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The Battle for Benevolence: Scientific Disciplinary Control vs. "Indiscriminate Relief": Lexington Associated Charities and the Salvation Army, 1900 – 1918

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This historical case study explores the conflicts that emerged between the Scientific Charity Organization movement and the evangelical Salvation Army. At issue were two sets of reform styles, each legitimated by distinct sources of authority. The Salvation Army's practice was anchored in a religious understanding. Scientific Charity, battling for hegemonic control, espoused a rising positivistic worldview and championed disciplinary techniques for sorting the poor into binary categories of worthy and unworthy. This study illuminates the changing nature of social relations between charity workers and recipients and the construction of professional welfare methods.

The Progressive Era was a pivotal time for enlarging and professionalizing the field of charity work. Social workers sought to consolidate a professional identity, elevate professional prestige and privilege, and extend diagnostic and discursive fields of expertise. Social work professionals introduced a vast array of surveillance techniques such as investigation, documentation, classification, and assessment. They defined new areas of pathology and widened the net of normative assumptions made about character, adjustment, intimacy, morality, and the wholesome personality.

The work of Michael Foucault (1978, 1979) raises important themes for guiding the interpretation of early social work practice and professionalization. Foucault's approach calls for a close inspection of the techniques of expert power such as the web of observational, assessment, and documentary practices used to classify, arrange, and order people. His work provides

a new way of understanding power in "disciplinary/knowledge regimes." For Foucault, power is "constitutive" rather than "repressive." Professional knowledge, according to Foucault, creates the very problems that it seeks to resolve.

Under the leadership of charity organization societies, social workers implemented new methods for sorting immigrants and native-born poor into categories of worthy and unworthy as part of the rising tide of disciplinary professionalism during the Progressive Era. The construction of social experts who championed these disciplinary practices significantly reshaped the discursive and institutional practices of benevolence as well as the social relations of charity workers, donors, and recipients. Yet, as this historical case study illustrates, the imposition of a professionalized order and practice was not a tidy conquest. Older religious understandings of charity provided a counterpoint to the newly emerging scientific and business-like approaches engineered by social work experts (Kunzel, 1988).

This case study examines the battle for benevolence between the Salvation Army and the Associated Charities of Lexington, Kentucky. In this battle to control the practice of charity, the professionally-identified Associated Charities sought to discredit the evangelically-driven practices of the Salvation Army as sentimental and indiscriminate. At war were two sets of discursive practices and institutional forms, each legitimated by distinct sources of authority. The conflict between the methods and goals of the Salvation Army and those of scientific charity was a battle for hegemony between world views—an older world view in decline, anchored in religious understandings, and a rising positivistic world view legitimized by a new scientific ideology and disciplinary techniques.

Scientific Charity in Lexington, Kentucky

This is the day of organization; the tramps, beggars, and criminals are organized; they have signs, gripes, passwords, and even newspapers. It's time for organized charity (Proceedings, Kentucky State Conference on Charities and Corrections, 1904, p. 3).

The Lexington Associated Charities was established in February, 1900, in response to a call from the mayor to the "Ladies

of Lexington" for help in managing the demands for relief that resulted from severe winter weather that year. Madeline Breckinridge, elected President of the Associated Charities in 1903, was heavily involved in the organization's creation and remained a life-long member. Married to the editor of the *Lexington Herald*, Breckinridge had access to a public forum through which to influence Lexington's civic culture. A strong advocate of women's suffrage, she wrote a weekly women's page that "was not to be given up wholly to discussing fashion...instead anything from cabbages to politics will be treated" (Breckinridge papers, letter to Charities and Commons, February, 1906). As a granddaughter of Henry Clay, she also had at her command the older class prerogatives of the southern gentry. In the area of social reform work, Breckinridge was associated with such charity experts as Florence Kelly, Jane Addams and Sophonisba Breckinridge, her sister-in-law, biographer and a pioneer social work educator at the University of Chicago, each of whom she called upon for speaking visits to Lexington. She won national recognition as an officer in the National Conference on Social Work.

According to the Lexington Associated Charities, charity work was to be redefined as a scientific and business-like practice. It should organize the philanthropic resources of the community efficiently, provide centralized administration, utilize investigative methods to weed out unworthy applicants and avoid weakening the character structure of the poor. To achieve these goals, the Associated Charities hired a full-time secretary, ran a temporary shelter in conjunction with a woodyard for evaluating work habits, conducted a stamp saving program, and utilized four friendly visitors.

