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‘WOMAN’S MISSION’: THE TEMPERANCE AND WOMEN’S SUFFRAGE
MOVEMENTS IN SCOTLAND, *c*1870-1914

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To absent friends and distant family

specially in memory of my grandfather

Clyde 'Boxy' Jackson Smitley (1925-2000)

and my aunt

Miriam Louise Frye (1933-2000)

ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the connections that bound together the late-nineteenth-century women's temperance and suffrage movements in Scotland. The importance of women's temperance reform in the women's movement has been discussed in other Anglophone contexts, however there has been little scholarly analysis of these links in British historiography. This study aims to fill some of this gap. Moreover, by focusing on the Scottish case, this investigation adds a more 'Britannic' perspective to discussions of Victorian and Edwardian feminism, and thereby reveals regional variation and diversity.

My exploration of the women's suffrage movement focuses on constitutional societies, and offers a fresh perspective to balance the concentration on militancy in the only major monograph on Scottish suffragism – Leah Leneman's *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland*. This analysis takes a flexible approach to constitutionalism and argues that the women's single-sex temperance society, the Scottish Christian Union (SCU) was an element of constitutional suffragism. Likewise, the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation – peripheral to the historiography of British suffragism – is given a prominent place as a constitutionalist organisation.

This study uses women's roles in social reform and suffragism to examine the public lives of middle-class women. The ideology of 'separate spheres' is a leitmotif of much of women's history, and discussions of the 'public' and 'private' spheres are often linked to social class. My discussion of a 'feminine public sphere' is designed to reveal the ways in which women negotiated Victorian gender roles in order to participate in the civic life that was intrinsic to an urban middle-class identity. Thus, this thesis seeks to place suffragism and temperance in the context of middle-class women's public world.

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*Megan Smitley
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BWTA	British Women's Temperance Association
ENSWs	Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage
GWSAWS	Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
SCU	Scottish Christian Union
SFWSS	Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies
STL	Scottish Temperance League
SWLF	Scottish Women's Liberal Federation
WLA	Women's Liberal Association
WFL	Women's Freedom League
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union

INTRODUCTION

The women's suffrage campaign in Scotland was an integral part of 'first-wave' feminism. Although largely neglected in British suffrage histories, a study of suffragism in Scotland reveals the complexity and variation inherent to the British women's movement. I became interested in the contribution of Scotland to nineteenth-century feminism when, in 1995, I left my university in Michigan to study as an exchange student at the University of Aberdeen. While in Scotland I studied 'British' women's history and it became clear that British suffrage histories had marginalised Scotland's contribution, and were thus an inaccurate representation of the breadth and depth of the British suffrage campaign. I subsequently prepared a Bachelors dissertation on middle-class women's suffragism in Scotland. The original concept behind this doctoral research was to write a suffrage history, based on the Scottish case, that analysed the ideologies of suffrage women with particular reference to constitutional suffragists and the influence of class culture. In this way, it was hoped that my study would build on Leah Leneman's finely researched and detailed narrative of militancy in Scotland.¹ That aim has remained throughout the course of the research and writing of this piece. However, as my research progressed it became apparent that the temperance movement would demand a prominent place in this discussion. The course of research also convinced me that a more flexible understanding is needed of the label 'constitutional suffragist', an understanding that goes beyond members of selected organisations connected with the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS). It is in this vein that I will argue that female templars, or temperance reformers, were an integral part of the women's

¹ The only major monograph dealing with suffragism in Scotland is Leah Leneman, *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland Revised Edition* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1995).

suffrage movement in Scotland and therefore in need of recognition within the context of British suffragism.

The women's suffrage movement in Britain has been a subject of historical inquiry since the early-twentieth century and has attracted renewed attention at the turn of the twenty-first century.² During this extended period of study, the literature of suffragism has thrown up several dominant narratives as well as challenges to these narratives. A focus on the militant suffrage campaign spearheaded by the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) characterises many analyses of British suffragism.³ However, this focus has tended to narrow the chronology of suffrage historiography to the early-twentieth century and to exclude the nineteenth-century

² Early suffrage histories by both scholars and women's rights activists include Christabel Pankhurst, *Unshackled: The Story of How We Won the Vote* (London: Hutchinson Co. Ltd., 1959); E. Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement: An Intimate Account of Persons and Ideals* (Longman Group Limited, 1931; reprint, London: Virago Press, 1988); Antonia Raeburn, *The Militant Suffragettes* (Newton Abbot: Victorian (& Modern History) Book Club, 1974); and Ray Strachey, "*The Cause*": *A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain* (London, 1928). During the 1970s and 1980s, the 'new women's history' produced women's histories that returned to a discussion of the women's suffrage movement, for instance see Olive Banks *Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement* (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1981); Richard Evans, *The Feminists: Women's Emancipation Movements in Europe, America and Australasia 1840-1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1977); and Les Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty: Feminists Ideas in the Women's Suffrage Movement 1900-1918* (London: Heineman Educational Books, 1984); and Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It* (London: Pluto Press Ltd., 1973). The 1990s and the early 2000s have witnessed a renewed interest in suffragism and several edited collections have been produced, see Claire Eustance, Laura Ugolini and Joan Ryan eds., *A Suffrage Reader: Charting Directions in British Suffrage History* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000); Maroula Joannou and June Purvis eds., *The Women's Suffrage Movement: New Feminist Perspectives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Laura E. Nym Mayhall, Philippa Levine and Ian Christopher Fletcher eds., *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race* (London: Routledge, 2000); and June Purvis and Sandra Stanley Holton eds., *Votes for Women* (London: Routledge, 2000).

³ For example, see Roger Fulford, *Votes for Women: The Story of a Struggle* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957; reprint, London: Readers Union, 1958); Pankhurst, *Unshackled*; Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*; Raeburn, *The Militant Suffragettes*; and Andrew Rosen, *Rise Up, Women!: The Militant Campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union 1903-1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974). More recently, scholars have tried to bring fresh perspectives to the militancy narrative, see Claire Eustance, "Meanings of Militancy: The Ideas and Practice of Political Resistance in the Women's Freedom League, 1907-14", in *The Women's Suffrage Movement*, eds. Joannou and Purvis, 51-64; Patricia Greenwood Harrison, *Connecting Links: The British and American Woman Suffrage Movements, 1900-1914* (London: Greenwood Press, 2000); and Laura E. Nym Mayhall, "Creating the 'Suffragette Spirit': British Feminism and the Historical Imagination", *Women's History Review* (hereafter *WHR*) 4, no. 3 (1995): 319-44.

campaign.⁴ Over the course of suffrage historiography numerous scholars have offered novel perspectives by giving more attention to the constitutional suffrage campaign and to the nineteenth-century women's movement in general.⁵ Finally, the study of women's struggle for the vote in Britain has been given added complexity by analyses of the internationalism of suffragism, of men's contribution to the campaign, of regional variation within mainland Britain as well as re-evaluations of constitutionalism and militancy.⁶

Notwithstanding this scrutiny, the literature of the British women's suffrage campaign is, in places, patchy and in others wholly out-of-step with histories based on other Anglophone communities. Although international and imperial perspectives are receiving more attention, Scotland remains a shadowy figure in studies of suffragism.⁷ In 1991, Leneman produced the central Scottish suffrage text, however

⁴ For example, see Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty*; Harrison, *Connecting Links*; Pankhurst, *Unshackled*; Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*; Raeburn, *The Militant Suffragettes*; and Rosen, *Rise Up, Women!*.

⁵ For example, see Barbara Caine, *English Feminism 1780-1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Philippa Levine, *Victorian Feminists 1850-1900* (London: Hutchinson Education, 1987); and David Rubinstein, *Before the Suffragettes: Women's Emancipation in the 1890s* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1986).

⁶ A broad discussion of the internationalism of women's suffrage can be found in Melanie Nolan and Caroline Daley eds., *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994). Men's role in women's suffrage has been best presented by Angela V. John and Claire Eustance eds., *The Men's Share?: Masculinities, Male Support and Women's Suffrage in Britain, 1890-1920* (London: Routledge, 1997). Regional differences have been discussed by, for example Katherine Bradley, "'If the Vote Is Good for Jack; Why Not for Jill?': The Women's Movement in Cornwall, 1870-1914", Publication of the Institute of Cornish Studies, ed. Philip Payton, *Cornish Studies*, no. 8 (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2000), 127-46; June Hannam, "'I Had Not Been to London': Women's Suffrage – A View from the Regions", in *Votes for Women*, eds. Purvis and Holton, 226-45; and Ursula Masson "'Political Conditions in Wales Are Quite Different ...': Party Politics and Votes for Women in Wales, 1912-15", *WHR* 9, no. 2 (2000): 369-88. The most comprehensive re-evaluation of constitutional and militant suffragism can be found in Sandra Stanley Holton, *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Great Britain 1900-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

⁷ Antoinette Burton has been particularly influential in demanding that British history integrate an imperial perspective when examining issues at 'home', see "Rules of Thumb: British History and 'Imperial Culture' in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Britain", *WHR* 3, no. 4 (1994): 483-501 and "The White Woman's Burden: British Feminists and 'the Indian Woman', 1865-1915", in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, eds. Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 137-57. Other strong proponents of an imperial perspective are Julia Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000); and Clare Midgley, "Anti-Slavery and the Roots of 'Imperial Feminism'", in *Gender and Imperialism*, ed. Clare Midgley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 161-79 and

her work and other scattered discussions of women's suffrage in Scotland focus largely on militancy and exclude a discussion of constitutional suffragism in the nineteenth century.⁸ This narrow interest in the WSPU's militant campaign has overshadowed consideration of some of the main differences between the women's suffrage campaign in Scotland as compared with England, such as the disparity in women's political status at the level of local government. The most glaring omission from British suffrage histories is the near complete absence of temperance activity and reform.⁹ The late-nineteenth century witnessed the rise of the World Women's Christian Temperance Union (WWCTU). The women's temperance movement, originating in the 1870s, was a dynamic and influential component of the Victorian and Edwardian women's movement. The importance of the WWCTU and of female templars to the suffrage movement is reflected in the histories of especially Australia, New Zealand and the United States.¹⁰ This discussion aims to redress this omission and to provide a fresh perspective on the British women's suffrage campaign by integrating temperance into the analysis.

This discussion of women's suffrage and the temperance movement also aims to provide an innovative analysis of late-nineteenth-century feminism by focusing on

Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780-1870 (London: Routledge, 1992). In terms of women's suffrage, see Fletcher, Mayhall and Levine eds., *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire*.

⁸ For example, see Leah Leneman, "Dundee and the Women's Suffrage Movement: 1907-1914", in *The Remaking of Juteopolis: Dundee circa 1891-1991*, ed. Christopher Whatley (Dundee: Abertay Historical Society, 1992), 80-95 and *A Guid Cause*; and Lindy Moore, "Feminists and Femininity: A Case Study of WSPU Propaganda and Local Response at a Scottish By-Election", *Women's Studies International Forum* 5, no. 6 (1982): 675-84.

⁹ Two exceptions to this rule are Margaret Barrow "Teetotal Feminists: Temperance Leadership and the Campaign for Women's Suffrage", in *A Suffrage Reader*, eds. Eustance, Ryan and Ugolini, 69-89; and Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, "From Temperance to Suffrage?", in *Our Mothers' Land: Chapters in Welsh Women's History, 1830-1939*, ed. Angela V. John (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 135-58.

¹⁰ For example, see Ruth Bordin *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981); Evans, *The Feminists*; Janet Zollinger Giele, *Two Paths to Women's Equality: Temperance and the Origins of Modern Feminism* (London: Twayne Publishers, 1995); Patricia Grimshaw, *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1987); Catherine Gilbert Murdock, *Domesticating Drink: Women, Men, and Alcohol in America, 1870-1940* (London: Johns Hopkins Press, 1998); and Audrey Oldfield, *Woman Suffrage in Australia: A Gift or a Struggle?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

the internationalism of the women's movement in Scotland, the importance of middle-class culture and the influence of 'separate spheres' ideology on suffragism. Nineteenth-century Scotland was cosmopolitan and maintained extensive ties to the Anglophone world and an international perspective is used throughout this thesis in order to better understand the motivations of Scotland's feminists. This particular investigation is concerned with middle-class women and in addition to international influences, the motivations, ideologies and reform programmes of suffragists and female templars were underpinned by middle-class cultural values. Finally, I will argue that although the ideology of 'separate spheres' limited middle-class women's access to some fields of public life, it did not exclude women from the 'public sphere'. In accordance with this view, this thesis uses the concept of the 'feminine public sphere'.

Suffragism and the Temperance Movement

The history of the British women's suffrage movement seems aberrant when compared with discussions of 'first-wave' feminism throughout the Anglophone world of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In the American context, for instance, the emergence of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1874, and its subsequent prominence in the global temperance crusade has been hailed as one of the most important elements of Victorian and Edwardian feminism. Historians such as Jack S. Blocker Jr., Ruth Bordin and Catherine Murdock have demonstrated the pivotal role that the WCTU played both in organising women collectively and in politicising middle-class female reformers.¹¹ A similar point of

¹¹ See Jack S. Blocker Jr., *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989) and "Give to the Winds Thy Fears": *The Women's Temperance Crusade, 1873-*

view has been taken by Patricia Grimshaw for New Zealand and by Audrey Oldfield for Australia.¹² In the context of empire and North America, then, the late-nineteenth-century women's temperance movement is understood as a part of the feminist movement that demanded women's enfranchisement.

British women are largely absent from discussions of the relationship between female temperance reform and suffragism. This is in spite of the World Women's Christian Temperance Union's position as a major international organisation in the Victorian and Edwardian periods. National level organisations, called Women's Christian Temperance Unions, were affiliated to the WWCTU and through these world-wide networks female templars were able to co-ordinate their temperance efforts and to exchange ideas. The WWCTU was largely pro-suffrage and its political views often reflected the progressive attitudes of the American WCTU. That is, the American women's temperance movement consistently encouraged an active women's rights role for women's temperance organisations, especially after Frances Willard won the presidency (1879-1898) of the American Women's Christian Temperance Union. Willard – who represented those women interested in using their temperance organisation as a platform for a wide reform agenda – successfully convinced the American WCTU and many affiliates of the WWCTU to adopt her 'do everything' policy that advocated female templars' work for all 'women's issues' including the right to vote.

Margaret Barrow has persuasively argued that the British Women's Temperance Association, the English parallel of a national Women's Christian Temperance Union, refused to take an officially pro-suffrage stance largely due to a

1874 (London: Greenwood Press, 1985); Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*; and Murdock, *Domesticating Drink*.

¹² See Grimshaw, *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand*; and Oldfield, *Woman Suffrage in Australia*.

fear of ‘Americanisation’.¹³ However, the same cannot be said for the Scottish Christian Union (SCU) – the Scottish equivalent of a WCTU. Bernard Aspinwall has shown that the American temperance movement “consistently forced the pace among Scottish temperance reformers”.¹⁴ This view can be supported through an investigation of the Scottish Christian Union. It will be argued here that Scotland’s female templars saw themselves as very much inspired by women temperance reformers in the United States, and the women of the SCU reflected the temperance reform and feminist ideology of their American counterparts. It was this openness to the wide reform programme advocated by the American Women’s Christian Temperance Union that resulted in the Scottish Christian Union’s pro-suffrage majority and official commitment to work for women’s equal enfranchisement.

Finally, an analysis of the women’s temperance movement helps to highlight the influence of middle-class culture on nineteenth-century feminists’ ideology. Joseph R. Gusfield’s seminal work on the ‘social control’ aspect of the American temperance movement has influenced this discussion of women’s temperance reform in Scotland.¹⁵ Gusfield’s analysis of a ‘symbolic crusade’ focuses on the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, and posits that temperance reformers were motivated by the desire to maintain or to extend their middle-class cultural norms throughout American society. In this way, white, native-born, Protestant, middle-class American templars endeavoured to assert and to consolidate the dominance of their values, that is sobriety, self-control, self-help and industriousness. A similar motivation for social control can be seen in the Scottish Christian Union. These

¹³ See Barrow, “Teetotal Feminists”.

¹⁴ Bernard Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820-1920* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984), 109.

¹⁵ See Joseph R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (London: University of Illinois Press, 1970).

female templars were motivated by a sincere sense of Christian duty that directed their participation in the 'public sphere'. However, their temperance reform ideology was also underpinned by the desire to homogenise 'the female inebriate's' behaviour in line with their own middle-class attitudes to gender. In other words, the morally superior middle-class female templar was interested in 'rescuing' the poorer woman drinker and to 'reclaim' her for marriage or domestic service. So, although female templars were motivated by factors other than social control, most importantly religious faith, temperance was also an attempt to exert cultural dominance.

A major focus of this thesis is an analysis of the question: Did the women's temperance movement influence the British women's suffrage movement? The Scottish Christian Union's place in the 'feminine public sphere' of middle-class women will be used to argue in favour of a strong temperance element in British 'first-wave' feminism. Moreover, the temperance reform ideology of the Scottish Christian Union will be used to highlight the importance of understanding feminists both as women and as members of a social class. That is, the women's temperance movement reflected the cultural values of many of the middle-class women active in the 'public'.

A Wide Field of Endeavour

The objective of this discussion is to contribute to women's suffrage histories an analysis that accounts for the participation of women's organisations that have been peripheral to, or excluded from, the main-stream of British suffrage historiography. The Scottish Christian Union represents one such organisation; another is the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation (SWLF). Although Leneman and others have

recognised the contribution of the SWLF, analyses of this group's role in the women's movement are somewhat piecemeal.¹⁶ My research of the Liberal women and the temperance women indicates that women from groups outside the organisations conventionally associated with constitutional suffragism by an official affiliation with the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies were, nonetheless, major contributors to the suffrage movement. Thus, a more nuanced understanding of suffragism requires a more elastic understanding of who constituted a suffragist. Sandra Stanley Holton's work on British suffragism has been central to breaking down the polar distinction between the constitutionalist 'suffragist' and the militant 'suffragette'.¹⁷ In *Feminism and Democracy*, Holton has argued both for an ideological parity between the two wings of the movement and for extensive co-operation and cross-membership between militant and constitutionalist organisations. Moreover, Holton has pointed out that the term 'constitutionalist' was not used until the nineteenth century in response to the new methods advocated by the Women's Social and Political Union.¹⁸ Although this analysis examines the period 1870-1914, I will use the terms 'constitutionalist' and 'militant' throughout to distinguish organisations that endorsed different methods of protest.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, based in London, was the umbrella organisation of the main constitutionalist societies. Two of these societies, the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage (ENSWS) and the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage (GWSAWS) are

¹⁶ As has been stated, Leneman's work is concerned primarily with militancy and the SWLF – whose party political stance supported the Liberal Government opposed by the WSPU – is a minor actor in *A Guid Cause*. The SWLF has also been given passing reference in Martin Pugh, *The March of the Women: A Revisionist Analysis of the Campaign for Women's Suffrage, 1866-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁷ See Holton, *Feminism and Democracy*.

¹⁸ See Sandra Stanley Holton, "British Freewomen: National Identity, Constitutionalism and Languages of Race in Early Suffragist Histories", in *Radical Femininity: Women's Self-*

discussed here. Analyses of constitutional suffragism have focused on those organisations within the NUWSS. However, this approach has excluded other women's groups that co-ordinated with the affiliates of the NUWSS, and has thus limited historians' understanding of constitutional suffragism. The Scottish Women's Liberal Federation is one such group. Liberal women are more hidden than invisible in suffrage histories and they have received some attention in the literature.¹⁹ Even though the English Women's Liberal Federation (WLF), in particular, has received some attention – notably from Claire Hirshfield and Linda Walker - women's single-sex Liberal organisations have not been adequately integrated into the historiography of women's suffrage.²⁰

The Scottish Women's Liberal Federation was pro-suffrage and operated departments devoted to working for the advancement of women's political rights. The SWLF was an important constitutionalist society. On the one hand, as women with strong party loyalty, they were unwilling to join the WSPU's militant campaign against the Liberal Government. On the other hand, there was extensive cross-membership and co-operation between the SWLF and branches of the NUWSS. Moreover, the Liberal women were keen to enlarge women's political participation both as voters and as representatives. In addition to petitioning for women's equal parliamentary enfranchisement, the SWLF demanded increased access to positions in local government and supported the candidacy of female politicians at a local level. Thus, to ignore or to marginalise the contribution towards women's political

Representation in the Public Sphere, ed. Eileen Janes Yeo (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 150.

¹⁹ However, the Liberal women both in Scotland and England have not been seen as central to the constitutional movement and are mentioned mostly in passing. See note 16 above.

²⁰ See Claire Hirschfield, "Fractured Faith: Liberal Party Women and the Suffrage Issue in Britain, 1892-1914", *Gender & History* 2, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 174-97; and Linda Walker, "Party Political Women: A Comparative Study of Liberal Women and the Primrose League, 1890-1914", in *Equal or Different: Women's Politics 1800-1914*, ed. Jane Rendall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 165-91.

emancipation made by the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation is to exclude an influential and dedicated group of politically active middle-class public women from our understanding of British Victorian feminism.

Why Scotland?

it is only by adopting a 'Britannic' approach that historians can make sense of the particular segment in which they may be primarily interested, whether it be 'England', 'Ireland', 'Scotland', 'Wales', Cornwall or the Isle of Man ... To concentrate upon a single 'national' history, which is based upon the political arrangements of the present, is to run the risk of being imprisoned within a cage of partial assumptions which lead to the perpetuation of ethnocentric myths and ideologies.²¹

Women's suffrage histories have been dominated by a focus on the campaign in (south-east) England at the expense of other areas of the United Kingdom. In line with recent emphases on an integration of imperialism into British history, British women's history has begun to promote a more 'Britannic' view.²² However, the dominant view persists of England as the 'storm centre' both of the British and of the global women's movement. The goal of this thesis is not to provide an analysis of the national identity of suffragists in Scotland or even a fully 'Britannic' portrait of the British suffrage campaign. This discussion is more focused and is directed at generating a study of the women's suffrage campaign that demonstrates the heterogeneity of British suffragism through the lens of Scotland. In this way, it is hoped the groundwork will be laid for the building of a more 'Britannic' understanding of the Victorian and Edwardian women's movement.

²¹ Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989; reprint, London: Canto, 1995), 1 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

²² In terms of suffrage history, for example see Claire Eustance, Laura Ugolini and Joan Ryan, "Introduction: Writing Suffrage Histories – The 'British' Experience", in *A Suffrage Reader*, eds. Eustance, Ugolini and Ryan, 1-19; Hannam, "I Had Not Been to London"; and Masson, "Political Conditions in Wales Are Quite Different".

Michael Hechter's work on British national identity has been central to discussions of 'Britishness' and forms the starting point for more recent scholars' interpretations.²³ His use of the term 'Celtic fringe' has generated a debate on the usefulness of this term to describe the 'peripheral' regions around the 'core' of south-east England.²⁴ The vagueness of the geographical area denoted by the 'Celtic fringe' has been criticised and although it often refers to Ireland, Scotland and Wales the term can accommodate Cornwall and the Isle of Man, and Murray G. H. Pittock has asked whether the industrialised areas of south Wales and central Scotland can be considered a part of the 'peripheral' 'fringe'.²⁵ Although this debate is not central to my work, I will use Hechter's notion of a 'core' and 'periphery' to explain the relationship between suffragists in Scotland and in England.²⁶

I will argue here that it is necessary to question an acceptance of London and the Home Counties as the only 'core' in Britain. That is, when examining middle-class women's organisations, it becomes evident that central Scotland can be considered a 'core' region in its own right. Glasgow in particular was especially proud of its pivotal role as 'the second city of empire' and competed with the industrial cities of England, rather than with smaller Scottish cities, for prestige.²⁷ The main focus of this study is the urban heartland of nineteenth-century Scotland – Glasgow and Edinburgh – although the rest of Scotland is not completely ignored. Due to the uneven emphasis of the source material, the focus of this argument will

²³ Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development 1536-1966* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).

²⁴ For example, see Kearney, *The British Isles*; and Murray G. H. Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

²⁵ Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image*, 1.

²⁶ The 'core' of a nation refers to the areas where 'strong central governments were first established' and the 'periphery' refers to the 'outlying' regions that maintain their own cultural distinctions in terms of, for instance, language, legal and educational systems, and economic structure. Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*, 4-5.

²⁷ See W. Hamish Fraser, "Introduction: 'Let Glasgow Flourish'", in *Glasgow Volume II: 1830 to 1912*, eds. W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 2.

shift between Glasgow and Edinburgh. For instance, a database created to trace neighbourhood networks among the women of this study is confined to Edinburgh since the Glasgow material did not provide equivalent information on women's names and addresses. Finally, it would be mistaken to take for granted central Scotland's isolation from the political and economic world of London: "By 1850 it was possible to eat breakfast in Glasgow and supper in London; by 1873 an overnight 'sleeper' allowed a full day's work in London, and it was in London that many Glasgow firms established their branch offices".²⁸

Scotland is a distinct region of the United Kingdom with its own legal and educational systems, ethnic and linguistic groups, religious denominations, political views and international networks. However, the particular contribution of Scotland to 'first-wave' feminism has been left largely unexplored thereby blinkering the view of British suffragism. If a more comprehensive understanding of women's experiences and ideologies in the British past is to emerge, more attention must be paid to regional variation within mainland Britain and the empire. For the purposes of this study, Scotland diverges from England in two major ways. First, the municipal vote was only extended to Scotland's female ratepayers in 1881, whereas women in England gained this franchise thirteen years earlier in 1868. Second, although the women's temperance movement in Scotland officially endorsed and campaigned for women's right to vote, this was not so in England and Wales.²⁹ It will be demonstrated here that these two factors were indeed influential on Scotland's women's movement and thus illustrate the importance of regional perspectives to a more sophisticated discussion of British women's history.

²⁸ Fraser, "Introduction", 2.

²⁹ See Barrow, "Teetotal Feminists"; and Lloyd-Morgan, "From Temperance to Suffrage?".

I will discuss Scotland here as a 'region' rather than as a 'nation'. This is justifiable based on the idea that in the nineteenth century, Scots' national identity was characterised by 'concentric loyalties' that accommodated a 'Scottish', 'British' and 'Imperial' identity.³⁰ The general acceptance of a 'Britishness' on the part of nineteenth-century Scots suggests that to discuss Scotland as a 'nation', in the sense that Scottish nationalists have understood that term in the late-twentieth century, would create an inaccurate representation of the sense of national belonging held among suffragists in Scotland. Additionally, Scots' nineteenth-century sense of 'Britishness' was largely predicated on Scots' role in empire building; historians such as Linda Colley and Richard J. Finlay have shown the influence of Scots concentration in imperial administration, in the imperial military and in settling the white dominion colonies on the creation of a 'British' identity in Scotland.³¹ In turn, the centrality of imperialism to Scots' national identity supports the need for an international perspective.

An International Perspective

Scotland's distinctiveness comes not only by virtue of its legal autonomy and its cultural difference but also by its place in an international context. The Scots were a strongly migratory population and developed close ties with the white settler colonies

³⁰ See Leah Leneman, "A Truly National Movement: The View from Outside London", in *The Women's Suffrage Movement*, eds. Joannou and Purvis, 48. The idea of Scots' multiple national identities has been supported by Richard J. Finlay, "National Identity: From British Empire to European Union", in *Modern Scottish History 1707 to the Present Volume 2: The Modernisation of Scotland, 1830 to the Present*, eds. Anthony Cooke, Ian Donnachie, Ann MacSween and Christopher Whatley (East Lothian, Tuckwell Press Ltd., 1998), 25-46.

³¹ See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), 117-32; and Finlay, "National Identity". The most recent discussion of Scottish imperialism is Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2001).

and the United States.³² Scotland in this period should be viewed as cosmopolitan and well-connected rather than as provincial and isolated as the networks that spread out from Scotland connected Scots feminists with the ideas of a global women's movement. Antoinette Burton and Clare Midgley have argued that to understand issues in mainland Britain it is necessary to acknowledge the influence of empire.³³ Likewise, Ian R. Tyrrell and Patricia Greenwood Harrison have demonstrated the usefulness of an international perspective for analyses of the late-nineteenth-century women's temperance and women's suffrage movements.³⁴ My own work is in line with these emphases on using a global context to better conceptualise the ideologies and actions of groups and individuals.

An international perspective is vital to understanding both the Scottish Christian Union and the British women's suffrage campaign. It was shown above that the SCU was a member of the late-nineteenth-century global phenomenon of the World Women's Christian Temperance Union. The pro-suffrage stance of the WWCTU directly influenced the SCU's own position on the suffrage question. Moreover, the networks between Scotland and the Antipodes ensured that the work of the New Zealand Women's Christian Temperance Union for women's suffrage and the winning of New Zealand women's suffrage in 1893 were key issues in the SCU's own women's suffrage debate. Likewise, women's suffrage pamphlets often had the success of women's suffrage in the colonies as a theme. Finally, middle-class public women were themselves often involved in imperial projects, such as

³² For discussions of Scotland's emigration in the nineteenth century see Jeanette M. Brock, *The Mobile Scot: A Study of Emigration and Migration 1861-1911* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1999); and Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland Volume One: Willing Exiles* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988).

³³ See Burton, "Rules of Thumb" and "The White Woman's Burden"; and Midgley "Anti-Slavery and the Roots of 'Imperial Feminism'".

³⁴ See Ian R. Tyrrell, *Woman's World Woman's Empire: The Women's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); and Harrison, *Connecting Links*.

child emigration and missionary work. Thus, middle-class women's public work was partly acted out on an imperial stage.

The Middle Classes

The women that form the basis of this study were drawn from the ranks of the upper-middle and middle classes.³⁵ They were the wives, daughters and sisters of MPs, manufacturers, clerics and other professional men. The cultural prejudices of these women had definite implications for their temperance reform and suffrage ideologies and it is thus important to view middle-class public women as the representatives, not only of the interests of their gender, but also of their class. This discussion of temperance reform and women's suffrage will demonstrate the importance of middle-class culture for women's public lives.

Although the working classes have been more central to discussions of British social class, recent trends in social history have shifted more attention to the study of the middle classes.³⁶ Many of these discussions are centred on an investigation of class culture, and make particular reference to the importance of civic life for middle-class identity.³⁷ However, women are not central to this

³⁵ For a discussion of working-class women's suffragism, see Jill Liddington and Jill Norris, *One Hand Tied Behind Us: The Rise of the Women's Suffrage Movement* (London: Virago Press, 1978).

³⁶ For example, see the edited collections by Alan Kidd and David Nicholls eds., *The Making of the British Middle Class?: Studies of Regional and Cultural Diversity since the Eighteenth Century* (Thrupp, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1998) and *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); and Alan Kidd and K. W. Roberts eds., *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985).

³⁷ For example, see John Belchem and Nick Hardy, "Second Metropolis: The Middle Class in Early Victorian Liverpool", in *The Making of the British Middle Class?*, eds. Kidd and Nicholls, 58-71; Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Stena Nenadic, "The Victorian Middle Classes", in *Glasgow Volume II*, eds. Fraser and Maver, 265-99; and Richard H. Trainor, "The Elite", in *Glasgow Volume II*, eds. Fraser and Maver, 227-64 and "The Middle Class", in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Volume III 1840-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 673-713.

discourse on middle-class culture and identity. The assumption seems to be that the ‘separate spheres’ ideology excluded middle-class women from meaningful civic or public lives. This study aims to challenge this stance and to add a woman-oriented perspective to analyses of nineteenth-century middle-class identity and culture.

A belief in an identifiable middle-class cultural identity presupposes the idea both that class is a useful analytical tool and that class is a material as well as discursive notion.³⁸ I will argue that middle-class women understood themselves as inhabiting a particular ‘space’ in a social hierarchy, and that understanding had consequences for their ideological and material lives. As such, this discussion of middle-class public women agrees with David Cannadine’s assertion that: “It is somewhere between the over-determined reductionism of Marxist analysis and the free-floating subjectivities of the historians of language that we should seek to discover, describe and discuss class”.³⁹ In other words, it is important to see social class as one of a myriad of analytical viewpoints that include for instance, gender, race and ethnicity and nationality. In this discussion of middle-class female templars and suffragists it is necessary to understand how social class influenced women’s sense of identity. In this way, it is possible to uncover how the nexus of class and gender influenced women’s public lives.

³⁸ For more on the rhetorical importance of ‘the middle class’ see Dror Wharman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

³⁹ David Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 1998), 18.

The 'Separate Spheres'

The 'feminine public sphere', as defined in this study, refers to the public world of specifically middle-class women. The ideology of 'separate spheres' – of 'public' and 'private' – is a strong theme in the history of women and of social class.⁴⁰ Many studies of women's experience of the 'separate spheres' posit that the ideal of middle-class woman's economic dependence excluded her from the world of waged labour and thus, the 'separate spheres' had a greater impact on the lives of middle-class as opposed to working-class women.⁴¹ These studies, that stress the exclusion of middle-class women, tend to be based on an analysis of etiquette manuals and prescriptive literature, and as Lawrence E. Klein has argued "those who penned the courtesy manuals, on which also much of the 'domestic thesis' rests, produced fairly formalized renditions of discursive consciousness; but high theory and prescriptive literature represent only one layer of a society's knowledge".⁴² My own work, drawing on the personal papers and the minute books of middle-class women active in single-sex organisations, demonstrates the tension between the theory of middle-class women's confinement in the 'private sphere' of home and family and the lived experience of an active public life.

The term 'feminine public sphere' suggests that there were many possible understandings of the 'public sphere': for instance a masculine public sphere, an

⁴⁰ Catherine Hall and Leanore Davidoff's monograph illustrates the link between these two ideas, see *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1987; University of Chicago Press, 1991).

⁴¹ For example, see Patricia Branca, *Silent Sisterhood: Middle Class Women in the Victorian Home* (London: Croom Helm, 1975); Jane Lewis, *Women in England 1870-1950: Sexual Divisions and Social Change* (Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books, 1984); and Margaret Stacey and Marion Price, *Women, Power and Politics* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1981).

⁴² Lawrence E. Klein, "Gender and the Public / Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: Some Questions about Evidence and Analytic Procedure", *Eighteenth Century Studies* 29, no. 1 (1995): 101.

urban public sphere or a working-woman's public sphere.⁴³ In other words, the notion of a 'feminine public sphere' is meant to break down the dichotomy of 'public' / 'private'. In so doing, this discussion of middle-class woman's public world is aimed at adding to existing critiques of the use of 'separate spheres' in women's history writing.⁴⁴ That is, the ideology of 'separate spheres' was certainly a potent philosophy of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, with meaningful implications for women's opportunities. However, much of this meaning was derived from the relationship of the 'separate spheres' with other ideological and cultural factors, especially class identity and religion. The notion of 'separate spheres' can be a useful concept, however it becomes problematic when discussed in a reductionist manner. Therefore, it is important to endeavour to describe and to evaluate the shades of meaning within the 'separate spheres', hence the 'feminine public sphere'.

'Separate spheres' was an important aspect of the gender discourse as well as the material experience of women and men in the period 1870-1914. Intersecting class and religious discourses cut across the 'separate spheres' to accommodate – ideologically and practically – women's public lives. The ideas of 'complementary natures' and 'woman's mission' are fundamental to my understanding of the 'feminine public sphere'. 'Complementary natures' refers to the supposed biological, mental, emotional and spiritual differences between the sexes; nineteenth-century ideologues argued that God had created men and women to have different and 'complementary' talents and abilities. In this way the sexual division of labour

⁴³ Indeed, the term 'urban public sphere' has been used by Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*, 26.

⁴⁴ For more on the place of 'separate spheres' in women's history and critical responses to the use of this model see Carole Pateman, "Feminist Critiques of the Public / Private Dichotomy", in *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory*, ed. Carole Pateman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 118-40; Louise A. Tilly, "Gender, Women's History, and Social

and women's social inferiority was justified. 'Woman's mission' refers to the special duties and tasks that were associated with women's complementary role, namely self-sacrifice and moral guidance: "Woman's mission, as we take it, is to redeem man, and so redeem herself".⁴⁵ These ideas both of men's and women's divinely appointed 'complementary natures' and of 'woman's mission' to civilise her family through her supposed innate feminine moral superiority, were tightly bound up with evangelical thought.⁴⁶ Moreover, these religious attitudes were interpreted on the basis of class values. In this way, middle-class public women – themselves devoted Christians – viewed the evangelical call for persons of faith to work for the salvation of sinners and the idea of 'woman's mission' to morally purify society as the justification for their participation in the 'public'.

In addition to imagining that they had an important public role to play as moral instructors, middle-class women moved in public spaces and within public institutions. On the one hand, middle-class women were extensively involved in philanthropy and social reform movements. As Christians and free from the obligations of waged labour, women of the upper-middle and middle classes left their homes and families to pursue their complementary role in public life. This role did have less formal power than that of middle-class men and was premised on the freedom middle-class women's economic dependency gave for voluntary work. Nevertheless, women were active members of charitable groups, as members either of ladies' auxiliaries to male-dominated mixed-sex organisations or of women's

History", *Social Science History* 13, no. 4 (Winter 1989): 439-62; and Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres?", *Historical Journal* 36, no. 2 (Jun 1993): 383-414.

⁴⁵ Mrs Malaprop, "Short Essays – Woman's Mission", *The Ladies' Friend* 1, no. 2 (Oct 1886): 22.

⁴⁶ Several historians have developed the link between evangelicalism, 'woman's mission' and feminism, for example see Olive Banks, *Becoming a Feminist: The Social Origins of 'First Wave' Feminism* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books, 1986) and *Faces of Feminism*; Ellen Jordan, *The Women's Movement and Women's Employment in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 1999); and Barbara Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Virago Press Ltd., 1983; reprint, London: Virago Press, 1991).

single-sex societies. Moreover, in addition to a philanthropic dimension the ‘feminine public sphere’ included a political aspect. As advocates of legislative reform of the buying and selling of alcohol, as agitators for women’s equal parliamentary enfranchisement, or as electors and representatives in local government, middle-class women were part of the political world before the winning of the parliamentary franchise. As the members of school boards and parish councils or as canvassers for local temperance politicians, middle-class public women may have been marginal in the political realm relative to their male peers, however they were not wholly barred from the political process. In sum, there was room both in the discourse of ‘separate spheres’ and in the public world of philanthropy *and* politics for middle-class women’s own niche, and it is this niche that is the ‘feminine public sphere’.

The Chapters

As has already been suggested, this is not a conventional discussion of the women’s suffrage campaign. It is designed to provide a more shaded account of British suffragism through an examination of the Scottish case, and through connecting suffragism with temperance reform, middle-class identity and a critique of the ‘separate spheres’. Chapter 1 will provide the background for this discussion by introducing the single-sex organisations that formed the basis of this project’s research.

Chapter 2 is based around three themes that help to describe and to explain middle-class women’s culture: religion, social class and networks. This chapter uses the personal histories of some of the members of the organisations outlined in

Chapter 1 to demonstrate the cultural cohesion that characterised middle-class women's 'feminine public sphere', and to highlight the continuity between the women's temperance and suffrage movements. The discussion of religion focuses on the support religious networks gave to women's public work; religious communities provided financial backing for women's public pursuits. In terms of social class, it will be shown that women's philanthropic and political roles responded to the middle classes' stress on civic duty. Finally, the discussion of networks, based on two databases I created to aide my research, will demonstrate patterns of cross-membership and aspects of the 'female world' of social ritual that underpinned middle-class women's public work.

Chapters 3 and 4 centre around the women's temperance movement. Chapter 3 examines the reasons for middle-class women's interest in temperance reform and contextualises Scotland's women's temperance reform in wider discussions of the British temperance movement. The theme of social class, used throughout this thesis, is particularly salient to the discussion of female templars' participation in leisure reform based on teetotal recreation. This chapter ties women's temperance reform to the philanthropic aspect of the 'feminine public sphere' and illustrates the importance of women's public experiences to their reform work. Finally, Chapter 3 challenges the notion that middle-class women's voluntary work was a response to the boredom imposed by economic dependency.⁴⁷ I will argue that middle-class women, who often devoted decades to voluntary work, were motivated by more than a feeling of listless lethargy. Chapter 4 analyses the politics of the women's temperance movement. The temperance reform ideology of female templars will be

⁴⁷ Although recent work has contested the accuracy of middle-class women's exclusion from an economic role, the women of this study had a limited economic function and relied on their male family for support. See Eleanor Gordon and Gwenyth Nair, "The Economic Role of Middle-Class Women in Victorian Glasgow", *WHR* 9, no. 4 (2000): 791-814.

used to describe and evaluate the women's temperance movement as a political as well as a moral / social movement. This discussion leads to an assessment of the temperance movement's ability to politicise female templars. Lastly, this chapter reveals the extent of the SCU's support for women's suffrage and the character of the Scottish Christian Union's debate over women's right to vote.

The final chapter of this argument, Chapter 5, suggests some 'new views' of suffragism. The themes of this discussion are: the campaigns, the divisions and similarities among constitutionalists and militants, cultural influences on suffrage ideology and the relationship between the 'core' and the 'periphery'. The campaign strategies looked at here include parliamentary lobbying, demonstrations and public meetings and women's local government role. This last strategy, a focus on women's municipal voting and access to local government boards, is the most important for this thesis. Because women's political status in local government was so dissimilar between England and Scotland, suffragists' interest in municipal government helps to reveal variation in British suffragism. The constitutional movement is the primary focus here, however the impact of militancy on constitutionalist societies cannot be ignored. Though there was some hostility between, for instance, the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage and the Women's Social and Political Union, the propaganda of constitutional and militant societies had marked ideological similarities. Suffrage pamphlets reveal not only an ideological continuity between the two methodological wings of the suffrage movement, but also a parity between 'equal rights' and 'essentialist' arguments for the franchise. In other words, I will argue that historians' insistence upon a clear division between 'equal rights' and 'essentialist' demands for the vote conceals the complexity of middle-class women's understanding of

themselves as women and potential citizens.⁴⁸ Religiously inspired feminists' ability to conflate 'equal rights' and 'essentialist' arguments was facilitated by imperialist attitudes of British racial and cultural superiority. Imperialism blended with discourses on 'essentialism' to generate a 'civilisation' argument that claimed white, middle-class British women's political rights were vital to Britain's dominant global position. As a final point, Chapter 5 focuses on the antagonistic relationship between the GWSAWS and the NUWSS. In this way it is hoped that a regional view will help to broaden our understanding of constitutionalism which has generally characterised the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies as more democratic than the Women's Social and Political Union. However, this analysis breaks down under the scrutiny of a view from the 'periphery'.⁴⁹

This discussion is informed largely by the official records of the organisations examined here. These records are important because – especially in the cases of the Scottish Christian Union and the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation – they help to validate an expanded understanding of constitutionalism. In other words, these records reveal the existence of suffragism and temperance reform across a range of organisations. The stodgy information provided by official records is given added colour through an analysis of personal papers, temperance periodicals and suffrage pamphlets. The personal papers and biographical information of a selection of

⁴⁸ 'Equal rights' arguments are defined as those arguments based on the innate equality between human beings whereas, 'essentialist' arguments are seen as those based on the 'good' women's voting could do for social morality. This distinction is a regular theme in the suffrage literature, for example see Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty*; Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1912* (London: Columbia University Press, 1967); Levine, *Victorian Feminists*; and William O'Neill, *The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969). This distinction has recently been challenged by Jane Rendall, "Citizenship, Culture and Civilisation: The Languages of British Suffragists, 1866-1874", in *Suffrage and Beyond*, eds. Nolan and Daley, 127-50.

⁴⁹ For discussion of the democratic organisation of the NUWSS, for example see Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty*. This analysis have been recently challenged by Masson, "Political Conditions in Wales Are Quite Different".

women prominent in these groups provides some insight into the cultural worlds inhabited by middle-class public women. Temperance journals published by female templars and the wider temperance community reveal both women's place in this reform movement and glimpses of temperance women's opinions on topical issues, in particular women's suffrage.

I have focused on these sources because they have been underused and are particularly valuable for uncovering women's public pursuits. Leneman has made extensive use of newspapers and radical publications such as the *Forward*, and I hope that the sources used here will provide a new perspective on the 'feminine public sphere'.⁵⁰ Clearly, the sources used here are not comprehensive and factors such as family life, political allegiance and specific religious affiliation are invisible for a majority of women. Nonetheless, official records are indispensable to developing an understanding of how and for what purposes middle-class public women organised themselves.

In conclusion, I do not intend to provide a blow-by-blow account of the Scottish suffrage movement with an emphasis on political allegiances and manoeuvrings in parliament, but rather an analysis that broadens the scope of suffrage history through an exploration of middle-class women's constitutionalism in Scotland. Moreover, the idea of constitutionalism has been stretched to incorporate temperance women. Thus, I will present here a discussion of the relationships between gender, social class and the 'separate spheres' to demonstrate the idea of the 'feminine public sphere'. In other words suffragism, although central to this thesis, is regarded as the means to discuss the broader topic of middle-class women's public world.

⁵⁰ See Leneman, *A Guid Cause*.

CHAPTER 1

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SCOTLAND

British women's suffrage history writing has been dominated by two main narratives: the centrality of the militant campaign and differentiation between 'equal rights' and 'essentialist' arguments for women's suffrage.¹ The militancy narrative has in turn, led to a focus on militants' heroic acts of violence in and around twentieth-century London. In terms of the ideologies of British suffragism, historians have frequently identified two distinct schools of thought; one that argues for women's equal enfranchisement based on liberal, Enlightenment principles of innate human equality and another that founded its claim on women's difference and supposed moral superiority.²

This analysis departs from these dominant narratives. First, constitutional suffragists and their organisations are at the heart of this study. These organisations include Scots branches of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies as well as organisations not normally accorded much recognition as constitutional societies, namely the women's temperance group – the Scottish Christian Union – and the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation. Second, my research suggests that it is not always appropriate to distinguish between 'equal rights' and 'essentialist' arguments for women's enfranchisement, particularly among religiously inspired feminists. The aim of this chapter is to contextualise my argument in the wider field of women's suffrage history, or to demonstrate where this discussion fits in historians' challenges

¹ Suffrage histories from the early- and mid-twentieth century, including those written by female campaigners tend to reserve the greatest emphasis for the militant campaign in the 1903-14 period. For example, see Fulford, *Votes for Women*; Pankhurst, *Unshackled*; Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*; Raeburn, *The Militant Suffragettes* and *The Suffragette View* (David & Charles Limited, 1974); and Rosen, *Rise Up, Women!*.

