

THE MAIDEN TRIBUTE OF MODERN BABYLON AND THE ELIZA ARMSTRONG CASE

This guide offers an overview of archives and published sources available at the International Heritage Centre relating to the campaign by The Salvation Army, *The Pall Mall Gazette* and others to encourage the passage through Parliament of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in 1885. You can find descriptions of a large number of our records in our online catalogue.

Background

Following sustained efforts by social purity campaigners such as **Josephine Butler**, a Criminal Law Amendment Bill was introduced to Parliament in 1883. One of the key amendments it proposed was raising the age of female sexual consent from 13 to 16. By 1885 the Bill had still not been passed and looked set to be abandoned.

The Salvation Army was one of the groups that supported the Bill. The commencement of women's rescue work in Whitechapel in 1884 had opened Salvation Army leaders' eyes to the widespread exploitation of teenage girls. Consequently, The Salvation Army became involved in efforts to garner public support for the Bill.



Its efforts included mass meetings to raise awareness of the need for greater protection of young girls and a petition that gathered 250 000 signatures in just a few weeks. **Catherine Booth**, the wife of **General William Booth** and 'mother' of The Salvation Army, also wrote several letters to Queen Victoria which were printed in The Salvation Army newspaper *The War Cry* alongside the replies received from representatives of the Queen.

However, The Salvation Army's most sensational act was to collaborate with **William Thomas Stead**, the editor of the popular London newspaper *The Pall Mall Gazette*, in preparing a series of articles published under the common title 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon'. The series was designed as a shocking exposé of the many faces of vice in contemporary London.

Evidence to support the series was gathered by various means. Some came from the experiences of residents in The Salvation Army's refuge for women, but the most controversial evidence was the product of a staged investigation in which The Salvation Army played an active role.

In this investigation **Rebecca Jarrett**, a reformed prostitute and procuress who had recently received assistance in The Salvation Army's rescue home, was asked by The Salvation Army's Chief of Staff, **Bramwell Booth**, to procure a girl of 13. Without actually being physically harmed or violated, the girl was put through the

motions of what a child sold into prostitution would experience in order to demonstrate how easily this could be achieved. After steps such as ascertaining her virginity had been completed, the child was placed in the care of The Salvation Army in France while the 'Maiden Tribute' revelations were published.

Although the printed story used the false name 'Lily', the girl, whose real name was **Eliza Armstrong**, was recognised by her mother. Charges including abduction and indecent assault were brought against WT Stead, Rebecca Jarrett, Bramwell Booth, and three others. Bramwell Booth was acquitted but Stead and Jarrett were convicted and sent to prison.



Scene in the Case of Eliza Armstrong at Bow Street, London.

Nonetheless, the public outcry that had been fueled by the exposé created sufficient pressure to hurry the Bill through Parliament and the Criminal Law Amendment Act became law in August 1885.

WHAT MATERIAL DO WE HAVE?

ARCHIVES

Women's Social Work records

Hanbury Street and Navarino Road Refuge

The residents' statement book that was kept by the officers in charge of the Hanbury Street and Navarino Road refuges [HSNR/1] includes the statement that was recorded for Rebecca Jarrett when she was assisted by The Salvation Army in November 1884 (statement no. 60).

The book also includes the statements of several other girls whose experiences were adapted for use in 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' series. For further details, see Catherine Taylor's thesis *'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon': A Re-Examination of the Role of the Salvation Army* (Birkbeck, University of London, 2014) [THESES/177].

ARCHIVES

Personal papers

William T Stead collection

Press cutting. 'Why I went to prison', by W T Stead, 1910 [WTS/1]

The Pall Mall Gazette, July-September 1885 [WTS/2]

Eight editions of *The Pall Mall Gazette* including 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' issues (no. 6336 - no. 6340 vol.XLII; 6-10 July) and three issues referring to the Eliza Armstrong case (no. 6392, no. 6396 - no. 6397 vol.XLII; 9, 14 and 15 September).