From the standpoint of Associated Charities, effective relief was "scientific charity," engineered by unsentimental experts practicing scientific investigations and treatments. The Associated Charities thus sought to purge sentimental practices from charity work and replace them with rationalized actions. As Breckinridge contended, "Scientific Charity is a term bestowed upon the method of relieving the poor that seeks a basis for its actions not in sentimentality but reason" (*Herald*, March 26,

1900). The rhetoric of scientific rationality, replete with engineering metaphors, was embodied in the 1914 Associated Charities Annual Report. Here, "old charity" was described as:

an engine with no destination, no engineer, no rail to run on, no brakes, too much steam. It needs, systemizing, harmonizing, and modernizing. Old relief was based upon the story the person could tell. The new is based on discovered and real need. Because the need of families and individuals who come to us mark out so plainly the lines of march for the armies of construction, we may lay claim to the vanguard.

A new set of techniques, investigation and documentation, constituted the disciplinary tenets of scientific charity (Watson, 1922; Lies, 1914). As Foucault (1979, p. 189) contends,

Disciplinary power imposes on those whom it subjects a principal of compulsory visibility. The examination that places an individual in a field of surveillance also situates them in a network of writing; it engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them. The procedures of examination are accompanied at the same time by a system of intense registration and of documentary accumulation.

In the case of Lexington Associated Charities, compulsory visibility and surveillance of the poor became the hallmarks of its scientific charity work.

Investigation and documentation constitute what Foucault terms the "gaze," a technique of power/knowledge that creates a new form of controlling visibility. Foucault asserts that this form of power/knowledge is more deeply penetrating than earlier forms of power since it "leaves no zone of shade" (Foucault, 1979, p. 177). This heightened visibility is individualizing; it requires the detailed observation and surveillance of individuals, their habits and histories, and it redefines them as cases, thereby objectifying them. For Foucault the case is mute; "He is seen, but does not see, he is the object of information, never a subject in communication" (1979, p. 201).

In an address to the National Conference on Social Work, Hamilton (1923, p. 336) characterized the observational practices of scientific charity work as a "judgment of the eye." "One glass of beer," he added, "could render a home unsuitable forever."

Later, some versions of professional social work would move closer to a psychological model of practice that utilized what Foucault (1978) has called "the confessional" and the "hermeneutics of the psyche" to penetrate deeply into the subjective interiors of the objects of charity. But here, at an early stage of scientization and professionalization, spokespersons for scientific charities such as Breckinridge extended an objectivistic gaze that fell upon the exterior facade of need.

Case records from the Associated Charities in 1911 illustrate the visual rather than auditory judgments that structured their work and case narratives.

W. P. and his wife reported sick. Called and found home if it can be called such in such a state of extreme want, filth and squalor—fruit boxes used for furniture—swarms of flies—a bed so dirty that you couldn't tell the print of cloth—told them when they cleaned up help would be given. Called two days later and was refused admittance (Breckinridge papers, Library of Congress).

Such case records reflect the penetrating gaze of the trained professional, the expert eye. In them, the beneficiaries of aid were constituted as objects, sights, and appearances subject to professional scrutiny, but not subjects of a dialogical relationship.

The "gaze" was unidirectional and asymmetrical. Breckinridge provided a vivid illustration of this gaze when she brought what she termed "two exhibits" to the Kentucky State Conference on Charities and Corrections. These "exhibits" were two boys who were to be viewed by the audience as impetus for juvenile court reform. As noted in the proceedings of this conference (p. 8), the "appearance of the smaller boy was pitiful in the extreme and the exhibit was a striking argument for some agency that aided the home and attempted to reform him before he has become a criminal."

Investigation and surveillance were thus the gospels of the Associated Charities, essential for managing the indigent as well as for reducing sentimental and spontaneous acts of individual giving. Souplines, breadlines, holiday dinners, and direct hand-outs were interpreted as "small change charity" by Breckinridge

since such efforts did not investigate, the litmus test for worthiness, and, thus, were "indiscriminate" and "promiscuous." As seen by the Lexington Associated Charities, "small change charity" formed the heart of the social works of the Salvation Army. The latter's methods provided the impetus for a battle between the two movements. In this battle, the Salvation Army rejected the rhetoric of scientific rationality as well as the disciplinary practice of investigation that were the hallmarks of scientific charity.