² For examples of this approach to suffragism, see Banks, *Faces of Feminism*; Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty*; Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement*; Levine, *Victorian Feminists*; and O'Neill, *The Woman Movement*.

to the dominant narratives, and to introduce the organisations that constitute the subjects of this investigation. Chapters 4 and 5 will demonstrate the breadth of constitutionalism, while Chapter 5 suggests new interpretations of suffrage ideology.

The Militancy Narrative

The militancy narrative is characterised by several factors. First, it implies that women's suffrage was a twentieth-century movement; the dominant militancy narrative takes a narrow view of the militant campaign and focuses on the work of the Women's Social and Political Union. However, the WSPU was not formed in Manchester until 1903, over three decades after constitutional societies were first established in Edinburgh, London and Manchester. Thus, this narrative often ignores and / or marginalises the importance of earlier women's movements and portrays WSPU militancy as "the dramatic climax to the struggle for the vote".³ The centrality of the WSPU's campaign to the militancy narrative gives an insight into the character of this narrative. Laura E. Nym Mayhall has suggested that the dominant definition of militancy is a crude equation with "material practices of window-breaking, arson, and hunger striking".⁴ In other words, this view of militancy fosters an acceptance of the notion that the WSPU's brand of militancy was the only legitimate form. Mayhall suggests that this definition of militancy reflects a reliance on the post-World War I narratives written by suffragettes, which emphasised individual heroism, the WSPU's central role in the global movement and an understanding of authentic suffrage militancy as "the defining act of

³ Martin Pugh, *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain 1914-1999 Second Edition* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 2000), 4.

⁴ Mayhall, "Creating the 'Suffragette Spirit'", 319.

imprisonment”.⁵ In common with Mayhall, Claire Eustance has argued that this understanding of militancy – as defined by the WSPU itself – masks variation and complexity within the militant campaign. Her own work on the Women’s Freedom League (WFL) shows that twentieth-century militancy was negotiated by militants to include passive resistance and “a wider spectrum of civil resistance” than undertaken under WSPU policy.⁶ To summarise, two marks of the militancy narrative are: a concentration on the WSPU’s twentieth-century campaign and an acceptance of the Women’s Social and Political Union’s tactics as the definition of militant methodology.

A third element of the militancy narrative is the influence of its legacy on the emergence of the ‘new women’s history’. Mayhall’s critique of suffragettes’ writings claims that in this period feminist scholars “accepted the self-assessments of a small group of women active in the Edwardian movement ... and interpreted those self-assessments as evidence of an unbroken trajectory of women’s political action linking the early twentieth century to the 1970s”.⁷ Maroula Joannou and June Purvis have also emphasised the role of early suffrage histories in securing the place of the militancy narrative in the ‘new women’s history’, by suggesting that Ray Strachey’s *The Cause* (1928) and Sylvia Pankhurst’s *The Suffragette Movement* (1931) formed the basis of the dominant narratives extant in the 1960s and 70s, i.e. the ‘liberal-feminist’ and the ‘socialist-feminist’ respectively. Joannou and Purvis suggest that Strachey’s presentation of the constitutional National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies as the ‘rational’ wing of the movement has strongly influenced liberal men’s accounts of suffragism that – ironically – focus on the WSPU rather than on

⁵ Mayhall, “Creating the ‘Suffragette Spirit’”, 330.

⁶ Eustance, “Meanings of Militancy”, 59.

⁷ Mayhall, “Creating the ‘Suffragette Spirit’”, 320.

the NUWSS.⁸ Similarly, Kathryn Dodd has demonstrated *The Cause's* ability to reinforce a dichotomous view of militancy and constitutionalism. Dodd argues that Strachey, strongly influenced by the Bloomsbury group's liberal ideology that contrasted the 'civilised' and 'uncivilised', made "a similar division among the women's organisations, separating the civilised from the uncivilised, the rational from the irrational, the constitutional from the militant".⁹

Pankhurst's account is considered especially important for women's history writing in 1960s and 70s. Holton, for instance, has stressed the importance of Pankhurst's work to mid-twentieth-century histories, and claims that historians such as Sheila Rowbotham were influenced by Pankhurst's legacy but "provided a more complex assessment of the class divisions and tensions among suffragists".¹⁰ Following a somewhat different analysis, Melanie Nolan and Caroline Daley have argued that the militancy narrative came to ascendancy because the women's suffrage movement was never fully integrated into the 'new women's history'. Nolan and Daley claim that because of the white, middle-class make-up of many suffrage organisations "suffrage history was seen until recently, as elite and old-fashioned".¹¹ Thus, those who did write about suffrage "did so through the prism of radical, militant and socialist suffragists".¹² Consequently, suffragettes' own notions of the centrality of Women's Social and Political Union's methods to world suffragism, coupled with feminist interpretations in the 1960s and 70s, have worked to consolidate the dominant militancy narrative.

⁸ Maroula Joannou and June Purvis, "Introduction: The Writing of the Women's Suffrage Movement", in *The Women's Suffrage Movement*, eds. Joannou and Purvis, 3.

⁹ Kathryn Dodd, "Cultural Politics and Women's Historical Writing: The Case of Ray Strachey's *The Cause*", *Women's Studies International Forum* 13, no. 1/2 (1990): 134.

¹⁰ Sandra Stanley Holton, "Reflecting on Suffrage History", in *A Suffrage Reader*, eds. Eustance, Ugolini and Ryan, 21.

¹¹ Melanie Nolan and Caroline Daley, "International Feminist Perspectives on Suffrage: An Introduction", in *Suffrage and Beyond*, eds. Nolan and Daley, 7.

¹² Nolan and Daley, "International Feminist Perspectives on Suffrage", 7.

The militancy paradigm came under increasing pressure in the 1980s. The most important challenge came from Holton who, in *Feminism and Democracy*, demonstrated the fluidity between constitutionalism and militancy, thus going some way in breaking down the polarised view of the women's suffrage movement.¹³ Moreover, this period's radical analyses of the campaign were concerned with women's "intellectual, social and political worlds" rather than discussions of militancy.¹⁴ This approach responded to the work of historians such as Carroll Smith-Rosenburg who illustrated the importance of a 'female world' to nineteenth-century middle-class women's experiences.¹⁵ An interest in women's culture in women's suffrage histories provides an opportunity to assess female culture's contribution to suffragism and vice versa. My own research has been strongly influenced by this approach, and this discussion highlights the cultural context of Scotland's suffrage campaign in order to explain the social and political ideologies of suffragists. The scope of enquiry was further broadened in the 1980s by new studies of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, such as Les Garner's evaluation of the ideology and methodology of constitutional suffragism.¹⁶ Finally, work by historians such as Philippa Levine and Kathryn Gleadle has helped to contextualise suffragist and feminist organisation in earlier nineteenth-century women's movements, and a shift in focus to include the nineteenth century goes a long way towards destabilising the militancy narrative's ascendancy.¹⁷

¹³ See Holton, *Feminism and Democracy*.

¹⁴ Holton, "Reflecting on Suffrage History", 24.

¹⁵ See Carroll Smith-Rosenburg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America", *Signs* 1 (1975): 1-29.

¹⁶ See Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty*.

¹⁷ See Levine, *Victorian Feminists*; and Kathryn Gleadle, *The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movement, 1831-51* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1995).

'Equal Rights' versus 'Essentialism'

The dominance of the militancy narrative is rivalled by discussions of the 'equal rights' versus the 'essentialist' arguments in suffragism. The 'equal rights' case refers to suffragists' demands for the vote based on women's basic human equality. Historians have linked 'equal rights' arguments with middle-class interpretations of liberal, Enlightenment thought on innate human equality. For instance, Richard J. Evans suggests that 'equal rights' arguments emerged from the nexus of Enlightenment rationalism and Protestant morality, and appealed to suffragists because "[l]iberalism wanted society governed in the interests of the people through institutions accountable to them" and suffragists demanded women's share in this accountability.¹⁸ 'Essentialist' arguments are defined as those which based women's access to the vote on the supposed fundamental physical, mental, emotional and spiritual differences between the sexes. 'Essentialist' arguments were intertwined with 'expediency' arguments, or those arguments that stressed the potential social benefits expected to arise from women's vote. In other words, proponents of 'expediency' claimed women's right to parliamentary participation based on the belief that moral and social reforms would follow, as a matter of course, from middle-class women's equal enfranchisement.

Much of the historiography of British – particularly English – suffragism presents the 'equal rights' and 'essentialist' arguments as dichotomous. Studies of suffrage ideology generally begin by tracing the origins of feminism to the Enlightenment, and more particularly two landmark politicians – Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) and John Stuart Mill,

¹⁸ Evans, *The Feminists*, 18.

The Subjection of Women (1869). It is this tradition of Enlightenment liberalism that is seen as responsible for the ‘equal rights’ argument. Historians often assert a shift from ‘equal rights’ to ‘essentialism’ and ‘expediency’ in the late-nineteenth century. For example, Garner suggests that “the argument that women’s rights should be extended so their special qualities could be brought to bear on the state seemed to gather momentum in the later half of the century”.¹⁹ However, there is a substantial body of suffrage historiography that challenges this approach and suggests that these two arguments were not mutually exclusive.

Holton’s *Feminism and Democracy* represents the most cogent challenge to dominant understandings of the ‘equal rights’ and the ‘essentialist’ strands. Holton also stresses the importance of Enlightenment liberalism, especially Wollstonecraft and Mill, to the development of a ‘humanist’ case that argued for basic human equalities. She suggests that the ‘essentialist’ case was generated by socialist-feminists such as Anna Wheeler who “argued that women possessed a unique moral mission consequent on the very nature of womanhood”.²⁰ Drawing on Gerda Lerner’s work, Holton refutes the notion that a feminism based on women’s difference is essentially conservative. On the contrary, she argues that ‘essentialist’ arguments demonstrate that British suffragists “did not present feminist goals in terms of equivalence with men but in terms of an autonomously created system of values derived from women’s particular experience”.²¹ My view of suffragism is in line with Holton’s understanding of British suffragists’ radical goal to ‘feminise democracy’: her concept of a ‘feminised democracy’ built from women’s ‘essential’ characteristics is similar to my term ‘feminine public sphere’ which indicates a

¹⁹ Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women’s Liberty*, 3.

²⁰ Holton, *Feminism and Democracy*, 11.

²¹ Holton, *Feminism and Democracy*, 18.

female public world that responded to middle-class women's priorities, experiences and sense of unique purpose. Moreover, Holton's discussion argues for the porosity of 'essentialism': whereas anti-suffragists (also known as Antis) might suggest that women's 'nature' prohibited an expansion of women's public duties beyond local government and philanthropy, suffragists might cite women's special qualities as a basis for parliamentary enfranchisement. Holton is not alone in her analysis. Lindy Moore's study of the WSPU's campaign in Aberdeen identifies two feminist ideologies but claims that the WSPU employed a dual argument – a belief in equality supported by notions of 'expediency'.²² More recently, Jane Rendall has argued for "a more complex perspective than in the opposition between claims for equality or the representation of difference".²³

Religion is key to my discussion of suffrage ideology. I will argue here (see Chapter 5) that middle-class public women interpreted the evangelical ideas of 'woman's mission' and feminine moral superiority to argue for women's right to participate in parliamentary politics. For religiously inspired feminists the 'equal rights' and 'essentialist' cases could be seen as equivalent: if women are 'essentially' morally superior, demands for enfranchisement predicated on the 'expediency' of women's social responsibility parallel discussions of innate human equality. These women had an internalised sense of mission that revelled in women's supposed unique characteristics. In this way, their goals cannot be dismissed as divorced from human rights. These women celebrated women's difference and sought equal recognition of women's unique humanity in the government of the country.

²² Moore, "Feminists and Femininity", 676.

²³ Rendall, "Citizenship, Culture and Civilisation", 144.

Where Is Scotland?

This review of women's suffrage historiography poses the question: Where is Scotland's place in this discourse? In the 1990s and 2000s historians have begun to question the importance of the 'core' at the expense of the 'periphery'. This trend challenges the notion of Britain's and / or England's suffrage campaign as a standard measure for all women's suffrage movements. The flaws inherent to such an Anglo-centric approach have been highlighted by advocates of international perspectives, such as Tyrrell and Nolan and Daley.²⁴ In this way an emphasis on regional diversity is linked to calls for an integration of the imperial / international into British historiography. Burton argues that British historiography has been compromised by the practice of imagining a division between 'home' and 'empire': "'Home' itself was of course as falsely unitary as 'empire', with England as the symbolic centre, and Wales, Scotland and Ireland its 'internal others'".²⁵ Only through an integration of regional diversity can a clearer picture of British women's suffrage emerge.

Leneman is known as the foremost expert of Scottish women's suffrage, and *A Guid Cause* represents the only major monograph on suffragism in Scotland.²⁶ Her account is strongly located within the militancy narrative and is primarily concerned to demonstrate the influence and the effectiveness of militant methodology on Scotland's campaign. In many ways Leneman's painstakingly researched book forms an excellent starting-point for research into the Scottish campaign. However, although her narrative provides detailed data on the Scottish campaign, her work focuses overwhelmingly on the twentieth-century campaign and

²⁴ See Nolan and Daley, "International Feminist Perspectives on Suffrage"; and Tyrrell, *Woman's World Woman's Empire*.

²⁵ Burton, "Rules of Thumb", 484.

²⁶ See Leneman, *A Guid Cause*.

fails to undertake much analysis of the cultural world that sustained the movement. Elspeth King has contributed a concise narrative intended as an excavation of when, where and who, which supplies some biographical information and links suffragism with other radical movements such as Chartism and Owenism.²⁷ Clearly there remain many gaps in the historiography of suffragism in Scotland, and by extension in Britain. This thesis aims to start filling some of these gaps; this process begins with an exploration of conventional constitutionalist societies alongside temperance reformers and Liberal women.

The Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies

This study draws its evidence from three constitutional suffragist societies, one temperance reform society and one party organisation. Although closer examination of cross-membership and networks blurs these distinctions, these labels help to introduce these groups. The first constitutional society established in Scotland, in 1867, was the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage. The ENSWS was one of the first three women's suffrage organisations in Britain, along with sister organisations in Manchester and London. The early work of the ENSWS centred on the parliamentary careers of John Stuart Mill MP, Jacob Bright MP and Duncan McLaren MP. The Brights and McLarens were important families in Edinburgh's radical circles and the McLaren family will be discussed in some depth in Chapter 2. The records from the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage include annual reports for the years 1868-78, 1892 and 1907.

²⁷ See Elspeth King, "The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement", in *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society, 1800-1945*, eds. Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 121-50.

Although a Glasgow branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was established in 1870 little is known about this organisation. The ENSWS's annual report for 1870 confirms that a 'kindred' society was established in Glasgow in this year, however I have been unable to locate official records for this organisation. In 1902, the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage was established, and in 1903 it affiliated to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. The records for the GWSAWS include minute books for the period 1902-14. Both the ENSWS and the GWSAWS have been discussed in British suffrage histories.²⁸ The third constitutional society referred to in this study is the Kilmarnock Branch of the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies (SFWSS), established in 1911, and whose minute books span the period 1911-13. The SFWSS, discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, was the sub-branch of the NUWSS that over-saw constitutional work in Scotland. These three societies can be considered to represent the type of society normally included in studies of constitutional suffragism and do not require further explanation here.

The Scottish Christian Union

One of the most important features of this work is its recognition of the temperance movement's role in suffragism. The women's temperance movement came to global ascendancy in the period covered here, and the WCTU has long been an aspect of studies of American women's suffragism.²⁹ However, Anne Summers has argued

²⁸ For more detailed information on the formation and structure of these organisations, see Leneman, *A Guid Cause*, especially Chapter 1.

²⁹ Recent discussions include Giele, *Two Paths to Women's Equality*; and Murdock, *Domesticating Drink*.

that the primacy of the WCTU in Australian feminism has been exaggerated due to the wealth of source material left by the temperance women. She concludes that:

There was usually co-operation between the temperance women and the suffrage societies, and many of the former would have considered themselves feminists, but to designate the suffrage societies as front movements of temperance reform is inaccurate. The two bodies had very similar views on the role they hoped women would play in political life however.³⁰

This analysis is interesting partly because it highlights the gaps in British / Scottish women's history. Here Summers points out what is apparent in the historiography of Australia and New Zealand, the received knowledge that the WCTU was synonymous with the women's movement. In contrast, in spite of the existence of the Scottish Christian Union from the early 1870s and extensive records from the organisation, particularly from its activities in central Scotland, there has been little recognition of this group, or of temperance issues within other women's organisations in Britain / Scotland. I do not wish to over-stress the importance of the SCU, and (as Summers rightly warns against) present Scottish suffrage groups as 'front movements' for temperance and prohibition. However, as Summers has shown for Australia so was the case in Scotland – suffrage and temperance groups held similar views on the character of women's public participation. As a study of suffragism in Scotland, it is important to recognise the contribution of the temperance / prohibition question to organised feminism, considering not only the SCU's attitude towards suffrage, but also the suffrage societies' attitude towards temperance and prohibition. In contrast, although the temperance movement was an important aspect of the international women's suffrage movement it has been almost wholly omitted from discussions of Scotland's campaigns. Thus, by including an

³⁰ Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police Revised Edition* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1994), 397.

evaluation of suffragists working under the banner of temperance, this analysis will contribute to bringing Britain / Scotland in line both with the historiography of women's suffrage movements and with recent emphases on the international and imperial dimensions of suffragism.

The British Women's Temperance Association Scottish Christian Union (BWTASCU) was the single most influential women's temperance organisation in late-nineteenth-century Scotland. The Scottish Christian Union (SCU) was an umbrella organisation for women's single-sex prayer unions and temperance societies throughout Scotland. In 1876, Britain's female templars met at a ladies temperance convention hosted by the International – originally the Independent – Order of Good Templars (IOGT) in Newcastle, to establish a women's temperance society similar to the American Women's Christian Temperance Union. At this conference 150 ladies drawn from Britain's temperance prayer unions formed themselves into the British Women's Temperance Association (BWTA). The members of the BWTA were known as the British Women both in England and in Scotland. For the purposes of this discussion 'British Women' will refer to female templars in Scotland unless otherwise stated. In 1879, Scotland's British Women added the words 'Scottish Christian Union' to the title of their organisation, and although the British Women's Temperance Association Scottish Christian Union administered its own temperance crusade as an autonomous organisation it was – during the nineteenth century – officially an affiliate of the British Women's Temperance Association. To minimise confusion, Scotland's organisation will be referred to as the Scottish Christian Union throughout and 'British Women's Temperance Association' will refer only to that organisation in England. However, it should be noted that the Scottish temperance periodical press (and the Scottish

Christian Union's own records) usually described the SCU as the British Women's Temperance Association Scottish Christian Union or BWTASCU. The terminology used here will not create a false impression of difference between the two groups because, as I will demonstrate, Scotland's organisation was distinct from its English counterpart in a variety of ways.

Both the Scottish Christian Union and the British Women's Temperance Association represent British forms of a Women's Christian Temperance Union. The WCTU was first established in the United States in 1874. WCTUs were quickly established around the world in an effort to co-ordinate individual nations' women's temperance movements. In 1883, the World Women's Christian Temperance Union was founded to facilitate co-operation and communication among the world's female templars.

Although officially affiliated with the British Women's Temperance Association for the first several decades of its existence, the Scottish Christian Union was always an independent administrative body. In 1878, the Edinburgh SCU suggested that all women's temperance prayer unions in Scotland unite with the Edinburgh Central Branch as the headquarters. By 1879, twenty-one prayer unions had affiliated under the management of the Edinburgh Central Branch. In 1900, Edinburgh hosted the World Women's Christian Temperance Union biennial conference. However, the SCU was unable to represent itself as an independent organisation: "Scotland had its own Council and conducted its own affairs wholly; but it paid its affiliation fee to the WWCTU through England".³¹ As a result, in 1904, the SCU ceased to be an adjunct of the BWTA and paid its own forty pound

³¹ Christina E. Robertson, *BWTASCU: Its Origins and Progress* (BWTASCU, 1908), 48. BWTASCU Collection, Huntly House Museum, Edinburgh City Museums, Edinburgh (hereafter BWTASCU Collection).

affiliation fee directly to the WWCTU.³² By 1908, the SCU could claim 80,000 members spread across 332 branches.³³ In 1902, a headquarters office was set up in Edinburgh, followed in 1906 by a sub-office in Glasgow.³⁴ The SCU's funding came mainly from affiliation fees and contributions to the extension fund. However, in 1898 a special Victoria Extension Fund scheme raised £9,993 for extension work – the expansion of the organisation – and in 1905 the Bazaar organised by the Glasgow Prayer Union at St. Andrew's Halls raised £7,700.³⁵ In 1896, the SCU began publishing its official organ, the *Scottish Women's Temperance News*, and by 1908 it had a monthly circulation of 4,800.³⁶ Finally, in 1902, eleven district unions were established to ease the headquarters' workload: Aberdeen, Ayrshire, Borders, Dumfries and Galloway, Dundee, Edinburgh and Lothians, Fifeshire, Glasgow, Moray and Ross, Perth and Stirling. Each district union had its own officers and biennial conference and it was claimed that they resulted in a more democratic SCU, as each district union had proportional representation and voted by ballot at district union conferences.³⁷

Two branches of the Scottish Christian Union are particularly important for this discussion; the Edinburgh Central Branch and the Glasgow Prayer Union. These two branches were the most important in Scotland. Although Edinburgh was the SCU headquarters, the Glasgow Prayer Union had a major role in administering temperance work in the west of Scotland and can be seen as an equally important centre of the SCU. The Edinburgh Central Branch began as a branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1876. The Edinburgh WCTU was not

³² Robertson, *BWTASCU*, 48. BWTASCU Collection.

³³ Robertson, *BWTASCU*, 43. BWTASCU Collection.

³⁴ Robertson, *BWTASCU*, 45. BWTASCU Collection.

³⁵ Robertson, *BWTASCU*, 45. BWTASCU Collection.

³⁶ Robertson, *BWTASCU*, 44. BWTASCU Collection.

³⁷ Robertson, *BWTASCU*, 45. BWTASCU Collection. Although the Glasgow Prayer Union was renamed the Glasgow District Union, it will be referred to as the Glasgow Prayer Union throughout.

active until 19 December 1877 when it organised a reception for London temperance ladies.³⁸ The following day, the Edinburgh WCTU was reconstituted as a branch of the British Women's Temperance Association. In October 1874, a Ladies' Temperance Prayer Union was established in Glasgow. During the first two winters of its existence, the Ladies' Temperance Prayer Union contacted all local ministers by personal visit or letter, sent letters to all publicans in Glasgow (1,137 letters in total) and established prayer unions in the Glasgow area.³⁹ The Glasgow women affiliated with the SCU in 1878, and renamed their group the Glasgow Prayer Union.

Source material is particularly abundant for the Glasgow Prayer Union and the Edinburgh Central Branch. The minute books and annual reports from the Glasgow Prayer Union, the first and most important Glasgow branch of the SCU, are especially rich and provide a solid account of women's public life.⁴⁰ The available minutes record meetings from 1881-98 and contain clear statements from women volunteers of the factors which led them to temperance reform, of political activity at municipal and parliamentary levels as well as of the triumphs and pitfalls associated with the many aspects of temperance work. The annual reports (1888-1913) and minute books (1908-11) from the Edinburgh Central Branch are useful for studying the policies and political developments within the SCU as it professionalised and departmentalised.

Although the Scottish Christian Union has been somewhat 'hidden from history', it did play a prominent role in the nineteenth-century women's temperance movement. In Scotland itself, the SCU was the largest women's single-sex temperance organisation. Like its counterparts in North America, Australasia and

³⁸ Robertson, *BWTASCU*, 30. BWTASCU Collection.

³⁹ Robertson, *BWTASCU*, 40. BWTASCU Collection.

⁴⁰ Glasgow boasted many branches of the SCU. The Glasgow Prayer Union administered the work of the Glasgow branches and was renamed the Glasgow District Union during the 1902 re-structuring.

around the globe, the SCU was a multi-faceted and sophisticated organisation. From the early 1890s, the Scottish Christian Union became increasingly departmentalised, allowing its members to prosecute temperance work in ways suited to their talents and beliefs; these departments ranged in diversity from music and legislation to decoration and prohibition among ‘native races in heathen lands’. The SCU was highly esteemed among the temperance community in Scotland and praise like the following from the International Order of Good Templars was not unusual: “Taking advantage of every opportunity, the Association has brought temperance before the country with great earnestness and zeal”.⁴¹ Details of specific local campaigns and projects undertaken by the SCU, especially by the Glasgow Prayer Union and the Edinburgh Central Branch, will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. What is important here is to recognise that the SCU was an integral and respected component of the temperance reform community in Scotland.

The Scottish Christian Union was not, however, a provincial organisation, and its influence extended well beyond its borders. On the one hand, members of the SCU held positions on the executive of the BWTA, such as Miss Eliza Wigham (Edinburgh), Mrs George Stewart (Glasgow) and Mrs Henderson (Dundee).⁴² On the other hand, some of Scotland’s British Women were active throughout the Anglophone temperance-world. Mrs Margaret Parker of Dundee, for instance, acted as the president of the Woman’s International Temperance Union at the temperance congress in Philadelphia in 1876.⁴³ Moreover, SCU women often had family ties with the British colonies in Canada and Australasia, and women such as Mrs Isabel

⁴¹ IOGT, “The British Women’s Temperance Association in Scotland”, *Scottish Temperance Annual* (hereafter *STA*) (1900): 80-1.

⁴² These women were elected as vice-presidents when the BWTA was formed in 1876. Robertson, *BWTASCU*, 29. BWTASCU Collection.

⁴³ Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*, 57.

Napier were active both in the New Zealand Women's Christian Temperance Union and in the Scottish Christian Union. Chapter 4's discussion of the women's suffrage debate in the SCU will further illustrate empire's influence on female temperance reform in Scotland. Suffice to state, the Scottish Christian Union did not pursue its temperance work in a vacuum; Scotland's British Women both influenced and were influenced by the global women's temperance crusade of the late-nineteenth century.

Chapter 5 will show that empire (particularly New Zealand) was vital to the Scottish Christian Union's pro-women's suffrage stance, however the United States was more important in terms of the origins of the SCU. The Scottish Christian Union identified itself largely as an out-growth of the 'Whisky War' waged in Ohio in the winter of 1873-74. The 'Whisky War', also known as the Crusade, was initiated in western New York and Ohio by the speeches of Diocletian 'Dio' Lewis.⁴⁴ However, Lewis – who was involved with American women's attacks on saloons in the 1850s – had little role in the execution of the Crusade. The Crusade was an amazing outpouring of women's frustration with the affect of liquor on the community, and Jack S. Blocker Jr. estimates that the 'Whisky War' enlisted between 57,000 and 143,000 female crusaders in 911 crusades.⁴⁵ The Crusade had a strong evangelical character, and often took the form of mass marches and prayer meetings outside saloons. Charles A. Isettes has shown that the crusaders from a notable Crusade town in Ohio "formed the upper crust of their society, controlled most of the wealth, had uniformly white, native-born American, old-line family backgrounds, and were, in general, the dominant social and economic force in

⁴⁴ Blocker, *"Give to the Winds Thy Fears"*, 18.

⁴⁵ Blocker, *"Give to the Winds Thy Fears"*, 24.

Hillsboro at that time”.⁴⁶ Chapter 2 will demonstrate that the female templars of this study also belonged to the upper-middle classes and can be viewed as the social parallels of the Ohio crusaders.

The British Women were deeply impressed by the Crusade and described the ‘Whisky War’ as:

the women’s baptism by fire. It impelled them to take a position in Temperance work [and] public decision ... No lesser power than the power of the Holy Spirit of God could, in a moment, have changed their traditions and forced them to the front.⁴⁷

Blocker has demonstrated that American crusaders opened themselves up for ridicule and in some cases violent attack.⁴⁸ Their strong expressions of faith and their willingness to demand an end to men’s drinking deeply affected middle-class female reformers in Scotland. A particularly inspirational figure for the British Women was Eliza ‘Mother’ Stewart. ‘Mother’ Stewart was a prominent figure from the Crusade and was a direct influence on the creation both of the SCU and of the BWTA. Mrs Margaret Parker, mentioned above, met ‘Mother’ Stewart in Chicago at an International Order of Good Templars convention and was moved to invite her to tour Scotland. Stewart arrived in Glasgow on 1 April 1876 and began her six week tour that took in the west, east, Borders and Highlands. ‘Mother’ Stewart was also present at the Newcastle convention in 1876 when the BWTA was formed. When discussing the SCU, it is important not to underestimate the influence both of the Crusade and of Eliza ‘Mother’ Stewart. The records show that the Scottish Christian Union recognised the importance of American women’s temperance reform to its own organisation. For example, Miss Mary White, a founding member of the SCU,

⁴⁶ Charles A. Isettes, “A Social Profile of the Women’s Temperance Crusade: Hillsboro, Ohio”, in *Alcohol, Reform and Society: The Liquor Issue in Social Context*, ed. Jack S. Blocker Jr. (London: Greenwood Press, 1979), 108.

⁴⁷ Robertson, *BWTASCU*, 26. BWTASCU Collection.

⁴⁸ See Blocker, “*Give to the Winds Thy Fears*”, 76-7.

claimed that ‘Mother’ Stewart’s enthusiasm and adept public persona inspired the Glasgow temperance women to appear on public platforms and “to plead with our fellow-women to abstain from strong drink as the great enemy of the home”.⁴⁹ This analysis squares with a general consensus among historians that the Women’s Christian Temperance movement spread from the United States.⁵⁰

A particularly clear example of American influence on the Scottish Christian Union, was the British Women’s adoption of Frances Willard’s ‘do everything’ policy. Willard was one of the best known and most respected female temperance reformers both on an American and on an international level. She acted as president of the American WCTU for nineteen years between 1879 and 1898, prior to which time she had been the corresponding secretary from the inception of the WCTU in 1874. One of Willard’s greatest temperance legacies was her promotion of the ‘do everything’ programme. ‘Do everything’ was in many ways an articulation of Frances Willard’s desire to mobilise the WCTU in support of all ‘women’s issues’. Likewise, as Bordin has suggested, ‘do everything’ illustrated that the WCTU “approached temperance as part of a complex of related issues that should be dealt with simultaneously”.⁵¹ Barrow has argued that the BWTA was resistant to ‘do everything’ and feared an ‘Americanisation’ of the British Women’s Temperance Association.⁵² Barrow’s work helps to highlight the differences between the SCU and the BWTA. When ‘do everything’ was introduced in the early-1890s the

⁴⁹ Mary White, “Recollections of My Temperance Work”, *Scottish Women’s Temperance News* (hereafter *SWTN*) 2, no. 2 (Feb 1898): 22. BWTASCU Collection.

⁵⁰ The idea that American temperance reform inspired and influenced the movement in Britain extends beyond the rise of the WCTU and women’s role. American influence has also been identified in the development both of organised abstainers and of a prohibition lobby in Britain. For example, see Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*; A. E. Dingle, *The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England: The United Kingdom Alliance 1872-1895* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1980); and Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1971).

⁵¹ Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*, 97.

⁵² See Barrow, “Teetotal Feminists”.

Scottish Christian Union embraced it wholeheartedly. The practical result of ‘do everything’ was departmentalisation; the SCU had thirteen departments in 1893 and twenty by 1908. The SCU hailed ‘do everything’ and departmentalisation as a “systematising of different lines of work which had naturally evolved during the fifteen years of the Association’s existence”.⁵³ Rather than fearing a loss of identity or an ‘Americanisation’ of its temperance work, the SCU claimed that ‘do everything’ gave British Women the opportunity to channel most efficiently their individual energies into temperance reform:

Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are differences in administration, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which watch all in all.⁵⁴

Evidently, the Scottish Christian Union, rather than being threatened by American innovation, integrated ‘do everything’ into their temperance work and viewed departmentalisation as the best means for facilitating each British Woman’s ‘gifts’. In other words, the increasing professionalisation of the SCU’s temperance work was couched in a religious rhetoric that drew on evangelical emphases on the importance of the individual.

Considering the importance of the late-nineteenth-century women’s temperance movement to studies of ‘first-wave’ feminism and the diversity between the English and Scottish women’s temperance organisations, it is amazing that the Scottish Christian Union has been essentially ignored in British women’s history. Not only can the SCU reveal the internationalism of women’s suffrage it provides evidence of the extent of the women’s movement; constitutionalism existed outside the borders of the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies and the Scottish Federation of Women’s Suffrage Societies.

⁵³ Robertson, *BWTASCU*, 50. BWTASCU Collection.

⁵⁴ Robertson, *BWTASCU*, 55. BWTASCU Collection.

The Scottish Women's Liberal Federation

The party organisation, the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation, has also received little attention in studies of British suffragism. The SWLF was established in April 1891 and like its English counterpart, was formed in response both to women's exclusion from the main party organisation and to the notion that women had a specific and vital role to play.⁵⁵ The committees and the executive of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation were split by east and west, and meetings were held alternately in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The individual branches were called Women's Liberal Associations (WLAs) and their work was co-ordinated through the advice of the SWLF executive committee.

The emphasis that this thesis places on the importance of the SWLF contrasts with Martin Pugh's recent 'revisionist' analysis of Liberalism as the 'unexpected enemy' of suffragists. In *The March of the Women* Pugh sets up a stark contrast between the Primrose League and the (English) Women's Liberal Federation, and argues that the Primrose League women's comparative lack of political autonomy ultimately benefited suffragism: "The fact that the Primrose League members abstained from adopting policies on such subjects as female enfranchisement was of comparatively little significance; if anything their loyalty and patience almost certainly strengthened their case in the eyes of Tory politicians."⁵⁶ Although this statement suggests the question – How did this relationship with Tory politicians

⁵⁵ Julia Bush convincingly argues that women were wary of co-operation with men in their organisations and that men's role was largely confined to acting as 'experts'. She suggests that the women involved in voluntary work considered that in many aspects of their work *they* were the 'experts'. See Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power*, especially Chapter 4.

⁵⁶ Pugh, *The March of the Women*, 112.

influence the growth of feminism among Primrose women? – Pugh’s study seems oblivious to this type of enquiry. Pugh does recognise both that the Women’s Liberal Associations exerted a political autonomy unparalleled by Primrose habitations (branches), and that the SWLF took the lead in demanding women’s suffrage in 1891; however, he is more concerned with the (masculine) political establishment’s view of suffragists than with the feminisms of suffragists themselves. This represents what I see as the greatest flaw of his analysis. Pugh fixates on the supposed impetus given to suffragism by anti-suffragists’ arguments and thus suggests that suffragism was more sensitive to external political forces. In other words, he suggests that suffragists developed arguments primarily based on the political establishment’s (often spurious) view of ‘the woman question’. Since his discussion centres on suffrage as a debate within parliament, he views suffragists and suffragism through the masculine gaze. Thus, his work is less about the needs and desires that led women to feminism and more about the ways he believes that men’s perception of feminist arguments influenced suffragism.

Holton has recently described Pugh’s early work as coming from the ‘liberal-masculinist’ perspective. In her discussion of the development of suffrage historiography from the late-nineteenth century, Holton claims that although historians such as Pugh and Brian Harrison are more sympathetic to the goals of feminists than historians from the ‘sardonic-masculinist’ perspective, they are nonetheless “unable to break away entirely from gendered perspectives on political practice”.⁵⁷ Pugh’s discussion of ‘Conservative feminism’ highlights his ‘liberal-masculinist’ perspective: “By the 1890s thousands of Primrose League ladies regularly participated in election campaigns, in the process becoming an integral part

⁵⁷ Sandra Stanley Holton, “The Making of Suffrage History”, in *Votes for Women*, eds. Purvis and Holton, 24.

of the party's organizational machinery".⁵⁸ There can be little doubt that after the passage of the Reform Act, 1832 and the Corrupt Practices Acts, political parties came to rely on the organisational work of female volunteers. However, Walker has conclusively demonstrated that Tory women did not share the Liberal women's political autonomy, nor were they as effective in extending the boundaries of women's political role.⁵⁹ Indeed, Hirshfield's study of Liberal women demonstrates that women's organisational work in party political groups was not a guarantee of male politicians' respect.⁶⁰ Julia Bush's discussion of organised female imperialism also casts doubt on Pugh's argument. Bush highlights (upper-class) women's marginal status within the Primrose League using the example of the disagreement between the Ladies' Grand Council and the Grand Council in the late-1880s over the apportionment of membership fees and the running of local habitations. In response to this conflict, the Primrose League set up a committee to deal with negotiations between the Ladies' Grand Council and the (men's) Grand Council:

The Ladies' Council was less than impressed by the outcomes, which included the offer of a more influential role in organizing entertainments and the opportunity to study (but not discuss) the agendas of Grand Council meetings. By the turn of the century most leading women seem to have accepted the inevitability of their subordination within the League's central organization, though within the Habitations they were continuing to prove their organizing powers.⁶¹

In contrast, the Liberal women, within their women-only associations, exercised a high degree of control over which candidates were supported and set their own test questions on suffrage and vice issues. They – themselves – chose if a paid organiser should help a candidate. However, the Primrose League habitations were expected to tow the party line and the League took no official stance on

⁵⁸ Pugh, *The March of the Women*, 108.

⁵⁹ See Walker, "Party Political Women".

⁶⁰ See Hirshfield, "Fractured Faith".

⁶¹ Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power*, 59.

suffrage. This is not to suggest that all Conservative women were anti-suffragists or ambivalent towards suffrage work. Indeed, recent work on women's suffrage in Stirling cautions that there were regional variations in Conservative women's support for suffrage. Lynn Brewster has demonstrated that although the NUWSS was officially non-party, it often tacitly aligned with the Liberals, several of the leading members of the Stirling branch of the NUWSS were high profile Conservative women:

For example, Mrs Edmund Pullar president of the society was well known for her involvement in local Conservative and Unionist politics in the years prior to her role in suffrage. Mrs Pullar formed part of the executive committee of the Ladies Council of the Primrose League in 1906 and was also a regular platform member of the Stirlingshire Women's Unionist Association. Similarly, her vice-president Mrs Lambert Brown of Park Place, Stirling was also a loyal Primrose Dame and was awarded the grand star of the first grade in December of 1906 for her service to the Primrose League and proceeded to become Dame President in 1911. This is not to imply that the Stirling Society was a Conservative organisation as other committee members were involved in the Stirling Women's Liberal Association ... Nevertheless, there was an important Conservative force in the form of the president and the vice president, a situation that not only diverges from the national picture but is unusual given that Stirling was very much a Liberal town at that time.⁶²

However, although suffragists spoke at habitations and Primrose ladies were known to support women's suffrage, what is important here is that the Primrose League itself was far less committed than the SWLF to promoting and enlarging women's political role. However, I do not wish to overstate the radical influence of the Liberal women on suffragism. Although Pugh might cast aspersions on the loyalty of Liberal suffragists, records from suffrage organisations testify to their devotion to party and to the ideals of their Liberal middle-class community. Minute books record Liberal women's refusal to maintain their Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage membership if a Liberal candidate was to be

⁶² Lynn Brewster, "The Women's Suffrage Campaign from a Local Perspective: Stirling and its Environs 1871-1914"(Unpublished M.A. diss., Faculty of Arts, University of Glasgow, 2000), 17-8.

opposed, and the decision by the GWSAWS and the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies Kilmarnock Branch to resist the NUWSS's pro-Labour Election Fighting Fund was based on their high levels of Liberal membership.

Finally, the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation is important as a temperance organisation, as a constitutional suffragist organisation and as a political organisation in the 'feminine public sphere'. The SWLF operated departments devoted to temperance reform and to women's access to the political process (both at local and national levels). The SWLF collaborated with the NUWSS and the SFWSS and actively pursued women's equal enfranchisement through petitions, memorials and demonstrations. Moreover, the SWLF shows that the 'feminine public sphere' was composed not only of charitable organisations. The SWLF was founded as a means of bringing together women with a common political allegiance and to work for the good of their party. Although the SWLF was interested in philanthropic / social reform issues, it was a women's single-sex political organisation. Indeed, the importance of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation is given added weight by the notion that the Liberal Party "enjoyed a virtual hegemony in Scottish politics up to 1918".⁶³

Conclusion

Clearly, a more elastic approach to constitutional suffragism is needed to uncover the many aspects of this movement. The historiography of the British women's suffrage movement has long been overshadowed by the WSPU's account of its own role in the Edwardian women's movement, and by the internalisation of this narrative by the

⁶³ Finlay, "National Identity", 28.

'new women's history'. In contrast, this thesis takes a broad view of women's suffrage and incorporates women's party political and temperance organisations. In this way, the women's suffrage movement might be used as a window into the public world of Scotland's middle-class women. However, this study has implications for women's history outside Scotland. Although this study discusses suffragism through the lens of Glasgow and Edinburgh's women's movement, it is salient for studies of suffragism throughout Britain. Recent historiography has stressed the importance of regional and imperial studies to deconstructing the imagined distinctions between 'home' and 'empire', and indeed between 'England' and the 'Celtic fringe'. Late-nineteenth-century Scotland was an integral and important partner in Britain's bid for global supremacy. It is foolish to dismiss Scotland as homogeneous with England or to marginalise studies based on Scottish sources as irrelevant to British historiography. By coupling this analysis of suffragism with a study of women's involvement in temperance reform, this thesis will update British historiography with the first major recognition of the influence of the international Women's Christian Temperance movement on British / Scottish suffragism.

CHAPTER 2

MIDDLE-CLASS WOMEN'S PUBLIC CULTURE

The concepts of 'woman's mission' and of feminine moral superiority were intrinsic to middle-class women's culture in Scotland in the period 1870 to 1914. This chapter focuses on the cultural experiences and values that informed the 'feminine public sphere' by using three main themes to highlight the cultural factors that were most important to Scotland's public women: religion, social class and networks. Through an examination of the personal histories of several women, it is hoped that a broader picture will emerge of the middle-class women's culture that spawned the organisations studied here. The discussion of the 'distinct ministry' of women focuses on the importance of religious life and of evangelical culture to middle-class women's public work. This chapter's analysis of social class is characterised by an emphasis on the links between middle-class identity and civic life. For instance, an analysis of women's approaches to philanthropy and to local government will demonstrate their collusion with and creation of a (women's) middle-class identity. Finally, this chapter evaluates the importance and the character of women's networks, kinship alliances and patterns of cross-membership.

Two samples of women form the basis of this discussion: a biographical sample and a membership sample. The biographical sample includes nine women who were prominent in the organisations studied here. The biographical sample is so called because there is more known about these women than their names and their dates of membership to one or more of the organisations. All of the women in biographical sample were born before the mid-century, between 1815 and 1839, with the exception Miss Elsie Corbett who was born in 1893. The membership sample is

drawn from the lists of (especially executive) committee members included in the records of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage, the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage, the Edinburgh Central Branch and the Glasgow Prayer Union of the Scottish Christian Union, the Kilmarnock Branch of the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation. The evaluation of networks makes particular use of the membership sample. The records vary in the consistency and quality of their membership lists but do provide a substantial number of names; for instance the records of the ENSWS include the years 1868-78, but there is a gap until 1892 and again between 1892 and 1907. In contrast, the records from the SWLF, which include the years 1891 to 1914, and the Scottish Christian Union Edinburgh Central Branch, which span the period 1888 to 1914, provide consistent reports of the names of executive committee members and of departmental superintendents. Two databases were created based on the membership sample: one to trace cross-membership, consisting of the names of members from all organisations; and a second to chart the geographical distribution of members using the street addresses of members included in the ENSWS and the Edinburgh Central Branch reports.* Thus, through the combined use of qualitative and quantitative source material this chapter will provide an in-depth view of middle-class women's public lives in Scotland, thereby illustrating the culture of the 'feminine public sphere'.

* I am grateful for the kind help of Dr Donald Spaeth who took time out to teach me how to create and use historical databases. Please see Appendix 3 for details of the databases.

The 'Distinct Ministry' of Women

'Woman's mission' was key to middle-class women's sense of entitlement to a public role. Evangelical notions both of the individual's duty to redeem her / his fellows and of feminine moral superiority resulted in the development of what Lesley A. Orr MacDonald has termed a 'distinct ministry' of women. In her discussion of the influence of missionary work on women's public lives, MacDonald has argued that:

It [missionary work] espoused and gloried in the idea of a distinct ministry. It affirmed apparently conservative values relating to gender, race and class. But the movement was instrumental in helping shape (in a society dominated by religious belief and culture) a more positive view of women's sphere.¹

Thus, MacDonald suggests that evangelicalism's stress on the notion of women's equal but different role in religion and society allowed female missionaries to carve out a special 'public' role. Similarly, Eileen Janes Yeo has suggested that religion was one of the only forces powerful enough to support feminists' resistance to the *status quo*: "on the intellectual level, religion can provide a belief system which is culturally powerful at a particular historical moment and yet which can be manipulated to shape gender identities different from the conventional models, legitimising them with transcendent authority".² Religion and networks among the faithful were responsible for expanding women's opportunities for public work, however the 'distinct ministry' of women relied on the conservative morality that was encapsulated in the idea of 'woman's mission'.

¹ Lesley A. Orr MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland 1830-1930* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 2000), 157.

² Eileen Janes Yeo, "Protestant Feminists and Catholic Saints in Victorian Britain", in *Radical Femininity*, ed. Yeo, 141.

Of all the features common to the experiences of the women in this study, religion was perhaps one of the most important. Although the organisations considered here drew members from a range of Protestant denominations, a Christian worldview was central both to the groups and to the individual members. Historians of Victorian society have asserted that religion was an essential part of everyday life in nineteenth-century Britain:

it was difficult for a middle-class child born in the second half of the nineteenth century to escape a fair amount of contact with some form of Christianity in his [or her] early years. The forms, and the intensity which they were adhered to, varied greatly, but 'religion' was ubiquitous, and in relation to it everyone was obliged to adopt some sort of position.³

Likewise, the centrality of religion to 'first-wave' feminism has been summarised by Sue Morgan: "Whether women embraced conventional forms of religiosity or rejected them in favour of heterodox spiritual alternatives ... religion proved a powerful influence upon feminist epistemological horizons".⁴ The personal histories of the women involved in the organisations under examination here testify to the pervasive influence of religion on the ideology and methodology of Scotswomen's organisations. In the quest to carry out 'woman's mission', these Christian women were convinced of the importance of their 'distinct ministry', which prized the special 'nature' of women and, as I will show here, these religious beliefs directly influenced women's choices for public work.