The Review of Reviews, 1912 [WTS/3]

Obituary issue containing tributes to WT Stead following his death on the Titanic. Includes illustrations and references relating to the 'Maiden Tribute' campaign and Stead's imprisonment.

Press cuttings, 1985-1987 [WTS/5]

Includes two newspaper articles commemorating the centenary of the 'Maiden Tribute' campaign in 1985.

Rebecca Jarrett collection

Correspondence, 1884-1897 [RJ/1]

The letters in this file are all thought to have been sent to Florence and Bramwell Booth. The majority are from Rebecca Jarrett. However, the file also includes nine letters about Jarrett from other correspondents: seven letters from Josephine Butler while Jarrett was in her care in Winchester; one from Captain Susan 'Hawker' Jones; and one from Jane Milne. Letters RJ/1/15-RJ/1/20 date from the period of the 'Maiden Tribute' events, and letters RJ/1/21-RJ/1/26 were written in the months following Jarrett's release from prison.

Memoirs and autobiographies, early twentieth century [RJ/2]

Four accounts of the life of Rebecca Jarrett. At least one [RJ/2/1] is written by Jarrett, while the origins of the three typescripts are unclear. Their titles are:

RJ/2/1, 'Rebecca Jarrett: Her experiences written by herself' (in the first person)

RJ/2/2, 'Rebecca Jarrett: written by her own self' (in the first person)

RJ/2/3, Untitled (account of the beginning of Rebecca Jarrett's association with The Salvation Army) (in the first person)

RJ/2/4, 'Rebecca Jarrett' (in the third person)

Press cuttings relating to Rebecca Jarrett, 1885-1989 [RJ/3]

Cuttings from Winchester Observer and County News, 29 August 1885 and Bella, 13 May 1989. Also 'Spare Rib: a women's liberation magazine' June 1985 (includes the article 'Two Women from Different Worlds: Josephine Butler and Rebecca Jarrett' by Amanda Sebestyen).

Catherine Booth collection

Correspondence, 1875-1890 [PCB/1]

Includes a series of letters from Catherine Booth to Queen Victoria about the Parliamentary Bill for the Protection of Young Girls and the Eliza Armstrong trial with the replies received from the Queen's representatives, June-November 1885. Also includes a letter to Samuel Smith re 'the coming legislation', August 1885, and a letter to Mr Crossly [sic] re Bramwell Booth's tribunal, 28 September 1885.

Bramwell Booth collection

Correspondence as Chief of the Staff, 1881-1912 [PBB/1/2]

Includes a letter from Bramwell Booth to WT Stead re Eliza Armstrong, 11 August [1885].

Notes, c1885-c1925 [PBB/3/2]

Includes a page of notes headed 'The Armstrong Case' written by Bramwell Booth, [c1885-c1925].

Chief of the Staff diary, 1886 [PBB/4/2/1]

Official diary of Bramwell Booth as Chief of the Staff for 1886. Includes references to Stead's release from prison and other comments relating to the 'Maiden Tribute' affair.

Catherine Bramwell-Booth collection

Catherine Bramwell-Booth was the eldest daughter of Florence and Bramwell Booth. In addition to her own papers, her collection includes family papers that belonged to her parents and grandparents.

'My Father', c1930s [CBB/3/2]

Short article entitled 'My Father (General Bramwell Booth, C.H., by Commissioner Catherine Bramwell-Booth)', 3 pages. Mentions his role in the 'Maiden Tribute' affair.

Letters responding to 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' and the Eliza Armstrong case, 1885 [CBB/8/1/1/5]

Letters sent to William Booth, Catherine Booth and Bramwell Booth in response to the *Pall Mall Gazette* series 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' and the subsequent criminal proceedings relating to Eliza Armstrong, July-December 1885.

Diaries of Florence Booth, 1885-1886 [CBB/8/3]

The official diaries of Florence Booth for 1885 [CBB/8/3/1] and 1886 [CBB/8/3/2] include entries relating to Eliza Armstrong, the trial of her husband Bramwell Booth, and Rebecca Jarrett's imprisonment and subsequent release. The 1885 diary is currently on display in our museum's Social Justice gallery.