Soup, Sleep, and Salvation—Evangelical Social Works

It [COS] believes in the survival of the fit, the Army believes in the salvation of the unfit (William Booth, quoted in Sandall, 1955, p. 84).

As Chambers (1986) and Magnuson (1977) point out, the rescue work of such groups as the Salvation Army, Volunteers of America, has been neglected since these groups often have been dismissed as irrelevant in the study of religion as well as social welfare history. Madeline Breckinridge's challenge to the Salvation Army thus provides not only an important source of information about the social works of the Salvation Army but also illustrates the contested terrain of early social work professionalization.

In 1890, with the publication of *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, the founder of the Salvation Army, William Booth, implemented a "social scheme" for responding to the miseries of the poor. The Salvationist's duty was to inject a Christian ethic into industrial society and to intervene when the state neglected the poor. For Salvationists, the dichotomy of worthiness and unworthiness that characterized the work of scientific charity was irrelevant since the redemptive powers of God undercut such distinctions. This approach was embodied in the popular Army motto, "Go for the souls and go for the worse" (Magnuson, 1977, p. 7) "God's Power," as manifested in the Salvationist's benevolent activities, was society's hope for a way out of the misery that many poor souls experienced.

To provide a "way out of misery," rescue homes, slum posts, shelters for the destitute and inebriates, and food depots were

established throughout the world. In the United States, Lighthouse, a food and shelter depot for men, was established in New York City in 1891 as was Daybreak, a shelter for women. Holiday dinners, coal and ice distribution, salvage brigades, and fresh air outings were also integral parts of Booth's social and salvation scheme.

Social works were an essential part of the Salvation Army's Christian mission. *The War Cry*, the Salvation Army's weekly magazine, called for concerted actions to further Booth's social scheme in order

to help these poor hungry helpless crowds for both this world and the next. We propose a basin of soup, to find a man a warm and clean sleeping place. In conjunction with this alleviation of temporal miseries of these homeless hungry ones, it is intended by meetings held mornings and evenings by the most earnest personnel to seek their salvation (quoted in Sandall, 1955, p. 68).

Thus, a spiritual basis was defined as the foundation for all social works. Booth declared: "All the social activity of the Army is the outcome of the Spiritual life of its members. All social service must be based on the spiritual, or it will amount to little in the end. The reclamation of men and women can only be carried out by divine cooperation" (in Sandall, 1955, p. xiv).

In contrast to the charity organizations' vocabulary of scientifically assessed worthiness, the Salvation Army's rhetoric carried the seeds of a more radical critique. As Ballington Booth, commander of the American Salvation Army said, "To right the social wrong by charity is like bailing the ocean with a thimble We must readjust our social machinery so that the producers of wealth become owners of wealth" (Magnuson, 1977, pp. 165–166). Such an analysis earned the support of Socialist leader, Eugene Debs (*War Cry*, September 4, 1897).

The Salvation Army employed tactics that might be called "guerrilla theatre" to convey the enthusiasm of conversion to the homeless, the unfed, and drunkards. Salvationists were ready to court ridicule and use sensational ploys to bring the message of God. Catherine Booth, married to William Booth, spoke of her first impulse to cross what had been a gendered line for the ministerial profession. "A strange compulsion seized

me. I must rise and speak. An inner voice taunted me. You will look like a fool. But the devil overreached himself. That is the point. I have never been ready to be a fool for Christ. Now I will be one" (quoted in Collier, 1965, p. 41).

Attention-getting became standard methodology for the Salvation Army's "fools for Christ." Salvationists used a variety of publicity measures, such as handbills recruiting the drunk or sober to attend meetings, and mock railway tickets offering passes on the Hallelujah Railroad, to reach out to the needy. Salvationists were known to lie in the snow and in coffins until an audience gathered before arising to give a stirring address. In New York City the Salvation Army inaugurated an annual Boozer's Day in 1909 that included a parade in which a band of Salvationists bearing a 10 foot whiskey bottle and pulling a wagon of bona fide outcasts rounded up drunks to attend the trial of John Barleycorn and receive a free Thanksgiving dinner. The "Hallelujah Lassies" flaunted gendered spatial restrictions by entering saloons. Additionally, the translation of popular songs into Salvation Army songs, marching bands, and uniforms befitting a fighting unit were used to formulate a distinctive image, inform an approach to conversion, and guide the hunt for those in need of reclamation.