Recent trends in British history have emphasised the importance of religion to an understanding of nineteenth-century society. For instance, Simon Gunn has described church-going as the largest single Victorian activity and the 'only site' where men, women and children gathered together:

³ Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1974), 139.

⁴ Sue Morgan, "Faith, Sex and Purity: The Religio-Feminist Theory of Ellice Hopkins", *WHR* 9, no. 1 (2000): 14.

It was in the context of church and chapel that the principal discursive themes of middle-class life, the proper mode of capital accumulation and use of wealth, an ideal of culture, specific ordering of social relations, were articulated. For these reasons, religion represented an important nexus through which a middle class was socially constituted and ideologically activated.⁵

Similarly, historians such as Jane Haggis and Morgan have pressed the case for greater attention to religion in women's history.⁶ They argue that women's historians' dismissive treatment of religion underestimates the importance of faith to nineteenth-century society. Equally, my research into the 'feminine public sphere' emphasises the importance of feminine moral superiority and 'woman's mission', two concepts 'constituted and ideologically activated' largely in the context of evangelical Protestantism. The personal histories outlined here will further demonstrate the importance of religion to middle-class public women.

Of the nine women in the biographical sample, four were connected to the Society of Friends: Miss Agnes Ann Bryson, Mrs Priscilla Bright McLaren, Miss Mary White and Miss Eliza Wigham. Agnes Ann Bryson, Mary White and Eliza Wigham were all members of the Edinburgh Women's Monthly Meeting and were distinguished among Friends:

Within recent years three maiden ladies have been among the most active and zealous of our small body in Scotland, – Eliza Wigham, of Edinburgh, and Mary White and Agnes Ann Bryson, of Glasgow. They have now all departed, and their places have not been filled; but their influence has not faded, and we may yet reap a harvest from the seed which they sowed.⁷

Agnes Ann Bryson (1831?-1907), also known as Ann Bryson, was born in New York State but came to Scotland as a child, and lived her life in Glasgow where she was a

⁵ Simon Gunn, "The Ministry, the Middle Class and the 'Civilising Mission' in Manchester, 1850-80", *Social History* 21, no. 1 (Jan 1996): 23.

⁶ See Jane Haggis, "'A Heart that Has Felt the Love of God and Longs for Others to Know It': Conventions of Gender, Tensions of Self and Constructions of Difference in Offering to be a Lady Missionary", *WHR* 7, no. 2 (1998): 171-92; and Morgan, "Faith, Sex and Purity".

⁷ Society of Friends, "Agnes Ann Bryson", *Annual Monitor* 96 (1909): 14. Library of the Society of Friends (hereafter LSF).

Quaker Overseer. Miss Bryson was a key figure in the Scottish Christian Union and was heavily involved with ‘rescue’ work among drunken women. Mary White (1827-1903), Ann Bryson’s close companion and co-worker, co-operated closely with Miss Bryson in the course of temperance reform. Mary White and Ann Bryson’s temperance work will be discussed in depth in Chapter 3; what is important for the present discussion is the idea that their connections with the Society of Friends were indispensable to their efforts in the ‘feminine public sphere’. Elizabeth Isichei has commented that the Society of Friends was particularly well-adapted to voluntarism:

Quakerism, with its periodic gatherings and close personal ties, was singularly well adapted to the spread of philanthropic enthusiasm. A single Quaker who was widely loved and esteemed could exercise incalculable influence among his fellow members.⁸

Indeed, as the experiences of Ann Bryson and Mary White show, a single Quaker could greatly influence *her* fellow members, and Misses White and Bryson drew on the network of Friends to promote temperance ‘rescue’ work with ‘the female inebriate’.

Ann Bryson and Mary White were well-respected among Friends and they successfully appealed to the Society for help in establishing the Whitevale Mission Shelter (originally the Prison Gate Mission), a women’s temperance home in Glasgow. Misses Bryson and White used the Quaker journal, the *Monthly Friend*, to propose the mission: “There is an unoccupied piece of ground opposite the prison on which she [Miss Bryson] proposes, when the Lord sends the means, to erect a plain brick building as a washing-house and laundry”.⁹ The Friends financially supported

⁸ Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 238.

⁹ Mary White, “Proposed ‘Prison Gate Mission’ for Glasgow” *Monthly Record* 8, no. 102 (Nov 1877): 172. LSF.

Miss Bryson's scheme, and thereafter either Miss White or Miss Bryson sent a progress report on the mission to the *Monthly Record*.

The origins of the Whitevale Mission Shelter demonstrate the importance of religious networks for women's participation in the 'feminine public sphere'. However, this is not to suggest that women cynically and strategically manipulated their religious communities to gain access to the voluntary sector and public life. For most women, Christianity or the 'distinct ministry' of women was a strong basis for their public lives. In this example, there is no doubt that Miss Bryson's faith was sincere and that she saw herself following a Christian 'woman's mission':

For more than a year this subject has rested heavily on the mind of Agnes A. Bryson, with the belief that the Lord was calling her to devote herself to this work for Him, and open a washing-house, where such [inebriate] women could be welcomed to honest work and a personal influence gained over them for good.¹⁰

Moreover, the evangelical rhetoric of female templars emphasised women's divinely appointed role to bring sinners to Jesus. The speech of Mrs Archibald Campbell, an early member of the Glasgow Prayer Union, at the annual meeting of the Scottish Christian Union in Glasgow shows that temperance women saw themselves as personally responsible for bringing Christ into the lives of poor drunken sinners: "She had found her temperance work a great blessing to her own soul, and besought the Christian women present to give themselves to this work for God, and try to save the poor drunkards by bringing them to Jesus".¹¹ Clearly, religion could impart personal fulfilment by providing women with an opportunity to morally regenerate society as well as a means to cultivate their public works.

¹⁰ White, "Proposed 'Prison Gate Mission'", 172. LSF.

¹¹ Scottish Temperance League (hereafter STL), "British Women's Temperance Association", *League Journal* no. 46 (Nov 1882): 723.

Considering the minor presence of Quakers in Scotland, it is significant that some of the most prominent public women of this study should be drawn from their numbers. Thomas C. Kennedy's recent monograph on British Quakerism has argued that women in the Society of Friends were better equipped for a public role than "almost any other comparable group of females in British life".¹² Historians of Quakerism have debated how well popular nineteenth-century perceptions of female Friends' relative liberty reflected the experiences of Quaker women. For instance, Kennedy and Isichei have argued that while Quaker women shared in the preaching of the Word, they were nonetheless largely barred from the administration and decision making of the Society.¹³ Indeed, constitutional equality of the sexes was not admitted among British Friends until 1898.¹⁴ However, as is shown above, the Quaker women of this study were exceptional and known throughout the Society and although they may not have had much influence on the administration of the Society, the opportunity to preach was important:

Quakers had always maintained that Christian ministry was not a male preserve but was rather based on a diversity of God-given gifts to be shared by all who composed the universal priesthood of believers. Thus, according to their gifts, male and female Friends shared equally in the ministry of the word.¹⁵

Certainly, the notion and practice of equality could diverge. However, Quaker women in the 1870 to 1914 period were known to preach, and in 1878 Miss Mary White was recorded as a minister. This is an important point since although all Friends were entitled to preach, to be recorded as a minister signified the status of first among equals; it suggests that the preacher was recognised as having a special

¹² Thomas C. Kennedy, *British Quakerism 1860-1912: The Transformation of a Religious Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 234.

¹³ See Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*; and Kennedy, *British Quakerism*.

¹⁴ Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, 227.

¹⁵ Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, 211.

gift for the ministry.¹⁶ Certainly, Miss White was known as more outspoken than Miss Bryson: “In our meetings Mary White held a foremost place, but was helped by the sympathy and encouragement and occasionally by the voice of her friend”.¹⁷ So although Quaker women may not have had much power to administer the Society, the opportunities for preaching allowed women with a passion for the ministry to develop their public speaking skills, a talent that could be employed in the course of social reform as well as religious worship.

The ‘distinct ministry’ of women also supported middle-class women’s public role in empire. Imperialist and evangelical discourse often meshed by virtue of the emphasis that both placed on ‘salvation’ and ‘civilisation’, and Haggis has demonstrated that foreign missionary work provides a model blending of religious and imperial discourses:

By mid-century, an imperial version of the evangelical woman’s personal responsibility for the moral and spiritual well-being of society had been hammered out in the nexus between missionary wives in India and their supporters at home. A mission of sisterhood, as it was called, cast British women as the saviours of Indian woman, their God-given task to liberate them from the imprisoning *zenana*.¹⁸

What is key here, is the notion of women’s role as ‘saviours’. It was no great leap of faith for female missionaries – in the home or imperial missionary fields – to extend the evangelical notion of ‘woman’s mission’ as the moral guardians of the ‘domestic sphere’ to encompass middle-class women’s ‘distinct ministry’ in the ‘public’ and ‘philanthropic spheres’. In other words:

The dynamic of imperialism and empire provided the fulcrum for the reworking of evangelical womanhood in ways which stretched the ‘separate spheres’ ideology well beyond the confines of the home, the ideal locus of

¹⁶ I am grateful for the insights offered me during a private conversation with Mr Paul F. Burton. Mr Burton is an expert on Quakerism in Scotland, and is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in the history of Scottish Quakerism at the University of Strathclyde.

¹⁷ Society of Friends, “Agnes Ann Bryson”, 13. LSF.

¹⁸ Haggis, ““A Heart that Has Felt the Love of God and Longs for Others to Know It””, 173.

feminine moral and spiritual influence, or the arenas of community and class traversed by women's philanthropic agency.¹⁹

Although religion and women's missionary work can be shown to have expanded middle-class women's choices for public work, it is less clear the extent to which experiences in religion and imperialism acted as emancipatory forces. In other words, it is apparent that evangelical beliefs regarding a woman's responsible relationship with God, coupled with evangelical emphasis on feminine moral superiority, encouraged the ideology of the 'distinct ministry' of women as illustrated in the case of women's foreign missionary work. However, in the historiography of women, religion and missions, there is divergence over the influence of the missionary field on the emancipation of women. The following personal histories help to reveal the extent of imperial missionary work's emancipatory role.

In the 1870s, the need for female missionaries for *zenana* work was established and women began to enter the missionary field as independent missionaries and not 'just' as the wives of missionaries. *Zenana* was the Indian practice of segregating women from men in the home, a domestic realm into which only female missionaries could gain entry. Mrs Margaret Catherine Blaikie (1823-1915) was the president of the Scottish Christian Union for twenty-nine years. She had other reform interests, however, and was involved in several imperialist enterprises, namely emigrating orphaned children to Canada and foreign missionary work. Her work in child emigration is detailed in Chapter 3; this discussion focuses on Mrs Blaikie's work for foreign missions. Near the turn of the century, Margaret Blaikie became involved with the Foreign Missionary Society; in 1883, the Church of Scotland Assembly had sanctioned Presbyterian ladies' auxiliaries to church

¹⁹ Haggis, "'A Heart that Has Felt the Love of God and Longs for Others to Know It'", 174.

reform and missionary organisations. A selection of letters from 1898, 1902 and 1903 suggest that Mrs Blaikie led a ladies' auxiliary. Ladies' auxiliaries at home were an integral part of the support structure for female missionaries abroad, and MacDonald has provided a description of the type of work undertaken by these groups; they held 'work parties' to produce 'fancy goods' for sale, engaged in public speaking, and met with female missionaries on furlough.²⁰ Scripture and abstracts from missionaries' letters were often read at 'work parties'. Certainly, the correspondence between Margaret Blaikie and William Stevenson, who co-ordinated the efforts of ladies' auxiliaries, shows the importance both of visits from missionaries and of fundraising to the operations of the ladies' auxiliaries.²¹ It is interesting to note the continuity that ran through the range of middle-class women's organisations. William Stevenson wrote to Margaret Blaikie in 1898, urging her to organise a ladies' auxiliary at the Presbyterian congregation in North Berwick. This letter suggests that, like the branches of the Scottish Christian Union, the Foreign Missionary Society's ladies' auxiliaries functioned partly as prayer unions: "The main idea is that the women of the congregation meet at least once a month for prayer on behalf of the women's mission".²² As Chapters 3 and 4 will show, prayer was an essential part of the SCU's meetings, making 'praise and prayer' central features of Margaret Blaikie's public life. Likewise, her personal experience reflects the experiences of the thousands of other women involved in organisations such as the Scottish Christian Union and the Foreign Missionary Society that saw 'praise and prayer' as a fundamental aspect of their work.

²⁰ For more on Scotswomen's work for foreign missions, see MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*, especially Chapter 3.

²¹ Foreign Mission Society, *Letter from William Stevenson to Margaret Blaikie* (1902). National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS) MSS 7926.

²² Foreign Mission Society, *Letter from William Stevenson to Margaret Blaikie* (1898). NLS MSS 7922.

So, was women's imperial missionary work a liberating force? Judith Rowbotham's recent investigation of independent female missionaries argues that female missionary work was an emancipatory influence. Although her discussion relates mainly to women missionaries in foreign parts, she refers to the importance of women's work at home on behalf of female missionaries:

The very establishment of societies and auxiliaries solely for putting large numbers of lady missionaries in the field is evidence of the scale of women's involvement ... Large numbers of women were consequently well-informed enthusiasts about activities in the mission field, both generally and in relation to specific fields of labour or missionary societies.²³

Rowbotham's study reflects Susan Thorne's analysis; Thorne sees women's independent development of foreign missions, and especially the employment of paid female missionaries, as a challenge to women's subordinate social status.²⁴ In contrast, MacDonald's study of women and Presbyterianism in Scotland is more cautious in ascribing an emancipatory role to women's missionary work: "Involvement in mission, especially in the field, but also at home, had the practical effect of transforming the lives of many women, without necessarily transforming their consciousness".²⁵

The tension between religion's conservative morality and gender ideology and the opportunities for public roles offered by religion suggests the need for an understanding of feminism that includes Christian women. In her study of Ellice Hopkins and the social purity movement, Morgan has offered the term 'religio-feminism'. Morgan shows that religio-feminists must be analysed within the context of their faith:

²³ Judith Rowbotham, "'Soldiers of Christ'? Images of Female Missionaries in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain: Issues of Heroism and Martyrdom", *Gender & History* 12, no. 1 (Apr 2000): 99.

²⁴ See Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

²⁵ MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*, 157.

Her [Hopkins's] appeal to action combined the conventional feminine values of the private sphere with religious inspiration in a language that celebrated the virtues of women as distinct from men.²⁶

In other words, the public lives of middle-class, religiously inspired women were often justified by an emphasis on the 'complementary natures' of women and men. Yeo has pointed out the problematic character of this type of feminism: "Most activist women assigned maternity to the female sex alone, thus ratifying women's conventional monopoly over nurture and emotion, a division of human qualities inhibiting for the development both of women and men".²⁷ However, although religio-feminism might ultimately confine women to particular roles, it was a potent source of women's confidence to take up work in the 'feminine public sphere'.

Clearly, Mrs Margaret Blaikie, in her various public works – temperance reform, child emigration and home work for missionaries – conceived of her own 'distinct ministry'. Mrs Blaikie was a committed devotee of 'rescue' work and was interested in the 'salvation' of orphan children, female drinkers and 'heathens in native lands'. Certainly, Mrs Blaikie was interested in perpetuating the middle-class, evangelical cultural values of family, faith, sobriety and self-help. However, it would be unjust to reduce her interest in social reform as religiously informed social control. As Chapters 3 and 4 will show, social control was an element of temperance reform but it must be seen alongside middle-class public women's sincere fidelity to the 'distinct ministry' of women. Moreover, although Mrs Blaikie's public work in pursuit of 'woman's mission' may have been founded on a traditional view of women's moral function, her belief in the 'distinct ministry' of women did integrate her into the imperial project while simultaneously expanding her public obligations. Finally, the 'distinct ministry' of women was often interpreted as women's work

²⁶ Morgan, "Faith, Sex and Purity", 18.

²⁷ Yeo, "Protestant Feminists and Catholic Saints", 144.

among women, and this can be seen in the case of Margaret Blaikie who – like many women – worked with women and on behalf of women, either middle-class missionaries or ‘benighted’ sisters in India. Thus, although the motives of imperialist women may appear to contemporary eyes as misguided at best and malicious at worst, women’s participation in missionary work can be seen as women-centred activity that, in MacDonald’s words, helped to shape ‘a more positive view of women’s sphere’.

Historians are increasingly recognising the organic relationship between imperialism and nineteenth-century British feminism. In the words of Burton:

the influence of imperial culture on late nineteenth-century feminist ideology should be no more surprising than, for example, the impact of the industrial revolution on women’s lives, or that of liberal individualist discourse on the Victorian women’s movement ... Even if imperial consciousness is difficult to measure few historians today would disagree that a sense of national and racial superiority based on Britain’s imperial status was an organizing principle of Victorian culture.²⁸

Women’s foreign missionary work suggests that the relationship between feminism and imperialism was enhanced by religious belief; certainly evangelical Protestantism’s claims to spiritual superiority encouraged the sense of racial superiority referred to by Burton. Imperialist women’s sense of ‘national and racial superiority’ and of duty towards their ‘heathen’ sisters is further illustrated by the work of Dr Agnes McLaren (1837-1913). Agnes McLaren, more often associated with Edinburgh feminist circles, the Edinburgh National Society for Women’s Suffrage and the campaign for women’s access to medical training, was also involved in foreign missionary work. A biographer has suggested that Agnes McLaren’s decision to join the medical profession was motivated by her sense of Christian duty:

²⁸ Burton “The White Woman’s Burden”, 137.

From her study of the Gospels there grew up in her a deep personal love of Christ and a great desire to serve Him in the sick and poor. In order to better accomplish this, at the age of 40, she decided to become a physician, convinced that she could best serve God and her neighbour in this capacity.²⁹

Since she was barred from medical training in the United Kingdom, she studied at Montpellier, France where she stayed with the Franciscan Hospital Sisters. During her twenty years in France, although Presbyterian, she regularly went on retreats under the guidance of a Catholic priest at Lyons; she converted to Roman Catholicism at the age of sixty.³⁰ In France, she practised medicine, accepting payment from the rich but treating the poor *pro bono*. At the age of seventy-two, Agnes McLaren travelled to Rawalpindi where she founded a hospital for women and children with the help of the missionary Monsignor Dominic Wagner and a committee in London. Since her health prevented her from taking charge of the hospital, she sought out Sister-doctors but traditional Church regulations prohibited Sisters from practising medicine. Her sense of Christian mission and the “medical needs, misery and helplessness of the ‘purdah’ women in the Orient” led her to agitate for Sister-doctors for work in the missionary field.³¹ Thus, she lobbied Rome five times for women’s permission to train in medicine. Her work inspired the Austrian-born Anna Dengel to study medicine, to take over the hospital in India and to found the Medical Mission Sisters in Washington D. C. in 1925. Over twenty years after McLaren’s death, Rome issued instructions that Sisters were permitted to study and to practice medicine. The later period of Dr McLaren’s life demonstrates an approach to women’s rights issues based on religious inspiration. Certainly, a sense of ‘national and racial superiority’ over the ‘helpless “purdah” women of the

²⁹ *Doctor Agnes McLaren (1837-1913) Physician Convert Pioneer* (1953), 1. NLS HP1. 86. 2696.

³⁰ For more on the conversion of Protestant feminists, see Yeo, “Protestant Feminists and Catholic Saints”.

³¹ *Doctor Agnes McLaren*, 1. NLS HP1. 86. 2696.

Orient' coloured McLaren's attitudes towards Indian women. Although her attitudes were influenced by imperialist notions of superiority, Dr McLaren's interest in Asian women's health was sincere, motivated by an internal sense of mission. In other words, her medical mission represents an aspect of the Christian life of service she embarked on when she sought medical training.

To summarise, the religiously inspired 'distinct ministry' of women served as a powerful catalyst for middle-class women's movement into public life. Miss Ann Bryson's reliance on religious networks demonstrates that religious communities could encourage and support women's work in the 'feminine public sphere'. Likewise, Mrs Margaret Blaikie's involvement in the foreign missionary movement and Dr Agnes McLaren's medical mission both illustrate the centrality of evangelical notions of 'woman's mission' to the movement of women into the 'public sphere' of the imperial project. Lastly, the women in this study are bound together by a common experience of religion. Although women's worship varied among the Presbyterian, Quaker and (minor) Roman Catholic presence in the organisations discussed here, a faith in a Christian 'woman's mission' was an important motivation for middle-class women's public work.

Middle-Class Identity and the 'Public Sphere'

Middle-class women's desire to take up public work was largely a response to the value that the middle classes placed on civic life; the 'feminine public sphere' was the site of middle-class women's civic work which included participation in philanthropy and local government. This investigation of middle-class women's philanthropic and government roles is aimed at revealing the class identity of public

women, an approach which is in line with recent discussions of social class that focus on the cultural identity imparted by class, particularly in the context of public life. For instance, Martin Gorsky has argued that: “Voluntary charitable associations were the means by which the middle class sought to mould social relations in the provincial city, and their structure of open membership based on subscription offered a public site in which status might be claimed and shared values developed”.³² Gorsky’s analysis highlights two points salient to my discussion of middle-class women’s public lives: first, that civic life was intrinsic to middle-class identity; and second, that the middle classes were attracted to participation in public life as a means for securing status and prestige.

Middle-class women were heavily involved in voluntary charity, however they are largely absent from studies of class identity and civic life; the goal here is to help to integrate women into these analyses. Women’s minor role in studies of class identity seems incongruous with historians’ discussions of philanthropy as the primary outlet for women’s public work.³³ This seems to be the result of a certain interpretation of the ‘separate spheres’ and a focus on mixed-sex organisations rather than women’s single-sex societies. For instance, Neil Evans claims that:

Charity began close enough to home for it to be seen as an extension of the domestic concerns of women – so they could distribute alms, run soup kitchens and visit the wards of hospitals. Young men could indulge in morally more risky ventures like distributing tracts to seamen or evangelising and preaching temperance under the auspices of the YMCA. Mature men

³² Martin Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy: Charity and Society in Nineteenth Century Bristol* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Royal Historical Society and The Boydell Press, 1999), 202.

³³ For example, see Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*; John L. Duthie, “Philanthropy and Evangelism among Aberdeen Seamen, 1814-1924”, *The Scottish Historical Review* 63, no. 2 (Oct 1984): 155-73; Seth Koven, “Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action and Child Welfare in Britain 1840 to 1914”, in *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Creation of Welfare States*, eds. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel (London: Routledge, 1993), 94-135; F. K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); and Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1985).

signed the cheques and sat on committees. There was, then, a division of labour in philanthropic activities along age and sex lines.³⁴

Evans's polarisation of women's and men's roles in philanthropy underestimates variation among the experiences of female philanthropists. Certainly, the ideology of 'separate spheres' influenced a sexual division of labour and this can be clearly seen in the relationship between the main body of a mixed-sex organisation and the ladies' auxiliary. Ladies' auxiliaries were often attached to male-dominated mixed-sex philanthropic agencies, and although ladies' auxiliaries were subordinate to the main (men's) organisation, they were indispensable since they carried much of the responsibility for the practical running of the society such as fund-raising and visiting the poor. However, women took on many more roles in single-sex organisations including public speaking, financial administration and policy making. The importance of single-sex organisations has been highlighted by Jenny Dagers. Dagers shows that while women's single-sex groups were premised on women's subordination (philanthropic women's authority over poorer women had long been viewed as of secondary importance), single-sex organisations allowed "new models of women's authority and autonomy to develop as alternatives to the model of domestic patriarchy".³⁵ I agree with Dagers's assessment; women's public work in single-sex societies was informed by women's acceptance of middle-class ideals of female domesticity – itself entangled with the ideology of 'woman's mission' – however, this work was not simply an extension of domestic duties. As this study of women's single-sex organisations will show, women's public lives were simultaneously expressions of religiously inspired gender roles (domesticity) and of

³⁴ Neil Evans, "Urbanisation, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy: Cardiff, 1850-1914", *International Review of Social History* 27 (1982): 298.

³⁵ Jenny Dagers, "The Victorian Female Civilising Mission and Women's Aspirations towards Priesthood in the Church of England", *WHR* 10, no. 4 (2001): 657.

women's ambitions for a broader public role in politics. For these reasons it is necessary that middle-class women are accorded more recognition in the consolidation of a middle-class identity through public life.³⁶

Although this discussion is most interested in the influence of civic life on middle-class identity, I recognise that multiple factors contributed to the formation of middle-class cultural values. For example, the organic relationship between religion and women's public lives discussed earlier in this chapter reflects an association between religion and social class; social histories of nineteenth-century religion have suggested that the nexus of evangelicalism, the rise of the middle classes and urbanisation was essential to the generation of a bourgeois identity. Callum Brown's analysis of religion in Scotland convincingly argues that the urban middle classes were attracted to evangelical Protestantism as a means of distinguishing their social class from the working and landed classes. This view leads Brown to conclude that:

It [evangelicalism] was not so much a theological system as a framework of response to the emergence of modern urban society. It was not limited to any one denomination, nor was it the sole preserve of the middle classes, for it enveloped the values which governed the urban social system. But the middle classes, as a broad yet remarkably united social elite, were the masters of its development.³⁷

Thus, religion and issues of religion helped to define social class, and in a reciprocal relationship, social class influenced attitudes towards religion; plainly, multiple variables contributed to the generation of class identity.

Another such variable is socio-economic position. In other words, status within society and membership of a social class is partly dependent upon how an individual makes her / his money. The women studied here were drawn from the

³⁶ All of the organisations used in this study are single-sex, with the possible exception of the GWSAWS which allowed men to join its executive committee. However, the GWSAWS was managed by women and women did not take a subordinate position on a ladies' auxiliary.

³⁷ Callum Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, (Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 101-2.

leisured middle classes and so their socio-economic position is best viewed through their families' occupations. In this analysis, the women in the biographical and membership samples come from a range of middle-class backgrounds: the manufacturing, merchant and professional sectors. Of the nine women in the biographical sample four had families involved in manufacturing. Eliza Wigham's father, John Wigham Tertius, moved to Edinburgh in 1805 to join his cousin John Wigham in cotton and shawl manufacture. Mr James Stevenson, the father of Misses Louisa and Flora Stevenson, had been a senior partner at Jarrow Chemical Company in Glasgow before moving to Edinburgh in 1854. Although Miss Elise Corbett's father was more distinguished by work as an MP, her mother, Mrs Alice Mary Corbett nee Polson, came from a prominent Paisley manufacturing family. Finally, Mary White's father, William, was described in the Society of Friends *Digest of Births, Marriages and Burials in Scotland* as a 'Merchant'.³⁸ Although this sample is too small to develop a comprehensive picture of the socio-economic composition of Scotswomen's organisations, it does indicate that public women came from a variety of middle-class backgrounds.

Middle-class identity was also generated by less material factors such as the development and maintenance of shared cultural values. In her discussion of Glasgow's middle classes, Stana Nenadic demonstrates that a variety of what she calls 'ideal states' of being intersected to help form a middle-class identity:

Rather than a strong sense of class or community interests, what characterised the middle classes of this period more than anything else was their collective construction of, and aspiration towards, a series of ideal states of desirable existence that encompassed material life, family, work and community, in the face of a real experience that was often bleak and marked by enormous vicissitudes.³⁹

³⁸ Society of Friends, *Digest of Births, Marriages and Burials in Scotland*. National Archives of Scotland CH 10 / 1 / 64.

³⁹ Nenadic, "The Victorian Middle Classes", 266.

Although the ‘separate spheres’ may have curtailed middle-class women’s ability to participate in this ‘collective aspiration’ through work in the ‘public sphere’, they were not excluded from civic life in the community. It is this idea – that participation in public life was integral to upper-middle and middle-class prestige – that is most important for this study. The connection between civic life and middle-class culture has been explored in recent discussions of social class. For example, Richard H. Trainor’s study of Glasgow’s nineteenth-century elite argues that:

status as an ‘influential citizen’ usually presupposed some prominent service in a municipal, philanthropic or community business organisation, thereby demonstrating ‘wisdom and public spirit as a member of the community’ and ‘activity and munificence as a Christian philanthropist’.⁴⁰

Trainor’s discussion demonstrates that middle-class males had greater access to municipal and business organisations as well as to administrative positions in philanthropic groups. Nonetheless, middle-class women did have access to the ‘public sphere’, especially via philanthropy, social reform and local government; the middle-class ‘feminine public sphere’ included lady’s auxiliaries, women’s single-sex groups and women on local boards.

The ‘feminine public sphere’ was organised around what Kathleen D. McCarthy has called ‘parallel power structures’. In her discussion of American women’s charitable work, McCarthy highlights the importance of the ‘parallel power structures’ of the ‘philanthropic sphere’ as a site for women’s public work: “Unlike men, who enjoyed a host of political, commercial, and social options in their pursuit of meaningful careers, women most often turned to nonprofit institutions and reform associations as their primary access to public roles”.⁴¹ Middle-class women’s

⁴⁰ Trainor, “The Elite”, 228.

⁴¹ Kathleen D. McCarthy, “Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere”, in *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy and Power*, ed. Kathleen D. McCarthy (London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 1.

organisations can therefore be seen to represent ‘parallel’ institutions to the various societies and organisations accessible by their male peers. Through these ‘parallel power structures’ lady philanthropists were able to consolidate their middle-class Christian values in the form of charitable and reform programmes.

The ‘parallel power structures’ of philanthropic and social reform organisations offered not only a route to the ‘public sphere’ but also an opportunity for women’s self-actualisation through work. Studies of nineteenth-century female philanthropy suggest that the middle classes’ faith in individual self-actualisation through work stimulated women’s involvement in philanthropy. Ellen Jordan has highlighted the importance of work for personal development by arguing that the middle classes adhered to an “entrepreneurial ideal: the gospel of work and the ideal of self-dependence”.⁴² In recognition of the importance of work for personal fulfilment, Gorsky has proposed that women’s work in voluntary charity “must surely have enhanced the sense of self-worth which barriers to education and the labour market denied them”.⁴³ Thus, the public world of philanthropy had different meanings for women; middle-class men had much greater access to higher education, professional life and civic life than their female peers. In view of the divergence between middle-class women’s and men’s opportunities for meaningful careers, philanthropy takes on an added dimension when viewed from a gendered perspective; women in the ‘feminine public sphere’ placed the same importance on civic life as their male counterparts, however philanthropy and social reform were more significant for women’s middle-class identity than men’s.

Thus, philanthropy was a major site of middle-class activity, a pursuit through which the women *and* the men of the middle classes sought to define

⁴² Jordan, *The Women’s Movement and Women’s Employment*, 159.

⁴³ Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, 172.

themselves in opposition to their social and economic inferiors. Gunn has affirmed the importance of voluntary work to middle-class identity:

While the ‘civilising mission’ enabled the middle class to present itself as the principle agent of spiritual as well as material ‘progress’, it was defined simultaneously as the social and moral mirror-opposite of its philanthropic object. The middle class thus became the repository of all the virtues which reports and ‘experience’ showed to be so woefully absent in the population of the city’s slumdom: independent and upright, sober and provident, educated, sexually restrained, family-oriented, church-going and Protestant.⁴⁴

Clearly, Gunn’s identification of a ‘civilising mission’ echoes the notion of the ‘distinct ministry’ of middle-class women. Again, it is important to recognise the religious flavour of the ‘feminine public sphere’; evangelicalism inspired many lady philanthropists to argue that women’s supposed innate feminine moral superiority and their divinely appointed role to safeguard domestic morality suited them particularly well to public work in philanthropy. For this reason, female philanthropy is a helpful lens through which to examine social class; middle-class women’s experience in charity and social reform demonstrates – from a women-centred perspective – the connections between religion, public work and social class.

The personal histories of the Stevenson sisters provide further evidence of women’s contribution to middle-class identity. When James Stevenson retired from chemical manufacture, he moved his family from Glasgow to the capital, Edinburgh. The family settled at 13 Randolph Crescent where the four unmarried sisters – Jane, Elisa, Louisa and Flora – lived out their lives after his death in 1866. James Stevenson had been keen to integrate himself into Edinburgh’s philanthropic community, and the Stevenson home became a centre of middle-class charity; indeed, Leneman has credited the Stevensons with being one of the three most

⁴⁴ Gunn, “The Ministry, the Middle Class and the ‘Civilising’ Mission in Manchester”, 34.

pivotal Edinburgh families in Scottish feminism.⁴⁵ A biographer of Louisa and Flora Stevenson provides an insight into the bustle of their home:

Kindness in every way was shown to ministers and their wives, and Edinburgh friends were asked to meet them, but the large rooms never crowded to overflowing, as so often was the case in after years when the Misses Stevenson entertained some distinguished guest visiting the city, and invited Edinburgh 'Society' (and Edinburgh Society came) to meet him or *her!*⁴⁶

With the exception of Jane, who is described as disinterested in public affairs, the sisters were active in the community. Miss Elisa Stevenson was one of the founding members of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage and Louisa and Flora joined soon after their older sister. Miss Louisa Stevenson's public work was far-reaching but she was particularly interested in women's role in health and medicine. She was keenly interested in women's access to higher education, and she campaigned tirelessly for women's right to medical training. Her re-election (six times) to the Board of Managers of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary paved the way for women to sit on hospital boards. Moreover, she worked with several nursing organisations such as the Scottish Branch of Jubilee Nurses' Institutions, the Colonial Nursing Scheme and Registration for Nurses. Louisa (1835-1908) was also a strong proponent of women's role in local government and she was one of the first two women elected to the parochial board in Edinburgh (later the parish council) on which she served for a decade. Lastly, Louisa helped to found the Edinburgh School of Cookery and Domestic Economy, and she established the Masson Hall of residence for female students at the University of Edinburgh. Miss Flora Stevenson (1839-1905) possessed an equally impressive membership profile. Like her sister,

⁴⁵ Leneman refers to the feminist triumvirate based in the homes of the McLarens, of Miss S. E. S. Mair and of the Stevensons, *A Guid Cause*, 11.

⁴⁶ Miss E. T. McLaren, *Recollections of the Public Work and Home Life of Louisa and Flora Stevenson* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1914), 44. NLS NF. 1181. e. 36.

she supported women's work in local government, and she and Miss Phoebe Blyth were the first two women elected to the Edinburgh school board in 1873; Flora sat on every successive board for thirty-two years and in 1900 was unanimously elected chairman. Although not listed as a member of the Scottish Christian Union, Flora was interested in temperance reform. She was a member of the Scottish Office's habitual offenders and juvenile delinquents committee and of the department appointed by Lord Balfour to advise the Scottish Office on the rules for inebriate reformatories. Flora was also a member of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, an honorary fellow of the Educational Institute, a member of the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women, director of the Blind Asylum, director of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institute and vice-president of the Women's Liberal Unionist Association. Finally, Louisa and Flora both received honorary LL.D.s from the University of Edinburgh, and in 1905 Flora received the freedom of Edinburgh. Although a biography states that Flora was 'more prominent in public' than Louisa, the preceding list of membership to a range of public organisations shows that both women can be classed as 'influential citizens'.⁴⁷ The Stevensons show not only that civic life was a fundamental component of middle-class status but also that women were not barred from acquiring status in this way. Likewise, Louisa and Flora reveal that the 'feminine public sphere' included a political component, for although women had limited access to political life, women did have access to some local boards.

Evidence of Flora's attitudes towards public work, in local government and Christian charity, helps to illustrate the middle-class public woman's desire for status and prestige. Women's access to prestige through philanthropy and local politics was based on a reciprocal relationship between the lady philanthropist and the

⁴⁷ McLaren, *Recollections*, 56. NLS NF. 1181. e. 36.

beneficiary. From the early-twentieth century, anthropologists have debated the merit of the idea that gift-giving behaviours symbolised power and status in ‘primitive’ cultures.⁴⁸ These anthropological discussions informed the work of sociologists and social historians in the 1960s and 1970s,⁴⁹ and modern social historians continue to examine reciprocity in philanthropy.⁵⁰ Alan Kidd has convincingly argued for the selfish, rather than altruistic, motivations for philanthropy. Kidd – drawing on evidence from tribal ‘collectivist communities’ – suggests that giving is never disinterested or that “the giver of gifts to the many can ‘build a name’, become a ‘big man’” and acquire a personal following.⁵¹ Kidd’s evaluation of nineteenth-century philanthropy suggests that reciprocity was defined in moral rather than material terms: “Through ‘conditionality’, giving was made dependent upon the return ‘gift’ expected from the recipient, i.e. the status of being deserving”.⁵² This reciprocal relationship suggests a social control aspect to the ‘feminine public sphere’, and Chapters 3 and 4 will discuss social control in women’s temperance reform. However, reciprocity in gift-giving also provided the middle-class public woman with the means to affirm her status as a ‘big woman’. In other words, a woman’s voluntary work demonstrated to her peers and to her social

⁴⁸ This approach comes largely from the work of the French anthropologist and sociologist Marcel Mauss, see *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Hall (London: Routledge, 1997); and Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*, trans. W. D. Halls (London: Cohen & West, 1954). Mauss’s theories were influential on Richard Morris Titmuss, *The Gift Relationship: From Human Blood to Social Policy* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970).

⁴⁹ For example, see Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971; reprint, London: Penguin Books, 1984); and Barry Schwartz, “The Social Psychology of the Gift”, *The American Journal of Sociology* 73, no. 1 (Jul 1967): 1-11.

⁵⁰ For example, see Evans, “Urbanisation, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy”; Alan Kidd, “Philanthropy and the ‘Social History Paradigm’”, *Social History* 21, no. 4 (May 1996): 180-92 and *State, Society and the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1999); and M. J. D. Roberts, “Reshaping the Gift Relationship: The London Mendicity Society and the Suppression of Begging in England 1818-1869”, *International Review of Social History* 36 (1996): 201-31.

⁵¹ Kidd, “Philanthropy and the ‘Social History Paradigm’”, 183.

⁵² Kidd, “Philanthropy and the ‘Social History Paradigm’”, 187.

inferiors her wealth (and leisure), moral fibre and competence in public work. In this way, women's use of the 'parallel power structures' can be seen as middle-class women's route into the public culture of their social class rather than as evidence of the self-effacing, 'niceness' of nineteenth-century bourgeois ladies.

It is clear from her extensive membership of philanthropic organisations, that Flora was keen to participate in the public life of service so important to the middle classes. As discussed above, the Stevensons were well-known among Edinburgh's 'influential citizens', and Flora Stevenson owed much of her clout in Edinburgh 'Society' to her philanthropic work. Flora ran a scheme for providing clothes to poor children with good school attendance; clothes were available for the 'deserving' poor that conformed to Flora's values which prized education and self-help. She attacked any schemes for making ratepayers responsible for feeding poor school children as 'an evil day for Scotland' and castigated the parents of 'underfed school children' as irresponsible. She insisted that poor children's condition:

Is not alone due to underfeeding, it is due to wrong feeding, to living and sleeping in vitiated air, to being insufficiently clad ... Parents are all too ready to throw off their responsibilities nowadays. What is wanted is an awakening of the public conscience, to make them realize and accept their responsibility. And any legislation which tends to weaken it – and this I consider equally important – which weakens a child's sense of dependence on his parents for food and clothing, will not be counter-balanced by the material gain to the child.⁵³

Flora argued that a better co-ordination of voluntary efforts, rather than state intervention, was needed to help poor school children. Moreover, the language of her argument illustrates her sense of cultural superiority to working-class parents; like many lady philanthropists, Flora was convinced that working-class parents generally shirked responsibility for themselves and their children.

⁵³ McLaren, *Recollections*, 33-4. NLS NF. 1181. e. 36.

What motivated Flora Stevenson's and other lady philanthropists' suspicion of state-run welfare? The historiography of social welfare has demonstrated the complex relationship between the state and voluntary sectors and recent work has challenged the mid-twentieth century idea of a linear progression from philanthropy to the welfare state.⁵⁴ An important reason for resistance to state welfare was evangelical Protestantism's emphasis on the ability of self-help and individual conversion to end poverty: "A chief object was to Christianise the poor, to extirpate vice and to encourage the growth of virtue, which was usually understood to reside in self-proprietorship, sobriety and thrift".⁵⁵ Religiously inspired philanthropists were: "Often hostile to state intervention in the rescue of social casualties, the moral and religious crusades of evangelicalism were an attractive solution to the urban condition".⁵⁶ In other words, the middle-class evangelical worldview conceived of social ills as matters for individual salvation; the solution to social problems lay in the active commitment of evangelicals to lead sinners to redemption rather than in secular welfare schemes. Moreover, as Kidd has shown, evangelical philanthropists believed that voluntary charity was superior to state welfare because the Poor Law was indiscriminate and the state system could undermine the Christian giving aspect of charity.⁵⁷ Thus, the evangelical charitable societies' ability to gauge the 'deservingness' of charity cases was seen as further evidence of the advantages of private charity over state welfare. Furthermore, although historians such as Brown and Olive Checkland have shown that by the end of the nineteenth century evangelical social policy was increasingly challenged by socialist arguments, the

⁵⁴ For example, see Martin Daunton, "Introduction", in *Charity, Self-Interest and Welfare in the English Past*, ed. Martin Daunton (London: UCL Press, 1996), 1-22; Evans, "Urbanisation, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy"; and Colin Jones, "Some Recent Trends in the History of Charity", in *Charity, Self-Interest and Welfare*, ed. Daunton, 51-64.

⁵⁵ Kidd, *State, Society and the Poor*, 72.

⁵⁶ Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland*, 106.

⁵⁷ See Kidd, *State, Society and the Poor*, 76.

plethora of voluntary organisations that were synonymous with evangelical church-life – and with the ‘feminine public sphere’ – remained important outlets for women’s public work.⁵⁸

Resistance to state-run welfare initiatives also came from a desire to protect the ‘distinct ministry’ of women which allowed middle-class women to participate in the status-affirming civic life of the middle classes. In the case of Flora Stevenson, her opportunities for public work in the ‘philanthropic sphere’ confirmed her belief in the importance of the voluntary sector and by extension her faith in women’s ‘distinct ministry’. That is, Flora must have been conscious of the importance of middle-class women’s access to ‘parallel power structures’ in philanthropy. Certainly, her own and her sisters’ public lives were founded on voluntary work. If the state assumed an increased responsibility for social welfare, middle-class women’s public roles – particularly at a time when women were barred from parliamentary participation – would have been severely curtailed. Thus, Flora’s and other middle-class public women’s ability to participate in the middle classes’ culture of public service was potentially jeopardised by state-run welfare schemes; if the state took control of social welfare schemes, there would be less room for middle-class women to assert their status as ‘big women’. In other words, because ‘parallel power structures’ in the voluntary sector represented women’s greatest access to public life – and thus the opportunity for status through public service – if these structures were subsumed into the state’s social welfare schemes lady philanthropists would be less able to express their social status.

So, what evidence exists for middle-class women’s class and gender consciousness? Flora Stevenson’s approach to philanthropic work clearly

⁵⁸ See Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland*; and Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1980).

demonstrates that she, in common with other lady philanthropists, was conscious of her social class and might use symbolism to assert her socio-economic superiority. Flora's biographer, Miss E. T. McLaren, describes a scene from Flora's philanthropic duties:

'Eh! it was nae easy job to gang up to that table for your ticket when your name was ca'd. There she sat, a blaze o' grandeur and gold specs'. But the same woman as brought into close contact with her, and forgot both 'grandeur and gold specs' as her story was listened to, and true help given ... The 'grandeur' the woman spoke of (as regarded dress) was only that she was never indifferent to dress – what woman is? – and that her taste and her purse led her to suitable, handsome clothing.⁵⁹

Whether or not the author's assertion that the woman forgot Flora's 'grandeur' is accurate, what is apparent is that Flora Stevenson knew her 'place' and the 'place' of those she 'served'. While sincerely wishing to 'do good' Flora was also ever conscious of her social status and that of her beneficiaries; she sat on a raised platform to which poorer women would ascend to stand before her table, plead their cases and wait for Flora's judgement on their 'deservingness'. It is likely that Flora was aware of the potential impact of her dress on the nerves of beneficiaries; nineteenth-century lady philanthropists were well-aware of the importance of dress as a symbol of status. Handbooks and manuals advised district visitors, who visited the poor in their homes:

to wear 'a close bonnet, black preferable, a black cloak, and plain black dress made to clear the ground with no trimming'. This, it was argued, inspired confidence, made the wearer recognizable, and gave protection from indignity, which at night was 'a real necessity'.⁶⁰

Thus, it was hoped that the middle-class female philanthropist, through the appropriate use of symbols, could go about her district visiting without soliciting lewd advances or other 'dangers' from slum-dwellers. However, some types of

⁵⁹ McLaren, *Recollections*, 51-2. NLS NF. 1181. e. 36.

⁶⁰ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 112-13.

philanthropic work were seen to require different styles of dress. For example, the dress of 'rescue' workers "was to be natural and not overly plain".⁶¹ Thus, it appears that female philanthropists would consciously use symbols to manipulate class relations. Certainly, Flora Stevenson's dress on the occasion described above was far from plain and her biographer assures us that she was always well turned-out. Through the use of female symbols and 'parallel power structures', Flora Stevenson, like other lady philanthropists, exhibited her largess, her social and moral superiority and her role as citizen.

In conclusion, it emerges that the middle classes' emphasis on participation in civic culture was an important factor in Scotswomen's public lives. As Chapter 4 and 5 will demonstrate, in the period 1870 to 1914 Scotswomen's access to local government roles expanded from participation on school boards to work on parish, town and county councils. However, women were nonetheless a more marginal presence in civic life than their male counterparts and were barred from parliamentary roles. Women's social and political reform organisations remained the mainstay of middle-class women's public culture and the most obvious 'parallel' of male-dominated institutions and organisations. Consequently, middle-class public women's approaches to philanthropy and social welfare provide some of the clearest indications of their public culture. Likewise, their approaches show how middle-class women conformed to middle-class values in a way that responded to their own priorities.