ARCHIVES

Photographic collections

We hold photographs of William and Catherine Booth, Bramwell and Florence Booth, Josephine Butler, Rebecca Jarrett and WT Stead. Our photographic collections are subject to ongoing cataloguing so please enquire for details.

ARCHIVES

International Headquarters Departments

Editorial and Literary Department

Photograph of poster for 'conference on the protection of young girls' chaired by Samuel Morley MP, with speakers including Catherine Booth and Josephine Butler, July 1885 [EDL/2/1/3]

Correspondence between Major Cyril Barnes and Florence Booth re Rebecca Jarrett, 1954 [EDL/7/6/1]

This correspondence formed part of the research for a book on Captain Susan 'Hawker' Jones, who took Rebecca Jarrett to Canada following her release from prison to assist with Salvation Army work there.

Public Relations Department

Annual reports and reviews, 1885 and 1886 [PR/5/1]

The statements of accounts published in 'The Salvation War 1885' and 'The Advance of The Salvation Army in 1886' include details of the 'Stead Defence Fund'. The Stead Defence Fund appears in the 'General Spiritual Fund' section of the 1885 statement and in the 'Rescue Homes' section in 1886. The 1886 report also includes a list of donors to the Stead Defence Fund with the sum given by each donor (p34).

A brief narrative description of the Armstrong abduction trial and the surrounding events also appears in Chapter 15 of 'The Salvation War 1885', entitled 'Shall we be smashed?'. Additional copies of this report are available in our library [H/30; RARE BOOKS/7].

Correspondence re proposed BBC television play about the Maiden Tribute campaign, 1956-1958 (correspondents include Catherine Bramwell-Booth, Charles Terrot, Rodney Acland and Commissioner M Owen Culshaw) [PR/1/1]

PUBLISHED SOURCES

Salvation Army periodicals

Only two Salvation Army periodicals were in circulation in 1885. These were:

The War Cry, 1879-present [PER/23]

From July-December 1885 *The War Cry* includes regular coverage of the *Pall Mall Gazette* revelations, The Salvation Army petition for the protection of young girls, mass meetings, Catherine Booth's letters to Queen Victoria, and the Armstrong trial. Coverage relating to the imprisoned parties continues until May 1886.

In later years *The War Cry* includes obituaries of Josephine Butler (d.1906), WT Stead (d.1912), and Rebecca Jarrett (d.1928), as well as the Booth family members. In some cases, the obituaries recount the events of 1885.

All the World, 1884-2013 [PER/1]

Two articles about the Armstrong trial appeared in *All the World* in 1885. These were:

'A cape view of the Armstrong case' (a South African perspective on the events), October 1885, pp247-248

'God's deliverance in the Armstrong case' December 1885, pp296-298

However, Salvation Army periodicals introduced later have occasionally published retrospective pieces about the events. These include but are not limited to:

The Deliverer, 1889-1993 [PER/6]

'Rebecca Jarrett's Reparation' and other articles, April 1928, pp6-7, 9

'An Eighty Year's War', February-March 1946, p207

The Staff Review, 1922-1931 [PER/20]

'A Fight in 1885 with the Dragon for Innocence and Purity', October 1924 pp324-340

Year Book, 1906-present [PER/28]

'Morality Campaigns East and West', 1945, pp13-14

PUBLISHED SOURCES

Biographies and memoirs

The Booth family

Most biographies of William Booth include some description of the events surrounding the enactment of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, so only those that include a chapter or more on the subject are listed here.

Begbie, Harold, *The Life of General William Booth: The Founder of The Salvation Army*, Volume II (Macmillan: New York, 1920) [X/BOO.3a and RARE BOOKS/233]. In particular: Chapter 4 'The Purity Crusade' which includes transcripts of letters between William and Catherine Booth about the campaign and trial, the originals of which have not survived. Also available as an abridged edition under the title *William Booth: Founder of The Salvation Army*, Volume II (Macmillan: New York, 1926) [X/BOO.4a].