The Salvation Army also established a different quality of relationship with the poor and outcast than did the charity organizations. The former launched a program of slum work in which teams of two "slum sisters" lived in depressed areas year-round. In setting up their slum post in Cincinnati, the "sisters brought no pictures to hang on the walls, no carpets or rugs for their floors, no flowers to grow in their window. Other people in slumdom did not have these things and the newcomers meant to live there as their neighbors across the hall did. . . (Salvation Army National Archives, Slum Sisters file, Undated). As Brigadier Bowen stated, "Our ammunition of war consisted of a broom, a scrubbing brush, a pail, and a Bible" (*The Social News*, July 1911). These workers wrote their own "slum songs" to capture their version of visiting, "singing of the sick, scrubbing floors, washing clothes, all gladly done because of Jesus' love" (Magnuson, 1977, P. 36). Additionally, "ministrations in the saloons" were a major part of the Army's

methods (*Secrets of Success in Slumland*, Undated). These activities went far beyond the "gaze" of visual judgments that governed the practice of friendly visiting by the Associated Charities to include a deeper involvement in the daily struggles of the poor.

As Kunzel (1988) notes in her study of the Florence Crittenton homes, evangelicals differed from professionally identified social workers in their approach to charity recipients. Evangelical workers sought to "reach down and clasp the hand of some sister and help her struggle up" (Kunzel, 1988, p. 24). Social workers, on the other hand, sought to redefine maternity homes as places of treatment, and replace sisterly ties with the professional-care relationship. Evangeline Booth, who assumed command of the American Salvation Army in 1906, attributed the success of the Army to its ability to establish familial relationships with the people that it served. She noted that in "Army homes" they never spoke of "fallen women" but rather of "sisters", never "cases" but always "our girls" or "sisters who have stumbled" (Magnuson, 1977, p. 86).

Thus, evangelical reform workers sought a different relationship and used a different vocabulary to define their reform work. Additionally, the Salvation Army opened its highest office, that of commander, to women, a position held by three different women in the years spanning 1896 through the 1920s. Such official leadership recognition for women was counter to the Associated Charities of Lexington that was continually seeking a male applicant for secretary after being warned in a 1918 review by the American Association for Organizing Charity that its board "had an unduly large proportion of ladies." Thus, the Salvation Army provided a counterpoint in tone, approach, and practices to the Charity Organization societies which provoked not only debate at national conferences but local court battles in cities such as Lexington.

The Lexington Context for Disciplinary Control: Discrediting the Salvation Army

Beginning in 1905, when the Associated Charities and local unit of the Salvation Army failed to find a means of working together, Madeline Breckinridge initiated a twelve year struggle

against the Salvation Army that culminated in a court action in 1917. Her initial target was the Salvation Army's intention to establish a soup kitchen in 1905. In 1909, her concern over these activities resurfaced. In 1914, she initiated a new series of editorials in response to the Salvation Army's solicitations published in the *Lexington Leader*, the *Herald's* competitor.

In her struggle to discredit the Army, Breckinridge reprinted in her editorials many of the criticisms made at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, such as those of Solenberger (1906) and Rose (1906). Lexington readers were told that charity organizationists such as Solenberger (1906) viewed the Army as "un-American and ill-adapted to carry out progressive and rational measures of social relief" (Proceedings, NCCC, p. 366). Remarks of Reverend H. Rose, Vice President of the Newark Associated Charities, illustrate vividly the fundamental tension between the evangelical project of social redemption and the professional's task of social management, a dominant theme in Breckinridge's writings. Rose (1906, p. 506) asserted:

They do not reach the right people and they do not reach them in such a way as to permanently reform their character. If the Salvation Army were in dead earnest about the salvation of souls and reconstruction of character, would it not follow up even the bums and strive to elevate them and make it harder to gouge the public by using their free beds and living like vampires upon the public.