⁶¹ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 199.

Networks, Kinship and Cross-Membership

The home of [Eliza Wigham's] father's cousin, John Wigham, Jun., in Salisbury Road, was a centre for much of the philanthropic and political interest of the time, John Wigham being an ardent social reformer. Here the young people came into contact with some of the leading spirits of progress and philanthropy, and imbibed that enthusiastic love for truth and righteousness, and hatred of every form of wrong and oppression.⁶²

This statement is an interesting starting point for this discussion in two ways: first, it highlights the importance of a family active in public life to a woman's public life; and second, the home and the neighbourhood are described as the bases of public work. Middle-class public women's 'parallel power structures' existed within a culture of female networks that composed an essential aspect of the 'feminine public sphere', and women's participation in the middle classes' 'collective aspiration' was aided by the use of kinship and neighbourhood networks. The records from the Edinburgh Central Branch of the Scottish Christian Union and the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage provide the street addresses of executive committee members. Using a database to study this information, it emerges that middle-class public women used their domestic space and their neighbourhoods to further their social and political interests. The membership of these two groups was concentrated in two areas of Edinburgh: the New Town area around Great King Street north of Princes Street and the southern suburban areas of Newington, Mayfield, Merchiston, Morningside and the Grange.* These areas were strongly characterised by upper- and middle-class communities; in the early-nineteenth century the population was composed primarily of wealthy merchants but by the late-nineteenth century a broader cross-section of the middle classes was represented by

⁶² Society of Friends, "Eliza Wigham", *Annual Monitor* 53 (1901): 166-7. LSF.

* See Appendix 4 for an illustration of these neighbourhood networks.

professionals and industrialists.⁶³ By the beginning of the nineteenth century Edinburgh's well-to-do were starting to move out of the crowded Old Town, and the New Town and the southern suburbs were designed to accommodate this group.

The history of the southern suburbs helps to demonstrate the exodus of the upper- and middle classes from the Old Town. One example is the story of Newington estate, the site of Newington House which was built by the wealthy surgeon Dr Benjamin Bell in 1805. In 1808, Sir George Stewart purchased Newington House and began building:

the stone pillars and gates ... at the Minto Street and Dalkeith Road ends of Blacket Avenue and Mayfield Terrace. To ensure seclusion in this select area, the gates were closed at dusk.⁶⁴

In 1852, Duncan McLaren, the well-known Liberal MP and husband of the prominent suffragist Priscilla Bright McLaren, purchased Newington House and had a profound impact on the movement of the middle classes into the area:

In 1863 Duncan McLaren acquired Mayfield, Rosebank and the village of Powburn at the eastern end of present-day West Saviour Terrace ... [McLaren] soon began sub-feuing his land which had long been used for farming. By the time of his death in Newington House in 1886, the terraced villas of Mayfield were largely completed.⁶⁵

However by 1856, even before McLaren opened up more land for building, Newington had become the most densely populated suburb of Edinburgh. New land and building opportunities attracted the well-to-do as did innovations in transport which linked the southern suburbs with the city centre and the New Town. In the 1850s horse-drawn buses carried passengers out of the south; these were replaced in the early-1870s with horse-drawn trams, and by the mid-1880s railways aided the middle classes' migration to south Edinburgh. Morningside went through a similar

⁶³ Charles J. Smith, *Historic South Edinburgh Volume 1* (Haddington: Charles Skilton Ltd., 1978), 28. NLS H3. 201. 1889.

⁶⁴ Smith, *Historic South Edinburgh Volume 1*, 26. NLS H3. 201. 1889.

⁶⁵ Smith, *Historic South Edinburgh Volume 1*, 27-8. NLS H3. 201. 1889.

process of settlement when the farmlands of Caanan and neighbouring estates were sub-divided into large plots and trams and railways brought wealthy settlers. This movement of the wealthy into their own neighbourhoods marked a shift in the demography of Edinburgh:

During the 19th century many of the social reformers were concerned with housing conditions. The Old Town had certainly deteriorated into a sordid slum with the attendant problems of congestion, poverty and drunkenness. Several factors had led to this situation ... The high tenement lands had accommodated a good social mix, with the aristocracy, the professions, merchants and working men all living together on different floors of the same tenement. The departure of the well-to-do to the New Town left the working class in flats, which quickly became overcrowded as they were sub-divided.⁶⁶

The middle classes' decision to develop separate neighbourhoods indicates a desire for recognition as a distinct social class, and the bourgeois residents jealously guarded their neighbourhoods. For instance, the southern areas of Newington, Mayfield and the Grange bordered Sciennes and Causewayside, also known as 'the worst bit of Edinburgh'. Thus by the mid-nineteenth century:

At the Causewayside entrances to Salisbury Place and Duncan Street wooden barricades were erected to prevent 'undesirable elements' having any access to the fine new residential district around Minto Street and Blasket Avenue.⁶⁷

Residential segregation was not isolated to Edinburgh and historians have shown that this geographical separation of the social classes was a prominent feature of late-nineteenth-century cities.⁶⁸ It was within these exclusive neighbourhoods that middle-class women's 'collective aspirations' were facilitated by daily life within a fairly homogeneous social mix.

⁶⁶ Norma Armstrong, *Edinburgh as it Was Volume II: The People of Edinburgh* (Hendon Hill, Lancashire: Hendon Publishing Company Limited, 1977), 8. NLS 6. 2551.

⁶⁷ Charles J. Smith, *Historic South Edinburgh Volume 3* (Haddington: Charles Skilton Ltd., 1978), 22. NLS H3. 201. 1889.

⁶⁸ For example, see David Cannadine, "Victorian Cities: How Different?", *Social History* 4 (1977): 457-82; H. J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* (London: Leicester University Press, 1961); and David Ward, "Environs and Neighbours in the 'Two Nations': Residential Differentiation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Leeds", *Journal of Historical Geography* 6, no. 2 (1980): 133-62.

Two factors provide the strongest evidence for public women's use of neighbourhood networks: firstly, the practise of drawing-room meetings; and secondly, evidence gathered from plotting geographically the street addresses listed in the records of the SCU Edinburgh Central Branch and the ENSWS. These factors indicate both that middle-class neighbourhoods were centres of women's public work and that women used their social networks and rituals to promote their own interests. Carroll Smith-Rosenburg's seminal work on female rituals and networks has emphasised the importance of the domestic space to women's social lives:

Most eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women lived within a world bounded by home, church, and the institution of visiting – that endless trooping of women to each others' homes for social purposes. It was a world inhabited by children and by other women.⁶⁹

The drawing-room was the primary site for women's visiting and was a very 'public' space within the home, and the Edinburgh Central Branch and Glasgow Prayer Union included departments devoted to drawing-room meetings. The existence of departments dedicated to the organisation of drawing-room meetings suggests that middle-class public women adapted their social rituals to suit their reforming and philanthropic goals. In other words, Edinburgh's female templars used their drawing-rooms and the system of 'calls' to 'extend' or to promote their work.

Temperance activists and suffragists used the home as a headquarters for public work. Middle-class public women adapted their social rituals to political activism and thus made public work more attractive to their peers. This strategy was especially prized by the Scottish Christian Union which advocated the use of drawing-room meetings to promote temperance reform among upper-middle and middle-class ladies. The theme of the drawing-room meeting as particularly appropriate for temperance work among privileged women was repeated throughout

⁶⁹ Smith-Rosenburg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual", 10.

this period of the SCU's existence. A Mrs Robertson summed up this idea at the 1882 annual meeting, and urged that "they should hold drawing-room meetings, so that their principles might be brought in an attractive form before persons unacquainted with or indifferent about them".⁷⁰ Organisations more often associated with women's suffrage also used the home as a site of political activism. For example, the committee meetings of the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies Kilmarnock Branch were often held in members' homes until a committee room was secured in late-1913: "By kind invitation of Mrs Brown the committee met at Roseland Kilmans for tea in the garden and afterwards the meeting was held indoors".⁷¹ It is clear from the above evidence that drawing-room meetings were central to the 'feminine public sphere'. The use of the drawing-room as a meeting place for public women responded to middle-class ladies' patterns of social visiting, or the practice of 'calls'. Within this demonstrably 'feminine' space, where the family's wealth was displayed through consumption and decoration, reforming women gathered to organise and to promote their work.

This use of the home as a base for middle-class women's public work suggests that it is inappropriate to equate the domestic with the 'private sphere'.⁷² Indeed, the design of Scottish Victorian interiors reinforces the notion that the drawing-room, commonly thought of as the centre of femininity in the 'domestic sphere', was more often used as a 'public' space. Juliet Kinchin's study of the drawing-room helps to highlight the 'public' nature of the drawing-room: "In such a sensitive arena, where status was established by myriad references, the onus lay

⁷⁰ STL, "Ladies Temperance Conference", *League Journal* no. 14 (Apr 1882): 216.

⁷¹ SFWSS Kilmarnock Branch, *Minutes* (1913). Ayrshire Collection, Ayrshire Archives, Ayr (hereafter Ayrshire Collection).

⁷² Other scholars have questioned the conflation of the 'private' with the 'domestic, for example, see Gordon and Nair, "The Economic Role of Middle-Class Women"; and Rendall, "Women and the Public Sphere".

increasingly on women to ensure that the appropriate range of identities and values was projected through the decor, furnishing and arrangement of the drawing-room".⁷³ In other words, the drawing-room was meant to be viewed and middle-class women used this feminine space to display their status. The drawing-room also functioned as a female meeting-place.

By cross-referencing an individual's dates of membership with the street address of that member's home, a clearer picture of neighbourhood networks emerges. Although in many cases the evidence is more strongly implied than absolute, the records forcefully indicate the existence of these neighbourhood networks. For instance, in 1895, Mrs McIntosh of 29 Hartington Place joined the Scottish Christian Union. The following year, Mrs Heron of 7 Hartington Gardens became a member. These two streets in the Merchiston area of Edinburgh are within easy walking distance of one another. It is therefore possible that Mrs McIntosh introduced Mrs Heron to temperance work at a drawing-room meeting. Whether or not this is an accurate assumption in this particular case is not of central importance; many similar patterns in the data show that this form of recruitment was common for a great deal of women in the membership sample. There are numerous examples of women living in the same street working for the same organisation at similar times. For example, Mrs Inglis from 12 Dick Place in the Grange area of Edinburgh was a member of the SCU roughly between 1888 and 1898 whereas her neighbour at number 44, Mrs Jackson, was a member approximately between 1889 and 1902. Clearly, middle-class neighbourhood networks and women's homes were an integral part of the 'feminine public sphere' and provided vital support for women's social and political activism in the late-nineteenth century.

⁷³ Juliet Kinchin, "The Drawing Room", in *The Scottish Home*, ed. Annette Carruthers (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland Publishing, 1996), 155.

Networks were also expanded by kinship ties and many of the women included in this study had male family members connected with the political establishment. Of course, all the women in this sample lived active public lives and came from families with connections to the voluntary, the business and the industrial spheres. However, the political careers of fathers, brothers, husbands and sons gave some nineteenth-century public women unique access to the world of parliamentary politics. The family background of Miss Elsie Corbett, the youngest woman in the biographical sample, provides a clear example of how family could strengthen a middle-class woman's relationship with the political world. Elsie Corbett (1893-1967) was, just before the outbreak of World War I, the honorary president of the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies Kilmarnock Branch (1911-14) and a patroness of the Scottish Christian Union (1911-13). She was the daughter of Mr Archibald Cameron Corbett MP, later Lord Rowallan, and Mrs Alice Mary Corbett nee Polson.

Archibald Cameron Corbett was born in 1822 at 8 Buckingham Terrace, Glasgow, the son of Thomas Corbett, an 'Australian Merchant'; his father's occupation and his West End birthplace indicate that Archibald Cameron Corbett was himself born into the middle classes. Mr Cameron Corbett became MP for Tradeston in Glasgow in 1885. He was a Liberal Unionist with strong social welfare and temperance beliefs. For instance, in April 1893, at a meeting of the Tradeston Unionists, he made a speech on the 'Irish Question' which argued that the scheme for financing the Home Rule Bill came from alcohol: "if the bill ever passed, the condition of Ireland as far as temperance legislation was concerned, would be a condition absolutely without hope".⁷⁴ Archibald Cameron Corbett's temperance

⁷⁴ Papers of Archibald Cameron Corbett, *Album of Newsclippings*. Glasgow University Archives (hereafter GUA) DC / 26 / 19.

beliefs were integral to his worldview and were expressed through his largess. In 1894, in the spirit of the temperance crusade's attempts to devise 'counter-attractions to the public house', he gifted over an acre to his tenants in Ilford for lawn tennis as well as £250 for laying out the grounds. Similarly, in 1903, when building a new house at Rowallan, Ayr, he gifted Thornliebank park to Glasgow. Moreover, Archibald Cameron Corbett supported women's suffrage and worked with the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage to introduce women's suffrage bills.

Elise's mother, Alice, also had a strong Liberal allegiance. She was the daughter of Mr John Polson, Esq. of 'Castle Levan' and Westmount. Mr Polson was a very successful manufacturer in Paisley; a partner in Messrs Brown and Polson starch and corn flour manufacturers and one of the directors of the Vale of Clyde Tramway Company. John Polson's own wife, Sarah, who outlived both her daughter and her husband, was a well known philanthropist; after her daughter Alice's death in 1902 she gifted £10,000 to the Glasgow Samaritan Hospital to purchase the property and pay the feu on the 'Alice Mary Corbett Nurses Home'. As a girl, Alice was encouraged to hold political views. Notes by a Miss Shanks, whose relationship to Alice is unclear, show that Alice was politicised at a young age.

Miss Polson was delighted to find out I was a Liberal, and called her father to tell him. He listened calmly 'I never doubted it when I saw her intelligent face' ... It was most amusing to hear how Miss Polson became a Liberal. At ten she began to take an interest in Politics and read the papers for herself, at 12 she was confirmed in her views and went with her father to the role [*sic*], or rather to see him role [*sic*]. The keeper of the ballot said 'A little lady coming to vote' 'No' said her father 'only to see how it is done, till such a time as she can vote for herself'.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Papers of Archibald Cameron Corbett, *Elsie's Papers*. GUA DC / 26 / 12.

Indeed, perhaps it was her keen Liberal sensibilities that attracted Archibald to Alice. It is unclear if Alice was a Liberal Unionist, but letters suggest that she discussed political issues with her husband:

there has been a very big fire in Tradeston this morning an oil place belonging to people called Blackblock. The damage is not covered by Insurance!!! (ah no!) Poor wretches. I do feel sorry for them! Are they Unionists or 'Lunatics'?⁷⁶

Although an obituary of Mrs Corbett suggests that she shied from 'coming much before the public' she was a keen philanthropist; she was president of the Gorbals Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, and was involved with the Glasgow Samaritan Hospital from its establishment in 1886 till her death. The Glasgow Samaritan Hospital, designed to treat 'diseases of women', was opened by Archibald who was then elected president while Alice worked as honorary president of the ladies' auxiliary. In 1900, Mrs Corbett was one of the first two women appointed as directors of the board.

It was within this wealthy, well-connected, strongly Liberal, devotedly philanthropic, temperate and suffragist household that Elsie grew up. Although Elsie's public life did not blossom until 1915, when she worked as a nurse in the British Red Cross Society's 2nd Serbia nursing unit, her involvement in the SFWSS and the SCU before the Great War demonstrates both her public spirit and the influence of her family's beliefs on her own; it is clear from her earliest public work that she inherited both Archibald's and Alice's sense of social conscience that stressed temperance, women's rights, social welfare and an active public life.

Priscilla Bright McLaren (1815-1907) represents a somewhat more extreme example of a woman's connection with parliament through male relatives. She was the daughter, wife, sister and mother to a variety of MPs. Her father and brother,

⁷⁶ Papers of Archibald Cameron Corbett, *Bundle of Letters*. GUA DC / 26 / 41.

Jacob and John Bright, were Liberal MPs and had been active in the Anti-Corn Law agitation. Priscilla met her husband, Duncan McLaren, at a meeting during Free Trade agitation in the mid-nineteenth century. Duncan McLaren, himself a Liberal, was long involved in Edinburgh municipal government before entering parliament. Priscilla Bright McLaren's relationship with Duncan McLaren gave her a sense of, albeit limited, access to the political establishment.

In speaking of those days, she would always say 'when we were in Parliament'. But though showing to a high degree what help a woman of strong intellect, active sympathies, and political sense may be to a man, she knew such co-operation could not be realised in the general life of the country, while women were legally disqualified for citizenship.⁷⁷

It is clear that women's intimate personal relationships with MPs were an important factor in Victorian and Edwardian feminism. These relationships were important for Scottish public women partly because they served to connect the interests of Scotland's feminists with Westminster; Chapter 5 will develop the importance of these connections in the context of the women's suffrage campaign. Additionally, these relationships allowed a few women to be integrated into the parliamentary community in a unique way.

Female kinship networks were also important and many of the women in the biographical sample had mothers active in public work. Smith-Rosenburg has stressed the importance of kinship relationships to the 'female world'. Within the culture of networks built around mothers, daughters, aunts and cousins existed a type of mother-daughter apprenticeship system. Smith-Rosenburg argues that nineteenth-century mother-daughter relationships were characterised by 'sympathy and understanding':

Central to these mother-daughter relations is what might be described as an apprenticeship system ... [When the daughter finished school] she devoted

⁷⁷ ENSWS, *Report of Committee* (Edinburgh: Darien Press, 1907), 12-13. NLS HP1. 82. 1728.

her energies on two tasks: mastering new domestic skills and participating in the visiting and social activities necessary to finding a husband.⁷⁸

I have suggested above that middle-class women's social activities had multiple functions – for political and social reform – and this notion has been discussed by other women's historians, such as Smith-Rosenburg, Bush and Bonnie G. Smith.⁷⁹ Certainly, marriage was an important aspect of social activities and women's networks. However, an additional aspect of the 'mother-daughter apprenticeship system' was a daughter's introduction to philanthropy and public work. This can be demonstrated by the experience of the temperance reformer, Miss Mary White. The memoir of Mary White included in the *Annual Monitor* suggests that Mrs Jane White's own interest in public work influenced her daughter:

Jane White mingled in a circle of cultured and philanthropic women, in whose houses meetings were held to discuss how they could best use their influence to discourage war, slavery, and all forms of evil. Mary White often accompanied her mother, and doubtless her heart was fired with the desire to do what she could to aid the cause of suffering humanity.⁸⁰

Thus, from her earliest days, Miss White was exposed both to middle-class women's social movements and to women's use of networks to advance voluntary and philanthropic aims. Likewise, Miss Eliza Wigham (1820-1899), well-known as an anti-slavery activist, was also a member of the Scottish Christian Union (1897-98), the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage (1870-78, 1892) and the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation (1891-94). Her mother, Jane Wigham nee Smeal, was renowned as a reformer:

[Jane Wigham] was of great service in the preparation of an address to the Queen, which is said to have given a final blow to slavery in the West Indies. 1829, is said to have signed the first temperance pledge book in Scotland.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Smith-Rosenburg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual", 16.

⁷⁹ For example, see Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power*; Bonnie G. Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); and Smith-Rosenburg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual".

⁸⁰ Society of Friends, "Mary White", *Annual Monitor* 63 (1905): 148. LSF.

⁸¹ Society of Friends, *Dictionary of Quaker Biography*. LSF.

Priscilla McLaren worked with her step-daughter, Dr Agnes McLaren, in the campaigns for women's access to medical training and for women's suffrage, and Mrs Whilemina Woyka and her daughter Miss Dora Woyka worked together within the Scottish Christian Union. It is difficult to know how extensively mothers and daughters worked together, because it is not always possible to positively identify women with the same surname as related. For instance, it is tempting to conclude that the Mrs and Miss Wallace, members of the Scottish Christian Union in Glasgow 1881-1900 and 1881-1911 respectively, were mother and daughter. This particular assumption can be made with a reasonable amount of certainty. However, there are other sets of women, like the Mrs Henderson and Miss HB Henderson of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation or the plethora of Thomsons, Robertsons, Millers and Orrs that dot the membership lists, that elude identification. To close, the evidence of middle-class women's networks suggests that the 'feminine public sphere' was strongly expressed through women's experiences in the domestic space and the immediate community. This seemingly contradictory idea underscores the permeability of the 'public' and 'private' spheres; it appears that middle-class public women incorporated aspects of domestic life and female social customs into their pursuit of public roles.

A discussion of networks demonstrates the inter-connectedness of the 'feminine public sphere' and lends itself to an analysis of cross-membership. The remaining chapters will show that women's suffrage and temperance reform groups were not single-issue organisations and that evidence of the multi-issue character of these organisations comes from two main sources: first, it is clear that suffragists and templars came to the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies, the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation and the Scottish Christian Union with a firm

grounding in Christian philanthropy; second, work with a database helps to identify the membership ties that linked the different organisations in central Scotland. Studies of the elite – such as Trainor’s discussion of the Glasgow elite – have demonstrated that cross-membership was an aspect of upper- and middle-class (in this case men’s) public work: “the considerable extent to which the leaders of Glasgow’s public life held key positions in more than one institution helped to knit together the city’s public life, and the activities of its better-off citizen’s more generally”.⁸² Equally, Bush’s recent study of aristocratic women’s work in imperialist organisations demonstrates the importance of networks and cross-membership in elite women’s public lives.⁸³ Middle-class women’s organisations were also bound through the multiple ambitions of their members. For example, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, Mrs Anna Lindsay was a member of the Scottish Women’s Liberal Federation and from 1901 till her death in 1903 she was a member of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women’s Suffrage and the Scottish Christian Union. Likewise, Mrs Martha Frame was a member of the SWLF executive 1911-13 and the GWSAWS executive 1902-13. Certainly, it is reasonable to conclude that cross-membership was a positive force for widening the programmes of women’s organisations. The records also show that some women were active in a variety of groups at different points; for instance Mrs Johnston was a member of the SCU Glasgow Prayer Union in 1881-1902 and is recorded as a member of the GWSAWS executive in 1908-10. This pattern might give credence to the notion that women worked for separate causes through separate groups.⁸⁴ However, there is no evidence to support the idea that middle-class public women’s

⁸² Trainor, “The Elite”, 233.

⁸³ See Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power*.

⁸⁴ This is the position taken by Barrow regarding the tensions between temperance reform and suffragism, see “Teetotal Feminists”.

social consciences were segregated into discrete units. Indeed, the multiple departments that characterised the SCU and the SWLF suggest that women's organisations were informed by a wide spectrum of social concerns, and when examining cross-membership it is important to take into account an individual's role in a particular organisation. For example, Mrs Janet Cockburn, the first superintendent of the SCU Glasgow Prayer Union's first suffrage department, was a member of the GWSAWS executive (1903-14).

A basic aim of this study is to reveal the links between temperance and suffragism. The evidence of co-operation between templars and suffragists affirms that it is no great leap of faith to suggest that while Janet Cockburn worked for women's suffrage within the temperance movement she promoted temperance ideals in the women's suffrage movement. Furthermore, there were women such as Mrs MacKay and Mrs Mill who worked on the SWLF's temperance committee in the years immediately preceding the Great War and had been involved in the SCU Edinburgh Central Branch in the mid-1890s. Certainly, even when Mrs MacKay and Mrs Mill were no longer members of the SCU executive they continued to support temperance reform through the SWLF. It is clear that through neighbourhood networks and cross-membership a certain coherence characterised the public activism of middle-class women. These women's broad social consciences, developed by Christian conviction and honed through voluntary work, ensured that women's organisations in central Scotland undertook a range of work that reflected the multiple experiences of their membership.

Conclusion

This chapter was based on the question: What cultural factors were important in the formation and operation of the ‘feminine public sphere’? The qualitative materials from the biographical sample and the quantitative materials from the membership sample suggest that three themes dominated the culture of Scotland’s middle-class public women: religious life, middle-class values and networks. Middle-class women shared a religious motivation to take on public work and their internalisation of the precepts of ‘woman’s mission’ was fundamental to the ‘feminine public sphere’. On the one hand, religious inspiration imparted to public women the determination and confidence to follow their ‘distinct ministry’. This sense of unique responsibility was vital to the public woman’s sense both of social responsibility and of entitlement to a public role. On the other hand, middle-class women’s acceptance of the evangelical ‘woman’s mission’ that perpetuated the notion of the ‘distinct ministry’ of women allowed public women to solicit support for public projects from their religious communities. The religious impetus behind the ‘feminine public sphere’ was reinforced by the middle classes’ emphasis on the importance of participation in civic culture. Middle-class public women used both ‘parallel power structures’ in the voluntary sector and, to a lesser extent, roles in local government to join their male peers in public life. The desire of the women discussed here to demonstrate their worthiness for civic life responded to a belief among the middle classes that public work was a potent symbol of success and personal worth. Finally, Scottish women’s organisations were marked by female networks and patterns of cross-membership. The interlacing of Scotswomen’s single-sex organisations was facilitated by the concentration of public women in

relatively homogenous middle-class neighbourhoods where the system of 'calls' could increase women's awareness of social and political issues and their peers' work for reform. To sum up, the 'feminine public sphere', as it is understood here, reflected the gender and class consciousness of middle-class public women, a consciousness that was deeply informed by religious ideology and relied on women's understanding of their special moral 'nature'. The powerful motivation of Christian faith, coupled with middle-class emphasis on civic life influenced women's participation in philanthropy and social reform and it is the resulting dialogue between charity and social reform that forms the basis of the next chapter's discussion.

CHAPTER 3

TEMPERANCE REFORM AND PHILANTHROPY

The women's temperance movement bloomed in the late-nineteenth century, with the rise of an organised band of female templars having major implications for the Victorian and Edwardian women's movement. Historians both of women's suffrage and of temperance reform have questioned the importance of temperance in Britain particularly in comparison with the United States.¹ Indeed, the relationship between these two movements, although a distinguishing feature of studies of nineteenth-century feminism in Australia, New Zealand and the United States, has been largely absent from British histories.² However, my research demonstrates that women's involvement in the temperance movement was an important dimension of Scotland's middle-class women's movement. Through an investigation of the Scottish Christian Union it is possible to trace the links between temperance reform and suffragism, and I will argue here that it is both appropriate and necessary to include temperance reform in an investigation of British suffragism.³ As is the case for studies in other Anglophone contexts, the connections between women's temperance reform and suffragism provide a more nuanced understanding of Victorian and Edwardian feminism.

This discussion will be organised in two parts. The present chapter will demonstrate the women's temperance movement's place in middle-class women's

¹ For example, see Banks, *Faces of Feminism*; O'Neill, *The Woman Movement*; and Mariana Valverde, "Racial Poison": Drink, Male Vice, and Degeneration in First-Wave Feminism", in *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire*, eds. Fletcher, Mayhall and Levine, 33-50.

² For example, see Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*; Evans, *The Feminists*; Giele, *Two Paths to Women's Equality*; Grimshaw, *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand*; Murdock, *Domesticating Drink*; and Oldfield, *Woman Suffrage in Australia*.

³ The temperance reform movement has been largely excluded from discussions of women's suffrage in Britain. A recent exception to this trend is Barrow, "Teetotal Feminists".

public world of philanthropy and social reform, while Chapter 4 will more explicitly integrate women's temperance reform into an analysis of suffragism by evaluating the political dimension of temperance reform. Chapter 3's discussion will be organised around four principle themes: firstly, an examination of the British Women's motivations for joining the Scottish Christian Union; secondly, a brief consideration of the place of British women in temperance histories; thirdly, a discussion of social class based on the Scottish Christian Union's promotion of 'rational recreation'; and lastly, an evaluation of the links between middle-class women's Christian philanthropy and women's approaches to temperance reform.

What Makes a British Woman?

In Chapter 1 I established the place of the Scottish Christian Union in the women's temperance movement. It is important to remember that an involvement in the temperance movement required commitment, courage and conviction. So, what motivated the British Women to organise for an end to alcohol consumption and drunkenness? Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair's investigation of middle-class inventories in Glasgow has illustrated the importance of alcohol to middle-class culture.⁴ Wine, beer and spirits were key features of entertaining. Therefore, a woman's choice both of total-abstinence and of temperance activism demonstrated her dedication to social reform and her radical departure from cultural norms.

An analysis of Scottish temperance periodicals such as the *League Journal* and the Scottish Christian Union's minute books suggests five primary reasons for women's commitment to temperance reform. The most important motivating factor

⁴ Eleanor Gordon, Paper presented at the conference of the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies, Victorian Women Revisited, University of Aberdeen, March 2001.

was British Women's sense of 'distinct ministry'. The previous chapters have discussed the significance of religion for the women in this study, and the importance of the American Crusade to the women's temperance movement in Scotland. The British Women viewed the Crusade and their own temperance work as an evangelical exercise. In other words, female templars' sense of 'distinct ministry' to follow 'woman's mission' resonated both with notions of feminine moral superiority and with evangelical emphases on the duty of the 'saved' to bring others to salvation.⁵

A second factor was a gendered view of drink. The British Women's sense of 'distinct ministry' was realised through women's work among women. That is, the British Women were particularly interested in ministering to women who were the 'victims' of drink, as 'inebriates' – themselves – or as the wives of drunkards. For instance, middle-class women's experiences in the public world of Christian philanthropy convinced many would-be temperance advocates of the injustices 'produced' by alcohol. Given an incentive for public work by the evangelical call to proselytise, female philanthropists were exposed to the living-conditions of poorer women and children, and the British Women attributed the poverty they witnessed to drink. An associated motivation was middle-class female templars' desire to 'rescue' women and girls from the 'evils of intemperance'. The British Women feared for the morality of poorer women and organised mother's meetings, young abstainers' unions and 'inebriate' homes in the course of 'preventive' and 'rescue' work among the so-called 'female inebriate'. Likewise, the British Women were interested in regulating working-class motherhood, with the aim of preventing depravity and the continued abuse of alcohol among the working classes. Finally,

⁵ There has been little discussion of British female templars, however the importance of 'woman's mission' for middle-class public women has been discussed in terms of female philanthropy. For

crime prevention was seen as the natural result of effective temperance work. Since many temperance reformers understood social problems as existing almost solely due to the 'drink traffic', crime prevention was integrally associated with temperance reform.

Female templars' reasons for becoming temperance activists have been analysed, especially in the American context.⁶ The victimisation of women and children at the hands of male drunkards is most often cited as North American female templars' primary impetus to organise. For example, Bordin has shown that the legal status of married American women was understood to exacerbate a drunken husband's ability to injure his family: "The drunken husband epitomized the evils of a society in which women were second-class, in ways that no sober (however tyrannical) husband and father could".⁷ Certainly, in Scotland the British Women associated male drinking with poverty and the abuse of poorer women and children. For example, in 1882 the *League Journal* affirmed the worst fears of its readers with the report that drunken husbands' physical abuse of their wives was more likely to lead to death than drunken men's attacks on other women.⁸ However, the British Women's sense of 'woman's mission' led them to focus on female drunkenness.

Mariana Valverde has argued that whereas in America excessive drinking was associated with a European masculinity that victimised wives and children, late-nineteenth-century 'England' witnessed a greater emphasis on female drunkenness:

Most observers, including many if not most middle-class feminists, agreed that women's drinking and in particular maternal alcoholism posed a graver danger to the 'race' than men's drinking. The campaign against 'the female inebriate' was both discursive and coercive, involving the committal of many working-class mothers to inebriate asylums as well as a number of licensing

example, see Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*; and Checkland, *Philanthropy in Scotland*.

⁶ For example, see Blocker *American Temperance Movements* and "Give to the Winds Thy Fears"; Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*; and Giele, *Two Paths to Women's Equality*.

⁷ Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*, 7-8.

⁸ STL, "Assaults (*From the Women's Suffrage Journal*)", *League Journal* no. 6 (Feb 1882): 84.

regulations affecting women's access to pubs both as customers and as workers.⁹

Valverde's discussion analyses the nexus of race and gender in generating attitudes towards drink and drunkenness, and while her conclusions are persuasive, I will argue that although racial discourses and a desire to maintain (perceived) Anglo-Saxon racial superiority were influential in temperance reform, it is important to recognise the influence of the religiously inspired 'woman's mission' on the British Women's attitudes towards 'the female inebriate'.

The British Women's attention to 'the female inebriate' can be seen in the temperance periodical press and in their use of 'rescue' homes. As Valverde has shown, discussions of 'the female inebriate' were intertwined with fears of racial degeneration; Mrs Milne, a prominent member of the SCU executive and involved with the municipal and suffrage departments, claimed in 1907 that "drinking among women is a portentous fact, and constitutes a great national danger".¹⁰ However, the British Women had used the spectre of 'the female inebriate' as a rallying cry from the nineteenth century:

so long as there was one woman a victim to intemperance it was the bounden duty of every woman, who looked the question fair in the face, to do everything in her power to redeem her sisters from so awful a fate as that which drunkenness brought upon them.¹¹

The clearest example of the British Women's focus on 'the female inebriate' is the use of 'rescue' homes. The women's temperance homes (discussed further below) were directed at 'rescuing' women from intemperance and preparing reformed drunkards for marriage and motherhood or domestic service. In this way, the British

⁹ Valverde, "Racial Poison", 34. Valverde's discussion is somewhat confusing due to her conflation of the terms 'U.K.' and 'England'.

¹⁰ Mrs Milne, "Scotland's Women to the Rescue", *STA* (1907): 46.

¹¹ STL, "British Women's Association: Conversazione in Edinburgh", *League Journal* no. 49 (Dec 1882): 779.

Women attempted to avert drunken females from their ‘awful fate’ – ‘defeminisation’. Alcohol impaired the ability of ‘the female inebriate’ to fulfil her feminine ‘duty’ to raise her children and to restrain her sexuality and avoid the dreaded ‘fall’. In turn, the incapacity of ‘the female inebriate’ to mother her children imperilled British racial supremacy.

The racial attitudes that informed the British Women’s work among ‘the female inebriate’ were intertwined with female templars’ ‘complementary role’ in the temperance movement. The Scottish temperance community asserted that the Scottish Christian Union balanced Scotland’s reform movement with ‘feminine sensibilities’. The Scottish temperance press repeatedly claimed that the SCU:

was needed to give symmetry and completeness to the general movement. There are some kinds of temperance work for which women of tact and grace are better fitted than men.¹²

The reference to ‘women of tact and grace’ alluded to middle-class Christian women – the respectable, pious wives and daughters who were charged with upholding middle-class Protestant morality. In this way the ‘distinct ministry’ of women directed female templars’ endeavours among poorer women and children; as mothers, the British Women were best suited to indoctrinating ‘the female inebriate’ with the domestic ideal. So, the British Women’s ‘complementary role’ to labour among women and children would ensure against racial deterioration by promoting women’s professional domesticity.

The menace of ‘the female inebriate’ threatened not only the ‘race’ but also women’s role as moral guardians. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the *Scottish Temperance Review* outlined “Woman’s Duty Towards the Temperance

¹² STL, “Women’s Temperance Union”, *League Journal* no. 14 (Apr 1882): 209.

Reform”, which asserted women’s responsibility to preserve virtuous femininity.

Female participation in the temperance movement was exhorted:

Because of the fearful degradation to which intemperance reduces woman ... It is enough to make even the most obdurate feel – to cause the heart of man to bleed – to behold her, whom God gave him to cheer him in his adversity, and to double his joy – to be the soother of his soul in its hours of sadness and the sharer of his happiness when his heart is glad – to be the guardian angel of his wanderings, and the sweet attraction of his home – to behold her sunk in the mire and misery, the loathsomeness and the living death of drunkenness ... if thou wouldst take the place thy Maker meant thou shouldst, when, in the bower of bliss, Eden, He did give thee unto man to be a help meet for him – if thou wouldst not destroy those powerful influences which thou hast to lead man in the path in which he ought to go – if thou wouldst never come into a state in which he, whose companion thou wert meant to be, would loath thee, and he to whom thou shouldst be so attractive, should turn from thee in disgust – then never, never take into thy hands, nor taste a drop of that which has so often blighted, blasted utterly, destroyed all that there was of loveliness in woman.¹³

This passage, riddled with Christian rhetoric, was generated by the gender stereotypes endemic to Victorian and Edwardian culture. Here ‘woman’s mission’ was interpreted as the sober, Christian wife’s duty to ‘complement’ her husband, or to wield a strong moral influence on her family. However, as I have shown throughout, the ‘complementary’ moral function of women was also used to justify women’s ‘distinct ministry’ in the ‘feminine public sphere’. Mrs Watson, the Scottish Christian Union honorary organiser, articulated this view in the *Scottish Temperance Annual* in 1907:

If men enact the laws of a country, women determine its morals. If men are the defenders of the nation from foes without, women are the guardians from more insidious foes within.¹⁴

Of course, a drunken woman was understood as incapable of upholding the moral tone of her household. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan has shown that among Welsh

¹³ STL, “Woman’s Duty Towards the Temperance Reform”, *Scottish Temperance Review* (Jan 1851): 13.

¹⁴ Mrs Watson, “An Appeal to the Women of Scotland”, *STA* (1907): 44.

female templars special concern was reserved for woman's ability to manage her household's morality.¹⁵

Ultimately, ideologies of gender, social class and race worked together to support the Scottish Christian Union's focus on 'the female inebriate'. Religiously inspired understandings of (middle-class) women's moral superiority combined with imperialist notions of British racial supremacy to narrow much of the British Women's reform interests to the influence of drink on poorer women's adherence to 'woman's mission'. Gendered attitudes towards drink were (as Valverde has suggested) bound up with fears of racial degeneration. However, religious attitudes towards gender were equally powerful in defining the role of the British Women among 'the female inebriate'.

The centrality of 'the female inebriate' was tactical, a matter of faith and a response to imperial ideology. The British Women – themselves – perceived their spiritual role as naturally extending out of the home and into the public sector. However, the ambiguity of 'woman's mission' required the British Women to justify their work in the 'feminine public sphere'. Accordingly, female templars – whose position in the 'public sphere' of the temperance movement was largely premised on feminine moral superiority – sought to police working-class women's behaviour in order to assert the validity of women's innate morality. However, at the same time the British Women were sincerely dedicated to their moral role in society. As religiously inspired reformers, the British Women had internalised a Christian commitment to propagating women's moral role in society. Ultimately, this limited the British Women's role in the 'feminine public sphere' to 'the female inebriate'. The British Women's desire to participate in middle-class civic life and to follow the Christian 'woman's mission' developed in the context of imperial notions of British

¹⁵ See Lloyd-Morgan, "From Temperance to Suffrage?"

cultural and racial superiority. Women of all classes were needed to conform to middle-class domestic ideals in order to safeguard the British 'race' from 'deteriorating' to the supposed low level of colonised peoples.

The Scottish Christian Union's concern for mothers and motherhood helps explain women's entrance into temperance reform while further highlighting the British Women's interest in 'the female inebriate'. The British Women, and the temperance movement in general, emphasised the duties incumbent on mothers.¹⁶ The fate of the nation was understood as secured by mothers' temperate influence: "the drink issue was ... articulated in powerful and coercive ways with the more broadly based panic about race degeneration and female / maternal duties".¹⁷ The idea that mothers had the greatest responsibility for ensuring the quality of the 'race' had a long pedigree, and fears over the impact of drink on motherhood were expressed by temperance reformers from the middle of the century. In 1850, the Scottish Temperance League (STL) published Mrs Ellis Jan's "A Mother's Trust", which defined motherhood as that "responsible office of moulding the human character for time and eternity".¹⁸ The following year the STL asked its female readers: "Is not the prevention of evil in others, according to the measure of your ability, a duty?".¹⁹ 'Ability' in this context refers to the exertion of 'woman's moralising influence' in the home.

The Scottish Christian Union shows that temperance reformers' concern over women's maternity continued into the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Indeed, these fears mingled with late-nineteenth century debates on 'national

¹⁶ For more on motherhood and philanthropy see, Ellen Ross, "Good and Bad Mothers: Lady Philanthropists and London Housewives Before the First World War", in *Lady Bountiful Revisited*, ed. McCarthy, 174-98. Ross argues that women philanthropists, particularly single women, were in constant competition with each other and with poorer mothers for the role of 'good mother'.

¹⁷ Valverde, "Racial Poison", 43.

¹⁸ Mrs Ellis Jan, "A Mother's Trust", *Scottish Temperance Review* (Jan 1850): 1.

¹⁹ Mrs Sigourney, "Letter to Females", *Scottish Temperance Review* (Nov 1851): 495.

efficiency', or the ability of Britain's working classes to reproduce a racially and morally sound population.²⁰ The British Women's involvement in temperance reform put them in a position to witness first hand the 'degradation of motherhood'. However, the SCU also gave the middle-class British Women the opportunity to defend motherhood by intervening in the lives of other women. For example:

Prayer offered for several special cases. One in particular described by a lady of a woman she found lying very drunk, near Cattle Market with young infant. The lady was afraid the young infant would be killed and took it to the Police Office, where the woman was also taken.²¹

This sort of neglect through drinking was sure to shock and sicken the righteous British Women, because women of this type certainly could not be relied upon to maintain the 'race'. Therefore, as I suggested above, the British Women hoped to maintain the prestige of motherhood by encouraging working-class women to professionalise their approach to mothering and the associated function of domesticity.

Fears over a drunken woman's ability to mother certainly mingled with notions of racial degeneration, however it is important to also take into account the value the British Women placed on the role of the mother. The British Women provide evidence of a sincere commitment to maternal duties. For instance, Mrs Wallace Robertson, a committee member of the Glasgow Prayer Union:

told us how long it was before she could be persuaded to put down her name to the Temperance Pledge – one day feeling poorly she was going to take a little of some stimulant, but when she looked at her son, tears were running down his cheeks and he said, 'Oh Mother', so there and then she was won to the pledge.²²

²⁰ Brian Harrison has discussed the importance of 'national efficiency' in the face of imperial rivalries for anti-suffragists, see *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain* (London: Croom Helm, 1978).

²¹ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1886). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

²² Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1889). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

Mothering was an essential part of the middle-class woman's moral guardianship of the home, and the British Women saw their public role partly as an extension of this maternal duty. They accepted the idea that women's motherhood was vital for the moral and racial health of the nation. Likewise, they asserted their own qualifications to judge the quality of other women's mothering and to provide instruction in domesticity and maternity. Thus, the British Women's acceptance of middle-class emphases on the importance of mothers' moral guidance was intrinsic to their work in the 'feminine public sphere'.

Clearly, personal experiences of drunkenness were a powerful force in bringing women into temperance reform, and these experiences were often made available through women's philanthropy. Women's tradition of benevolent work exposed them to the poverty of the urban poor, and convinced reformers of the detrimental effects of 'rough' drink culture on moral and physical well-being. Mrs Margaret Blaikie, president of the Scottish Christian Union for twenty-nine years, stated in 1882: "No Christian worker but met intemperance in every corner in which she went, and found that it was productive of the misery, poverty, lunacy, and many other evils which it was the duty of the Christian community to strive against".²³ The records of the SCU contain repeated expressions of shock over the impoverished conditions endured by the lower classes. This shock was fuelled by the belief that drink expenditure was the primary factor contributing to a poor family's inability to clothe and feed itself. For instance, Mrs Wilhemina Woyka, one of the founding members of the SCU and a well-respected public speaker, was known to play on this theme in her temperance talks: "She frequently carried with her a little bag containing all the requisites for a morning meal, fuel included, at the same cost as

²³ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1882). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

one would pay for a glass of whisky – giving an object lesson which greatly interested her audiences”.²⁴ Mrs Woyka’s device highlights the British Women’s belief in the power of self-help; the British Women operated under the assumption that if the urban poor forswore drink and were instructed in the most ‘efficient’ use of their earnings, many of the social ills of the time would be resolved.²⁵

Female philanthropists were appalled by what they deemed a wilful rejection of the ‘natural order’; the British Women believed that working-class resistance to middle-class notions of family structure exacerbated their poverty. The idea that economic constraints prevented most working-class families from replicating the middle-class ideal of an economically active husband and father and leisured wife and daughters was antithetical to the British Women’s worldview. From the point of view of these female templars, poor families’ economic constraints were largely self-imposed, a function of expenditure on drink and inefficient household management rather than of low wages. The historian Lilian Lewis Shiman has also suggested that middle-class women’s temperance action was a response to their exposure to urban poverty. She uses the example of Mrs Charles Wightman, wife of a Church of England clergyman, who joined the temperance movement as a result of her charity and – although an anti-teetotaler herself – was convinced a temperance society was necessary for the salvation of the parish poor.²⁶

A last important feature of British Women’s desire to take up temperance work was crime prevention. One example is Mrs Archibald Campbell, a long-

²⁴ Robertson, *BWTASCU*, 36. BWTASCU Collection.

²⁵ The tensions between middle-class reformers’ values and perceptions of ‘efficiency’ and the values of working-class women have been investigated by a variety of historians. For instance, Ellen Ross has commented extensively on the complications for middle-class philanthropists who wanted to manipulate working-class diet, see *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

²⁶ Lilian Lewis Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England* (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1988), 50.

standing member and one-time president of the Glasgow Prayer Union. The minutes record that Mrs Campbell “spoke of her enlightenment beginning on seeing two men fighting on the street in Edin [*sic*] one was knocked down and badly hurt, then she heard that the men were both drunk; this made her think of the great evil caused by drink”.²⁷ The British Women’s view of crime prevention responded to the temperance movement’s often shallow view of social problems; many activists distilled crime and the ‘degradation of woman’ down to the ‘evil of intemperance’. The British Women were particularly concerned with the drunk and disorderly ‘female inebriate’, who was often synonymous with the ‘fallen’ woman. This view can be seen in Miss Bryson’s comments at the Glasgow Prayer Union annual meeting in 1889:

Miss Bryson spoke of the large new prison at Duke Street, which is being erected for women at the public expense. Would it not be more sensible to shut up the public houses that make the drunkards?²⁸

Thus, drink is made responsible for female criminality. The British Women believed that a ban on alcohol consumption would ‘cleanup’ the streets of Glasgow’s Trongate and Edinburgh’s Slaughter Market. If poorer women were isolated from drink, reasoned the British Women, they would not put their own and their families’ well-being and respectability at risk.