Bennett, David (Malcolm), *William Booth and The Salvation Army* (Marshall Pickering: Basingstoke, 1986) [X/BOO.64]. In particular: Chapter 27 'Fighting child abuse', Chapter 28 'Gathering evidence', Chapter 29 'The storm breaks', and Chapter 30 'Opposition mounts'. Also available in a US edition under the title *William Booth* (Bethany House: Minneapolis, 1986) [X/BOO.65]

—————, *The General: William Booth, Volume 2 - The Soldier* (Xulon Press: 2003) [X/BOO.67b]. In particular: Chapter 27 'Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' and Chapter 28 'The Trials'.

————— (ed), *The Letters of William and Catherine Booth (Founders of The Salvation Army)* (Camp Hill Publications: Brisbane, 2003) [X/BOO.68]. Reproduces the letters transcribed in Begbie's *The Life of General William Booth* [X/BOO.3A and RARE BOOKS/233].

Booth, Bramwell, *Echoes and Memories* (Hodder and Stoughton: London, 1925) [BOO/210]. Also available in various other editions including a 1978 International Congress edition with a preface by Catherine Bramwell-Booth [BOO/211-212a].

Booth-Tucker, Frederick de Latour, *The Life of Catherine Booth: The Mother of The Salvation Army*, Volume III (International Headquarters of The Salvation Army: London, 1893) [X/BOO.101 [3]; X/BOO.101a [3]; RARE BOOKS/245c]. In particular: Chapter 99 'The Purity Agitation. 1885' and Chapter 100 'The Great Dust Trick. 1885'. Also available in various other editions including an abridged edition.

Bramwell-Booth, Catherine, *Bramwell Booth* (Rich and Cowan: London, 1933) [X/BOO.201 and X/BOO.201a]

—————, *Catherine Booth: The Story of her Loves* (Hodder and Stoughton: London, 1970) [X/BOO.115]. Also available in an abridged edition (Hodder and Stoughton: London, 1973) [X/BOO.116].

Collier, Richard, *The General Next to God: The story of William Booth and The Salvation Army* (Collins: London: 1965) [X/BOO.35]. In particular: Chapter 5 'It Doesn't Even Raise the Neighbours'.

Fairbank, Jenty, *For Such a Time: The story of the young Florence Booth* (Salvation Books: London, 2007) [X/BOO.242]

Gauntlett, S Carvosso, *Knight Errant's Crusade: The Story of W. Bramwell Booth, C.H.* (Salvationist Publishing and Supplies: London, [1948]). This is a pamphlet which is available in various editions and as part of several collections [Pam.339; Pam.778; X/9; X/12; X/16].

Green, Roger J, *Catherine Booth: A Biography of the Cofounder of The Salvation Army* (Baker Books: Grand Rapids, 1996) and (Monarch: Crowburgh, 1997) [X/BOO.125 and X/BOO.125a]

Hattersley, Roy, *Blood and Fire: William and Catherine Booth and their Salvation Army* (Little, Brown and Company: London, 1999) [X/BOO.66]. In particular: Chapter 16 'In Modern Babylon'.

Le Feuvre, Cathy, *William and Catherine: The love story of the founders of The Salvation Army, told through their letters* (Monarch Books: Oxford, 2013) [X/BOO.72]. In particular: Chapter 17 which reproduces the letters transcribed in Begbie's *The Life of General William Booth* [X/BOO.3A and RARE BOOKS/233].

Ludwig, Charles, *Mother of an Army* (Bethany House: Minneapolis, 1987) and (Salvationist Publishing and Supplies, Ltd; Kingsway Publications: Eastbourne, 1988) [X/BOO.122 and X/BOO.122a]

Stead, W T, *Mrs Booth of The Salvation Army* (James Nisbet and Co, Ltd: London, 1900) [X/BOO.110a and RARE BOOKS/253]. Reprinted in 1979 [X/BOO.110b]. Also available in a US edition under the title *Life of Mrs Booth: The Founder of The Salvation Army* (The Salvation Army: New York, 1900) [RARE BOOKS/254].