Throughout her campaign Breckinridge corresponded with Charity Organization societies in many other cities. The director of the Pittsburgh society wrote, "Let me tell you how glad that at least someone has emerged with the courage and the enterprise to oppose the institutional aggrandizement operations of the Salvation Army. But do not underestimate them. Look out for the note of injured innocence which is a clincher with the public" (Breckinridge papers, correspondence, 1917). The Youngstown society secretary promised to reactivate a committee at the National Conference of Social Work to look closely at the work of the Army (Breckinridge, correspondence, 1917).

Breckinridge also reported on battles in other communities such as Ashland, Kentucky, where the city had been prohibited from granting funds to the Army on the grounds that it was

a religious organization. She covered the battle in Los Angeles where the Municipal Charities Commission refused to endorse the Army, stating that the Army did not attain a "reasonable standard of efficiency", and four Army employees were placed under arrest for operating without a permit from the Commission (*War Cry*, October 10, 1914).

In 1917, Breckinridge escalated her battle with the Army by seeking court action against the city of Lexington for its allocation of \$720 to the Salvation Army in order to expand its emergency shelter. Mayor James Rodgers, in discussing the appropriation, had stated that he was "convinced that the Salvation Army dispenses the kind of aid that reaches a class of people not reached by others" (*Lexington Leader*, January 10, 1917).

Sophonisba Breckinridge (1921, p. 176) described this situation: "And in 1917, the great encounter came! It was one of the most heroic encounters ever engaged in. One knows not where to turn to analogy unless it be to the driving of the money changers from the temple." In justifying her efforts to win a court injunction against public funding of the Salvation Army, M. Breckinridge explained that "the present suit was undertaken by the writer largely because of the despairing conviction that this simple proposition would have never gotten into the heads of our salaried officials except by means of a fight and that it is worth trying to see if one fight could accomplish what painful and continued pleading, education, and agitation extending over 17 years could not accomplish" (*Herald*, August 5, 1917). In another editorial, she complained that "Lexington after some generations of promiscuous relief giving with the attendant pauperization is struggling to systematize her outdoor relief. To my mind, this is the important question involved" (M. Breckinridge papers, Box 708, 1917).

Breckinridge thus launched a relentless campaign against the Army. The most predominant theme in her attacks was the lack of investigation and scrutiny of relief cases by the Salvation Army. She noted:

of 34 people who the Salvation Army recorded as receiving some material aid, 24 have comprehensive and conclusive histories at the Associated Charities. Some of their record cards date back to

1908 and show considerable investigation. All were judged not to need material aid as the right treatment. One case in particular that the Salvation Army said was trustworthy, a woman who made and sold aprons, had, in fact, many entries as "adept beggar", "not assisted chronic beggar." There is no doubt that the Army encourages pauperism and absorbs sorely needed money for real aid to the poor who are manfully struggling to keep their heads above water (*Herald*, August 17, 1917).

In response to a solicitation plea in the *Lexington Leader* by the Salvation Army for clothing for a family of nine, Breckinridge continued her theme of documentation failure. She wrote that the mother in question had

the brilliant and very natural idea of availing herself of the overflowing charity of the Salvation Army. She proposes that the children go up and get what they can. Naturally they did not wear their best clothes. This lady has a long and interesting history which may be found at the juvenile court. Both parents are able-bodied and it has taken constant surveillance to prevent these children from begging on the streets. If the community desires to make paupers of these children, it can do so by adopting the methods of the Salvation Army (January 1, 1914, *Herald*).

In another editorial (*Herald*, July 31, 1917) Breckinridge asserted "the importance of ferreting out the causes of want and dependency through investigation" and illustrated the Salvation Army's failure to do so in the case of one Mr. C. "Mr. C. had appealed to the Army and received money for his sick wife. Investigation by the Associated Charities showed in fact he was separated from his wife for over five years, not contributing to her support, and that she was amply being cared for by her people."

Breckinridge critiqued the Salvation Army not only for its unscientific approach to reform but also its inefficiency. "The Salvation Army's careless answers demonstrate that there is no way that they can formulate a plan to lift a family out of poverty. They show no occupation, no record of families and friends who can help, and no answers to the question of have they been helped before" (*Herald*, August 29, 1917).