The SCU had several departments involved with the crime and punishment of ‘the female inebriate’. In addition to the SCU’s ‘rescue’ homes (discussed below) the Scottish Christian Union sent visitors to police offices and prisons to persuade criminalised female drinkers to adopt total-abstinence. The links between the SCU’s interest in crime prevention, ‘woman’s mission’ and ‘the female inebriate’ are clear. The SCU focused its concern, prayers and benevolence on women and girls; this

²⁷ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1889). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

²⁸ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1889). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

gendered approach to temperance work included elements of social control, and Chapter 4 will investigate the social control aspects of the British Women's temperance reform ideology. Indeed, many accounts of temperance reform have focused on the importance of class and social control.²⁹ These are important factors, however it is important to also recognise the strong individual investment that these women made in trying to alleviate the suffering of the impoverished urban community. While the British Women's stress on working with poorer women (in part to ensure high standards of maternal duty) did include elements of social control, the female templars of the SCU were genuinely committed to what they saw as the duties of women as wives and mothers.

So, what do the motivations of the British Women reveal about middle-class women's public lives, or the character of the 'feminine public sphere'? The same gender prejudices that limited a woman's opportunities in public life could, simultaneously, be mobilised in support of the 'feminine public sphere' albeit in a 'complementary' position that stressed middle-class women's suitability to work with females. Although, 'power' was unevenly distributed throughout society the British Women, many of whom devoted decades to the movement, were able to accumulate status in the world of middle-class public life via social reform. Women's maternity was key to female templars' decision to support temperance reform. On the one hand, poorer women's mothering was the object of intense scrutiny because it was understood as vital to maintaining British racial superiority. On the other hand, the British Women believed that when other women, of whatever class but particularly those of lower socio-economic status, were not fulfilling their

²⁹ For an overview of social control in the history of alcohol use, see Susanna Barrows and Robin Room, "Introduction", in *Drinking: Behaviour and Belief in Modern History*, eds. Susanna Barrows and Robin Room (Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 1-25.

mothering 'duties' they disrupted middle-class women's claim to a place in the 'public' by soiling the reputation of innate feminine moral superiority. Likewise, work among female convicts could help to disseminate middle-class values among working-class women, and to elevate the place of mothering in the lives of the working classes. The British Women's interests in maternity also reflected a sincere devotion to women's important work as mothers. Furthermore, participation in philanthropy convinced the British Women that temperance reform was *the* solution to the social ills that threatened the moral and material health of the nation. In sum, the opportunities to pursue 'woman's mission' attracted the British Women to the temperance movement. Through social reform these middle-class women gained the opportunity to exert feminine moral superiority not only on their families but also on society as a whole.

Where Are the British Women?

Although the American Women's Christian Temperance Union has been credited as being the first mass organisation of women in the United States, there has been virtually no exploration of the late-nineteenth-century women's temperance movement in Britain.³⁰ The work of three scholars on the British temperance movement makes this clear. Bernard Aspinwall, Brian Harrison and Lilian Lewis Shiman have all, to a varying degree, influenced the consolidation of the dominant

³⁰ For example, see Blocker, *American Temperance Movements* and "Give to the Winds Thy Fears"; Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*; Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981); Giele, *Two Paths to Women's Equality*; and Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade*.

narrative that has hidden from history the Scottish Christian Union and the British Women's Temperance Association.³¹

Harrison's discussion has endured as one of the most important monographs of the English temperance movement and has influenced the work of other scholars looking at British women's involvement in the movement, but strangely women and women's single-sex temperance organisations are virtually invisible in *Drink and the Victorians*. However, this omission can, perhaps, be largely attributed to Harrison's focus on the period 1815 to 1872. The 1873-74 Crusade was yet to set the temperance world alight and the WCTU, SCU and BWTA were yet to be established. Nonetheless, the absence of women from Harrison's account has been interpreted as evidence for the unimportance of women's involvement in temperance in Britain. For instance, Banks – drawing on Harrison – has suggested that only men were employed as full-time temperance agents.³² However, with the rise of women's single-sex temperance organisations in the late-nineteenth century, women were employed as full-time temperance workers. For example, the SCU employed full-time female administrators, such as the west of Scotland secretary. The problem here may be less the power of Harrison's account and more a lack of research. Only recently have studies on women's temperance reform in Britain emerged.³³ There is a long way to go before any definitive pronouncements can be made on the comparative importance of women's temperance reform in Britain. Essentially, a reliance on Harrison's work, which examines the period running up to the rise of

³¹ See Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*; Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*; and Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink*.

³² Banks, *Faces of Feminism*, 19.

³³ Two important contributions are Barrow, "Teetotal Feminists"; and Lloyd-Morgan, "From Temperance to Suffrage?".

women's temperance, will hinder any discovery of women's contributions to the British temperance movement.

Although there has been little research into the British women's temperance, Shiman confidently states that women's temperance activism, specifically the British Women's Temperance Association, had little importance in the British temperance movement. The brief evaluation of women's role in Shiman's study is problematic in two ways. First, her short discussion of women in temperance reform is somewhat inaccurate. Most importantly, she describes Mrs Margaret Parker as "an active English teetotaler".³⁴ Although the importance in the world women's temperance movement that Shiman attributes to Mrs Parker is well deserved, it will be remembered from Chapter 1 that Margaret Parker was a Scotswoman from Dundee. This instance is the most explicit 'hiding' of the Scottish Christian Union's contribution to the late-nineteenth-century women's temperance movement. Second, Shiman's conclusions encourage a dismissive attitude towards the British women's temperance movement. Her comments are worth quoting at length:

Although women teetotalers continued to be active in all areas of the local and national anti-drink campaigns, the women's organisations never became really important in the nineteenth-century temperance movement. The whole weight of the male-dominated society of the time was against females having any independent role in the public affairs of their communities. The British Women attempted to involve its members in causes it thought worthy of their attention, but many of these members came from teetotal families that emphasised 'acceptance' and 'respectability' rather than rebellion and innovation. Women's suffrage and 'social purity' were not causes which the hardheaded northern teetotalers could approve.³⁵

Perhaps Shiman's assessment can be seen to reflect the specific circumstances for women's temperance reform in England. Certainly, Barrow's work on the British Women's Temperance Association suggests that in England women's temperance

³⁴ Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink*, 183.

³⁵ Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink*, 187.

was characterised by a more conservative approach to women's place in temperance work.³⁶ However, it would be mistaken to assume that these circumstances were reproduced in Scotland.

Scotland was a centre of European temperance reform. In 1829, the lawyer and philanthropist John Dunlop drew on American methods and established the first European temperance society in Glasgow.³⁷ Indeed, Glasgow was an especially important site of temperance activism. For example, the most successful temperance society in the 1844-1924 period, the Scottish Temperance League, was based in Glasgow, and Glasgow was often the first port of call for American temperance reformers touring Scotland and collaborating with Scottish templars.³⁸ The Scottish Christian Union was an important and respected part of the late-nineteenth-century temperance movement in Scotland. The SCU co-ordinated with the Scottish Permissive Bill Association, the Scottish Temperance League and the International Order of Good Templars. Co-operative efforts were facilitated by spousal links between the SCU and the mixed-sex temperance groups. For instance, in the Glasgow Prayer Union, Mrs Rannie and Mrs Service were the wives of prominent STL officials. Likewise, Mrs Allan, Mrs Forrester, Mrs Johnston, Mrs Alexander Wallace, Mrs Hunter Craig and Mrs John Wilson were the wives of well-known temperance men and local vetoists.³⁹ These women, like Mrs Allan, the wife of the well-known shipping magnate, were the relatives of prominent and influential local families, and local politicians were keenly aware of the influence such women might

³⁶ See Barrow, "Teetotal Feminists".

³⁷ Elspeth King, *Scotland Sober and Free: The Temperance Movement 1829-1979* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1979), 4 & 8.

³⁸ Norma Davies Logan "Drink and Society: Scotland 1870-1914" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Faculty of Arts, University of Glasgow, 1983), 15. Logan suggests that the STL was superior in terms of finances and membership numbers in this period. Moreover, her thesis demonstrates throughout the vitality of the Scottish temperance movement and the centrality of Glasgow in temperance reform.

³⁹ Logan, "Drink and Society", 471. Local veto (discussed further in Chapter 4) was a type of prohibition – local electors could vote on the extent of licenses in their area.

wield during municipal elections. Female templars sought to exert their moral influence directly on municipal politics, and they often undertook local government work in collusion with male temperance politicians, rather than in opposition to a masculine sense of political privilege. The evidence from Scotland, then, makes it possible to conclude that women's work for temperance reform in the Scottish Christian Union was influential and respected rather than marginal and unimportant.

Aspinwall's comparative study focuses on the weight of trans-Atlantic influences on temperance reform. He argues that "America consistently forced the pace among Scottish temperance reformers".⁴⁰ Aspinwall shows how emigration networks and the exchange of temperance literature encouraged a strong bond between the American and Scottish temperance movements. I will argue that the Scottish temperance movement in general was more open to American innovation than the English temperance movement. This can be seen in the Scottish Christian Union's own position on Frances Willard's 'do everything' policy. Although Aspinwall stresses the importance of America in Scottish temperance reform and includes reference to the SCU, he does not develop this link with reference to the rise of women's temperance reform. This thesis endeavours to fill some of this gap.

I have referred to the debate in British Women's Temperance Association over 'do everything' and 'Americanisation'. Barrow suggests that the BWTA executive was threatened by the close relationship between the president, Lady Henry Somerset, and the American Women's Christian Temperance Union president, Frances Willard. The BWTA debated Somerset's desire to implement so-called 'Americanisation' and, ultimately did not accept Willard's 'do everything' policy. This debate resulted in a split in the BWTA ranks which resulted in the formation of

⁴⁰ Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 109.

the break-away British Temperance League in 1893. The British Temperance League restricted its work to traditional areas of women's public work such as district visiting, and shunned the political dimension of temperance. Chapter 1 showed that the Scottish Christian Union embraced 'do everything' and maintained a variety of different 'departments of work', including women's suffrage and social purity. It is reasonable to suppose that the SCU's more diversified approach to temperance was a product of the SCU's greater affinity with the American WCTU. Chapter 1 also illustrated the importance of the American women crusaders to Scottish female templars' decision to organise. American influence seems to have had a radical influence on the Scottish Christian Union which helped to distinguish Scotland's British Women from their counterparts in England. Logan echoes this view and suggests that the conservatism that marked the BWTA in England was largely absent from the SCU.⁴¹ Certainly, no SCU branches joined the British Temperance League in the 1890s, preferring instead to prosecute their work in line with 'do everything'. Moreover, the admiration for American female templars that Logan associates with the British Women is born out in the minute books, annual reports, and the *Scottish Women's Temperance News*, where it becomes clear that the Scottish Christian Union saw itself as very much involved in the outpouring of spirit and dedication that characterised the 'Whisky War' and the rise of the American WCTU.

Unfortunately, this thesis must take a limited view of the Scottish Christian Union and discuss it primarily in terms of its gender ideology and its place in the women's suffrage movement. There is not space here to develop a more comprehensive discussion of the Scottish Christian Union, and this organisation and the temperance movement in Britain as a whole demands more attention. The goal

⁴¹ Logan, "Drink and Society", 475.

here is to demonstrate that the SCU was important to the women's suffrage movement in Scotland. However, since there is so little known about the Scottish Christian Union the remainder of this chapter will explore its relationship to the wider 'feminine public sphere', especially women's philanthropy, the temperance movement and social reform.

Temperance Reform and 'Rational Recreation'

The temperance movement was intrinsically linked to middle-class initiatives to 'rationalise recreation' in the nineteenth century.⁴² Leisure reformers sought to homogenise working-class free time along middle-class lines. The campaign for 'rational recreation' helps to illustrate the Scottish Christian Union's place in the wider temperance movement. First, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the Scottish temperance movement used women's role in the home as a rallying cry for involvement in teetotal recreation. As the hostess, the middle-class woman was expected to influence her family and guests by banning alcohol from dinners and entertainments in the home. Second, the SCU – itself – was active in setting up 'counter-attractions to the public house'; coffee stalls, tented restaurants at fairs and clubs for working women were designed to lessen alcohol consumption during leisure time. Finally, the Scottish Christian Union's attitude towards leisure

⁴² This view is supported by a range of historians. For example, see Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*; Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978; reprint, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1987); Callum G. Brown, "Popular Culture and the Continuing Struggle for Rational Recreation", in *Scotland in the 20th Century*, eds. T. M. Devine and R. J. Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 210-29; Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (London: University of California Press, 1995); Blocker, *American Temperance Movements* and "Give to the Winds Thy Fears"; Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*; Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity*; Gusfield, *The Symbolic Crusade*; Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*; King, *Scotland Sober and Free*; James Kneale, "The Place of Drink: Temperance and the Public, 1856-1914", *Social and Cultural Geography* 2, no. 1 (2001): 43-59; W. R. Lambert,

provides evidence of its wider temperance ideology, or the rationale behind its temperance work. As has been shown in the case of American female templars, the British Women were in many ways directing their efforts against a masculine leisure culture of drink.⁴³

‘Rational recreation’ was a response to the perceived ill-effects of urbanisation and industrialisation. In the first half of the nineteenth century, recreation reformers’ sincere concern for the urban masses was linked with a desire to curb working-class involvement in popular radical movements such as Chartism.⁴⁴ Reformers’ interest in leisure with a morally ‘improving’ dimension continued into the late-nineteenth century, and ‘rational recreation’ was a theme in the temperance movement throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The middle classes’ involvement in leisure reform was informed by a belief in their own moral superiority, which was encouraged by the scenes of public drunkenness not uncommon in the Victorian and Edwardian city. Elspeth King has shown that drunkenness was indeed prevalent in late-nineteenth century Glasgow, and as I have shown above, the British Women – themselves – were shocked and appalled by their experiences of public drunkenness.⁴⁵ Working-class drunkenness was a direct affront to the middle-classes’ religiously inspired notions of respectability, and Brown has noted that:

In Victorian and Edwardian Scotland, public culture was an object for struggle, often class struggle, in which elites engaged to convert plebeians from the pernicious hedonism of drink and urban ‘low life’, and create new loyalties – to God, employer, municipality and nation.⁴⁶

Drink and Sobriety in Victorian Wales c.1820-c.1895 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1983); and Logan, “Drink and Society”.

⁴³ For example, see Blocker, *American Temperance Movements* and “Give to the Winds Thy Fears”; Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*; Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity*; and Murdock, *Domesticating Drink*.

⁴⁴ Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, 47 (page citations to the reprint edition).

⁴⁵ King, *Scotland Sober and Free*, 18.

⁴⁶ Brown, “Popular Culture and the Continuing Struggle for Rational Recreation”, 210.

The Scottish Temperance League corroborates Brown's analysis by asserting that effective temperance reform was vital to national safety: "the masses have existed far sunk in poverty and vice, the condition of whom has again and again been represented as placing the safety and even the existence of the nation in peril".⁴⁷ However, efforts on the part of social elites to control leisure should be viewed through a gendered as well as a class perspective. The middle-class British Women struggled to infuse working-class leisure with their own bourgeois feminine values.

As templars, the British Women approached the 'struggle for rational recreation' as an aspect of 'woman's civilising mission'. Jane Rendall rightly suggests that: "For women, though, surely the temperance movement had a deeper dimension: it was about the use and control of family resources and leisure time, an assertion of domestic priorities".⁴⁸ The idea of 'domestic priorities' helps to explain the British Women's stance on leisure reform. The SCU was informed by notions of feminine moral superiority. In turn this feeling of moral superiority was bound up with the British Women's acceptance of 'woman's mission' to morally uplift her family. The British Women interpreted this mission, or the 'distinct ministry' of women discussed in the previous chapter, as extending outside the boundaries of the family and into the local, national and imperial communities.⁴⁹ However, temperance reform could start in the home. Historians who have investigated nineteenth-century prescriptive literature have shown that the domestic ideology of the period emphasised 'respectable' woman's role as homemaker.⁵⁰ The temperance

⁴⁷ STL, "The Condition of the People – What Can Be Done for Them", *Scottish Temperance Review* (Jul 1850): 293.

⁴⁸ Rendall, *The Origins of Feminism*, 255.

⁴⁹ This discussion is focused primarily on the British Women's initiatives in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Scotland as a whole. However, the SCU was keenly interested in temperance reform in the imperial context. For more on this see Megan Smitley, "'Inebriates', 'Heathens', Templars and Suffragists: Scotland and Imperial Feminism c1870-1914", *WHR* 11, no. 3 (2002): 455-80.

⁵⁰ For example, see Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*; and Lewis, *Women in England*.

movement upheld the centrality of homemaking to women's lives and adopted this role as a means for temperance work. Templars viewed middle-class woman's role as hostess and household manageress as a means to regulate a family's consumption. In this way, the temperance movement presented the home as an important site of temperance work and reinforced the legitimacy of 'woman's civilising mission' in the domestic realm.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the temperance movement's advice to the homemaker and hostess to maintain the sobriety of her family was encouraged by the movement's new emphasis on total-abstinence, rather than on moderation.⁵¹ By the 1850s, temperance journals recommended teetotalism as the most effective weapon against 'custom':

the use of liquors is so mixed up with the ordinary habits of private life – drinking so enters into the daily intercourse and common courtesies of society – drink so saturates and inter-penetrates life – that attack upon one or another more notoriously obnoxious custom will be of little use.⁵²

The term 'custom' was used by temperance reformers to refer to social practices – among all classes – associated with alcohol. James Kneale has noted the importance of this terminology: "The symbolic value of drink took on a heightened significance in Britain after the 1830s, as the moral economy of exchange was degraded to the level of 'custom'".⁵³ In other words, the word 'custom' signalled to templars leisure activities of a low moral grade and affiliated with drink. The temperance community's attack on 'custom' was directed against all social groups and was more a response to the millenarianism of the movement, rather than an attempt by the

⁵¹ For more on the debate over total-abstinence versus moderation, see Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*; Callum Brown, "Religion and the Development of an Urban Society: Glasgow 1780-1914" (Ph.D. thesis, Volume 2, Faculty of Arts, University of Glasgow, 1981); Dingle, *The Campaign for Prohibition*; and Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink*.

⁵² STL, "Answers to Religious Objections", *Scottish Temperance Review* (Jan 1850): 28.

⁵³ Kneale, "The Place of Drink", 54.

middle classes to control the leisure of the working classes. The historian William M. Walker has shown that the temperance movement in Scotland was informed by millennialist beliefs, or the expectation of a time of supernatural peace and abundance.⁵⁴ These beliefs were based on the book of Revelation which prophesied that Christ would establish on earth a thousand year reign of saints before the Last Judgement. From this point of view, templars – themselves the pure and righteous of society – took responsibility for clearing the way for the Kingdom of God on Earth: “By their ‘purity’ the Prohibitionists demonstrated the viability of a future paradise by exemplifying their present fitness for it”.⁵⁵ Vile ‘customs’ associated with the ‘evil of intemperance’, whether among labourers or professionals, were a barrier to preparing society for the expected time of bliss on Earth. Thus, the templar justified her / his role in obliterating – as would God – evil ‘customs’ among humanity.

The ascendancy of teetotalism was well-established by the time of the Scottish Christian Union. The SCU agreed that the moderate position, which stressed abstinence from ‘spirituous liquors’ and the avoidance of drunkenness, was inappropriate in the battle against the sin and vice the British Women associated with alcohol use. A Dr Fergus Fergusson articulated the British Women’s fears of insidious ‘customs’ at the Glasgow Prayer Union’s annual conference and meeting in November 1888:

there was the influence of fashion and social customs. There is scarcely a public dinner but there must be toasting with alcoholic liquor.⁵⁶

Female templars took – and were encouraged to take – strong responsibility for severing the connection between ‘custom’, entertainment and drink. Domesticity set

⁵⁴ See William M. Walker, “The Scottish Prohibition Party and the Millennium”, *International Review of Social History* 18 (1973): 353-79.

⁵⁵ Walker, “The Scottish Prohibition Party”, 364.

⁵⁶ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1888). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

a special onus on women to curb the liquor traffic on a micro level, an onus that was exploited by the temperance movement. The *Scottish Temperance Review* pointed out to its female readers in 1851: “The presentation of the beverage falls to your lot”.⁵⁷ Over thirty years later, Mrs Blaikie reiterated this position and claimed that all women had a ‘special place’ and power to ‘influence’ those around them, thus: “Mothers should put the drink out of their homes for the sake of their own families and those of their acquaintances and friends”.⁵⁸ This attitude continued into the early-twentieth century, and Mrs Milne praised the supposed change in attitudes towards drinking habits among the well-to-do: “Dame fashion is doing obeisance to the tea pot instead of the wine decanter, and ridicule and contempt fall no more on the devoted heads of those who banish the wine glass from the festal boards”.⁵⁹ Thus, the partitioned responsibilities of the sexual division of labour extended to home-based management of total-abstinence. Similarly, the temperance movement’s emphasis on women’s domestic role made a special recognition of middle-class women’s ‘domestic priorities’.

The British Women’s role in reforming ‘custom’ and leisure was not, however, confined to the home. The Scottish Christian Union took an active share in developing Scotland’s teetotal leisure culture. So-called ‘counter-attractions’ were integral to temperance reformers’ efforts to refine working-class ‘rough’ culture. As a result, the temperance reform and leisure reform agendas coincided; both intended to lessen recourse to drink and the associated sins of whoring, fighting and thieving. In the words of Kneale: “Much of the immoral leisure that concerned reformers was connected in some way with alcoholic drink, which consequently came to symbolize

⁵⁷ STL, “Woman’s Duty Towards the Temperance Reform”, 12.

⁵⁸ STL, “Ladies Temperance Conference”, 216.

⁵⁹ Mrs Milne, “Scotland’s Women to the Rescue”, 45.

both a problematic form of leisure and an opportunity for a reform of popular manners".⁶⁰ Therefore, 'counter-attractions' can be seen as part of the greater middle-class interest in modifying working-class behaviour to complement bourgeois sensibilities. Peter Bailey confirms that middle-class leisure reformers had faith in their plans to 'rationalise' recreation: "new amenities would divert the working-man from the pub and provide the proper environment for his exposure to the superior example [of the middle-class], whose values would be internalised".⁶¹ What, then, were these 'new amenities' and the British Women's role in creating them?

Departments dedicated to 'counter-attractions' were some of the first created by the Edinburgh Central Branch and the Glasgow Prayer Union. Individual British Women had operated a coffee stall in Edinburgh's Slaughter Market from the 1870s, but the coffee stall and other 'counter-attractions' were departmentalised in the early-1890s. One of the coffee stall's functions was to organise an annual tea for market people, complete with a temperance story and magic lantern. In 1892, twenty-one working men signed the total-abstinence pledge at this tea.⁶² Over the course of the decade several other 'counter-attractions' sub-departments were formed under the leadership of the preventive department: showman's tea (1893), travelling showmen and fairs in country places (1894), to petition shipowners to prohibit the sale of alcohol in passenger ocean vessels, river steamers and pleasure boats (1894) and the servants' branch (1897). It is reasonable to suggest that the work of these departments had been undertaken by the Edinburgh Central Branch before the 1890s and that the systematisation of this work was a result of the 'do everything' policy's emphasis on departmentalisation. This idea is supported by the Glasgow Prayer

⁶⁰ Kneale, "The Place of Drink", 43.

⁶¹ Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, 53.

⁶² Edinburgh Central Branch, *Fifteenth Annual Report for the Year 1892* (Edinburgh, 1893), 11. BWTASCU Collection.

Union's involvement in 'counter-attractions' from its inception in the mid-1870s. The Glasgow Prayer Union was particularly interested to divert fair-goers from the 'evil of intemperance' during Glasgow's fair weekend in July. Jane Ryan's recent investigation of prostitution and the Glasgow Fair confirms that alcohol was a central feature: "During the Fair pubs were open twenty hours a day, during which liquor tents and illegal saloons facilitated sales".⁶³ In 1885, as part of the Glasgow Prayer Union's work among show-people, the British Women:

held a tea meeting with between two and three hundred travelling showmen and their families in a mission room near Vinegar Hill. Some days previously a few ladies visited the showground and, guided by two young showmen, members of the 'Travellers National Total Abstiners' Union', went from show to show, giving tickets of invitation to all employed.⁶⁴

Between 1898 and 1905, 'work among show-people' became departmentalised and included tents for teetotal refreshment at public events, and teetotal alternatives at annual fairs were an important element of the SCU's contribution to the 'counter-attractions' movement.

The SCU's annual report for 1900 includes a particularly detailed description of one of these refreshment tents. The Stirling British Women's account of their tent at the Highland and Agricultural Society's show gives a rich insight into the women's temperance work. One of the most impressive features of this account is the sheer scale of the British Women's undertaking. Their 'tent' was actually a long wooden shed, 108 feet by twenty feet, enclosed on one side and divided into three sections; a luncheon section at one end, the kitchen in the middle and the counter department at the other end.⁶⁵ The counter was estimated at thirty to forty feet in length. Miss Nellie Harvie, superintendent of Stirling's decorative committee,

⁶³ Jane Ryan, "Sex and the Saltmarket – Public Discussion of Glasgow Fair 1820-1870" (Unpublished M.A. diss., Faculty of Arts, University of Glasgow, 2002), 8.

⁶⁴ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1885). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

⁶⁵ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Twenty-Third Annual Report*, 28. BWTASCU Collection.

organised to have the wood inside and outside the shed covered in panels of blue and white sateen with dark blue paper thistles between these panels. A Scottish flag, SCU flag and a large white banner with 'BWTA' in dark blue completed the decorations outside the shed, while flower baskets were hung from the ceiling inside the shed. The luncheon department oversaw twelve tables able to seat ten people each, covered in white calico. The waiting committee was made up of young ladies, presumably the daughters or young relations of the Stirling British Women:

They were asked by the Committee to wear white dresses, and, if possible, sailor hats, and we provided them with bands for their hats, and badges of the same ribbon, which were worn across the front of the bodice from shoulder to waist.⁶⁶

Each waitress carried a money bag in co-ordinating blue and served five people. The British Women and their young protégé waitresses did not get their hands too dirty, however and: "The staff of workers in the Kitchen (who were, of course, all paid hands) consisted of an experienced waiter who did all the carving, a staff of seven women and two servants who, with pretty caps and aprons, served the food through the 'hutches'".⁶⁷ The prices were based on the rates charged by the temperance restaurants in Stirling (see Figure 1), except for the last day when farm-servants and other manual workers were served and the prices were modified. The so-called 'tent' raised £343-8s. The Stirling British Women attributed their success to the *a la carte* pricing versus the fixed price 2s-6d menus offered by the rival caterers.

⁶⁶ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Twenty-Third Annual Report*, 29. BWTASCU Collection.

⁶⁷ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Twenty-Third Annual Report*, 30. BWTASCU Collection.

This refreshment tent is an interesting example and its account illustrates the British Women's approach to temperance work, their class attitudes and aspects of their ideology. Firstly, what comes across clearly in this rich description is the meticulousness of the British Women. An incredible amount of energy and

Figure 1. Refreshment Tent Menu

Item	Price
Beef Steak Pie (hot)	1s-3d / plate
Lamb	1s-3d / plate
Roast Beef	1s-3d / plate
Boiled Ham	1s / plate
Salmon	1s-4d / plate
Strawberries and Cream	6d / plate
Sandwiches	3d / portion
Tea	3d / cup
Coffee	3d / cup
Aerated Waters	3d / cup
Ices	6d / glass
Cakes	1d / cake
Bread and Butter	1d / slice

Potatoes, lettuce and dinner rolls served with meat.

Source: BWTASCU, "An Account of the Temperance Tent in Stirling at the Highland and Agricultural Society's Show" (Edinburgh, 1900), 30.

investment went into this single project. This kind of exhaustive attention to detail can be seen in the records of all the Scottish Christian Union's temperance efforts. This detailed approach to temperance work may be partially attributed to the professionalisation of domestic work that is associated with the nineteenth century. Jeanne Boydston has argued in her investigation of patterns of work in early-nineteenth-century America that women's housework was as influenced by

industrialisation as was paid labour.⁶⁸ Boydston shows that new technologies for use in household tasks were understood in the light of gender relations and helped to increase standards and expectations of domestic work. Likewise, Deborah Simonton has argued that nineteenth-century European domestic ideology resulted in the professionalisation of housework.⁶⁹ Using household manuals and women's recorded understandings of their housework, Simonton concludes that nineteenth-century domesticity emphasised "monitoring and controlling the household through strictures of time schedules and rigorous accounting".⁷⁰ Certainly the keen sense of detail that infused the running of the refreshments tent echoed a middle-class woman's role as professional household manageress. In addition to detailed preparations and an emphasis on décor, the British Women took on a supervisory role and undertook some food service, whereas no British Women worked in the kitchen or washed up dishes.⁷¹ The British Women's tent, then, replicated the class relations of the middle-class home, where the lady of the house administered the work of domestic servants.

In this way, the SCU's temperance work reinforced rather than challenged middle-class cultural norms. Likewise, while asserting women's right to participate in public life, the British Women simultaneously reinforced contemporary gender stereotypes. In the example of the refreshments tent, the British Women approached temperance work in a manner that presented themselves as capable domestic manageresses. By focusing on providing food and drink in a teetotal environment, the British Women contextualised their public work in the normal 'duties' of the wife

⁶⁸ See Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

⁶⁹ See Deborah Simonton, *European Women's Work: 1700 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1998).

⁷⁰ Simonton, *European Women's Work*, 92.

⁷¹ Simonton has noted the increased association between women, domesticity and interior decoration in the nineteenth century, *European Women's Work*, 93.

and mother, i.e. the provision of nourishment and entertainment. This may seem at first glance to underscore the supposed innate conservatism of women involved in religious movements. For instance, while Banks has noted the importance of evangelicalism to nineteenth-century feminists such as Josephine Butler,⁷² her work has also pointed to the essential conservatism of religio-feminism:

When it led women outside the home it was primarily in order to bring the domestic virtues into the public domain. There was little desire, in short, to change either the idea of femininity or the nature of domestic life; in so far as it was radical at all, it was in the attempt to ‘feminize’ the public sphere by bringing to it the values associated with the home.⁷³

However, I wish to stress this radical aspect of religiously inspired feminism. Recently – as I showed in Chapter 2 – historians of ‘first-wave’ feminism have given religion a more positive role. For instance, Barbara Caine argues that although ‘woman’s mission’ exhorted women’s self-sacrifice and subordination within the home, “the very formulation of this duty came in terms of a mission to transform morally and in the interests of religion and order not only their immediate family, but also potentially the whole society”.⁷⁴ This discussion also views the British Women’s desire to feminise the social and political institutions of their world as a great challenge to men’s dominance which helped to expand the boundaries of the ‘feminine public sphere’. Refreshment tents may have reflected middle-class women’s domestic role, however they operated within the ‘public’ spaces of fairs. Moreover, while the methods employed by the British Women may not have presented great opposition to gender stereotypes, temperance work was in itself a courageous rejection of what Mark James has termed the ‘cement’ of society:

⁷² Banks, *Becoming a Feminist*, 15.

⁷³ Banks, *Faces of Feminism*, 26.

⁷⁴ Caine, *English Feminism*, 82.

Temperance was profoundly involved with, and influential in shaping Victorian ideas of self-help and domestic felicity. Yet the radicalism of its ideas, and its example should not be underestimated.⁷⁵

The SCU's 'counter-attractions' could take forms less easily equated with women's domestic life. The British Women were well-known in temperance circles for organising a Mizpah Band for women in Glasgow. The Mizpah Band was inspired by the American evangelical, Mr Moodie. The word Mizpah is taken from Genesis and refers to a town in Gilead where Jacob and Laban raised their memorial cairn and gave the so-called Mizpah benediction: "the Lord watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another".⁷⁶ The band's allusion to the Mizpah benediction was clearly seen as an appropriate temperance message; the band was designed to foster working-class teetotal support networks. In 1882, Moodie established a men's Mizpah Band in Glasgow. Direction was passed on to Mr Robert Simpson and Mr R. Hunter Craig. Mr Craig was a director of the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association for twenty-six years, president of the Mizpah Band for nineteen years, involved with the International Order of Good Templars in the early 1870s and a vice-president of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage (1902-14).⁷⁷ Craig was the head of R. Hunter Craig Limited, a successful 'produce importer' with offices around the United Kingdom and the world.⁷⁸ Moreover, Mr Craig's wife, Mrs Hunter Craig, was the superintendent of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation's temperance committee (1903-08) and a founding member of the Glasgow Prayer Union. Likewise, Mr Simpson's wife, Mrs R. Simpson was involved with the Glasgow Prayer Union from the 1890s.

⁷⁵ Mark James, "Temperance", in *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, ed. Michael Lynch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 596.

⁷⁶ Gen. 31:49.

⁷⁷ IOGT, "Mr R. Hunter Craig MP", *STA* (1902): 21.

⁷⁸ IOGT, "Mr R. Hunter Craig MP", 21.

The men's Mizpah Band was a popular device and numbered 1,000 members after five years. Evangelicals and temperance reformers visited Glasgow to observe the band's operation; a Mizpah Band was then established in Manchester. The band was designed to combine leisure with total-abstinence fellowship among working-class teetotallers; members were to "devote their musical talent to the singing of gospel hymns, and use their persuasive powers ... to reclaim fellow-workmen from pernicious habits".⁷⁹ In this way, teetotal leisure (infused with middle-class values) could be substituted for plebeian 'rough' culture. Miss Anne Bryson proposed that the Glasgow Prayer Union form a female Mizpah Band in October 1886. As was shown in Chapter 2, Miss Bryson was a founding member of the Glasgow Prayer Union, and in the course of two decades served as secretary, vice-president and president. In addition to being a driving force behind the Glasgow Prayer Union's 'rescue' home, Miss Bryson was active in many departments; 'rescue' work, work among show-people, extension work (organising meetings and forming new branches) and 'preventive' work among young girls in co-operation with the Young Women's Christian Association. In December 1886:

Miss Bryson reported having been at the Mizpah Band Conference. Great desire for a female Mizpah Band, the husbands willing to stay at home one night in the week, to let the women attend.⁸⁰

By 1887, the Glasgow Prayer Union had instituted the first two branches of the female Mizpah Band. The band provided entertainment at teetotal gatherings and it often played at the Glasgow Prayer Union's refreshment tents.

The Scottish Christian Union's development of 'counter-attractions', such as the female Mizpah Band illustrates the SCU's links to the wider middle-class temperance reform movement. The temperance movement was keen to promote

⁷⁹ STL, "Mizpah Band Demonstration", *League Journal* no. 286 (Jun 1887): 410.

⁸⁰ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1886). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

‘rational recreation’, and developed teetotal alternatives to ‘pernicious’ working-class leisure pursuits. The character of the ‘counter-attractions’ was governed by middle-class women’s maintenance of class relations; the British Women occupied the supervisory roles whereas servants and hired hands undertook the manual labour. The SCU heavily invested time and resources in its temperance work and the Scottish Christian Union’s contribution to Scotland’s temperance movement should not be undervalued. The British Women drew on Scottish temperance networks and co-ordinated with male templars to facilitate the development of ‘counter-attractions’. In short, the SCU was recognised by its contemporaries in the temperance movement as an important organisation, and the Scottish Christian Union was – itself – part of the cutting-edge of temperance work.

The Temperance Movement and the Philanthropic Tradition

The British Women’s success in organising and executing temperance work such as ‘counter-attractions’ was partly due to their experiences in other forms of philanthropic work. Many elements of the British Women’s ideology and methodology can be traced to this aspect of the ‘feminine public sphere’. Philanthropy was a major site of women’s public work in the nineteenth century and was bound to influence women’s other interests in the ‘feminine public sphere’. This discussion of the British Women’s relationship with female voluntarism focuses on three elements: the methodology and principles of personalism; the use of ‘rescue’ homes to ‘reclaim’ women and girls; and the role of philanthropy in middle-class women’s culture. The social welfare community was subsumed in the discourse of personalism or ‘neighbourliness’ which claimed that face-to-face meetings with

beneficiaries was integral to advancing social welfare. The Edinburgh Central Branch and the Glasgow Prayer Union provided homes for the reformation of ‘the female inebriate’, and the character of these homes owes much to the prevailing reformatory ideology and the ideals of the social purists. Benevolent work was intrinsic to the ‘feminine public sphere’ and, in the course of philanthropy many women concluded that drink was responsible for urban misery.

The relationship between the temperance and philanthropic agendas was alternately co-operative and competitive. The social welfare community shared with the temperance reformers an emphasis on the importance of ‘neighbourliness’.⁸¹ Personalism was the term used to describe the methodology of ‘neighbourliness’, primarily in the form of home visitation. This practice had two main aims: first, it allowed visitors to inspect a beneficiary’s private space and to make recommendations regarding the ‘deservingness’ of the recipient; and second, it gave visitors the opportunity to dissipate class tensions in a ‘neighbourly’ way. Although temperance reformers practised district visiting they differentiated themselves from the philanthropic community by ascribing the causes of poverty solely to alcohol and seeking the solutions in its abolition. The organ of the International Order of Good Templars, the *Scottish Temperance Annual*, circulated a brief history of the SCU which illustrates both the practice of district visiting and the British Women’s sense of mission:

In the early days of its history the members of the Association, who entered upon the work with the same earnestness and enthusiasm which has ever characterised their society, went in couples and visited the public houses of Edinburgh and Leith, warning their proprietors of the iniquity of their trade.⁸²

⁸¹ For discussions of personalism in philanthropy see Checkland, *Philanthropy in Scotland*; Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*; Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class*; Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (London: Virago Press, 1985); and Howard M. Wach, “Unitarian Philanthropy and Cultural Hegemony in Comparative Perspective: Manchester and Boston, 1827-1848” *Journal of Social History* 26, no. 3 (Spring 1993): 539-57.

⁸² IOGT, “The British Women’s Temperance Association in Scotland”, 80.

This account of the British Women echoes the approach of the Ohio crusaders who took direct action against the purveyors of alcohol. However, the British Women's personal visit to the publicans also reflects the importance of district visiting to the 'feminine public sphere'. District visiting was the province of female philanthropists and one of their primary public roles, and the British Women integrated this methodology into temperance work. By invading her domestic space and passing judgement on her 'deservingness' the British Women monitored the progress of the 'reclaimed' 'female inebriate'.

The importance of personalism to the Scottish Christian Union's approach to female drunkenness reveals the debt the British Women owed to the wider philanthropic community. Female drinkers or the poorer wives of the male 'habitual drunkard' who came under the scrutiny of the British Women, could expect home visitation in the course of their journey to sobriety and redemption. This personal approach allowed the British Women to lead their unfortunate 'sisters' by their own sober and respectable example. In Glasgow, the female home missionary oversaw visitation. In December 1882, the Glasgow Prayer Union guaranteed to pay a female missionary twenty-four pounds per annum, and Mrs McPherson was appointed "to labour particularly among women, by holding mothers' meetings, house to house visitation, tract distribution, &c."⁸³ The British Women employed the concept of home visitation in the struggle to 'save' the criminalised 'female inebriate'. The Glasgow Prayer Union and the Edinburgh Central Branch formed departments for police office and prison visiting in the 1880s, and incarcerated 'inebriates' were visited by reformers in the hope that imprisoned women would enter a temperance home upon release.

⁸³ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1883). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

Temperance homes were an important feature of the Scottish Christian Union's work with 'the female inebriate', and were strongly influenced by contemporary understandings of the role of reformatories, domestic ideology and the social purity movements. Patrick M. McLaughlin's research into Scottish inebriate reformatories in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries leads him to identify the reformatories as expressions of Victorian 'institutional ideology'. McLaughlin contends that:

The rise of an institutional ideology, which was itself based on new knowledge provided by the social sciences, and the shift of gaze away from overt punishment of the body to reformation of the deviant's soul heralded a new optimism about the nature of individual deviance and about the ability of society to control it.⁸⁴

The 'institutional ideology' privileged rural settings for reformatories and "[reflected] a strongly held belief in an association between deviance and the contaminating influences of urban living".⁸⁵ McLaughlin suggests that the 'institutional ideology' was heavily characterised by the needs of an industrial capitalist society. In other words, the structure of reformatories which adhered to the 'institutional ideology' was marked by a stress on routine, discipline and constant employment. The structure and intent of the Glasgow Prayer Union's Whitevale Mission Shelter (also known as the Glasgow Mission Shelter and originally the Prison Gate Mission) and the Edinburgh Central Branch's Brownsland Temperance Home for Women was rooted in this 'institutional ideology'. The homes were the headquarters of the British Women's 'rescue' work and aimed to reform the drinking habits of 'the female inebriate' and to indoctrinate her with the middle-class values of the British Women.

⁸⁴ Patrick M. McLaughlin, "Inebriate Reformatories in Scotland: An Institutional History", in *Drinking*, eds. Barrows and Room, 308.

⁸⁵ McLaughlin, "Inebriate Reformatories in Scotland", 291.

Women's temperance homes were further premised on the 'domestic priorities' of the social purity movements. Linda Mahood's work on magdalene homes in Scotland focuses on the methods of social control used to cast inmates in the mould of the middle-class social structure.⁸⁶ Her analysis exposes the importance both of domestic ideology and of 'institutional ideology' to the methodology of the asylums. The magdalene homes were characterised by routine, moral instruction and discipline. She demonstrates that the employment choices in the magdalene homes reflected the social purists' 'social knowledge' of women's work.⁸⁷ Domestic or domestic-like occupations were paramount and laundry, washing and sewing were the main types of work in asylums.⁸⁸ Her argument presupposes reformers' intention to generate a trained servant class sensitive to middle-class values. She shows that the asylums disrupted family ties and isolated 'fallen' women from their peers; by culturally isolating an inmate, her reformation would not be compromised by the 'rough' elements that had contributed to her 'fall'.⁸⁹ Mahood's summation suggests the social purists' struggle to 'reclaim' women was motivated by the tenets of 'woman's mission':

these asylums developed a variety of social-control strategies to encourage an inmate's moral reform. Techniques such as incarceration, the disruption of family ties, infantilization, moral education and industrial training, emigration, and diversion to other institutions where problem cases could be

⁸⁶ See Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1990).

⁸⁷ Ellen Jordan uses the term 'social knowledge' in her study of nineteenth-century British feminism. She uses the social theories of Pierre Bourdieu to analyse employers' 'knowledge' of women's work, and argues that this 'knowledge' led to an 'androcentric blindness' that prompted feminists to work to change this 'knowledge'. Jordan uses Bourdieu's concept of habitus to develop the term 'social knowledge' to describe the phenomenon of socially accepted truths that "Bourdieu has called 'doxa', 'undiscussed and undisputed', part of everyone's knowledge of how the world operated". Jordan, *The Women's Movement and Women's Employment*, 44.

⁸⁸ This analysis is also reflected in her more recent work. See Linda Mahood, *Policing Gender, Class and Family Britain, 1850-1940* (London: UCL Press, 1995).

⁸⁹ Using Jacques Donzelot's notion of a 'familialist strategy', Mahood suggests that asylum's attempted "to become a surrogate family, and in the process to break down traditional working-class values and support networks". *The Magdalenes*, 98.

kept more or less permanently, were used to get inmates to conform to middle-class notions of feminine propriety.⁹⁰

McLaughlin's and Mahood's work highlights that the use of 'rescue' homes was endemic to nineteenth-century social reform methodology and ideology. Certainly, their use infiltrated the Scottish Christian Union through the social welfare experiences of the elite members of the organisation.

To understand the British Women's place in the 'feminine public sphere' it is important to contextualise the use of 'inebriate' homes in the social welfare experiences of some British Women. To begin with, what were the philanthropic backgrounds of Misses White and Bryson who established the Whitevale Mission Shelter? In Chapter 2 I discussed Miss Bryson's and Miss White's use of Quaker networks to finance the establishment of the Whitevale Mission Shelter. The public lives of these two Friends were strongly characterised by 'rescue' work. They were enthusiastic companions in the temperance crusade, sharing a house as well as the work of social welfare and temperance reform. Miss Mary White was a Glasgow native who blossomed as a social reformer after the death of her mother for whom she had been the primary carer. An English tour taken after her mother's death stimulated her career as a social reformer; it was at this point that she was fully exposed to the social ills she came to associate with urban living and intemperance. In London, Miss White spent several weeks with Miss Annie MacPherson whose example inspired Mary White to devote herself to social reform. Miss MacPherson was a well-known 'child saver' who worked among London 'waifs', or orphans. Miss MacPherson was best-known for her promotion of the 'resettlement of waifs', or child emigration. This was a widespread method of philanthropy that viewed the empire, and particularly the white settler colonies, as the ideal receptacle for

⁹⁰ Mahood, *The Magdalenes*, 102.

Britain's poor orphans. Lynn Abrams estimates that in the period 1870 to 1930, between 80,000 and 100,000 British children were taken to Canada: "It is not known precisely how many of these were from Scotland although Quarrier's Homes alone was responsible for the emigration of almost 7,000 children".⁹¹

In a published memoir Mary White recalls the importance of her sojourn to England to her decision to enter the temperance movement:

She [MacPherson] had then three small Homes for boys and girls, innocent sufferers from the drink traffic. I went about with her in her daily visits to these – in fact, wherever she went – to meetings and classes of all sorts among young and old, to the common lodging houses, and up many a dark and rickety stair, where dwelt poor Spitalfield weavers, Sunday scholars, widows, and sick folks among whom she worked.⁹²

Her London experience did more than give Miss White the opportunity to observe urban misery, it was at this point that Miss White first spoke in public when Miss MacPherson asked her to oversee a mother's meeting. Her visit left an indelible impression on Miss White that prompted her to claim: "This month in East London opened my eyes to the sins and sorrows of great cities, and I returned to Glasgow braced in spirit and ready to engage in anything the Lord called me to do".⁹³

Their zeal for 'rescue' work ensured that Misses Mary White and Anne Bryson maintained a working relationship with Miss MacPherson. In 1871, Miss White aided Miss MacPherson's sister, Mrs Merry, in taking ninety boys to be resettled in Canada. Miss White remained in Canada for several years, during which time news reached her of Eliza 'Mother' Stewart's leadership of the 'Whisky War' in Ohio. There can be no doubt that the courageous example of the Ohio women ensured that Miss White returned to Glasgow a devoted reformer. Miss MacPherson

⁹¹ Lynn Abrams, *The Orphan Country: Children of Scotland's Broken Homes from 1845 to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald Press Ltd., 1998), 125.