Yaxley, Trevor with Vanderwal, Carolyn, *William & Catherine: The Life and Legacy of the Booths Founders of The Salvation Army* (Bethany House: Minneapolis: 2003) [X/BOO.70]. In particular: Chapter 9 'On Trial for Righteousness: The Armstrong Case (1885)'.

Josephine Butler

Butler, A S G, *Portrait of Josephine Butler* (Faber and Faber: London, 1954) [X/BUT.3]

Johnson, George W and Lucy (eds), *Josephine Butler: An autobiographical memoir* (J W Arrowsmith Ltd: London, 1928) [X/BUT.1]

Stead, W T, *Josephine Butler: A Life Sketch* (Morgan and Scott: London, 1887) [RARE BOOKS/263]

W T Stead

Brake, Laurel; King, Ed; Luckhurst, Roger; and Mussell, James (eds), *W T Stead: Newspaper Revolutionary* (The British Library: London, 2012) [X/STE.1]. In particular: Tilley, Elizabeth 'Christinanity, Journalism, and Popular Print: W T Stead and The Salvation Army', pp59-76.

Eckley, Grace, *Maiden Tribute: A Life of W T Stead* (Xlibris: Philadelphia, 2007) [X/STE.3]

Whyte, Frederic, *The Life of W T Stead: Volume I* (Jonathan Cape Limited: London, 1925) [X/STE.2]

PUBLISHED SOURCES

Histories

Coutts, Frederick (General), 'Truth Fallen in the Street', in *Bread for my Neighbour: An Appreciation of the Social Action and Influence of William Booth* (Hodder and Stoughton: London, 1978 and 1983) [S.39 and S.59]

Fairbank, Jenty, *Booth's Booths: Social Service Beginnings in The Salvation Army* (International Headquarters of The Salvation Army: London: 1983) [S.40]. This book only mentions the 'Maiden Tribute' events in passing but provides useful context.

Gauntlett, S Carvosso, 'Britain's "Maiden Tribute"', in *Social Evils The Army Has Challenged* (Salvationist Publishing and Supplies, Ltd: London, 1946) [S.29 and S.30]

Le Feuvre, Cathy, *The Armstrong Girl. A child for sale: the battle against the Victorian sex trade* (Lion Books: Oxford, 2015) [S.73]

Moyles, R G, 'WT Stead's "Maiden Tribute": The Salvation Army and the Criminal Law Amendment Act', in *The Salvation Army and the Public: Historical and Descriptive Essays* (AGM Publications: Edmonton, 2000) [H/200]

—————, 'Essay 8. The Salvation Army and the "Maiden Tribute" Affair: Reconciling Two Opposing Views', in *Exploring Salvation Army History: Essays of Discovery* (AGM Publications: Edmonton, 2009) [H/225]

Plowden, Alison, *The Case of Eliza Armstrong: 'A Child of 13 Bought for £5'* (BBC: London, 1974) [S.51]

Sandall, Robert, 'Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885-1890', in *The History of The Salvation Army Volume Three: Social Reform and Welfare Work, 1883-1953* (Thomas Nelson and Sons: London, 1955) [H/1-3]

Search, Pamela, 'Prisons and Prostitution: The beginnings of The Army's social work', in *Happy Warriors: The story of the Social Work of the Salvation Army* (Arco Publishers Limited: London, 1956) [S.31]

Stafford, Ann, *The Age of Consent* (Hodder and Stoughton: London, 1964) [S.50]

Terrot, Charles, *The Maiden Tribute: A study of the white slave traffic of the nineteenth century* (Frederick Muller Limited: London, 1959) [S.52]

Unsworth, Madge, *Maiden Tribute* (Salvationist Publishing and Supplies, Ltd: London, 1949 and 1954) [S.48 and S.49]

Walker, Pamela, 'The "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon"', in *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (University of California Press: Berkley, 2001) [H/198]

THESES

Ball, Gillian, *Practical Religion: A Study of The Salvation Army's Social Services for Women 1884-1914* (University of Leicester, 1987) [THESES/9]

David, Melissa Catherine, "*Unpacking meanings*": *Competing narratives or versions of the same story in the Salvation Army Archive and how they affect interpretation* (Birkbeck, University of London, 2015) [THESES/182]

Edwards, Rachel, *A Light in Darkest England: The social contribution of the Salvation Army to late Victorian society, with special reference to London* (University of Southampton New College, 2003) [THESES/48]. In particular, Chapter 2 'Prostitution.