Another theme Breckinridge employed in her crusade against the Salvation Army was the contention that community

chaos and disorganization would ensue if the Salvation Army were allowed to carry out its "indiscriminate relief-giving" that encouraged "noaccounts" to flock to Lexington. "The Salvation Army's practice of the free soup kitchen is a soft snap for the impostor and for the fraud, and the no accounts who find pauperism easier and more pleasant than working will come in like flies to the honey pot. Wind of it will get around. The hobo is not an ignoramus; he reads the newspapers" (quoted in Breckinridge, 1921, p. 173). In another article, Breckinridge claimed that "industrial conditions are so good—work is so plentiful that homeless and wayfaring men at present usually belong not simply to the class of the unemployed but to the class of unemployable. There is no reason to attract them to Lexington; we have enough of our own and they are as a rule institutional cases who should not be cared for by the causal relief society" (*Herald*, January 11, 1917).

The Salvation Army also represented a threat to the Associated Charities' turf. Thus, Breckinridge sought to paint the Army as "outsiders," writing "Last autumn the officers of the Salvation Army after they had been in the city of Lexington less than two weeks said that they would give Christmas dinners to 500 needy and asked for contributions for that purpose. It seemed absurd that nonresidents should come to Lexington and within so short a time decide how many needy persons there would be on Christmas" (*Herald*, October 16, 1905). The same sentiments were reflected in 1914 (*Herald*, January 1) when Breckinridge wrote: "It constantly sends new officers into the community, who proceed to raise money to give dinner or baskets to 500 poor, 5,000 poor or whatever number is decided on as appropriate, without seeking to gain information of those who long studied the situation, and who stay by it year by year." On January 20, 1917, she wrote: "Lexington could reach salvation faster if she relied upon her own efforts rather than buying small change efforts from outsiders" (*Herald*).

The solicitation methods of the Salvation Army were also the target of Breckinridge's severe criticism. These methods, she asserted, were in violation of local laws, exploited army workers and the giving public, provided no accountability of results, and produced unhealthy competition with the Associated Charities

for limited funds. Especially repugnant to Breckinridge was the Army's practice of sending money to the national headquarters. In one editorial, she stated: "Competition in trade is good but not in charity. We don't need a rival emergency home managed by a foreign corporation" (*Herald*, January 11, 1917). The solicitation efforts of the Army's "tambourine lassies" in local saloons were also targeted for criticism. In a series of articles in the *Herald* (August 1, 3, and 6, 1917), Breckinridge called for the local police to enforce the laws prohibiting women to enter saloons. She illustrated her pleas with stories of army women forced to go into saloons against their will.

Further, the difficulty of obtaining reliable statistics from the Salvation Army was also emphasized: "Not even the recording angel himself, used to as he is to tangled and devious records, could tell with the Salvation Army books exactly what has been done in the way of relief" (*Herald*, June 11, 1917). In the same article, Breckinridge accused the Army of counting people twice and including its own workers to drive up its statistics. The benevolent public, she claimed, was "being duped and hypnotized by the lull of the tambourine . . ." (*Herald*, June 9, 1917).

Contesting the Disciplinary Professional Ethos

Despite Breckinridge's intensive campaign to discredit the Salvation Army at the 1917 court hearing, local resistance to the Associated Charities' rhetoric and practices was evident. Court testimony by the Mayor, Finance Commissioner and Chief of Police reveals not only support for the Salvation Army's social works, but a critique of the practices of Associated Charities, especially investigation. Such testimonies reveal that social work investigation in the Progressive Era was far from hegemonic. In response to the question, "What is the Salvation Army?", Mayor Rodgers replied, "They give prompt relief, they don't stop to investigate and let people suffer. That's what impressed me" (Breckinridge papers, Box 698, p. 9). The Mayor repeated this theme later in his testimony:

When they fail at Associated Charities, we sometimes give them aid. I mean they come here and present what looks like a pitiful

case and we refer them to Associated Charities and they answer, "We have been there and they will do nothing for us" Madeline Breckinridge can help me recall one such incident involving one of her servants, H., was it not? I thought if there was a mistake made, I would rather make it on the side of mercy; give relief and investigate afterwards was my idea (Breckinridge papers, Box 698, pgs. 26-27).

Chief of Police Reagan explained why the police did not refer to Associated Charities as frequently as to the Salvation Army.

I don't know if they are prepared for them and in fact the lodgers seem adverse to going to Associated Charities, they would rather go to the Salvation Army. I have heard persons say that the Associated Charities expected half a day's work for a meal and sometimes they aren't in a condition to work So they don't want to go where they are going to be asked about themselves or make any investigations as to whether they are objects of charity (Breckinridge papers, Box 698, p. 50).