⁹² White, "Recollections of My Temperance Work", 21. BWTASCU Collection.

⁹³ White, "Recollections of My Temperance Work", 21. BWTASCU Collection.

visited Miss White in Glasgow and with the aid of Miss Bryson and the evangelical reformer Mr William Quarrier, established the Emigration Home for Glasgow Waifs. Miss White's desire to enter the temperance movement led her to contact Mrs Wilhemina Woyka who had begun agitating for temperance reform in Glasgow. Ann Bryson and Mary White and Wilhemina Woyka, with the help of other ladies then established the Glasgow Prayer Union.

Networks running through the 'feminine public sphere' introduced Miss White both to the social problems facing Victorian urban areas and to the work her female peers undertook to relieve the sin and suffering of the community. Miss White's relationship with Miss MacPherson shows that the women of the philanthropic community recruited their peers for social welfare and encouraged their bourgeois sisters to persevere in the work. More evidence of the American female templars' influence on the Scottish Christian Union comes from trans-Atlantic networks. Chapter 1 argued that the Crusaders, the WCTU and 'Mother' Stewart were influential factors in the formation of the SCU. The British Women – themselves – attributed their interest in 'rescue' work to 'Mother' Stewart's visit, when she exposed her disciples to the 'degradation of womanhood' and the means to reach inebriate women:

At eleven o'clock, one Saturday night, in company with her, we visited the Central Police Office, and saw the wrecks of the drink traffic brought in at the closing of the public-houses, and put down like helpless sacks on the cell floors. In one of the cells was a little dying baby, and its wretched mother lying insensibly from drink in another cell. We also saw a larger room, with an immense fire, before which those paralysed by drink were laid, lest they should die during the night from the lowering of vital heat which follows from drinking whisky.⁹⁴

First hand knowledge of alcohol-related social problems confirmed Misses White's and Bryson's devotion to the temperance movement. They believed that women's

⁹⁴ White, "Recollections of My Temperance Work", 22. BWTASCU Collection.

involvement was essential to diminishing this ‘reign of evil’ and they took personal responsibility for ‘rescuing’ women and children. By 1878, soon after ‘Mother’ Stewart’s departure, Misses Bryson and White began prison and police office visiting and established the Whitevale Mission Shelter to house those they reached at these interviews.

Mrs Margaret Blaikie, the president both of the Scottish Christian Union and of the Edinburgh Central Branch, began her reform career in ‘rescue’ work. Her relationship with fellow female reformers motivated her to commit to temperance reform and to form an inebriate home under the auspices of her branch. Encouragement from reforming peers was bolstered by her mother’s example. I suggested in Chapter 2 that mothers and daughters were often active in an organisation together; Margaret Blaikie was no exception. Mrs Blaikie’s mother, Mrs Ann Biggar, was – herself – drawn to the temperance cause through her philanthropic endeavours: “[She laboured] with singular self-denial and earnestness among the poor in Banff, where she lived, and trying hard to win to sobriety some who were much given to drinking, she became a total-abstainer, in the hope that her example would have beneficial influence in her district”.⁹⁵ Mrs Biggar’s experience reveals that the relationship between philanthropy and temperance reform was not isolated to the generations of women active in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Middle-class reformers combating poverty and the vice they associated with ‘rough’ culture had used total-abstinence as a reform device from the first third of the nineteenth century. Margaret’s marriage to William Garden Blaikie further encouraged her interest and participation in social welfare. William Blaikie was alternately the minister of the Free Church of Scotland in the Edinburgh suburb

⁹⁵ BWTASCU, “Mrs Margaret Blaikie. President of the Scottish Christian Union (British Women’s Temperance Association)”, *SWTN* 2, no. 1 (Jan 1898): 5. BWATSCU Collection.

Pilrig, a professor of Divinity, the moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church and the president of the Pan Presbyterian Council. Margaret Blaikie contributed to her husband's work among the labouring poor. Again, Miss Annie MacPherson's influence can be seen. During a trip to Toronto, Canada with her husband, Margaret Blaikie met Miss MacPherson who was acting as an escort to immigrant boys. Persuaded of the moral righteousness of Miss MacPherson's work, the Blaikies established the 'Emigration Home' in Lauriston Lane, Edinburgh in 1871. Over the course of twenty years this home received 700 children and 300 were sent to Canada. In turn this experience influenced Mrs Blaikie's decision to advocate temperance reform:

In dealing with so many destitute children Mrs Blaikie came to see more and more of the awful results of drink. She became more warmly interested in the total abstinence cause, and more thoroughly convinced that Christian people were bound to take a resolute stand against drink and the drink traffic.⁹⁶

As in the case of Miss White, Mrs Blaikie's exposure to the misery of women and children in the course of social welfare led her to perceive a causal link between drink and misery. Intemperance represented a vice which was deemed a threat to the sanctity of the Christian home, within which feminine 'domestic priorities' were pre-eminent. Furthermore, the use of emigrant and / or inebriate homes signifies that the methodology of reformers was the practical manifestation of their ideology. In other words, reformers' ideology was informed by the middle-class gender roles which prized women's obligation to the domestic, the spiritual and the maternal. This leads to the question of how were the 'rescue' homes contextualised within domestic ideology and 'institutional ideology'?

The primary objectives of the Whitevale Mission Shelter and the Brownsland Temperance Home for Women were to help inmates maintain total-abstinence and to

⁹⁶ BWTASCU, "Mrs Margaret Blaikie", 5. BWTASCU Collection.

develop poorer women's domestic skills. Entry into the homes was voluntary and applications for admission were collected annually. Whitevale Mission housed an average of seventy inmates who were often cajoled into residency through the efforts of the police office and / or prison visiting committees (led by White and Bryson) or by Mrs Woyka's 'Good' or 'Free Breakfast' scheme. Between 1886 and 1887, Wilhemina Woyka organised a programme whereby:

A 'Free Breakfast' is provided each morning for the women prisoners on being liberated. Ladies meet them within the prison gates, and bring those who accept the invitation to the breakfast room, whence those who desire to do better are taken to one of the homes. Eleven have already been added from it to the inmates of Whitevale Mission Shelter.⁹⁷

Although residency at the Whitevale Mission was voluntary, it was also used as an alternative to incarceration:

Reports were given of girls let off by the Magistrate on promising to go to a home, and when the ladies took them away from the police office the girls made their escape. Miss White said that notwithstanding the number that did this, yet there were many cases of girls so let off, who had gone to Home and had turned out well.⁹⁸

Once a woman volunteered to participate in Whitevale Mission's reform scheme, she was prevented from leaving. The grounds were walled and during their stay, 'rescued' women's clothes were retained by the matron and assistants. However, the determined escaped. Miss Bryson reported that one inmate "got over the wall with all her good clothes on and her rags left behind".⁹⁹ Brownsland Temperance Home was established in 1876, one year prior to the formation of the Edinburgh Central Branch.¹⁰⁰ Originally, it was managed by Mr and Mrs Ross and situated six miles from the nearest town or public house, and was designed to have a 'family

⁹⁷ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1887). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

⁹⁸ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1889). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

⁹⁹ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1890). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

¹⁰⁰ The Brownsland Temperance Home for Women was moved to Blairadam, Fifeshire in 1903 and re-named the Navitie Home. In 1907, the Navitie Home was re-located to Craufurd Bank, Lasswade. To ease confusion the asylum will be referred to throughout as Brownsland Temperance Home.

atmosphere'. Residents were required to be "women who, having fallen into habits of intemperance, have the desire to reform, and are willing to go into such a home".¹⁰¹ Brownsland Home had trouble retaining inmates for the one year stay recommended as the minimum required for successful treatment:

Mrs Lockhart spoke of the great difficulty those in charge of Brownsland Temperance Home had to deal with, from the fact that they had no legal power to detain women patients in the Home, and the patients, finding that out, left the home when they pleased.¹⁰²

The British Women combined moral instruction and constant occupation to reform inmates. The work prescribed for inmates reflected the British Women's 'social knowledge' of women's work; the aim of 'reclamation' was to fit women for domestic service or for marriage. Laundry and sewing were the main occupations, work deemed suitable to the inmates' gender and social class. However, the laundry at the Whitevale Mission was not self-supporting and Miss Bryson and her successors relied on donations and support from other branches. For example, the Clarkston Branch sent the Whitevale Mission Shelter five pounds on several occasions and Miss Bryson frequently issued pleas "for more washing, common sewing, and dorcas work, that more poor women may be housed employed, and an opportunity for reformation given them".¹⁰³ Thus, industrious labour was itself an integral part of 'the female inebriate's' redemption, an idea based in the 'institutional ideology' of the late-nineteenth century. As McLaughlin succinctly states: "The strategy of reform favoured by the reformatories can be summed up in one phrase: it was a regime of prayers and piecework".¹⁰⁴ The routine at the Brownsland Home

¹⁰¹ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Twelfth Annual Report of Brownsland Temperance Home for Women, Peebleshire, 1888* (Edinburgh, 1889), 17. BWTASCU Collection.

¹⁰² Edinburgh Central Branch, *Fourteenth Annual Report for the Year 1891* (Edinburgh, 1892), 17. BWTASCU Collection.

¹⁰³ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1887). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

¹⁰⁴ McLaughlin, "Inebriate Reformatories in Scotland", 293.

included washing, sewing, gardening, literacy classes (for purposes of reading Scripture) and moral education. Their methods were also in line with the ‘institutional ideology’ which mandated the routinisation of time and constant employment to reform the spirit; the British Women posited that the poorer woman drinker could be re-born into society as a productive citizen by applying herself to ‘woman’s’ work. Of course, the SCU’s ‘rescue’ homes strongly relied on total-abstinence: “The experience of sixteen years proves that the methods adopted in the conduct of the Home are admirably fitted to secure the ends desired: these are, entire abstinence from drink, strict regularity of life, constant and cheerful employment, personal sympathy and religious influence”.¹⁰⁵

The ‘ends desired’ referred to the marriage or domestic service of reformed inmates. The annual reports from the Brownsland Home regularly published testimonials from former inmates which correlated with the ‘domestic priorities’ of reformers. The reformation of one woman released from Brownsland prompted her husband to write: “Mrs --- has kept all right since she came home, and has got the house very nice indeed, and we are very comfortable ... I assure you, it is many years since our home was as comfortable as it now is”.¹⁰⁶ The Glasgow Prayer Union also defined redemption as women’s domestication. At a March 1888 meeting convened to discuss ‘rescue’ work, the speaker, Miss Janes:

told us never to despair of any one, and gave instances of women being saved whom she had quite given up – one was a girl brought up in a workhouse, then sent out to a situation and between the ages of 14 and 26 (or 28) she had been in prison 140 times, each time for being ‘drunk and disorderly’, at last she was saved and got married and for five years has been conducting herself admirably. Another case was of a girl who was put into situations time after time and **fell** 4 times, she too seems to be rescued.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Sixteenth Annual Report of Brownsland Temperance Home for Women, 1892* (Edinburgh, 1893), 20. BWTASCU Collection.

¹⁰⁶ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Twelfth Annual Report of Brownsland Temperance Home for Women, 19*. BWTASCU Collection.

¹⁰⁷ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1888). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

The term ‘reclamation work’ is – itself – indicative of the ends desired by internment in a women’s temperance home. The drunken woman was ‘reclaimed’ for ‘woman’s’ work. The reformed inebriate was the woman who accepted the maternal and ‘domestic priorities’ propagated by the matrons and the British Women. The testimonials riddling the pages of Brownsland Home’s annual reports confirm that the British Women worked to reorder inmates’ lives to suit the middle-class family ideal. Members of the Scottish Christian Union endeavoured to indoctrinate inmates with the middle-class gender stereotype which prescribed women’s economic dependency and work within the home. An abstract from Brownsland Home’s 1889 annual report illustrates this attitude:

Eight women have left since January, and of these six are doing well. Two went to situations, three returned to their own homes or went to live with relatives, and another, after sixteen months’ residence in the Home, sailed for Australia in the beginning of December, and was looking forward with great pleasure to joining her husband, a Christian man, from whom she had been separated because of her habits.¹⁰⁸

It must be remembered that the idea of feminine moral superiority and the importance of maternal duties was a key motivation for female templars. The British Women’s logic followed that if their charges’ socio-economic position prohibited dependency on a male head of house, their waged labour should complement the domestic ideal.¹⁰⁹ ‘Rescue’ work inside and outside temperance homes was prompted by the need of reformers to assert the righteousness of middle-class morality and the associated notion of feminine moral superiority. These ideals were themselves wrapped in the rhetoric of the domestic ideology that emphasised the

¹⁰⁸ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Thirteenth Annual Report of Brownsland Temperance Home for Women, 1889* (Edinburgh, 1890), 21. BWTASCU Collection.

¹⁰⁹ For more on philanthropy and the sexual division of labour see Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*; Joan C. McAlpine, *The Lady of Claremont House: Isabella Elder Pioneer and Philanthropist* (Glendaruel: Argyll Publishing, 1997); McCarthy, “Parallel Power Structures”; and Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*.

importance of women's moral role in the home. However, the British Women defined their role as middle-class ladies in a way which gave legitimacy to their leaving the 'domestic sphere' in order to exert their moralising influence on the community at large. As privileged women they claimed the right to instruct women of lower socio-economic position in the arts of domesticity and private life.

Philanthropy and Social Reform: Leisure or Profession?

In many ways, middle-class women's economic dependence and consequent access to leisure provided the opportunity for work in philanthropic and / or social reform societies; Chapter 2 demonstrated that the British Women were drawn from the ranks of the leisured middle classes. Historians have attributed middle-class women's interest in voluntary work to boredom. For example, Banks has argued that: "Women, and especially perhaps unmarried women, turned to religious and charitable exercises as a way of filling up empty time with purposeful activities".¹¹⁰ However, the work of the British Women in the Scottish Christian Union suggests that this view of middle-class women's voluntary work in social reform as 'something to do' is too glib an analysis¹¹¹, rather temperance reform was a crucial site for women's public work. The personal histories of some individual British Women strongly suggest that female philanthropists and social reformers devoted an immense amount of time, energy and resources to their chosen causes. Chapter 2 discussed the importance both of Christian faith and of the role of civic life in bourgeois culture to middle-class women's sense of social responsibility. The basis

¹¹⁰ Banks, *Faces of Feminism*, 15.

¹¹¹ This view has also been taken by Patricia Hollis in *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government 1865-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), especially Chapter 1.

of the ‘feminine public sphere’ was voluntary work in social welfare. So, although economic dependence and access to leisure were important elements in the lives of nineteenth-century public women, it would be mistaken to dismiss other factors in the lives of female reformers and philanthropists. The importance of a more nuanced view of middle-class women’s rationale for voluntary public work can be readily seen in the case of temperance reform.

In no way can boredom be seen as the full story behind women’s voluntary work. One of the most prominent discussions of ‘rational recreation’, Bailey’s *Leisure and Class*, describes middle-class women’s voluntarism as leisure, rather than as a by product of access to leisure time. In a dismissive conceptualisation of Victorian and Edwardian women’s public lives he states that “fund-raising activities of bazaars and fetes gave an outlet for the leisure energies and talents of the womenfolk”.¹¹² Bailey’s brief description of the leisure of England’s middle-class ‘womenfolk’ devalues the strong faith and sincere, socially aware tradition female temperance and benevolent workers drew upon; many of the British Women devoted a lifetime of service to the temperance movement. To distil their participation down to the need to fend off boredom belies the nature of women’s public lives; many were professional (though unpaid) reformers who regarded their duty to the temperance movement with the greatest sincerity.

Religion was a much more important reason, rather than boredom, for middle-class women’s voluntary work. Studies of the American Women’s Christian Temperance Union help to develop an insight into the religious character of ladies’ temperance societies. Janet Zollinger Giele demonstrates that the religious overtones of women’s temperance were a logical result of women’s position in society:

¹¹² Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, 73.

“Temperance women’s primary vehicle for exercising a sense of social responsibility was through expansion of traditional charitable activities that concerned the individual and the home”.¹¹³ In other words, although the notion of ‘separate spheres’ did not exclude middle-class women from the ‘public’, this ideology could limit the ways in which middle-class women participated in the world outside the home. Thus, female templars, both in the United States and in Scotland, built on the church-based philanthropic work they had been involved in throughout the nineteenth century.¹¹⁴ In this way, the public work of female templars was a complement to, rather than an aberration of, middle-class women’s culture. As Giele shows, the Women’s Christian Temperance movement paralleled the religious feeling of the day, with prayer featuring prominently at meetings; the WCTU structure was “built on the normal round of women’s religious activities that were common to every little village and town: weekly church attendance, prayer meetings, and work in the home and foreign missionary societies”.¹¹⁵ Giele’s analysis of the WCTU resonates with the structure of the SCU. For example, many branches began as prayer unions and all meetings were begun and concluded with ‘praise and prayer’. In addition, the Edinburgh Central Branch and the Glasgow Prayer Union constantly reiterated the terms of their crusade as the moral reform of society.¹¹⁶ Thus it becomes clear that social reform work was organic to the culture of the leisured middle-class lady; a culture which valued spirituality, the notion of feminine moral superiority and ‘woman’s mission’.

¹¹³ Giele, *Two Paths to Women’s Liberty*, 72.

¹¹⁴ For more on the tradition of women’s philanthropy see Jordan, *The Women’s Movement and Women’s Employment*; and Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*.

¹¹⁵ Giele, *Two Paths to Women’s Liberty*, 64.

¹¹⁶ This attitude is particularly clear in the British Women’s arguments for women’s suffrage that are discussed in Chapter 4.

The extent of women's voluntary work shows that these women were not mere dabblers. I have demonstrated earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 2 the extent of some British Women's philanthropic and reforming careers. The above discussions of Miss Mary White's and Miss Anne Bryson's devotion to child emigration and female temperance homes, and of Mrs Margaret Blaikie's twenty-nine years as SCU president, involvement with the Women's Foreign Missionary Society and with child emigration were designed to challenge to the supposition that the reforming zeal of middle-class women may be viewed as amateurish. However, if these women's stories provide insufficient evidence, then the personal histories of Mrs Wilhemina Woyka and Mrs Isabel Napier will secure the point. As has been noted, Mrs Woyka was a founding member of the Glasgow Prayer Union. Her role in the SCU included involvement in 'rescue' work, work among show-people, extension work and she was also listed as an official speaker. Mrs Napier was affiliated with the Edinburgh Central Branch in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. She was an outspoken supporter of women's suffrage and prohibition and she headed the national suffrage department of the Scottish Christian Union. In addition to illustrating the professionalism of the British Women, the personal histories of these women highlight that women's involvement in philanthropy often pre-dated an interest in temperance reform. That is, in the course of social welfare work, female reformers could not help but observe the negative impact of 'intemperate appetites' on the lives of the urban poor.

Mrs Woyka was born in Hamburg, the daughter of a medical family; she married the Hungarian John Woyka, a timber merchant in Glasgow. Her interest in social welfare began in 1870-71 when she appealed to the British community for aid for all soldiers wounded in the Franco-Prussian War. Her 'rescue' work began in

earnest in Glasgow when she became involved with William Quarrier's midnight suppers. She walked the streets to find poor, drunk and socially disenfranchised women in need of food and 'salvation'. Her approach to this work demonstrates her belief in the power of a woman's 'civilising influence': "her husband with some others was an escort in case of danger, keeping at a distance, so that the women might meet their 'sisters' alone".¹¹⁷ This methodology reflects the importance of personalism in philanthropy; Mrs Woyka met her 'sisters' on their own impoverished terms and exercised her moral muscle through proximity to the 'inebriate' and 'fallen'. Moreover, her work among the poor and forgotten of Glasgow's streets directly influenced her decision to found the Glasgow Prayer Union. On New Years Eve of 1874, always a time of particular anxiety for 'rescue' workers, "there was a barrow being wheeled along Stockwell Street in the dim evening light, and a strange sort of creature lay thereon that seemed scarcely human, so unclothed was it and so helpless".¹¹⁸ Upon discovering that the 'creature' on the barrow was a drunken woman being wheeled to the police office, Mrs Woyka was moved to give 'the female inebriate' her cloak. Upon seeing a similar sight in the Broomielaw two days later, she resolved to establish a ladies' temperance prayer union. As was the case with many soon-to-be British Women, she was convinced of the pre-eminence of temperance reform through observation of the links between poverty, (women's) moral degradation and drink. The temperance women associated 'rough' drink culture with the erosion of 'domestic priorities' and the jeopardy of the social validity of the notion of feminine moral superiority; drink was the cause of poverty rather than a symptom.

¹¹⁷ BWTASCU, "An Interview with Mrs Woyka", *SWTN* 2, no. 2 (Nov 1898): 165. BWTASCU Collection.

¹¹⁸ BWTASCU, "An Interview with Mrs Woyka", 165. BWTASCU Collection.

Historians of women's temperance reform in Britain have posited that female templars were poor public speakers. Shiman has insisted that the majority of women "were by training and cultural pressure ill equipped for an active public life", claiming that participation was sporadic and coincided with the fashionability of the movement.¹¹⁹ Logan, too, contrasts the admiration of the SCU-women for American templars' adept public personas with the British Women's lack of rhetorical prowess.¹²⁰ However, records from the Glasgow Prayer Union branch of the SCU contradict these analyses by providing evidence of the competent management of prayer and public meetings locally and throughout Scotland and England. For instance, in 1890 Mrs Wilhemina Woyka:

addressed three meetings in Dumfries, two at Dundee, Fraserburgh, and Motherwell, and one at Aberdeen, Alexandria, Broughty-Ferry, Burnt-Island, and Perth, besides two drawing-room meetings at Ibrox, and a number of meetings in Glasgow and neighbourhood. She also addressed repeated meetings at Castle-Douglas, Dalbeattie, East Wemyss, and Peterhead, resulting in the formation of branches of the BWTA in these places.¹²¹

Mrs Woyka, although exceptional, was not isolated from her colleagues by her energetic approach to temperance reform. The officers and committee members – the core of the Glasgow and Edinburgh branches – were, throughout the later-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, vigorous proponents of temperance, responsible for organising meetings and socials and developing departments to systematise their temperance work. Moreover, the annual reports list dozens of official speakers available for bookings at local meetings. Although the British Women may have been aware that their public speaking was considered as 'vulgar'

¹¹⁹ Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink*, 186.

¹²⁰ Logan, "Drink and Society", 473.

¹²¹ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1890). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

by some, their devotion to the temperance cause was enough to steel them against ridicule or social stigma.¹²²

Mrs Woyka's renowned skill as a public speaker testifies to her dedication and professionalism. She was greatly involved in extension work – the expansion of the SCU – which led her to speak at local and regional meetings. She was keen to preach the word of 'Gospel temperance' and to organise women for its furtherance.¹²³ For instance, while on a convalescent holiday in Carlisle with her husband she took the opportunity to address two meetings of British Women. Furthermore, she acted as a SCU delegate on many occasions: at an 1874 women's meeting convened by the Grand Lodge of the International Order of Good Templars at the Trade's Hall; at the 1876 women's temperance convention in Newcastle when the BWTA was formed; and at the International Temperance Conference in Philadelphia, USA. Moreover, her vigour and competence led 'Mother' Stewart to mention her repeatedly in *The Crusader in Great Britain*. It is quite clear that this woman's energies could not have been satisfied by creating occasional bits of 'fancy work' for bazaars and charity fetes. Mrs Woyka was driven by her faith and her internalisation of 'woman's mission'; her reforming spirit was cultivated by cultural factors beyond the lethargy imposed by middle-class women's economic dependency.

The superintendent of the national suffrage department, Mrs Isabel Napier was born in Scotland but grew up in Australia and New Zealand. In spite of her time spent in the Antipodes, her biographer asserts that her visits to Scotland impressed

¹²² The perceived vulgarity of women's public speaking is used by Logan to support her claims, "Drink and Society", 473.

¹²³ 'Gospel temperance' refers to a temperance reform ideology that stressed individual conversion to total-abstinence.

her with the Liberal reforming politics of her relatives.¹²⁴ She married and had a child in New Zealand. In a situation analogous to Miss White's, when her family duties expired with the premature death of her husband and son, her reforming career took off; upon the termination of her familial obligations "she threw herself heart and soul into the battle for Women's Suffrage and the advance of Temperance".¹²⁵ The birth of Mrs Napier's commitment to temperance and franchise reform paralleled that of the women mentioned above. First hand experience of the lives of the urban poor suggested to Mrs Isabel Napier that access to alcohol had dire effects on the moral and physical well-being of the population. Moreover, her temperance reform ideology which prized prohibition encouraged her support for women's suffrage. Mrs Napier and other temperance and women's suffrage proponents claimed that direct representation of middle-class women's 'domestic priorities' was needed for 'reclaiming' society at large:

It was my first visit to Scotland and the state of the slums in Edinburgh that awakened me to the necessity for Women's Suffrage, and that first made me start to work in earnest for the same. When Suffrage (Women's) became law in New Zealand all their influence was thrown on the side of Temperance Reform, and so you have the advanced laws that now obtain.¹²⁶

Chapter 4 will examine in more depth the links between the temperance movement's emphasis on prohibition, the British Women's commitment to legislation against the 'drink traffic' and the rise of female templars' political expectations; suffice to say that Mrs Napier's story is an excellent example of the rationale behind the pro-women's suffrage majority in the SCU. In 1898, Mrs Napier returned to Edinburgh and Mrs Blaikie proposed her as a member of the executive committee. A year later, she was financial secretary and worked on the committee of arrangements for the

¹²⁴ BWTASCU, "Mrs Napier, Edinburgh, Supt., Suffrage Department", *SWTN* 17, no. 4 (Apr 1913): 51. BWTASCU Collection.

¹²⁵ BWTASCU, "Mrs Napier", 51. BWTASCU Collection.

¹²⁶ BWTASCU, "Mrs Napier", 51. BWTASCU Collection.

1900 World Women's Christian Temperance Union conference in Edinburgh. In response to many British Women's support of women's enfranchisement Mrs Napier "undertook to be joint National Superintendent along with Mrs Milne of Dundee, of the newly-created Suffrage Department, and on the resignation of Mrs Milne she carried on the work herself, lecturing and speaking on this subject as connected with Temperance".¹²⁷ Again, Chapter 4 will investigate the work of the suffrage department and the debate over women's parliamentary enfranchisement. What is significant for the purposes of this chapter, is the notion that middle-class women's Christian sense of social responsibility led to their participation in social welfare, and ultimately for many the temperance reform movement. Thus, for Mrs Napier and many British Women, participation in social reform was more rooted in faith and the demands of 'woman's mission' than the pressures of apathy rising from economic dependence.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is appropriate to cite Aspinwall's contention that: "The drive towards prohibition had three main stages; first, the growth of a public awareness of the issue; second, the evolution of organisations; and third, the broadening of the appeal of the movement into many social reforms".¹²⁸ The SCU was an integral part of this process in Scotland. As the largest single-sex women's temperance organisation, staffed by middle-class women of social standing, the Scottish Christian Union assumed a place of prominence in Scotland's temperance

¹²⁷ BWTASCU, "Mrs Napier", 51. BWTASCU Collection. The records are confusing regarding Mrs Milne's origins, she is linked with Aberdeen and Dundee.

¹²⁸ Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 106.

movement. The British Women's role in the temperance movement enveloped and expanded the tradition of women's philanthropy. They employed the techniques of personalism and 'rescue' homes, long an aspect of the wider voluntary community. Their inebriate asylums were deeply rooted in the reforming discourse of the day which highlights the continuity between the philanthropic and temperance reform communities. An emphasis on 'rescuing' and 'reclaiming' women meshed with the language of 'woman's mission'; work among women and girls provided the British Women with the opportunity to 'reclaim' females for training in domestic femininity. The Scottish Christian Union constructed a bulwark around virtuous femininity by regulating the lives of less advantaged women and by siphoning off 'reclaimed' women to husbands and situations of domestic servitude. The British Women coordinated with other reformers and the consequent network of moral and practical assistance was vital to the growth of the SCU. An investigation of the relationship between the philanthropic community and the temperance movement gives some clue about the character of the 'feminine public sphere'. Voluntarism and work in urban slums prompted reformers to identify a causal link between poverty and intemperance. However, women's movement into temperance reform need not be seen in a modernist, progressivist light but rather as a lateral shift from charity to social reform meant to make that charity obsolete. Finally (as the next chapter shows) as the Scottish Christian Union professionalised and departmentalised, the British Women's public roles took on a stronger political character that culminated in the demand for parliamentary franchise.

CHAPTER 4

THE POLITICS OF THE WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

Women's temperance reform in Scotland was an important part of the British women's suffrage movement. In contrast to Wales and England, female templars in Scotland officially supported women's equal enfranchisement.¹ Scotland's uniqueness can be accounted for in two ways: temperance reform ideology and women's municipal enfranchisement. The temperance movement was informed by two main ideologies: moral suasion and legal suasion. Moral suasion focused on the salvation of individual drunkards, whereas legal suasion argued for legislation to halt the 'drink traffic'. The British Women employed both moral and legal suasionist tactics, however it was legal suasion or prohibition that worked to politicise the Scottish Christian Union. In Scotland, female ratepayers gained the municipal vote in 1881, thirteen years after women ratepayers in England. The ascendancy of prohibitionist ideology and its emphasis on legislative reform coincided with women's municipal enfranchisement, and so encouraged the British Women to view the vote as a tool for reform. Ultimately, this increased political awareness among the British Women developed into a pro-suffrage majority.

Under the influence of the 'do everything' policy, municipal departments were set up to promote women's local vote for prohibition, and by the early-twentieth century suffrage departments were organising agitation for women's parliamentary

¹ See Barrow, "Teetotal Feminists"; and Lloyd-Morgan, "From Temperance to Suffrage?". These two studies suggest that although individual female templars in England and Wales supported women's suffrage, the women's single-sex temperance organisations in these areas did not officially endorse women's right to vote.

enfranchisement. The SCU was formally pro-suffrage, however the women's suffrage issue was controversial and incited debate among the British Women. The women's suffrage debate further illustrates the international character of the SCU; the role of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in the enfranchisement of women in New Zealand in 1893 was particularly important and central to this debate. Thus, it will be shown here that to understand British suffragism it is necessary to investigate diversity within the United Kingdom. Although women's temperance reform has not been much of a feature of British suffrage histories, it will be made clear from the Scottish case that the late-nineteenth-century women's temperance movement did indeed have a role to play in British 'first-wave' feminism.

Temperance Reform Ideology: Moral Suasion versus Legal Suasion

Temperance reform ideology was driven by two main approaches: legal suasion, or prohibition; and moral suasion. Prohibition is the legislative restriction of the buying and selling of alcohol, whereas moral suasion refers to a reliance on the individual's commitment to total-abstinence. The moral suasionist model was rooted in evangelical notions of personal salvation, and reflected the temperance movement's insistence upon alcoholism as an aspect of sin which could be 'cured' through redemption in Jesus Christ. The path to redemption was cleared and made ready by signing the total-abstinence pledge. Many historians of temperance suggest that after 1850-51, temperance societies strongly allied themselves with one or the other approach.²

² In 1851, the 'Maine Law', the first successful piece of prohibition legislation, outlawed the 'drink traffic' in the American state of Maine. One of the most comprehensive discussions of the influence of the

However, SCU records make it clear that the two approaches were often combined. Nonetheless, the incorporation of prohibition into the British Women's temperance reform programme did place a focus on legal means of reform which redrew the lines of temperance reform. For instance, although the Scottish Christian Union often measured the success of temperance meetings by how many took the pledge, agitation for prohibition was integral to SCU temperance reform ideology. The British Women were committed to supporting prohibition measures such as local veto and were opposed to the granting of licences locally. Finally, legal suasion drew the British Women into the masculine public sphere, the arena of representative politics.

Historians of the temperance movement broadly agree that the early-nineteenth century stressed moral suasion and that the later-nineteenth century was strongly prohibitionist.³ Moreover, this body of literature tends to marginalise the moral suasionist aspect of temperance reform and to reserve emphasis for prohibitionist tactics.⁴ However, it is clear that moral suasionist and prohibitionist ideologies were, to varying degrees, factors throughout the course of the nineteenth-century temperance movement. As Blocker has suggested for the American case, the British temperance movement went through several 'cycles of reform': first, moral suasion and the rise of teetotalism; second, legal coercion; and third, women's organisation into the Women's

'Maine Law' on the demand for prohibition in the United Kingdom is in Dingle, *The Campaign for Prohibition*.

³ This is evident from the literature on the British and American temperance movements. See for example, Jack S. Blocker Jr., *Retreat from Reform: The Prohibition Movement in the United States 1890-1913* (London: Greenwood Press, 1976); Dingle, *The Campaign for Prohibition*; Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*; Kneale, "The Place of Drink"; Logan, "Drink and Society"; Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink*; and Andrew Sinclair, *Prohibition: The Era of Excess* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962).

⁴ Logan's Ph.D. thesis, "Drink and Society", is a notable exception to this approach and includes a multi-faceted discussion of moral suasion.

Christian Temperance Union.⁵ Blocker's cycles are distinguished by the prevailing temperance reform ideology. A similar pattern can be seen in Britain, where moral suasion was followed by teetotalism and the rise in support for no-licence legislation. This chapter is partly concerned with locating the Scottish Christian Union in discussions of temperance reform ideology.

Moral suasion represented an evangelical reforming world-view that stressed the individual's ability to redeem herself or himself from the ignominy of drunkenness. Moral suasionist ideologues on both sides of the Atlantic viewed the drinker as a morally responsible individual.⁶ Moral suasionist tactics focused on educating the individual in order to promote a teetotal lifestyle.⁷ These tactics included a concerted campaign for temperance education in schools as well as the provision of 'counter-attractions'. Moral suasionist attacks on the prohibitionists stemmed from two basic arguments: first, that legislation against drink impinged on personal liberty and set a dangerous precedent; second, that legislation was insufficient to end the 'evil of intemperance' and a fundamental shift was needed in (especially working-class) attitudes towards drink and drunkenness. These arguments were underpinned by evangelical beliefs in self-help and human perfectibility. Moreover, moral suasionists

⁵ See Blocker, *American Temperance Movements*.

⁶ For instance, the American Diocletian Lewis and the Englishman John Stuart Mill stressed the drunkard's ability to free herself or himself from intemperance. For more on moral suasionist ideology, see Blocker, *American Temperance Movements* and "Give to the Winds Thy Fears"; and Logan, "Drink and Society".

⁷ By the 1870 to 1914 period that this thesis discusses, total-abstinence from all alcoholic drinks was generally accepted among templars. In the early-nineteenth century the temperance pledge often demanded abstinence only from 'spirituous liquors'. This moderationist pledge reflected an elite temperance movement that could easily shun the use of cheap spirits, associated with the working classes, and maintain the use of fine wines in its own entertainment. In turn, teetotalism, or total-abstinence from all alcoholic drinks, has been viewed as a radical challenge to the social hierarchy. For more on the class dimensions of moderation versus total-abstinence see Blocker, *American Temperance Movements*, and Ian Tyrrell, *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum in America, 1800-1860* (London: Greenwood Press, 1979).

claimed that their methods, although perhaps less expedient, were the most effective. For example, Dingle has shown that John Stuart Mill argued that: “People could only progress morally if their freedom of choice remained unfettered, so drunkenness should only be punished when it was contrary to the public interest”.⁸ Thus, ‘the habitual drunkard’s’ choice to lead a teetotal lifestyle was fundamental to the moral suasionist’s reform ideology. In this way, the redeemed ‘inebriate’ followed an evangelical path of personal salvation and self-help.

The rise of legal suasion, or prohibitionist reform ideology, represented a break with the tradition of moral suasion. No longer was ‘the habitual drunkard’ viewed as capable of helping herself or himself when faced with the temptation presented by the drinker-sellers. The prohibitionists had fundamentally different views on the role of the state in dealing with vice; whereas moral suasionists had faith in individual redemption, the prohibitionists “thought the question and its consequences too serious to wait for people to realise their own best interests”.⁹ Prohibitionists justified a legislative attack on drink-selling as the best means for creating a temptation-free environment, thus the ‘inebriate’ could be coerced into total-abstinence.

Joseph Gusfield’s understanding of the temperance movement in the United States as a ‘symbolic crusade’ has influenced this discussion’s analysis of temperance reform ideology.¹⁰ Gusfield argues that the temperance movement was largely aimed at maintaining and extending the cultural values of the white, native-born American middle classes. Using this perspective, both the moral suasionist and prohibitionist ideologies

⁸ Dingle, *The Campaign for Prohibition*, 21.

⁹ Logan, “Drink and Society”, 282.

¹⁰ See Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade*.

can be viewed as attempts to disseminate the cultural norms of one group throughout society. Gusfield distinguishes between the assimilative and coercive strands in temperance reform; these strands correspond to the moral suasionist and prohibitionist ideologies respectively. Gusfield's assimilative approach is marked by a missionising appeal to the (assumed) sufferers of drink who were considered too weak to help themselves. This approach is based on the reformer's sense of righteousness and the drunkard's acceptance of this righteousness. Gusfield argues that while reform takes place within a shared culture and the reformer's cultural norms are the dominant set in society, "the Temperance adherent can feel himself functioning as the enunciator of a morality which both reformer and potentially reformed admit as legitimate".¹¹ In contrast, Gusfield's coercive strand in temperance reform ideology is more the product of cultural conflict and a hostile approach to the drinker. Using the example of the cultural division between the native-born, white, middle-class American templars and Irish and German emigrants Gusfield argues that:

Faced with sinners who refuse to define themselves as such, who perceive the reformers as cruel, immoral, and tyrannical, and deny the dominance of the Temperance norms as ideals, the reformer is shocked and appalled. The object of his reform is a hostile enemy who must be coerced through legislation if Temperance values are to retain a dominant value position in his society and the temperance person retain his prestige. A challenge to the domination and legitimacy of his norms is a threat to his power and prestige, to his superior position vis-à-vis the drinker.¹²

Thus, the coercive strand, or the use of legal suasion, is the reformer's response to cultural attitudes among the potentially reformed that deny the superiority and dominance of the reformer's own cultural values. Therefore, although the moral and

¹¹ Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade*, 69.

¹² Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade*, 70.

legal suasionist ideologies took different views on the role of the state and the individual's ability to help herself or himself, the two ideologies shared a reliance on the dominance of middle-class cultural values.

Although some historians have set up a stark contrast between temperance groups that employed moral or legal suasion, my own study of the Scottish Christian Union squares with Gusfield's contention that both moral and legal suasion were elements – perhaps with differing degrees of emphasis – of the temperance movement throughout the nineteenth century.¹³ For example, the previous chapter demonstrated the importance of 'counter-attractions' and 'rescue' homes to the SCU's temperance work. Certainly, 'counter-attractions' were an important dimension of moral suasion, and refreshment tents, such as the one organised by the Stirling branch of the SCU, were expected to increase the popularity of the teetotal lifestyle. Moreover, 'counter-attractions' can be seen in the light of Gusfield's analysis of temperance and social control. Social control in this context refers to the drive for reform that is motivated by the "trouble that they (those being reformed) create for the controllers".¹⁴ Gusfield has pointed out the links between class conflict, temperance reform, social control and 'rational recreation': "Here the attempt to curtail drinking and drunkenness in its leisure-time uses is part of the moral demands of a civilization that prizes self-control and organization".¹⁵ Thus, the SCU's 'counter-attractions' can be understood as the means both of offering alternative teetotal refreshments and of disseminating the middle-class cultural values of sobriety, industriousness and self-discipline; the refreshment tents

¹³ For instance, Shiman presents the moral and legal suasionist positions as irreconcilable, *Crusade Against Drink*.

¹⁴ Joseph Gusfield, "Benevolent Repression: Popular Culture, Social Structure, and the Control of Drinking", in *Drinking*, eds. Barrows and Room, 400.

¹⁵ Gusfield, "Benevolent Repression", 406.

were one attempt at ‘assimilating’ the hard-drinking working classes and asserting the cultural dominance of the middle classes. The British Women’s ‘rescue’ homes were also intended to assimilate ‘the female inebriate’ by propagating the middle-class ideals of female modesty, sexual purity and personal restraint; as Chapter 3 showed, the SCU’s ‘rescue’ homes were designed to ‘reclaim’ ‘the female inebriate’ for marriage or domestic service. In this way the British Women were able to pressurise poorer women into conforming to middle-class gender roles, and thereby lessen any challenge to the cultural dominance of middle-class cultural norms.

The total-abstinence pledge was another important element of moral suasion. The pledge was used from the early days of temperance reform and responded to evangelical emphases on personal salvation and redemption through individual conversion. In the late-nineteenth century, the Scottish Christian Union located success in obtaining signatures to the pledge. For example, the Glasgow Prayer Union’s records of meetings are often footed by the number of pledge takers: “Miss Shearer of Partick gave a most interesting account of a women’s meeting there to which Mrs Woyka and Mrs Dunlop had been giving addresses after which 40 signed the pledge”.¹⁶ By signing the pledge, the pledge-taker symbolically accepted the cultural norms of the reformer, and thus validated the morality propagated by the suasionist. When inducing people to put their names to the pledge the British Women identified themselves as moral mentors, and thereby confirmed their moral superiority. Alison M. Parker’s discussion of the American Woman’s Christian Temperance Union provides insight into the importance

¹⁶ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1886). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

of the pledge for reformers.¹⁷ Through an examination of WCTU children's fiction Parker demonstrates the symbolic power of the pledge for female templars:

One must sign the formal pledge in order to become a true abstainer; in no piece of fiction published in the *Young Crusader* did someone sign the pledge and subsequently break it ... the power of the pledge was predicated upon reformers' will to believe the bourgeois ideal that a written contract is inviolable.¹⁸

Like Gusfield, Parker confirms the influence of temperance reformers' white, middle-class, Protestant culture on their reform ideology. The pledge, although possibly not particularly effective in combating alcohol abuse, was an important emblem of morality for reformers. It signified the strength and righteousness of their community's values, and allowed the British Women to mark their inclusion within a morally superior group.

Between the 1880s and the 1890s the Scottish Christian Union began to place more emphasis on coercive or legal methods of temperance reform. The constitution published in the 1888 annual report stated that:

The object of this Association is to form a union of all the Women's Temperance Societies in Scotland, in the belief that, by combined effort and hearty co-operation, much greater work may be done, by the blessing of God, in the extension of the Temperance cause, *the control of the liquor traffic*, and the moral and religious elevation of the people.¹⁹

Legal suasion's shift of scrutiny away from the drinker and towards the drink-seller contrasted with moral suasion. However, these reform ideologies were not mutually exclusive. The Scottish Christian Union's 1893 programme shows that assimilative and coercive approaches both had a place in the SCU:

The means to be employed may embrace any or all of the following:- (1) Individual Effort, (2) Organised Demonstrations, (3) Evangelistic Meetings, (4)

¹⁷ See Alison M. Parker, "'Hearts Uplifted and Minds Refreshed': The Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Production of Pure Culture in the United States, 1880-1930", *Journal of Women's History* 2, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 135-58.

¹⁸ Parker, "'Hearts Uplifted and Minds Refreshed'", 139.

¹⁹ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Eleventh Annual Report for the Year 1888* (Edinburgh, 1889), 5. BWTASCU Collection. Emphasis is my own.

Preventive Schemes, (5) Social Work, (6) Educational Plans, (7) Legislative Supervision – Licensing Boards and Town and County Councils, (8) Political Methods.²⁰

The use of both moral and legal suasion was not unusual in the Scottish temperance scene. The Scottish Temperance League stressed the importance of moral suasion to effective temperance reform, and argued that prohibition without a fundamental shift in attitudes towards drink and drunkenness was folly. The STL's moral suasion took the form of a massive media onslaught. From the publishing base in Hope Street, Glasgow the STL circulated masses of tracts and several periodicals such as the *League Journal*, a weekly discussion of local, national and global temperance reform, and *The Adviser*, a monthly journal for children. The degree of the STL's propaganda offensive can be seen in the claim to have undertaken 2,300 lectures and to have sold an estimated 16,000 temperance 'volumes' and 430,000 tracts in 1898.²¹ However, although the STL was more concerned with promoting the teetotal lifestyle, the STL's broad reform ideology accommodated prohibitionist measures. In the late-nineteenth century the STL successfully campaigned for the Public Houses (Amendment) (Scotland) Act, the Publican's Certificate (Scotland) Act and the Passenger Vessels Licensing (Scotland) Act. Moreover, after the passage of the Temperance (Scotland) Act in 1913, the STL worked with other temperance agencies to canvass for local option legislation. The Temperance (Scotland) Act, 1913 was a form of local veto legislation. The act allowed a local authority to take a poll on three questions: no-change resolution; limiting resolution; and no-licence resolution. For a no-licence resolution to pass 55%

²⁰ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Sixteenth Annual Report for the Year 1893* (Edinburgh, 1894), 8. BWTASCU Collection.

²¹ William Johnston, "The Scottish Temperance League", *STA* (1899): 60.

had to be in favour and 35% of the electorate had to vote. Electors included all those on the town council and parish council registers. At this time, women were included in this electorate.²² As the Scottish Christian Union and the Scottish Temperance League show, a broad reform ideology could allow for great success as a temperance organisation; I have shown that the SCU was important both as temperance organisation and as a women's single-sex temperance society, and Logan has argued that in the period 1844 to 1924, the STL was the most successful temperance group in terms of size of membership and strength of finances.²³

The British Women's broad reform ideology can be linked to the American Women's Christian Temperance Union's influence on the Scottish Christian Union. Scottish and American female temperance groups were both founded on religious faith and an emphasis on 'praise and prayer'. Indeed from the 1873-74 Crusade, women's temperance reform had focused on saloons and drink-sellers.²⁴ However, neither the SCU nor its sister organisation in America took a hard assimilative or coercive stance. Evangelical desires to convert the drinker existed side by side with demands for prohibition legislation, and although prohibition gained prominence by the end of the nineteenth century, the Scottish Christian Union did not abandon moral suasion or the spiritual basis of their work:

Prayer was asked for cases visited in prison and police office also that a licence might not be granted in Byres Road, Partick. Ladies were asked to be present tomorrow at the Justice's Court in Brunswick Street, so that if possible the licence might be refused.²⁵

²² See Public General Statutes Affecting Scotland, *Temperance (Scotland) Act, 1913*, 3 & 4 George, c. 33.

²³ Logan, "Drink and Society", 15.