Pemberston, Wendy Ann, *Characters Restored. Models Re-conditioned. Services Rendered: A comparative analysis of The Salvation Army's London-based social work aimed at converting and 'customizing' society's 'used women' 1884-1894* (University of Warwick, 1992) [THESES/121]

Stubbings, Emily, *Spirituality, selfhood and self-representation: a study of two Salvationist women in England, 1884-1935* [re Rebecca Jarrett and Florence Booth] (University of Oxford, 2015) [THESES/189]. Includes an appendix of notes on the Rebecca Jarrett letters [RJ/1].

Taylor, Catherine, *'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon': A Re-Examination of the Role of the Salvation Army* (Birkbeck, University of London, 2014) [THESES/177]

MUSEUM OBJECTS

Prison uniform of WT Stead

The khaki uniform worn by WT Stead while he was incarcerated in Holloway Prison is on display in our museum's Social Justice gallery [object ref. M105]. It consists of a woollen jacket with number 'B 2/8', a woollen cap and a cotton waistcoat.

ARTWORK

In our artwork collection we hold four mock courtroom sketches of the Armstrong trial that were produced for use in the 1974 BBC drama-documentary 'The Case of Eliza Armstrong'.

WHAT MATERIAL IS ELSEWHERE?

ARCHIVES

The Women's Library, London School of Economics

The *Josephine Butler Letters Collection* [3JBL] includes references to Rebecca Jarrett and 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon'.

The *Autograph Letter Collection: Letters Related to William Thomas Stead* [9/11] includes letters discussing the Criminal Law Amendment controversy, Stead's term in jail and his emotional state.

The *Records of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene* [4/BVA/C/2] include various papers concerning the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and a copy of 'The Maiden Tribute (a modern Babylon)', an original screenplay by David Brown and Rebecca Bass, 1990.

The *Papers of Henry Joseph Wilson* [3/HJW] include a file entitled 'THE STEAD FILE', which contains papers relating to the *Pall Mall Gazette* investigation and the Stead and Booth Defence Fund.

The *Records of the National Vigilance Association* [4/NVA], an organisation founded in August 1885 to increase the pressure to pass the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, may also be of interest.

Newcastle University Library

The *Frederic Whyte Papers* [FW] include a series of 'Material concerning the Life of Stead, 1885-1925'. Frederic Whyte was Stead's biographer.

University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archives

The *Papers of Josephine Butler* [JB] include a letter [JB 1/1/1885/07/00(II)] relating to the 'Maiden Tribute' campaign, The Salvation Army and Rebecca Jarrett.

The British Library

Pamphlet, *Babylon; or the "Pall Mall Gazette" and Salvation Army on the corruption, cruelties, and crime of London. (Compiled by J. C. H.)*. (Publishing Depot of the Salvation Army: London, 1885)

ONLINE RESOURCES

The *WT Stead Resource Site* (<http://www.attackingthedevil.co.uk/>) includes full transcripts of all the 'Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' articles, and of the subsequent court proceedings at Bow Street and the Old Bailey. It also includes transcripts of a selection of related press coverage and correspondence.

The British Library's *Untold Lives Blog* includes two posts by Margaret Makepeace about what became of Eliza Armstrong in later life:

'Whatever happened to Eliza Armstrong?', <http://blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2012/04/whatever-happened-to-eliza-armstrong.html>, 16 April 2012

'Eliza Armstrong - still elusive!', <http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/untoldlives/2016/03/eliza-armstrong-still-elusive.html>, 21 March 2016