Critiques of investigation and scientific charity were also echoed by local citizens. One citizen, in a letter to the editor signed "Fair Play," critiqued bureaucratic charity by saying, "Many hardened wretches would rather freeze or starve than be investigated and run the risk of getting into public print" (quoted in Hays, 1980, p. 75). Fair Play continued: "The simple announcement that a little local band of soldiers of the tambourine and drums, that after a year of holding themselves up to the ridicule and sneers of right-minded and comfortable philanthropists on the chance that some poor devil might be attracted by the noise long enough to have his conscience touched, should not be the cause of adverse comment" (*Herald*, October 17, 1905).

In contrast to the *Herald*, the *Lexington Leader* tended to be sympathetic to the work of the Salvation Army, not only covering their solicitation appeals but also giving them direct endorsements. As early as January 23, 1905, the *Leader* had supported the Salvation Army and its work in Lexington, calling it a "heroic band" that "easily ranks first in its great work of reaching and rescuing the fallen."

In 1917, the *Leader* continued to support the Army's request for funding. In an article on January 5, 1917, the *Leader* editorialized that "other cities considerably less pretentious than Lexington, have Salvation Army headquarters with accommodations to extend relief to the indigent, and Lexington can do as well to assist the Army with its real work helping people to help themselves." The *Lexington Herald* (August 5, 1917) reported that the editor of the *Leader* personally advocated funding for the Salvation Army and therefore did not cover the trial except for a front page article asserting that because of Breckinridge's suit, appropriations to all charities were blocked, thus creating much hardship (*Leader*, July 1917).

Breckinridge succeeded in blocking the appropriation to the Salvation Army in 1917 by her numerous court appeals (*Herald*, October 22, 1917), but her victory was short-lived and incomplete. The Associated Charities did not succeed in abolishing the relief work of the Salvation Army, in Lexington nor elsewhere. By 1920, neither the vocabulary nor the practices of either organization were hegemonic. Instead, both organizations continued to coexist and vie for discursive control throughout the early 20th century. Just as in Lexington, the Salvation Army continued to receive support for its approach to reform. In the Los Angeles battle that was reported by Breckinridge, the California Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Salvation Army and against the Municipal Charities Commission. In his ruling, Judge Henshaw wrote, "In the city of L.A. itself, its needy children go unfed and unclothed, its dependent womanhood unprotected and uncared for except for organized charities that have a permit. Surely, here, if anywhere, is the Organized Charity scrimped and iced in the name of a cautious, statistical Christ" (Decision of the Supreme Court of California, 1916). The Salvation Army had a strong base of support in the 1940s, as Leiby (1978) observed, and it remains an integral part of the social welfare constellation today.

Nonetheless, the legacy of the Associated Charities in Lexington and elsewhere is to be found in the widespread diffusion of the new techniques of professional power it championed. By the mid-1930s, even the Salvation Army had begun to adopt the practices associated with scientific charity as seen in the army's

training manuals and in courses given by the Salvation Army Training Colleges, under the leadership of Anita Robb, the Salvation Army's first professionally trained and identified social worker. In the 1930s, Robb applauded concurrent meetings of the Salvation Army Southern Territory Council and the National Council of Social Work which she said "helped to demonstrate to our staff officers that the other social workers would not bite and were perfectly harmless" (Salvation Army National Archives, Robb papers, undated).

Scientific Charity has contributed to the conservative rhetoric that continues to dominate social welfare reform efforts and practice today. The steady incursion of bureaucratic discourses and practices, dividing the poor into categories of deserving and undeserving, and the emphasis on documentation and recording can be discerned in current social problems. While "narrow models" of "internal professional advancement" may well have "held the upper hand in social work's development" (Leighninger, 1987, p. 219), Vance's (1914, p. 19) warning to the profession in 1914 remains relevant today: "We must not worship our tools, nor be so tenacious of our system as to make people we try to help its victims."

As in the Progressive Era, many organizations and groups today continue to challenge canonical practices for social education and practice. Attention to both the past and present voices of resistance can facilitate the profession's search for effective strategies for social change, prevent professional myopia, and enhance the art of practice.

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