²⁴ Blocker has characterised the ideology of the American crusaders as more coercive than assimilative: "the Crusaders instead adopted the majority view of the temperance movement which pictured drinkers as victims of the temptations created by the liquor business". *"Give to the Winds Thy Fears"*, 96.

²⁵ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1887). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

Thus, the eclectic reform ideology of the British Women allowed them to invoke Christian faith, moral suasion and legal suasion simultaneously.

The Scottish Christian Union's combined use of moral and legal suasion provides an insight into the ideology of the British Women. The assimilative strand in the SCU complemented the British Women's 'woman's mission'; their moral suasionist tactics were largely premised on contemporary notions of middle-class woman's spiritual role and of feminine moral superiority. Assimilative temperance reform allowed the British Women to assert their cultural and moral superiority to the sybaritic drunkard. Moral suasion responded to the sincere Christian faith of the British Women who endeavoured to disseminate their Christian values among their social inferiors. As in the case of the total-abstinence pledge, the British Women's moral suasion was predicated on the desire to promote their Protestant, middle-class values of sobriety, self-help and piety. The British Women's use of legal suasion also responded to the worldview of the Scottish Christian Union. Mirroring the Women's Christian Temperance Union in the United States, and paralleling the Scottish Temperance League, the SCU accepted the need for a coercive reform in addition to an assimilative one; 'the habitual drunkard' and 'the female inebriate' who refused to accept and to emulate the cultural norms of the British Women had to be saved from themselves by removing the temptation of the drink-sellers. This coercive reform ideology had far-reaching implications for the political attitudes of the British Women. The methodology of legal suasion required political action at the local and national levels, such as the need to lobby licensing courts shown above. The following will argue that the Scottish

Christian Union's advocacy of prohibition was a catalyst for many British Women's demand for women's equal enfranchisement.

Prohibition, Local Government and the Politicisation of the British Women

The coercive strand of temperance reform ideology encouraged the British Women to take an active political role. The prohibitionist emphasis on the state's role in regulating vice helped to heighten the political expectations of the British Women. In other words, the notion that moral reform demanded legislative action implied that feminine moral superiority required a political voice. Legal suasion's influence on the British Women's political ambitions was strengthened by the municipal enfranchisement of female ratepayers in Scotland in 1881.²⁶ In other words, legal suasion provided the impetus and municipal enfranchisement provided the opportunity for the British Women's role in political life; from the early-1890s with the implementation of the 'do everything' policy, the Glasgow Prayer Union and the Edinburgh Central Branch formed municipal departments to co-ordinate agitation for local veto legislation.

The rise of prohibitionism in the late-nineteenth-century women's temperance movement has been credited with politicising female templars.²⁷ Moral suasion could be related, in a fairly straightforward way, to the idea of feminine moral superiority. By focusing on assimilating the drinker, the British Women took their moralising mission as

²⁶ In 1868, female ratepayers in England were included in the municipal franchise. Equivalent legislation was not passed in Scotland until 1881. However, from 1872, women in Scotland were eligible to vote in school board elections and to act as school board representatives. Chapter 5 will examine in more detail women's position in local government. The discussion here focuses on the 1881 Act.

²⁷ Again, it is the American literature that has developed this idea. For example, see Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*; Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity*; Giele, *Two Paths to Women's Equality*; and Murdock, *Domesticating Drink*.

wives, mothers and daughters into the public world of – for instance – the fair and the prison. In this way, moral suasion did not present as great a challenge to women's role in society as legal suasion. The basis of prohibitionism, that legislation was needed to restrict or to end the 'drink traffic', highlighted the limits of women's public work. If women's moralising influence was insufficient to end the 'evil of intemperance', then, reasoned many British Women, middle-class women's feminine moral superiority needed to be enfranchised in order to ensure the passage of prohibition legislation. Murdock has suggested that prohibition's ability to make women confront their limits as citizens made it the greatest single issue in motivating American women's demands for political participation: "alcohol, more than slavery or suffrage or any other single cause, effected American women's politicization".²⁸ The paucity of work on the women's movement in Scotland makes it difficult to evaluate the relative importance of the temperance issue to the politicisation of middle-class women. However, as Chapter 2 demonstrated, the extensive patterns of cross-membership between the Scottish Christian Union, the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation and women's suffrage organisations indicate – at least – that Scotland's public-minded and politically active women were, in large part, interested in the temperance movement and prohibition. At the bare minimum, prohibition can be understood to have involved Scotland's female templars in one of the most topical political issues of their day.

Prohibition was a 'hot' political question in Victorian and Edwardian Scotland. Local veto was strongly supported by much of the voting public and by temperance societies. For example, a plebiscite was held in Glasgow and suburbs in March 1887 to

²⁸ Murdock, *Domesticating Drink*, 9.

determine public opinion on local option. An “Analysis of Voting Papers” confirms that compared with other issues of local importance the drink question was prominent: 76% of those polled in the plebiscite responded.²⁹ When ranked alongside the respondents for seven districts at the 1886 parliamentary election (77%), for the Free Libraries Act (48%) and for the school board elections (47%) in 1885 there can be no doubt of the vitality of the prohibition question. The Glasgow Prayer Union supported the work of temperance man Mr Oatts in canvassing for the plebiscite. The SCU’s support was primarily ‘moral’. Entries in the minutes from January to March 1887 do not reveal the extent of the British Women’s practical support, however it is reasonable to suspect that some of Mr Oatts’s volunteers were drawn from the ranks of the SCU. The minutes do testify to the centrality of faith to British Women’s political position:

14th March, Prayer was asked for the plebiscite to be taken early next week, Mr Oatts having now secured 2,500 voluntary workers.

21st March, Much prayer was asked for all the 2,500 workers to be engaged tonight and tomorrow taking the Plebiscite on the drink question.

28th March, Mr Oatts came in and spoke for a few minutes, he thanked the Meeting for having upheld him by prayer while the work was being arranged for the Plebiscite. The results of this have been fully up to our expectations, and we thanked the Lord for His goodness in regard to this matter.³⁰

Whatever the extent of the SCU’s practical support, the minutes make it clear that the pursuit of prohibition was directly responsible for involving women in the public world of politics.³¹

In 1868, the municipal vote was extended to female ratepayers in England. It was not until the passage of the Municipal Elections Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1881

²⁹ “Plebiscite of Glasgow and Suburbs, 21 March 1887, Analysis of Voting Papers” in *Book of Compiled Newsclippings, Glasgow*. GCA TD 912.

³⁰ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1887). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

³¹ The influence of prohibition on the political expectations of female templars mirrors the importance of anti-slavery in the first half of the nineteenth century. For more on the politicisation of women through involvement in anti-slavery, see Midgley, *Women Against Slavery*.

that Scottish women ratepayers were given the municipal vote. It is important to note that 1868 and 1881 represent the years in which the Acts were passed and that Englishwomen and Scotswomen ratepayers first exercised their municipal voting rights in 1869 and 1882 respectively. The Municipal Elections (Amendment) (Scotland) Act, 1881 extended to Scotland the provisions of the English Act that stated that all terms importing the masculine gender included females “for the purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote in the election of town councillors”.³² Under this Act, unmarried females and females ‘not living in family with their husbands’ in royal and parliamentary burghs had the right to nominate and to vote for candidates for town councils. However, the Act barred women from standing and acting as town councillors. Women’s role in local government may be viewed as the greatest single difference between the political status of women in Scotland and England, and some historians such as W. Hamish Fraser, Patricia Greenwood Harrison, Leah Leneman and Jane Rendall have recognised this difference.³³ However, no one has made a concerted investigation of the importance of this difference. For instance, Michael Dyer’s two volume compendium on the Scottish electoral system excludes any comprehensive discussion of Scotswomen’s experience as members of the local government electorate.³⁴

³² Public General Statutes Affecting Scotland, *Municipal Elections (Amendment) (Scotland) Act, 1881*, 44 & 45 Victoria, c. 30.

³³ See W. Hamish Fraser, *Scottish Popular Politics: From Radicalism to Labour* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2000); Harrison, *Connecting Links*; Leneman, *A Guid Cause*; and Rendall, “Women and the Public Sphere”.

³⁴ See Micheal Dyer, *Men of Property and Intelligence: The Scottish Electoral System prior to 1884 Vol. 1* and *Capable Citizens and Improvident Democrats: The Scottish Electoral System 1884-1929 Vol. 2* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1996).

Immediately after the passage of the Municipal Elections Act, the British Women seized the new opportunities for legal suasion presented by women's municipal enfranchisement. The Scottish Christian Union was in favour of local veto, or the ability of local communities to determine the extent of drink-selling. The British Women viewed women's municipal enfranchisement as a potential pool of support for local prohibition measures. The records from the early-1880s show that the British Women viewed the municipal enfranchisement of women as an exciting and important step towards a temperate society. For instance, in 1882 Mrs Robertson of the Paisley branch asserted that: "They [the British Women] should also take means to induce female rate-payers, who were to have the privilege of voting at municipal elections in November, to vote only for those who opposed the granting of licences".³⁵ Thus, the 1881 municipal enfranchisement of Scottish women ratepayers promptly stimulated the British Women's interest in the local government process.

The *Scottish Women's Temperance News* clearly illustrates the British Women's interest in women's status in local politics. From the journal's inception in 1897, it ran a series of articles entitled "Guide to Women Voters – Scotland". These pieces were aimed at keeping the British Women informed on their rights to vote at elections for school boards, county councils, town councils, parish councils and burgh commissions. The qualifications for the household franchise, the lodger franchise, the occupancy franchise and the ownership franchise were detailed for readers. Additionally, the *SWTN* provided readers with information on when and where to register for the various

³⁵ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1882). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

rolls. There is no doubt that the Scottish Christian Union's advocacy of legal suasion encouraged the British Women to promote women's role in local government.

Although voting, elections and canvassing were activities associated with the masculine public sphere of politics, women's involvement in local government was viewed by many middle-class public women as an extension of women's spiritual role. The British Women associated local veto with the power to not only significantly reduce vice and sin among the urban poor but also to decrease poverty. In this way, the vote represented the British Women's ability to clean up the slums. The British Women supposed that if the drink-shops closed the working-man and 'the female inebriate' would be isolated from the 'evil of intemperance'.

If the poor man's and woman's wages could thus be saved, they would naturally – in the opinion of the British Women – be funnelled into food and domestic comforts for the family. The greater domestic comfort among the poor that temperance reformers believed would be the inevitable result of prohibition would lead to the moral uplift of society. Templars argued that the poor temperate family would settle easily into middle-class ideals of family life where a bread-winning man supported his economically dependant wife and children. From the British Women's perspective, this result of prohibition would allow poorer women to conform to middle-class notions of 'woman's mission'. In this temperance vision, the working-class woman would uphold feminine moral superiority and 'woman's mission' by devoting herself to the unwaged service of her family. A resolution sent from the Edinburgh Central Branch to the United Kingdom Alliance, the first fully prohibitionist temperance group in Britain, testifies to the British

Women's understanding of the link between drink, poverty and the working classes' inability to conform to middle-class cultural norms:³⁶

the Members of Council rejoice in the advance towards Prohibition which the Alliance has recently made; and in view of the widespread and terrible amount of domestic misery and social demoralisation which afflicts the nation, presenting as it does an insuperable barrier to the progress of Temperance and Religious effort, unanimously resolve to agitate for the legislative suppression of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor as a beverage.³⁷

Thus, 'domestic misery' is a direct product of the freedom of drink-sellers to ply their trade. These attitudes towards women's municipal vote and legal suasion once again demonstrate how coercive temperance reform ideology reflected the middle classes' desire to assert their cultural dominance; female templars operated under the assumption that prohibition of the 'drink traffic' would lead to the working classes' adoption of middle-class patterns of family life and gender roles.

The Scottish Christian Union's ability to implement legal suasionist tactics was fostered by the adoption of the 'do everything' policy which was characterised by departmentalisation. The Edinburgh Central Branch and the Glasgow Prayer Union established legislative departments in 1890 and 1892 respectively. These branches had conducted legislative or vigilance work in the 1880s but this work was systematised after 'do everything'. The legal suasion departments were charged with convincing all of the British Women of the necessity of political activism by "[bringing] before the various branches the advisableness of influencing all Members of Parliament regarding any Bill which may come before Parliament bearing on the liquor traffic".³⁸

³⁶ Nathaniel Card, a Quaker cotton manufacturer, founded the United Kingdom Alliance in Manchester in 1853. He was motivated by the passage of the 'Maine Law'. It was the first temperance society to place greatest emphasis on prohibition, signalling a departure from the temperance movement's earlier emphasis on moral suasion.

³⁷ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Eleventh Annual Report*, 14. BWTASCU Collection.

³⁸ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Fourteenth Annual Report*, 18. BWTASCU Collection.

Departmentalisation witnessed the development of several departments devoted to legal suasion. At the level of parliamentary politics departments variously named ‘legislative’, ‘legal’ and ‘vigilance’ monitored national prohibition legislation. The Scottish Christian Union relied on constitutional methods of lobbying and the legal departments drew up memorials and petitions to parliament that demanded the state end the ‘drink traffic’. More importantly for this discussion were the municipal departments. Municipal departments kept an eye on the local prohibition scene, organised support for local temperance politicians and planned demonstrations at the justice courts to agitate against licences. Marion I. Watt, the Glasgow Prayer Union’s municipal department superintendent, provides a description of legal suasion at a local level:

Out of twenty-one Magistrates elected by the Town Council, ten were personal abstainers, so that from a Temperance standpoint, the quality of the Bench has been much improved as a result of the election. We cannot now rest satisfied until all our Branches take up this electoral work, and until every member makes herself familiar with the requirements of the lodger’s vote.³⁹

Marion Watt’s report gives a clear indication of the importance that many of the British Women attributed to women’s municipal vote; coercive temperance reform ideology emphasised the state’s ability to legislate against drunkenness, and Scotwomen’s newly gained access to the local franchise was seen as a potent new weapon in the prohibition crusade. So, while moral reform based on the dissemination of middle-class cultural norms underpinned the Scottish Christian Union’s reform ideology, legal suasion and the admittance of female ratepayers to the municipal electorate motivated the British Women’s sense of public-political entitlement.

³⁹ Glasgow District Union, *BWTA, Scottish Christian Branch, Twelfth Annual Report and Handbook, Glasgow District Union* (Glasgow, 1914), 20. GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

The combined influences of legal suasion and the municipal vote led to the incorporation of public acts of citizenship into the ‘feminine public sphere’. In other words, the British Women’s participation in municipal politics equipped them with practical knowledge of the democratic process. Thus, middle-class women’s ‘feminine public sphere’ cannot be characterised solely by eleemosynary projects, but must include a dimension – albeit very limited – of political inclusion. For many women, the temperance movement was their introduction to electoral politics. For example, M. Neill, the Glasgow Prayer Union’s municipal department superintendent in 1905, reported that: “Greenock ... had only one contest, and their arrangements were so complete that every woman elector in the ward was canvassed, and a number of women recorded their vote, who hitherto had never been inside a polling booth”.⁴⁰ In this way, female templars and their sympathisers gained first hand experience of the voter’s ability to institute a reform agenda. Moreover, temperance reform encouraged middle-class women’s confidence to undertake tasks associated with male-dominated public work, such as speaking and voting. The 1898 annual report of the Glasgow Prayer Union asserted that: “The association is thoroughly alive, its branches continue to spread, the chief ladies of the city give their practical support, and what is pleasing as any, the ladies have arrived at a high stage of confidence and perfection in the art of speech-making”.⁴¹ Indeed, as political activists female temperance reformers appear to be the descendants of their predecessors in the anti-slavery movement. As Midgley has shown:

Women campaigners were not simply philanthropists: they were involved in a political movement, the leading reform movement of the period, one that pioneered methods of extra-Parliamentary agitation in order to bring about

⁴⁰ Glasgow District Union, *BWTA, Scottish Christian Branch, Third Annual Report, Glasgow District Union* (Glasgow, 1905), 17. GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

⁴¹ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1898). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

legislative change. They played a central role in shaping public opinion and in applying pressure to Parliament.⁴²

Certainly, women's temperance reform mirrors this statement. As I have shown, temperance reform was one of the major social and political issues of the late-nineteenth century, and women were central to the campaign in the 1870 to 1914 period.

The pursuit of local veto legislation among the female municipal electorate not only introduced women to the process of casting a vote but also gathered women under the auspices of the Scottish Christian Union to discuss local and national issues and to meet the temperance candidates: a political dialogue between the female templars and prohibitionist candidates became an important aspect of women's temperance reform. Now, this political confidence gained through the Scottish Christian Union's coercive reform at the municipal level had far-reaching implications for the political attitudes of the British Women, and helped to initiate a desire for women's parliamentary enfranchisement.

The Scottish Christian Union's view of the importance of the municipal *and* parliamentary franchises was clearly articulated in 1884. In this year, Mrs Lindsay of the Glasgow Prayer Union presented a paper, "Christian Women as Citizens". The *League Journal* reproduced the sentiments of Mrs Lindsay's remarks:

Christian women of late years had been showing their responsibility, and she wished to impress upon them the fact that in the votes they already possessed they had an engine of which they did not yet know the full power, and which they had hardly yet begun to use ... In one of the wards a publican's candidate – who was a publican himself – was started and when that came to the knowledge of their local Women's Suffrage Association they felt that it was a case in which every effort should be put forth to bring women voters to the poll ... The temperance reformers were of opinion ... that some means must be found to regulate the drink traffic. Women felt this as much as men, but that question

⁴² Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 155.

could only be decided by Parliament, and in Imperial politics no woman was allowed to have a voice. She trusted, however, that the time would soon come when they would have the Parliamentary as well as the municipal franchise.⁴³

Mrs Lindsay's ideas provide an insight into the ways that the British Women understood women's political role. Women's voting was discussed as an act of religious duty among 'Christian women'. By justifying political participation in moral terms, the SCU extended female support for women's suffrage. The idea that the vote meant the power to influence the whole of society with middle-class women's feminine moral superiority appealed to a range of women voters who may have been antagonistic towards women's suffrage advocates outside the Scottish Christian Union. For instance, Mrs Lindsay's persuasive discussion led the president, Mrs Blaikie, to "[remark] that she had listened to Mrs Lindsay's paper with so much interest that she was almost converted to woman suffrage, which she had never gone in for".⁴⁴ Although Mrs Blaikie's comment was not thoroughly enthusiastic, the new-found flexibility in her attitude illustrates the potent combination of religious duty, legal suasion and women's municipal vote in creating a demand for women's parliamentary enfranchisement. Finally, participation in local politics magnified middle-class women's desire for direct political representation. The Scottish Christian Union's work at a local level, canvassing for temperance candidates, agitating against licences and rallying women voters to cast their ballot for temperance reform convinced many British Women of the possibility to do even greater good if they had the right to participate in national politics.

⁴³ STL, "Christian Women's Union", *League Journal* no. 151 (Jan 1884): 747.

⁴⁴ STL, "Christian Women's Union", 747.

The Women's Suffrage Debate in the Scottish Christian Union

So far, I have suggested that the women's suffrage question was taken up by the British Women as a response to the temperance movement's stress on prohibition and to women's limited municipal enfranchisement. Moreover, the women's suffrage advocates of the Scottish Christian Union challenged feminine roles by claiming the propriety of extending women's moral influence out of the home and into the public-political realm. The British Women's support of women's suffrage was further stimulated by the example of pro-suffrage Women's Christian Temperance Unions around the world, and the Scottish Christian Union reflected the World Women's Christian Temperance Union's backing for women's political equality. This discussion of temperance has suggested that although the ties between the late-nineteenth-century women's temperance movement and the women's suffrage movement have received much attention in the American and Australasian contexts, these connections are conspicuous by their absence from histories of the British women's movement. Nonetheless, it will be shown here that temperance reform and female templars played a vital role in the women's suffrage movement in Scotland. Moreover, an international perspective will help to reveal the importance of women's temperance to the struggle for women's suffrage. Specifically, although the official policy of the SCU was pro-suffrage, women's right to vote was a matter of contention. In contrast to the supposed necessity to enfranchise feminine moral superiority, some British Women identified with a purely spiritual and public-voluntary role and thus fell into the anti-suffrage camp. In the course of its women's suffrage debate, the Scottish Christian Union drew on Anglophone networks in the empire and United States.

Historians have argued that temperance was marginal to nineteenth-century British feminism and suffragism. William O'Neill, whose comparative study of the women's suffrage movements in England and America is a prime example, argues that temperance was neither a vigorous movement in Britain nor was it important to suffragism. O'Neill's work (published in the late-1960s) is important since his were some of the first monographs devoted to American women's suffrage, and thus they inform, to an extent, more recent suffrage histories.⁴⁵ In spite of the longevity of O'Neill's work, his comparison of the American and English temperance movements is over-simplified. It is likely that the study's reliance on American sources is to blame. His unfamiliarity with the British sources is testified to in his preface where he states that although he did not research extensively in the United Kingdom the material available in the United States was sufficient. However, his conclusions are somewhat inaccurate:

There was of course, an English temperance movement but it did not have anything like the impact of its American counterpart. This may have been because the English working classes preferred beer, a mild drink compared with the whisky favoured by the American workers. Moreover, that part of the American working class that drank beer or wine was mainly foreign-born and aroused other emotions. Temperance in America was middle-class and rural, and directed against the urban working class. The native-born worker was to be saved from his drinking habits, the immigrant punished through his. The saloon was also a political agency as the English pub was not. By attacking it American reformers struck at the centre of Boss rule in the great cities, for the saloon was the principal institution linking the machine with its constituents. Temperance was, therefore, a more complicated affair in America than England.⁴⁶

This and the previous chapter have demonstrated that temperance and prohibition were extremely important and emotive issues in Scottish politics. Can England, the country

⁴⁵ O'Neill's most well-known books are *Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969) and *The Woman Movement*.

⁴⁶ O'Neill, *The Woman Movement*, 36-7.

that gave rise to the United Kingdom Alliance and other prominent temperance and prohibition groups, have been so different from its northern partner? In the Welsh context, work by W. R. Lambert contradicts many of O'Neill's assertions. For instance, in terms of the emotions aroused in American templars by beer and wine drinkers, Lambert's discussion of the social connotations of beer shows that similar attitudes existed among the beer drinkers of Wales: "Beer was an evocative drink which aroused patriotic sentiments in Wales as much as in England during most of the nineteenth century; it connoted the red-faced John Bull with his foaming tankard, agricultural prosperity and contempt for the wine-drinking Frenchmen".⁴⁷ Next, Lambert shows that public houses were indeed centres of 'political agency'. For instance, until the passage of the Corrupt Practices Act in 1883, parliamentary elections heralded heavy drinking bouts for the constituents. However, O'Neill is not alone in his assessment of British temperance. More recently, Banks claimed that in Britain women's temperance societies were marginal to the development of organised feminism:

There is no evidence, however, that feminism became an issue inside the temperance movement as it did in the United States. Even after 1870 ... the British Women's Temperance Association, founded in 1876, was in sharp contrast to its American counterpart the Women's Christian Temperance Union, in its relationship to feminism".⁴⁸

Finally, I have made repeated reference to Barrow's most recent contribution to the literature of British women's temperance reform which concludes that:

Despite the attempts to generate support for suffrage within the temperance movement ... some members still feared that any attempt to attach temperance to demands for women's suffrage worked to the detriment of the temperance campaign. Others while supporting suffrage on a personal level still wished the BWTA to remain an exclusively temperance society.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Lambert, *Drink and Sobriety*, 7.

⁴⁸ Banks, *Faces of Feminism*, 19.

⁴⁹ Barrow, "Teetotal Feminists", 74.

One of the primary aims of this study is to provide the evidence that the Scottish Christian Union and temperance reform were integral to the British women's movement.

Barrow has characterised the BWTA as single-issue organisation.⁵⁰ However, as Chapters 2 and 3 have shown, the British Women were involved in a range of public-political and public-philanthropic activities. The Scottish Christian Union worked for the resolution of various social ills and emphasised the aid prohibition would give to social reform. In turn, prohibition was increasingly viewed as the consequence of middle-class women's enfranchisement. Thus, even though the historiography of Britain views temperance as incompatible with women's suffrage, this and the following chapter is interested in showing not only that temperance women and organisations were vehicles of women's suffrage but also that temperance was an issue in organisations less often associated with temperance reform, such as the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies. Perhaps the broad policy remit of the SCU and constitutional suffragists created an environment unique to Scotland, or at least in contrast to England, where temperance and suffrage met at a feminist crossroads?

The Scottish Christian Union's support for women's suffrage can be viewed as an element of constitutional agitation for women's equal enfranchisement. This can be seen through a comparison of the Scottish Christian Union's and the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation's approaches to the women's suffrage campaign. Chapter 2 demonstrated the cross-membership between the SCU and the SWLF. These two organisations also held similar beliefs towards women's suffrage. The mainstay of the SWLF's work for women's suffrage was in the form of petitions and memorials sent to

⁵⁰ Barrow, "Teetotal Feminists", 76.

parliament and to MPs. The SCU used comparable methods when agitating both for prohibition and for women's suffrage:

The association has also done much by writing to members of Parliament on the burning questions of the day. They wanted female suffrage – even were it only to help on the temperance cause – they wished for better lives for their children and protection for their homes.⁵¹

In a manner similar to the British Women's political work at the local level, the SCU's women's suffrage work was co-ordinated by a suffrage department, which became a national SCU department in 1906. The evidence suggests that women's suffrage became part of individual branches' work from the 1890s.⁵² This time scale coincides with the rise of 'do everything' and a favourable stance on women's suffrage within the World Women's Christian Temperance Union. The suffrage department superintendents organised the SCU's constitutional campaign and urged the British Women to "do their utmost to obtain the enfranchisement of women by all lawful means".⁵³ Finally, the networks of cross-membership between the SCU and SWLF led to direct co-operation between these organisations in the suffrage campaign. Mrs Isabel Napier, the superintendent of the national suffrage department wrote that: "The 'Scottish Women's Liberal Federation' held a very successful suffrage week, and it was my privilege to speak at five of their meetings to large audiences in different parts of Scotland".⁵⁴

⁵¹ Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1898). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

⁵² For example, the Glasgow Prayer Union was demanding women's suffrage in 1898. Glasgow Prayer Union, *Minute Book* (1898). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

⁵³ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report for the Year 1911-12* (Edinburgh, 1912), 32. BWTASCU Collection.

⁵⁴ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Thirty-Second Annual Report for the Year 1909* (Edinburgh, 1909), 63. BWTASCU Collection.

The Scottish Christian Union and the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation were also linked by an interest in women's participation in local government. The SWLF concentrated on rallying for women's inclusion on town councils but after the failure of the Town Councils (Scotland) Bill, 1900 to admit women as councillors, they placed even more stress on women's right to participate in municipal and parliamentary politics. Leneman has shown that:

For several years after that the Federation had a Women's Franchise and Local Government section, treating the two issues as closely related. Late in September 1900 the committee drew up a questionnaire to parliamentary candidates to elicit their views on women's suffrage and the eligibility of women to town and county councils.⁵⁵

This chapter has already discussed the importance the SCU attached to the municipal enfranchisement of Scotland's female ratepayers in 1881. The British Women, too, saw the parliamentary and local franchises as related issues; for the SCU, prohibition acted as a bridge between the municipal and parliamentary franchises.

The similarity between the Scottish Christian Union and the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation can also be seen in the two organisations' suffrage ideology. Both the SCU and the SWLF were wont to justify women's claims to equal enfranchisement based on motherhood. For example the SWLF's constitution resolved: "To secure just and equal legislation and representation for women especially with reference to the Parliamentary Franchise and the removal of all legal disabilities on account of sex and to protect the interests of children".⁵⁶ Thus, the Liberal women demanded political representation based on their role as the nurturers of children. Likewise, Janet Cockburn, the superintendent of the Glasgow Prayer Union's suffrage department,

⁵⁵ Leneman, *A Guid Cause*, 37.

⁵⁶ Leneman, *A Guid Cause*, 35.

asserted in her report that: “It is generally acknowledged that women who share the burdens and responsibilities of life, should also share in the making of the laws that they have to obey”.⁵⁷ These ‘burdens and responsibilities’ may be interpreted as middle-class women’s obligation to morally educate children and poorer women and to work for the purification of society. Thus, the ideology of ‘woman’s mission’, which had motivated many of the British Women’s entrance into temperance reform, led many of these same British Women to conclude that their ‘mission’ could not be fully recognised without the power to influence Britain’s social life through the vote. Thus, in this way these groups left the ‘separate spheres’ largely unchallenged by their insistence on women’s duty to motherhood and on women’s political participation as an extension of mothering.⁵⁸

This analysis has shown that the British Women were drawn into the temperance movement by ‘woman’s mission’, that coercive temperance reform ideology and the municipal vote politicised the British Women and that the SCU’s suffragism was based largely on women’s role as mothers. Or as Garner has suggested, suffragism increasingly emphasised:

the biologically determined roles and characteristics of the sexes. Society was unbalanced because women’s domestic and maternal virtues were neglected.⁵⁹

Again, this ideology can be linked to the British Women’s middle-class cultural values. Their position of authority over ‘the female inebriate’ and ‘the habitual drunkard’ was derived from the socio-economic advantages of their social class and their self-representation as morally superior. In turn, this class culture was fundamentally

⁵⁷ Glasgow District Union, *BWTA, Scottish Christian Branch, Twelfth Annual Report*, 23. GCA TD 955 / 1 / 1.

⁵⁸ Other historians have analysed the importance of women’s maternity to suffrage ideology. For example, see Banks *Becoming a Feminist*, especially Chapter 5; and Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women’s Liberty*.

⁵⁹ Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women’s Liberty*, 2.

informed by a particular family structure, ideally based on the economically active husband and economically dependent wife and daughters. The evangelical notion of women's spiritual role within this family structure was the basis for 'woman's mission', which was seen by many middle-class women as a call to public work. However, middle-class public women such as the British Women and the Liberal women brought their class values with them to the public world and stressed in seemingly incongruous ways the importance of woman's duty to her family. The British Women's belief in their moral superiority and the righteousness of their class values reflects – what Banks has termed – a 'protection' or 'middle-class philanthropic' strand in the Scottish Christian Union, or a "traditional view of women, emphasising their need for protection rather than their desire for independence".⁶⁰ For instance, the British Women's 'rescue' work, discussed in Chapter 3, aimed to protect women from the 'evil of intemperance' and the consequent risk of a 'degradation of womanhood' by domesticating the inmates of the women's temperance homes; the British Women considered 'the female inebriate' reformed and 'reclaimed' if she was successful in the dependent roles of wife or domestic servant.

An understanding of the Scottish Christian Union's suffrage ideology can be enhanced through an international perspective. In the American context historians have suggested that the American Women's Christian Temperance Union – under the presidency of Frances Willard – was drawn into the women's suffrage movement mainly by Willard's advocacy of 'home protection' and by the idea that the vote could protect

⁶⁰ Banks, *Becoming a Feminist*, 77.

married women from the abuses of drunken husbands.⁶¹ ‘Home protection’, one of Willard’s many pithy phrases along the lines of ‘do everything’, responded to ideas inherent in the women’s temperance movement, namely that women and domesticity were under threat from drunken men. Bordin claims that the use of ‘home protection’ rhetoric allowed the suffrage issue to strengthen rather than to divide the WCTU: “Willard did not demand suffrage as a right, but only as a means of promoting what her supporters saw as moral and proper, the protection of the home from the evils of the liquor traffic”.⁶² The Scottish Christian Union took a similar position. This view was clearly expressed by Mrs Watson of the Helensburgh branch of the SCU:

It has been said with much truth that the sweetest word in the English language is Home. The observation of men who move in business circles, the experience of magistrates on the bench, the testimony of judges in our law courts, the facts laid bare by our men of science, make us realise more and more that the beauty and sanctity of our British homes are being destroyed by the demon ‘Strong Drink’.⁶³

Again, it is possible to link these sentiments to the British Women’s bids for cultural dominance by protecting and extending the middle-class domestic ideal. In a manner similar to their American counterparts the British Women argued that women’s equal enfranchisement would allow for the completion of ‘woman’s mission’ and the consequent moral cleansing of society. Moreover, the British Women conceived of this morally strengthened society as one where middle-class cultural norms of family and gender roles were emulated and followed by the working classes.

Historians of temperance have debated the place of women’s temperance reform ideology in suffragism. For instance, Giele’s detailed study of American temperance

⁶¹ For example, see Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*; Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity*; and Giele, *Two Paths to Women’s Equality*.

⁶² Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*, 61.

⁶³ Watson, “An Appeal to the Women of Scotland”, 43.

and women's suffrage periodicals has led her to claim that the gender ideologies of female templars and suffragists were divergent rather than complementary. Through a comparison of the WCTU's *Union Signal* and the suffragist periodical the *Woman's Journal*, Giele argues that "more of the suffragists were pioneers in the sense of developing a new public role for women, the temperance women were consolidators, concerned with using women's powers to the full in the female roles that were already accepted".⁶⁴ The British Women reflect this analysis to some extent. The SCU was interested on consolidating feminine public roles in benevolent and social reform work. However, it would be mistaken to suggest that the British Women were not feminist pioneers. On the one hand, the female templars' ability to help 'consolidate' women's public role should not be underestimated. Although social reform may have been an acceptable area for middle-class women's public work, it must be remembered that the temperance movement – itself – was a radical campaign. The temperance movement not only sought to assert the dominance of middle-class cultural norms over working-class culture, temperance reformers also challenged, although to a somewhat lesser extent, middle-class social practices that had alcoholic drink as a central feature.⁶⁵ On the other hand, the British Women did help to break new ground for middle-class public women through their keen support for women's participation in local government.

This discussion of temperance has highlighted the importance of an American influence on the Scottish Christian Union. SCU suffragism was partly the product of the political tenor of the world women's temperance movement of the late-nineteenth and

⁶⁴ Giele, *Two Paths to Women's Equality*, 69.

⁶⁵ Temperance reformers in Britain and the United States were concerned with the drinking patterns among both the working and middle classes. However, a majority of organisations throughout the nineteenth century were made up of middle-class reformers who focused their efforts on the poorer drinker.

early-twentieth centuries, and the influence of Francis Willard and of the American WCTU is clear in the SCU's adoption of the 'do everything' policy. However, the SCU's women's suffrage debate was most strongly informed by the enfranchisement of women in New Zealand in 1893. For although the SCU was pro-suffrage and worked for women's political participation at the municipal and national levels, there was a significant number of British Women who argued that women's suffrage had no place in women's temperance reform. Women's political status in New Zealand was the single most important factor in persuading a majority of the British Women that the campaign for women's suffrage was a cause appropriate to a women's temperance reform society.

New Zealand was particularly influential since its women's suffrage campaign was headed by the New Zealand Women's Christian Temperance Union (NZWCTU). In New Zealand, Kate Sheppard, the dominion president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (1889-1892), is credited with heading the women's suffrage campaign.⁶⁶ In Scotland, women's suffrage groups had rallied for the vote since the 1860s and the rise of the SCU in the 1870s-80s helped to broaden the appeal of women's equal enfranchisement to include the temperance reform constituency. However, in New Zealand, the Women's Franchise League developed after the NZWCTU began agitating for women's suffrage in 1887.⁶⁷ The prominence of the New Zealand Women's Christian Temperance Union in the women's suffrage campaign and the received knowledge that prohibition legislation increased after women's

⁶⁶ See Grimshaw, *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand*; and Claire Wood, "Campaigning Women and Bad, Bad Men: Otago's Campaign for Women's Suffrage", in *Mrs Hocken Requests ... Women's Contributions to the Hocken Collection*, ed. Rosemary Entwisle (Otago: Otago University Press, 1993), 11-18.

⁶⁷ "This marked a significant change in suffrage activity. While many of the women involved in the League were also members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union the emergence of a separate organisation campaigning for the vote helped to divorce to issue from the temperance-prohibition lobby

enfranchisement, encouraged the British Women to see women's suffrage as relevant to their women's temperance movement.

Networks forged through migration from Scotland to the white settler colonies made New Zealand an especially important part of the Scottish Christian Union's suffrage debate. Discussions of Scottish emigration have shown that New Zealand was a particularly attractive destination for nineteenth-century Scots. Marjory Harper has suggested several factors which made New Zealand a popular destination: "The stimuli which persuaded emigrants to prefer New Zealand to Australia [were] extensive agency activity, the promise of land and the reassurance of an acceptable Scottish-based society which retained valued religious and educational institutions".⁶⁸ Indeed, Jim Hewitson has suggested that emigrant Scotswomen played an especially important role in New Zealand's nineteenth-century feminist movement.⁶⁹ Two Scotswomen emigrants are particularly important for this discussion: Mrs Isabel Napier and Kate Sheppard. Kate Sheppard, the above mentioned president of the NZWCTU and well-known suffragist, was born on Islay before emigrating to New Zealand. Isabel Napier, superintendent of the Scottish Christian Union's national suffrage department – it will be remembered from Chapter 3 – grew up in New Zealand and maintained contacts there after she returned to Scotland.

Jeanette M. Brock has argued that "Scots were a notoriously migratory population".⁷⁰ Brock's work shows that in the nineteenth-century Scots were more

and so brought the question of women's suffrage closer to the mainstream of public opinion". Wood, "Campaigning Women and Bad, Bad Men", 15.

⁶⁸ Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland*, 303.

⁶⁹ "And when women began to assert their rights politically and socially the Scotswomen in Australia and New Zealand were in the vanguard", Jim Hewitson, *Far Off in Sunlit Places: Stories of Scots in Australia and New Zealand* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 1998), 204.

⁷⁰ Brock, *The Mobile Scot*, 203.

likely than the English or the Welsh to emigrate abroad, and that throughout the nineteenth century Scots emigration remained high and the gender imbalance gradually lessened.⁷¹ The idea that Scots were the most prevalent British population settling the empire provides evidence of the Scottish Christian Union's own international perspective. Brock has estimated that between a third and a half of all Scots emigrants returned to their county-of-birth:

For example in the north of Scotland, a family from Shetland (the head was a cooper) returned from New Zealand, three families from Caithness (hotel keeper, pedlar and mason) returned from England, America and Canada, two families from Ross and Cromarty (builder and grocer) returned from England and Australia.⁷²

Clearly, the opportunities for mobility presented by empire resulted in a cosmopolitan society at home. Returning emigrants, such as Isabel Napier, brought fresh perspectives to Scotland from their experiences abroad. In the case of Mrs Napier, it is reasonable to conclude that the close ties between the temperance movement and the women's suffrage campaign in New Zealand influenced her decision to form the national suffrage department in 1906.

Although the Scottish Christian Union promoted women's suffrage, there was considerable variance in the political opinions of the members and of the branches. The Glasgow, Edinburgh and Stirling branches were the main supporters of women's suffrage.⁷³ The most useful source for investigating the suffrage debate is the *Scottish Women's Temperance News*. The *SWTN* was the SCU's official publication and edited by Miss Christina E. Robertson of Ayrshire. One of the main themes of the *SWTN* was

⁷¹ Brock, *The Mobile Scot*, 203.

⁷² Using the 1891 enumeration books, Brock claims that many Scots emigrant families stayed away for six to eleven years and that many returned after less than five years. *The Mobile Scot*, 168-9.

⁷³ Although the president, Mrs Margaret Blaikie, was not pro-suffrage, the SCU as a whole followed a pro-suffrage policy.

the progress towards women's suffrage made by the affiliates of the World Women's Christian Temperance Union. The *SWTN* reflects the international perspective of the Scottish Christian Union, and included reports on women's suffrage in American states, China, Canada and Australasia, to name a few. However, Miss Robertson accompanied the women's suffrage reports with anti-suffrage letters sent to the "Correspondence" columns; in this way she incited debate on women's suffrage among the British Women.

The opposition to the Scottish Christian Union's advocacy of women's equal enfranchisement was concentrated in the St. Andrews branch and most vociferously challenged by Lady Griselda Cheape. Lady Cheape was a zealous proponent of temperance reform as well as a prominent anti-suffragist. In twentieth-century volumes of the *SWTN*, Lady Cheape repeatedly submitted inflammatory anti-suffrage letters to the "Correspondence". Griselda Cheape was on the executive committee of the St. Andrews branch and in 1913 formed the 'Beehive' anti-suffrage society in that city. In the same year, the St. Andrews branch moved a resolution at the SCU council meeting in Dundee to discontinue the women's suffrage department as a national department. The St. Andrews British Women argued that individual branches should decide their policy on women's suffrage and not be forced to affiliate with a pro-suffrage policy coming from a national department. However, pro-suffrage delegates from Glasgow moved for an amendment to continue the national suffrage department without interruption. The Antis were defeated: "After a lively discussion, in which several members took part, the amendment and then the resolution were voted on, with the result that the former was

carried by a large majority”.⁷⁴ It is reasonable to suggest that Griselda Cheape’s strong anti-suffrage beliefs influenced the political position of the St. Andrews branch.

Lady Griselda Cheape’s anti-suffragism reflected her Christian worldview; she saw ‘woman’s mission’ as apolitical. Although Lady Cheape believed that the evangelical ‘woman’s mission’ of female templars justified public work, she argued that this public work should be confined to benevolent activities and not extend to political participation. Lady Cheape’s position is interesting as it highlights the links between coercive temperance reform ideology and female templars’ support for women’s suffrage. Lady Cheape was a proponent of ‘Gospel temperance’ or of “a plan of missionary work by means of individual charity and conversion”.⁷⁵ Thus, Lady Cheape emphasised the use of the total-abstinence pledge rather than prohibition. Griselda Cheape posited that a temperate, morally sound society could only be realised through individual redemption in Jesus Christ. Essentially, Lady Griselda Cheape’s religious faith informed her interpretation both of ‘woman’s mission’ and of temperance reform ideology. She was committed to morally persuading ‘the female inebriate’ and ‘the habitual drunkard’ of the evil of their ways through the example of the morally superior middle-class female reformer. In this view, the state had no place in tampering with women’s moralising role and could only hamper the process of personal salvation that Lady Cheape believed would result in a temperate nation.

⁷⁴ Edinburgh Central Branch, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report for the Year 1912-13* (Edinburgh, 1913), 41. BWTASCU Collection.

⁷⁵ Giele, *Two Paths to Women’s Equality*, 98.

Lady Cheape sparked one of the most strongly articulated discussions of women's suffrage in the *Scottish Women's Temperance News*. In April 1913, Griselda Cheape asked the Scottish Christian Union, "Is Woman's Suffrage Progress?":

Laws are not bad because they are made by men; but because they are made by humans. Women stand where they are good higher than men [*sic*], because they seek their laws from God's Word, and so prove that they, by His grace, are beacons.⁷⁶

Lady Cheape does not mince her words when asserting that women are indeed morally superior to men. In turn, Griselda Cheape justified feminine superiority based on the supposed political impartiality of women. In statements such as this, Lady Cheape rejected the power of the political establishment to effect social reform: women's suffrage did not have the power to implement the moral cleansing of society. She interpreted 'woman's mission' in a more narrow way than the pro-suffrage British Women in that while Lady Cheape accepted women's public role she defined the 'feminine public sphere' in terms that excluded politics and included charity and religious missionising. For Lady Cheape, then, woman's moral virtue was predicated on the notion that the public-political sphere degraded female faith and Christian mission and that the public-philanthropic sphere was the appropriate domain for 'woman's mission'.

The influence of New Zealand is clearly evident in Lady Cheape's arguments against women's suffrage. In June 1913, she reiterated her belief in the apolitical moral mission of women:

⁷⁶ Lady Griselda Cheape, "Is Woman's Suffrage Progress?", *SWTN* 17, no. 4 (Apr 1913): 75.

We must educate individually, as we are trying to do in the BWTA, by God's grace. It is not legislation from without but the love of God from within which will keep us temperate in all things.⁷⁷

Here again she argues that temperance reform is not a matter for state intervention but for the steady and concerted application of women's 'moralising influence'. Lady Cheape's letter also posited that women's suffrage made no impact on prohibition in New Zealand and that anti-vice legislation was in place prior to the extension of the franchise. The received knowledge in this period supposed that New Zealand women's enfranchisement resulted in legislation geared towards social reform. Raewyn Dalziel's discussion of the place of New Zealand women's enfranchisement in the imperial suffrage campaign has shown that although there has been no systematic study of the legislation passed after women's enfranchisement, "the least of the claims, that women reinforced the impulse towards legislation which can be seen not only as reforming but also in some cases as socially restrictive and supportive of existing equalities, seems indisputable".⁷⁸ Griselda Cheape's commentary provoked a fierce reaction from fellow readers. A letter signed Jeanie F. Fraser, who claimed to have spent many years in New Zealand, demonstrated that the chronology of prohibition and women's suffrage presented by Lady Cheape was false. Moreover, she attacked the heart of Cheape's argument, that women temperance reformers had no place in politics and that moral suasion was the surest way towards temperance reform:

all women who lead in the Temperance movement are Suffragists. Frances Willard was a life-long Suffragist; Lady Henry Somerset, formerly the leader of the Women's Temperance party in England, is also Vice-President of the National Union of Suffrage Societies. This is also the reason why, at our last

⁷⁷ Lady Griselda Cheape, "Will Women's Suffrage Advance Temperance?", *SWTN* 17, no. 6 (Jun 1913): 84.

⁷⁸ Raewyn Dalziel, "Presenting the Enfranchisement of New Zealand Women Abroad", in *Suffrage and Beyond*, eds. Nolan and Daley, 57.

Council Meeting, the delegates agreed to petition Parliament to introduce, with the least possible delay, a Government measure for Women's Suffrage. Will Women's Suffrage Advance Temperance? Surely, every British Woman who has thought intelligently on the subject has only one answer to this question.⁷⁹

Jeanie Fraser clearly interpreted the goals of women's temperance reform as bound up with women's suffrage. Surely this is a response based on Fraser's support for legal suasionist methods; women's suffrage is understood to herald prohibition and both reforms constituted the necessary precursors to a temperate, morally sound society. Fraser's response further demonstrates the internationalism of the Scottish Christian Union with direct references to Frances Willard and the World Women's Christian Temperance Union's majority pro-suffrage stance. Finally, the August edition of the *SWTN* came out in favour of women's suffrage, highlighting the majority attitude of the British Women; Miss Christina Robertson published an article from a publican's journal which asserted the positive impact of women's suffrage on anti-vice legislation.

The Scottish Christian Union, then, can be viewed as a collection of politicised and well informed middle-class public women. Although the suffrage ideology of the British Women accepted the validity of middle-class gender roles and especially the so-called 'career of motherhood', the British Women's celebration of the specialness of 'woman's mission' to the moral and social health of society led them to demand political rights for women. The ascendancy of coercive temperance reform ideology juxtaposed to the Municipal Elections (Scotland) Act, 1881 encouraged the British Women to support prohibition and women's ability to vote for local veto. The increasingly political aspect of the late-nineteenth-century international women's temperance movement further convinced a majority of the British Women that women's suffrage

⁷⁹ Jeanie F. Fraser, "Will Women's Suffrage Advance Temperance?", *SWTN* 17, no. 7 (Jul 1913): 101.

was essential to the realisation of a society founded on the morally virtuous code of middle-class cultural values.

Conclusion

To summarise, the temperance reform movement was a political as well as moral and social phenomenon. The rise of prohibitionist ideology led many British Women to question the potency of 'woman's influence' as the sole means of disseminating the ideals of feminine moral superiority; legal suasion mandated that reformers understand and participate in politics both at the local and national levels. The municipal enfranchisement of female ratepayers in 1881 underscored the potential for the female electorate to undertake social reform via the ballot box. The British Women's support for women's municipal voting helped to integrate women into the political process, and to impart to women an experience of the public-political world. In turn, prohibitionist tactics and the municipal vote highlighted the limits of middle-class women's reforming efforts. If moral reform was the remit of the state, and if 'woman's mission' was to morally improve society, it seemed logical and just to the British Women that they be included in the parliamentary franchise.

In Scotland, in contrast to Wales and England, female templars officially endorsed women's suffrage. Under the influence of the American Women's Christian Temperance Union, the SCU adopted the 'do everything' policy and created departments designed to systematise agitation for women's political role in local and parliamentary elections. In this way, the SCU can be seen as an element of the constitutional suffrage campaign. Certainly, the Scottish Christian Union shared

membership networks, methodology and ideology with constitutional groups such as the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation. Moreover, the place of the SCU in the nineteenth-century women's movement is best understood through an international perspective. Using this approach it becomes clear that the United States and empire were important influences on the politics of the British Women. Clearly, the international networks and perspectives of the Scottish Christian Union show it to have been a truly cosmopolitan member of the World Women's Christian Temperance Union. Finally, at the heart of this discussion is the idea that in order to fully understand the Victorian and Edwardian women's suffrage movement, there must be a more nuanced conceptualisation of 'suffragism'. The Scottish Christian Union, essentially omitted from British suffrage histories, was part of the constitutional suffrage movement and took part in 'public' debates on women's suffrage. This analysis of women's temperance reform is just one facet of the new views of women's suffrage that will be dealt with in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

NEW VIEWS OF THE SCOTTISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN

The British women's suffrage movement has long been an area of historiographical study. However, the bulk of this material deals primarily – although not exclusively – with the militant campaign and with the experience of suffragists in England. This chapter endeavours to fill important gaps in the historiography of the Scottish, and by extension the British, suffrage campaign through an investigation of four main themes: campaigns and strategies; constitutional suffragism and militant suffragism; the ideology of suffragism; and the relationship between the 'core' and the 'periphery'. The discussion of campaigns and strategies emphasises Scotswomen's experiences in local government and includes a brief narrative of the legislation that governed Scotswomen's access to various local franchises and local boards. The work of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation is particularly important to this discussion, because this organisation was strongly characterised by its commitment to women's role in local politics. Methods of parliamentary lobbying are also discussed here as well as Scotswomen's use of networks to link the Scottish movement to Westminster politics. Unlike many studies of women's suffrage, the question of the effectiveness of the militant campaign, and particularly of the Women's Social and Political Union, is largely ignored. This is justified by the marginal status of the militant campaign in Scotland in the 1870 to 1914 period; by the outbreak of World War I the WSPU maintained only four branches in Scotland – Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow. However, the advent of militancy in Scotland in 1906 was an important issue for constitutional suffragists and cannot therefore be summarily ignored; due to the limits of primary source material, this

analysis is confined to the response of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage to the introduction of militancy. The evaluation of suffrage ideology presented here is based on a study of suffrage pamphlet literature from constitutionalist and militant societies. Through an analysis of several key themes present in the pamphlets, this section highlights the ideological parity between the two methodological camps of suffragism. Finally, this chapter challenges the majority opinion in the historiography that the London-based National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was far more democratic than the Women's Social and Political Union and thus more sensitive to its affiliates' autonomy. An analysis of the GWSAWS's work to found the SFWSS exposes the autocratic and Anglo-centric character of the NUWSS, while simultaneously revealing that to many Scottish suffragists central Scotland and especially Glasgow and Edinburgh represented a 'core' rather than a 'periphery' of the women's suffrage campaign. At length, it is hoped that through these different analytical lenses, a fresh and more comprehensive view of the British women's suffrage movement will emerge.

Campaigns and Strategies

Although thirteen years separate the legislation extending the municipal franchise to English and then to Scottish women ratepayers, there is little discussion in British suffrage histories of how this difference may have influenced the suffrage campaign in Scotland. Therefore, this section presents a brief narrative of Scotswomen's access – both as electors and as candidates and representatives – to various local government boards such as school boards and parish, town and county councils. This discussion is centred on the importance of the Scottish Women's Liberal

Federation to extending and consolidating women's local government role. However, some reference is made to methods of parliamentary lobbying that emphasised 'traditional' forms of extra-parliamentary work such as petitions. Leneman has provided a detailed account of the various petitions, demonstrations and deputations organised by Scottish suffragists and there is no need to reproduce her narrative here.¹ My discussion of parliamentary lobbying focuses on two factors: town council support for women's suffrage and the networks which connected the Scottish campaign to Westminster government.

Two important pieces of legislation, passed in 1872, marked the formal recognition of Scotswomen's access to local government.² First, the Education (Scotland) Act, which established a school board in every parish and burgh. The Act specified that all *persons* – of lawful age, whose names appeared on the valuation roll of the burgh or parish and who were the owners or occupiers of lands or heritages with an annual value of £4 – were eligible both to vote in school board elections and to act as members of a school board. Qualified women were enfranchised by virtue of the term *persons* rather than *male* being used in the wording of the Act. This Act differed from the Elementary Education Act, 1870 that governed school boards in England. The English Act allowed single women both to vote in school board elections and to stand for election while married women might only stand for election. However, in England, unlike Scotland, neither the electors nor the candidates for school boards had to meet a property qualification.³ Second, the Ballot Bill which required that all polls be taken using ballot papers and ballot

¹ See Leneman, *A Guid Cause*.

² For more information on the laws governing women's local government role in the 1870 to 1914 period, see Appendix 1.

³ For more on women's status on English school boards, see Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, especially Chapter 1.

boxes; the secret ballot was introduced to England in the same year. The Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage hailed these two pieces of legislation as great steps on the path to women's equal (parliamentary) enfranchisement. The ENSWS claimed that the Ballot Bill "provide[d] a quiet and dignified mode of voting suitable for women".⁴ Moreover, the Ballot Bill introduced a system of voting that undermined the arguments of early anti-suffragists "that elections were too violent for women's presence".⁵ The Edinburgh suffragists cited Scotswomen's access both to a 'dignified' voting system and to school board elections as evidence of women's ability to exercise the franchise:

The [school board] election proved not only that women were able and willing to vote, but that they encountered no practical difficulties in exercising this right; and it is of significant importance that these elections shewed the popular confidence in the fitness of women to fill places of trust, for no fewer than eighteen women were elected as members of School Boards in Scotland, and in eight instances they were placed at the head of the poll, while one woman was chosen to preside over the School Board of which she is a member.⁶

Indeed, many suffragists were members of school boards such as Miss Grace Paterson in Glasgow and Miss Flora Stevenson in Edinburgh.

As the earlier chapters have shown, suffragists were involved in a range of political and social organisations but during the decade between 1872 and 1882, Scotswomen's role in local government was largely restricted to the school boards. Women's opportunities to sit on local boards were slightly greater in England, where women might act as poor law guardians. However, Hollis has shown that the property qualifications for guardians restricted women's participation in the 1870s

⁴ ENSWS, *Annual Report for the Year 1872* (Edinburgh, 1873), 5. The Women's Library, 324.6230604134 / 18336.

⁵ Harrison, *Separate Spheres*, 74.

⁶ ENSWS, *Annual Report for the Year 1873* (Edinburgh, 1874), 10-11. The Women's Library, 324.6230604134 / 18341.

and 1880s.⁷ Women's work as guardians expanded with the democratisation of poor law boards under the Parish and District Councils Act, 1894 which decreased the property qualification to £5.⁸ Nonetheless both in Scotland and England women seemed to have inserted themselves on school boards with relatively little opposition: "Women were elected alongside men on to the very first school boards, and in no sense could be considered trespassers".⁹ Hollis attributes this to the idea that whereas women's supposed propensity to spend was accepted in education, the goal of the poor law board was to minimise expenditure.¹⁰

School boards remained important for Scottish suffragists after the municipal enfranchisement of female ratepayers in 1882. The Scottish Women's Liberal Federation shared with the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage a commitment to women's participation on school boards. Indeed, school boards became more central to the SWLF's agenda after the passage of the controversial Education (England) Act at the beginning of the twentieth century. This Act was retrograde regarding women's political role:

it [introduced] the principle of making denominational schools chargeable on the rates, without any adequate representation of the ratepayers on the managing bodies ... [and tended] to deprive the country of the services of women in the administration of education, and to destroy the existing right of women to be elected on the same terms as men to serve on School Boards.¹¹

This legislation prompted the SWLF to assert the need for vigilance regarding any new Education Act for Scotland and to ensure that provision was made for women's eligibility on any new board. The SWLF's concerns were justified by Mr Wier MP's

⁷ Not only was the property qualification high (£15 outside London and £40 within London) but since the poor law vote was linked to property (the more property the more votes – up to twelve) it was harder for women to win. See Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 205-8.

⁸ Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 208. Anthony Brundage has shown that while one woman worked as a guardian in 1875, by 1909 there were 1,289 female guardians, *The English Poor Laws, 1700-1930* (Houndmills, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002), 128.

⁹ Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 209.

¹⁰ For more on the prejudices facing female guardians see Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 205-31.

¹¹ SWLF, *Executive Committee Minutes* (1902). NLS Acc. 11765 / 23.

proposal for an alteration to the school board franchise through the Education (Scotland) Bill. However, the SWLF did approve of the final form of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, since it maintained women's right to participate as school board electors and representatives.

The importance of school boards to 'first-wave' feminism has been highlighted by Jane Martin. Martin suggests that feminist demands for women in local government were motivated by maternal politics: "the concept of political mothering offered a critical pathway into the public sphere".¹² Certainly the emphasis the SWLF placed on supporting female candidates demonstrates the importance of school boards and school board women to feminism and to suffragism. School board women were seen as political trailblazers. Moreover, they represented the 'perfect' case for the extension of women's political rights; as school board members they could fulfil many aspects of 'woman's mission' by focusing on the welfare of children. In other words, school board membership was easily absorbed into the language of 'domesticity', or the 'housekeeping of the community' and discussed as a natural, though 'public', aspect of middle-class women's 'distinct ministry'.

Female ratepayers' admittance in the early-1880s to the local electorate was hailed by public women as a great day for Scotland and, the passage of the Municipal Elections (Amendment) (Scotland) Act, 1881 was discussed in Chapter 3. Soon after the municipal enfranchisement of women, the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889 established county councils to manage the administration and finances of every county. This Act provided for women's eligibility as voters by requiring that a 'supplementary register' be prepared every three years (all county councillors served

¹² Jane Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling in Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), 26.

three year terms) simultaneous with the preparation of the parliamentary register. The supplementary register included persons other than parliamentary electors entitled to vote in county council elections, which in turn included every woman, unmarried or married and not living in family with her husband and otherwise qualified as a parliamentary elector except through sex. No woman, herself, was eligible to act as a county councillor. The 1881 and 1889 Acts were limited both in their recognition of married women's political rights and in their provisions for women to act as local government representatives. However, the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894 was somewhat more progressive in its provisions. First, married women were no longer disqualified by marriage to be on the electoral register for county councils, municipal councils, or parish councils if a husband and wife were not registered with respect to the same property. In other words, whereas before 1894 married women had to be separated from their husbands to vote, the 1894 Act would allow women who owned their own properties or whose families owned multiple properties to register separately from their husbands. Hollis has shown that married women could and did register for the poor law electorate under properties distinct from their husbands':

Ms M'Ilquham of Tewkesbury established in 1881 that married women could be qualified to serve if they paid rates on a property which they owned other than the marital home. In her case she farmed seventy-five acres held under the Married Women's Property Act in another parish.¹³

Certainly it was only very wealthy married women who could take advantage of this qualification, nonetheless, it did enshrine in law a way for married women to qualify as ratepayers. Second, the Act, which established parish councils in every parish, stated that no person on account of sex or marriage was disqualified to stand as a candidate or as a member of a parish council, or as an appointed representative of the

¹³ Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 206-7.

parish council on district committees of county councils. Thus, although the 1881 Act gave women ratepayers greater access to the local government electorate, only the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 and the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894 conceded to Scotswomen the right to act as elected representatives.

In light of women's access to parish councils, the Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1900 seems somewhat retrograde. Although all women were included as town council electors – if they owned or occupied premises within the municipal boundary, possessed the qualifications entitling male commoners to vote for MPs and they were not qualified with respect to the same property as their husbands – only qualified males were eligible to act as town councillors. The Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1903 did nothing to increase women's rights to act as town councillors. The Qualification of Women (County and Town Councils) (Scotland) Act, 1907 stated that women were no longer disqualified by sex or marital status from acting as a councillor in any town or burgh. However, the Act also imposed multiple limits on women's responsibilities as councillors. For instance, if a woman was elected as councillor she was nonetheless ineligible to be elected as or to act as burgh magistrate or as a judge in any police court, member of licensing court or court of appeal: the County, Town and Parish Councils (Qualification) (Scotland) Act, 1914 only marginally increased women's rights as councillors and electors and maintained the limits on women's responsibilities contained in the 1907 Act.

Who then were the women voters? A look at the Glasgow City electoral register helps to reveal the extent of female municipal enfranchisement. In 1882, 1890, and 1895, Ward 11 boasted the greatest number of female electors. It will be remembered that these were the years in which new legislation came into force that increased women's access to the local electorate. Ward 11 was solidly located in the

middle-class West End, including the Kelvingrove and Woodlands areas. A glance through this register gives the impression of middle-class leisure; most of the women are listed without occupation. However, there are many women listed with occupations such as shopkeepers, teachers and teachers of music, tobacconists, laundresses, artists, grocers and so on. The smallest amount of women voters were registered in Ward 8, a City Centre area including Argyle Street, Buchanan Street, Bath Street and Hope Street. A glance through Ward 8's register suggests that in this area a higher number of women with an occupation were registered voters, however there is still a great number of women listed without an occupation. By the early-twentieth century, the Glasgow City electoral register no longer provides a separate, supplementary register of 'Female Voters'. It is not within the scope of this study to undertake a deep empirical analysis of the electoral registers in the 1870 to 1914 period. Although there is a wealth of untapped information about the social status and extent of women's municipal enfranchisement in the electoral register, the sheer volume of material and the labour required to unlock its importance prevents its inclusion in this study. While this chapter endeavours to present a brief discussion of women in local government and especially the Scottish context of women's municipal enfranchisement, the subject of Scotswomen's experience in the local electorate is one that requires more substantial analysis than can be offered here.

Rehearsing the legislation related to Scotswomen's rights as municipal voters only goes so far in demonstrating the importance of women's local government role to suffragists. Of the women's suffrage groups under consideration in this chapter, the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation was the most pro-active in consolidating and extending women's role in local government. Hollis has suggested that in the final analysis women's municipal enfranchisement had minimal importance for the

winning of the vote: “When women’s suffrage came in 1918, it owed little or nothing to women’s local government work”.¹⁴ However, as Hollis states, although women ratepayers’ municipal voting rights alone could not overcome ‘Tory chauvinism’ and ‘Liberal cynicism’, they did encourage greater numbers of women to participate in the political process. The Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women’s Suffrage claimed in 1903 that the basis for women’s suffrage was the municipal franchise within a burgh, and canvassing among female municipal electors and petitioning local government were visible features of the campaigns of the GWSAWS, the SFWSS Kilmarnock Branch and the Shetland Women’s Suffrage Society (SWSS). However, women’s local government role was less central to these groups’ programmes and they did not co-operate with women’s local government societies to the extent of the SWLF; the Liberal women had a close working relationship with the Women’s Local Government Society and the Society for the Return of Women to Local Boards (especially the Glasgow branch). The SWLF concentrated on educating women about their municipal voting rights and distributed thousands of pamphlets to increase women’s awareness of their access to voting. These tracts and pamphlets included information on the various qualifications for women’s municipal votes similar to that contained in the *Scottish Women’s Temperance News*. In 1900, the executive committee distributed 3,000 copies of “Women’s Franchise and Local Government (Scotland)” and 5,000 copies of “School Board Elections” to the local Women’s Liberal Associations.

The minutes of the executive committee demonstrate that agitation for women’s access to parish, town and county councils was central to the SWLF’s work. When the new parish councils were introduced in 1894, the SWLF distributed leaflets on the position of women on these councils and advised that where a

¹⁴ Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 6.

Women's Liberal Association existed, a member should attend the meetings. In 1899, in order to support women's candidacy as parish councillors, the SWLF asked the secretaries of the WLAs to supply the names and addresses of existing female parish councillors. Indeed, the SWLF regularly compiled lists of female councillors and school board members prior to elections and these lists were an important aspect of the SWLF's support for female politicians. From 1904, this work took the form of a 'postcard campaign' before the autumn elections, whereby a postcard was sent to the clerk of parish councils which asked for the names and addresses of women parish councillors.¹⁵

The Scottish Women's Liberal Federation was also active in the campaigns for women's access to town and county councils. It has been shown above, that although women ratepayers were included as electors in town council elections (from 1882) and in county council elections (from 1890) there were limits on married women's participation and women were barred from acting as councillors. The SWLF was tireless in its efforts to reform the electoral qualifications of women, to give equal access to married women and to allow women to act as councillors on all local boards. The main champion of the SWLF's demands in the House of Commons was Mr Munro-Ferguson MP; Munro-Ferguson introduced the County Council Qualification of Women (Scotland) Bill in 1897 and in 1898. In 1899, the SWLF agreed to co-operate with the Women's Local Government Society to ensure that the scope of Mr J. B. Balfour's Town Councils (Scotland) Bill would "make women eligible as Town Councillors and to extend to them the lodger and service franchise in Town Council elections".¹⁶ The failure of the Town Councils (Scotland)

¹⁵ In this instance, the Women's Local Government Society supplied the list of female parish councillors.

¹⁶ SWLF, *Executive Committee Minutes* (1899). NLS Acc. 11765 / 22.

Act, 1900 to contain provisions for women as town councillors did not dull the spirit of the SWLF. The SWLF continued to campaign in favour of the Local Government (Qualifications of Women) (Scotland) Acts in the 1903 to 1914 period by joining demonstrations and deputations and sending memorials and petitions to Scottish Liberal MPs, the secretary for Scotland and the prime minister.

The Scottish Women's Liberal Federation's support for women in local government included a positive attitude towards the political rights of married women. The early years of the suffrage campaign in the 1860s and 1870s, generally focused on the need for the equal enfranchisement of single women. This approach reflected suffragists' refusal to contest the ideas that married women's voting would result in marital discord and that married women were already represented by their husbands. This attitude is evident in the first decade of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage's campaign. Between 1868 and 1878, the ENSWS stressed that its goals were to extend to women the principle of no taxation without representation and to allow single women 'breadwinners' without the representation of a husband to have a political voice:

if a woman be unmarried, and has a house that is her own house, or lands that are her own lands, this Committee thinks that that woman has as good a right as a taxpayer, and as an intelligent inhabitant of this country, to give a vote in the election of Members of Parliament as any man placed in the same circumstances.¹⁷

As Harrison has shown, anti-suffragists often warned that if the vote was as valuable as suffragists claimed "one could not be sure that women would ever marry: or that once they lost their vote through marriage, they would not immediately seek to regain it through divorce".¹⁸ Support for single women's suffrage, then, responded

¹⁷ ENSWS, *Annual Report for the Year 1869* (Edinburgh, 1870), 5. The Women's Library, 324.6230604134 / 18325.

¹⁸ Harrison, *Separate Spheres*, 52.

to the ENSWS's concentration on propertied middle-class women's enfranchisement and the strategic decision not to debate the possible 'dangers' of wives' voting. However, many suffragists – particularly those most strongly influenced by religion – supported the organisation of society around the family and valued women's key moral position as wife and mother. By the 1880s, the SWLF was willing to promote the political rights of married women.

An important factor in this work was the desire to increase married women's rights within the local government electorate. It has already been shown that married women were handicapped under the provisions of the Municipal Elections Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1881 and that the provisions of the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894 were marginally more liberal in relation to married women. This may be partly attributed to the SWLF's commitment to married women's rights in local government. Between 1893 and 1894, the SWLF sent several memorials to the Government asking that the Local Government (Scotland) Bill include provisions for the political rights of women regardless of their marital status:

your Memorialists ... pray that you will, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, introduce and support such legislation only with regard to Local Government in Scotland as shall recognise and establish the equal rights of Women, married and unmarried alike, with men, to elect and to be elected, shall sweep away the existing anomalies and contradictions, and shall secure to the community the advantage of the efficient services of the womanly feeling, experience and intellect of the nation.¹⁹

Memorials were less universal than petitions and were sent from specific interest groups.

The Scottish Women's Liberal Federation justified married women's participation as voters and representatives by invoking the 'distinct ministry' of women. Chapter 2 demonstrated that women's public 'parallel power structures' in

¹⁹ SWLF, *Executive Committee Minutes* (1894). NLS Acc. 11765 / 20.

philanthropy, social reform and local government allowed women to exercise their ‘distinct ministry’ to moralise society. Drawing on the notion of ‘woman’s mission’ that emphasised the peculiar ‘nature’ of women, feminists such as Louisa Stevenson argued for women’s greater participation on local boards based on women’s ‘unique’ characteristics: “Surely this is a field [the poor law work] wide enough to give scope for the exercise of the special knowledge and philanthropic public spirit of every woman in the country who is able and willing to help in solving some of the most difficult problems of the age”.²⁰ In this way, Louisa made a case for women’s public and political roles as means of incorporating the ‘innate’ moral superiority of middle-class women into the social structure. Anthony Brundage’s work on the poor law affirms that female politicians were pursuing their ‘distinct ministry: “One thing that most women guardians believed was that, as women, they brought special qualities to a local board: compassion, attention to the details of workhouse life, and a close knowledge and understanding of the needs of children and young women”.²¹ The SWLF also asserted that married woman’s role in local politics was an extension of ‘woman’s mission’ to nurture and morally purify those around her. Through local boards the special maternal ‘nature’ of women could infuse the local community with a Christian social conscience that focused on the needs of poorer women and children – and what woman understood a mother’s care better than a married woman?

The Scottish Women’s Liberal Federation’s concern for the equal rights of married women and single women to vote and stand in local elections was mirrored to a lesser extent in their demands for the parliamentary franchise. The SWLF

²⁰ Louisa Stevenson, “Women’s Status in the Poor Law”, in *The International Congress of Women of 1899 Volume V: Women in Politics*, ed. Lady Ishbel Countess of Aberdeen (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900), 70.

²¹ Brundage, *The English Poor Laws*, 128.

argued that married women's parliamentary enfranchisement should echo the local government franchise in which married women were qualified if they were registered under different property than their husbands.²² As I suggested above, this form of property qualification would only have enfranchised the richest married woman or those who were separated from their husbands.

The Scottish Women's Liberal Federation's unflagging support for women in local government bears out Walker's conclusion that the Women's Liberal Associations (except the splinter Women's National Liberal Association) were characterised by pro-active feminism, political autonomy (from the men's Liberal groups) and suffragism, while the Tory women of the Primrose League displayed 'subservience' and an acceptance of the "argument that women had a special backroom role to play which was based on the traditional qualities of the old rather than the new woman".²³ Liberal women around Britain actively encouraged women to vote and to stand as representatives, and in Cornwall, Katherine Bradley has demonstrated the centrality of Liberal women to feminism and suffragism: "the Liskeard Liberal Association [was] the first Cornish political association recorded to address this issue".²⁴ Likewise, Walker has stressed the importance of the WLA's focus on creating political capital for women:

Their practical objectives were fourfold: to improve women's political education, to make sure that women voters used their prerogative in local elections, to encourage women candidates for Poor Law Boards, School Boards, town and county councils and, ultimately to enhance their claim to the Parliamentary suffrage.²⁵

Hollis also has asserted that in addition to increasing women's political awareness Women's Liberal Associations "operated as a women's lobby, radical and feminist,

²² SWLF, *Executive Committee Minutes* (1911). NLS Acc. 11765 / 27.

²³ Walker, "Party Political Women", 191.

²⁴ Bradley, "If the Vote Is Good for Jack; Why Not for Jill?", 127.

²⁵ Walker, "Party Political Women", 182.

delighting in the power, however, modest, that their municipal vote gave them”.²⁶

Essentially, British Liberal women’s commitment to female politicians and the female electorate was further reflected in the work of the Scottish Women’s Liberal Federation.

Suffragists’ parliamentary lobbying included both the use of petitions and Scotswomen’s direct involvement in the London / Westminster political scene. The early campaign in Scotland began in Edinburgh in the late-1860s and was led by the Edinburgh National Society for Women’s Suffrage. This was explicitly a campaign for equal enfranchisement based on the notion that taxation gave the right to representation. Petitions to local councils and to parliament, which played an important part throughout the women’s suffrage movement, were integral to the ENSWS’s strategy. Scottish suffragists and their petitions were closely allied to leading Liberal MPs. For example, the ENSWS highly regarded John Stuart Mill (Liberal) MP as a great champion of women’s rights after his publication of *The Subjection of Women* (1867). When he introduced a Representation of the People Bill in the same year that would have given women equal access to the parliamentary franchise, his Bill elicited 55 Scottish petitions to parliament with 14,000 signatures. The ENSWS’s petitions were soon augmented by the support of local government men. From 1871, petitions were sent from Scottish town councils, and Edinburgh was the first town council in the United Kingdom to petition parliament in favour of women’s equal enfranchisement. In the years 1871 to 1878, Scotland sent a minimum of ten and a maximum of sixteen annual petitions from town councils to parliament in favour of women’s equal enfranchisement.

Suffragists’ organisation of petitions and other work ‘in the field’ was bolstered by Scottish suffragists who spent annual and / or parliamentary seasons in

²⁶ Hollis, *Ladies Elect*, 61.

London. By drawing on the networks of women close to Westminster, suffragists were able to boost the influence of petitions and memorials sent to parliament with deputations to MPs and participation on parliamentary committees. Mrs Rolland Rainy of the SWLF – herself the wife of a MP – is a prime example of the role that some Scottish Liberal suffragists played in London. In the early part of the twentieth century, Mrs Rolland Rainy often acted as the SWLF's women's suffrage representative in London. In March 1906, Mrs Rolland Rainy and Mrs McCollum represented the SWLF at the women's suffrage conference organised by the Lancashire and Cheshire Union of WLAs and in May Mrs Rolland Rainy was the SWLF representative in a deputation to Prime Minister Henry Campbell-Bannerman. In February 1907, Mrs Rolland Rainy represented the SWLF at a conference on the "Scope of the Women's Suffrage Bill" in London. In March, Scottish Liberal MPs invited members of the SWLF to join the parliamentary committee on women's suffrage and at a February 1908 meeting of the Liberal parliamentary committee on women's suffrage in the House of Commons the SWLF was represented by Mrs Falconer, Mrs Rolland Rainy, Mrs Watson, Mrs Dundas, Mrs White and Miss Alice Younger. Clearly, the SWLF was able to co-ordinate campaigns in London through the voluntary efforts of members who spent significant amounts of time in the City. This use of contacts in London further illustrates the importance of networks for the 'feminine public sphere', and the strategic value of members whose families took them to London was not lost on Scottish suffragists. Although Scottish suffrage organisations were tirelessly engaged in organising petitions and public meetings and other events designed to extend the campaign in Scotland, many Scottish suffragists were keen to have their views represented directly to the political establishment in London. Finally, although this was an important feature of Scottish suffragism, the

discussion below of the 'core' and the 'periphery' will show that not all Scottish suffrage societies, and especially the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage, were interested in campaigning in London.

In sum, the constitutionalist women's suffrage campaign included strategies beyond the use of petitions, memorials and demonstrations; for instance, suffragists in Scotland used networks to keep a close eye on the Westminster political scene. Although Leneman's detailed account provides a solid starting-point for research into the nuances of the Scottish campaign, her study fails to engage fully with the importance both of women's local government role and of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation. Indeed, British suffrage histories have largely neglected the importance of the Liberal women in suffragism. However, the SWLF was pro-active in its support of female politicians and in demanding parliamentary recognition of women's political rights. The Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage, the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage and the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation employed traditional constitutionalist methods of extra-parliamentary lobbying. However, with the turn of the century the Women's Social and Political Union sanctioned direct, violent protest against the Government to demand women's right to vote. The divergent methodologies of the constitutionalists and the militants created some tensions within the established constitutionalist societies.

Constitutionalism and Militancy

The influence of the militants on the membership of the constitutional societies was a poignant and divisive issue among suffragists and the executive committee of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage was particularly hostile to being associated with the militant movement. King has suggested that the division of militant and constitutional societies in Glasgow was largely due to personality clashes between the leadership of the constitutional and militant groups:

the GWSSWS was the child of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades. These two bodies shared two key people who were disliked intensely in the radical circles from which the WSPU membership came. The first was the secretary, Margaret Irwin. At a Glasgow Conference on working women and the Insurance Act, she told the audience that twenty years' experience had taught her that working women had not enough intelligence to look after their own affairs. The second was her colleague, Andrew Ballantyne, who served as chairman of the GWSSWS from its inception until after the First World War. He worked for the Railway Servants' Union and the Scottish Trades Union Congress. His presence must have insured the unpopularity of the suffrage society with socialists. In 1905 he also became manager of the Glasgow Public House Trust, which did not endear him to the temperance parties.²⁷

Another factor in divisions between militants and constitutionalists was the proficiency of Teresa Billington-Greig as a public speaker. Although she was born in England, Mrs Billington-Greig was extremely influential on the Scottish campaign. She came to Scotland under the aegis of the Women's Social and Political Union and settled in Scotland after she married an Aberdonian. In 1907, she joined with Charlotte Despard to reject the Pankhursts' leadership and to establish the Women's Freedom League. Her suffragism was linked to her fierce desire for an equitable society, and she viewed women's suffrage as a democratic pre-cursor to a socialist society. Before the outbreak of war in 1914, Mrs Billington-

²⁷ King, "The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement", 136.

Greig left the suffrage movement and published scathing attacks on militancy and suffragism; she maintained that sex-equality was not guaranteed by the vote alone.²⁸

A group of members of the GWSAWS were very taken with her power as a speaker and urged the executive to invite her to address the GWSAWS. They were refused.

This group of women represents the core of the group who, in the end, were most frustrated by constitutional methods and who eventually defected from the

GWSAWS:

Miss G Paterson then said that she had been present at a meeting of the WSPU in the Berkeley Hall and had been much struck with Miss Billington's power as a speaker, she therefore proposed that we should organise meetings, drawing-room ones in the first place and invite Miss Billington to address them with a view to educating the women of Glasgow. Miss Paterson said she felt very strongly that this Association was not successfully accomplishing all the work that might be done, but that by co-operation with others we might be able to accomplish a very much greater amount of work. She further said that she much regretted that the officials of the Asso had not appeared on the WSPU platform. The Secretary read extracts from the minutes of Nov 29th and December 11th which clearly debarred the officials from appearing on the WSPU platform. Miss Irwin seconded Miss Paterson and the following members supported her, Miss Allan, Dr Marion Gilchrist and Miss C Young.²⁹

Misses Irwin, Paterson, Allan and Dr Gilchrist all resigned over the election policy of the GWSAWS. Miss Margaret Irwin, resigned in May of 1907 and in November of that year, Miss Grace Paterson resigned. Miss Paterson had agitated for women's inclusion at the University of Glasgow, had been one of first two women elected to the Glasgow school board in 1885 and was a founder-principal of the Glasgow School of Cookery. Miss Paterson's defection from the GWSAWS was matched by Glasgow's first female doctor, Dr Marion Gilchrist. The daughter of the wealthy socialist ship-builders, Miss Janie Allan, waited until February of 1909 before

²⁸ These attitudes are clearly evident in Billington-Greig's writings, see Carol McPhee and Ann FitzGerald eds., *The Non-Violent Militant: Selected Writings of Teresa Billington-Greig* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987).

²⁹ GWSAWS, *Executive Committee Minutes* (1906). Mitchell Library 891036 / 1 / 2.

joining the militants. Miss Allan was joined by Mrs Greig, a former president both of the GWSAWS and of the Glasgow WLA. In 1911, the paid organiser, Mary Phillips, left to join the militant Clyde coast campaign.

Leneman suggests that the period of mass resignations (1906-7) was heralded by greater co-operation among women's groups during the run up to the suffrage procession in Edinburgh on 5 October 1906. The Edinburgh procession was the first of its kind in Scotland and was organised by the Women's Social and Political Union. The Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage, the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage and the Scottish Christian Union all participated in this peaceful demonstration. Although the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation did not officially join the procession, individual WLAs did attend. The co-operation of the different groups heightens the irony that "the autumn of 1907 was a period of schism".³⁰ However, the GWSAWS seems always to have distrusted the militants. The GWSAWS's distrust both of the NUWSS and of militancy was exacerbated by Helen Fraser's appointment as organising secretary for the NUWSS in Scotland after her conversion to constitutionalism and her resignation as WSPU organiser:

The Secretary reported that Miss Helen Fraser had been appointed Organising Secretary by the National Union to work principally in Scotland and that this appointment has been made without consulting the Scottish Societies. The Secretary was instructed to write to the NU expressing the Committee's opinion that such an appointment should not have been made without consultation of the Scottish Societies, that it is not an acceptable appointment and that she should be employed in England and that the NU should make us a grant towards the expenses of an organiser to be appointed by us.³¹

The NUWSS ignored the GWSAWS's requests for a grant. The SFWSS Kilmarnock Branch was less antagonistic towards the militants. Although the Kilmarnock

³⁰ Leneman, *A Guid Cause*, 49.

³¹ GWSAWS, *Executive Committee Minutes* (1908). Mitchell Library 891036 / 1 / 2.

Branch sent letters to local papers distancing the constitutional campaign from the militants after the WSPU pillar box sabotage, it was friendly with the Women's Freedom League. The two organisations co-operated in 1912 when canvassing for a by-election, and the Kilmarnock Branch invited WFL member Eunice Murray to speak in 1913 (under the understanding that she would not refer to militant acts). Because an aspect of the WSPU's campaign was the opposition of all Liberal candidates the SWLF, as a party organisation, had little to do with the WSPU and Mrs Pankhurst was unsuccessful when, in 1907, she headed a deputation to the SWLF to ask the Liberal women to refuse the party help until women won the vote.

What conclusions can be drawn from the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage's attitude towards the militants? Was the militant movement's ethos coloured by a greater membership of single, 'New Women'? Certainly, most of the women who defected from the GWSAWS to the WFL and WSPU were unmarried but these defections in no way depleted the GWSAWS's membership of single women. An analysis of the marital status of the members of the executive committee of the GWSAWS suggests that the rise of militancy did not discourage single women's participation in constitutional suffragism. Between 1902 and 1906 the executive was nearly evenly split over marital status with the greatest difference in 1906, when fifteen married women were counterbalanced by eleven unmarried women. In 1907, the number of married women increased to eighteen but lowered to sixteen in 1909 and 1910. At the same time, single women's participation on the executive rose to thirteen and fourteen and matched married women at sixteen in 1910. Indeed, between 1911 and 1914, single women out-numbered married women with the greatest difference in 1914 with twenty married women and twenty-

seven single women.³² Thus, there is, in the case of the GWSAWS, no clear evidence to support the notion that militancy drained the constitutional movement of its single members. In contrast, from 1911 single women out-numbered married women on the executive committee.

Another factor which may have motivated women's movement into militancy was frustration with seemingly ineffective constitutional tactics. Women like Miss Grace Paterson, recorded their dissatisfaction with the SFWSS's and the NUWSS's lack of progress over the course of fifty years, and the new methods used by the militants appealed to their sense of frustration and urgency. Indeed, historians have argued that militancy derived much of its appeal from the 'physicalness' of its protest: "by virtue of its very nature, a militant campaign had important feminist implications – the destruction of the stereotype image of woman as a frail and weak creature, incapable of physical force".³³ In turn, Harrison's work on the anti-suffrage movement highlights the importance of the 'physical force' argument against women's enfranchisement. He suggests that although the WSPU protest challenged the notion that women were incapable of violence their actions ultimately validated anti-suffragist arguments. In the struggle between the establishment and the suffragettes:

victory was bound to go to the gaoler, the policeman, the prison doctor – and chivalrous indignation at the fate of the suffragettes could be anticipated from only a brave and dedicated minority. In these circumstances, the anti-suffragists' physical force argument gained apparent confirmation. The weakness of the women in the face of male order-keeping was publicly advertised. Militancy therefore has the major advantage for the Antis of making more plausible this and other Anti arguments about the nature and situation of women.³⁴

³² These figures are as accurate as the sources allow; there was no systematic and comprehensive listing of all executive committee members in the minutes of the GWSAWS.

³³ Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty*, 48.

³⁴ Harrison, *Separate Spheres*, 192-3.

It is reasonable to suggest that constitutional suffragists viewed the fuel the militant's gave to anti-suffragism with disappointment and antipathy. However, the militants of the Women's Freedom League advocated non-violent protest like tax resistance, and women who were unwilling to persecute a violent campaign could satisfy their desire for new tactics in groups such as the WFL.

The resignations from the GWSAWS may also be traced to the specific character of this one group that King has described as 'curiously unco-operative'.³⁵ The minutes from the GWSAWS give the reader the impression of little direct action; a large proportion of the GWSAWS's time was spent criticising the NUWSS's ignorance of the Scottish campaign and trying to whip up support for a Scottish Federation. The records from this group leave one with an impression of an obstinate and insular society. That is not to suggest that the GWSAWS was totally inert and stifled by its antagonism towards the NUWSS. On the contrary, the Glasgow women organised public suffrage meetings, joined demonstrations and canvassed among women municipal voters. Moreover, the minutes from the SFWSS Kilmarnock Branch give the impression of action and varied work: fundraising, suffrage plays, suffrage speakers and canvassing. Obviously not all constitutional societies were as entrenched in disagreement with the central organisation as the GWSAWS, nor were they staffed wholly by married women after the rise of militancy in Scotland after 1906-7. Two likely answers suggest themselves. On the one hand, the violence and possibly the glamour of the militant campaign's clear rejection of contemporary notions of women's appropriate behaviour may have appealed to some women's sense of mission. On the other hand, the 'bad press' the

³⁵ King, "The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement", 136.

militant campaign seemed to bring to the whole movement distressed the women who had invested much in the long tradition of constitutional agitation.

The constitutional women's distrust of militant methodology can be partially explained by the constitutionalists' maxim of 'hasten slowly'. The women who remained loyal to the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies, after the Women's Social and Political Union and the Women's Freedom League came to Scotland, were committed to the notion that women gained more political capital by agitating within the existing political system rather than by raging against it. However, the constitutionalists were no less keen than the militants to usher in a kind of New World Order that publicly recognised and acted on middle-class women's cultural values. Indeed, a comparison of the pamphlets circulated by the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies, the Women's Freedom League and the Women's Social and Political Union shows that ideologically the two wings of the movement were not so dissimilar. The pamphlets suggest that since both types of organisation were born out of middle-class women's culture, a worldview based on similar notions of femininity infused both groups' arguments for women's enfranchisement. Methodology, rather than ideology, distinguished the militants from the constitutionalists.

The Ideology of Women's Suffrage

A study of women's suffrage pamphlets reveals that arguments for women's political participation were clustered around several themes such as working women's wages and the principle of no taxation without representation. This discussion is interested in exploring three ideas common to the pamphlets of constitutionalists and militants:

the contrast between ‘equal rights’ and ‘essentialist’ arguments; the importance of women’s suffrage in the colonies; and the acceptance of racial superiority that informed suffragists’ emphasis on women’s role in ‘civilisation’. Chapter 1 suggested that suffrage histories have often drawn attention to a division between ‘equal rights’ demands for women’s enfranchisement and arguments based on women’s ‘essential’ make-up and the consequent ‘expediency’ of the women’s vote. I agree that women’s suffrage pamphlets provide evidence of divergent ideologies: one that stresses the ‘humane’ rights of women and one that stresses the power of the unique ‘nature’ of women to morally uplift society. However, I will argue here that so-called ‘essentialist’ arguments had a different meaning for religio-feminists: the importance of ‘woman’s mission’ for Christian public women’s sense of self could allow religiously inspired feminists to view the enfranchisement of woman based on her ‘uniqueness’ as an ‘equal rights’ issue. The second and third themes, imperialism and race, are intertwined. Chapter 4 demonstrated the importance of New Zealand women’s suffrage for the Scottish Christian Union’s women’s suffrage debate; Australasian women’s suffrage was equally important for the arguments published by the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies, the Women’s Freedom League and the Women’s Social and Political Union. Studies of imperialism have shown that empire building had major implications for British racial attitudes and suffragists employed the language of race, ‘civilisation’ and ‘progress’ to support their claims to a share in the parliamentary process.

The pamphlets discussed here were published in London at the headquarters of the NUWSS, WFL and WSPU. Although tensions could and did arise between the ‘core’ of south-east England and the ‘periphery’ of Scotland, the British women’s movement was linked through personal and administrative networks. These

administrative networks dispersed the suffrage pamphlet literature throughout Britain. Suffragists in Scotland were in constant communication with fellow campaigners in Britain (and around the globe) and were exposed to the same pamphlets as their peers throughout the realm. So, even though the pamphlets looked at here were not written and published in Scotland, they nonetheless reflect the suffrage arguments that Scottish campaigners were aware of.

The idea of male and female ‘natures’ was bandied about by suffragists and anti-suffragists alike, and this thesis has consistently emphasised the value of ‘woman’s mission’ to generating middle-class women’s sense of a ‘distinct ministry’. This discourse presupposed divinely appointed, divergent male and female ‘natures’. For many of the women studied here the peculiar ‘nature’ of woman as a self-denying nurturer was an essential motivation for their work in the ‘feminine public sphere’. Indeed, rather than challenging the justice of gender stereotypes, many of these women argued that women’s special characteristics were wrongly absent from the running of the country. For these women, suffragists’ arguments were most appealing that prized the ‘essential’ character of women and highlighted how women’s ‘nature’ would purify society through the vote. In the imaginations of these religiously inspired women, demands for the enfranchisement of women’s unique ‘nature’ could be understood as a matter of ‘equal rights’.

The National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies, which supplied the Scottish Federation of Women’s Suffrage Societies with pamphlet literature, published a criticism of the indiscriminate use of the term ‘nature’:

It looks so simple, it comes so readily to fill a gap when we do not really know what we are talking about, runs so trippingly and reassuringly off the tongue, and is so kindly taken at any face value we choose to put upon it, that we may never stop to consider its many different meanings, the grave

difficulty of matters to which it is attached, and the trail of confusion it drags along.³⁶

However, both the constitutionalists and militants were liable to mobilise the language of 'nature' to justify their claims to women's suffrage. Holton has shown that suffragists' acceptance of male and female 'natures' was indicative of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century tendencies to conflate gender with sex:

Femaleness [the potential for motherhood] was femininity and vice versa. In such a line of argument there was no acknowledgement of the social factors that construct the characteristics of masculinity and femininity.³⁷

This equation of sex with gender had far-reaching implications for suffrage ideology; it allowed 'essentialist' arguments that focused on woman's unique 'nature' to be understood as issues of equality. 'Equal rights' arguments demanded the vote on account of innate human rights, while 'essentialist' claims described the 'nature' of women's humanity. Thus, arguments for the enfranchisement of woman's 'essential' 'nature' included aspects of 'equal rights' ideology.

The concept that woman's 'uniqueness' was vital to the electorate was especially attractive for religiously motivated women. For those women in the 'feminine public sphere' who followed a Christian 'woman's mission', the qualities associated with women's biological capacity for motherhood – nurturing, caring, self-sacrifice, moral instruction – were fundamental to their public lives. These women would not contest gender stereotypes which asserted women's primary duty to family; they had internalised a belief in feminine moral superiority and the parallel notions of women's mothering function either in the home or in social reform. Ultimately, public women of this ideological hue understood women as possessing a peculiar 'nature' that dictated their 'duty' to family and society. This understanding

³⁶ W. Scott Palmer, *Nature* (19--?), 1. Glasgow University Library Special Collections (hereafter GUL Sp. Coll.) f255 / 46.

³⁷ Holton, *Feminism and Democracy*, 13.

of femininity meshed with ideas of women's 'equal rights'; women had political rights as human beings and their humanity was distinguished by certain characteristics.

Miss Agnes Maude Royden's pamphlet, *Equality of Service*, shows that religiously inspired public women found the idea that women's 'essential' characteristics had equal value to men's and required equal opportunities was particularly appealing. Agnes Royden's (1876-1956) writing exemplifies the nexus of Christianity and suffragism that could produce an understanding of equality based on women's unique 'nature'.³⁸ Miss Royden, the daughter of the shipowner and one-time mayor of Liverpool Sir Thomas Royden, was educated at Cheltenham Ladies' College and graduated from Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford in 1899. She was active in the settlement movement in Liverpool at the turn of the century but left the settlement for South Luffenham, Rutland to take up parish work with Rev. Hudson Shaw. She joined the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in 1908 and was renowned for her interest in the spiritual aspects of the women's movement. Agnes is probably best known as a pioneering female preacher who campaigned for women's right to a vocation in the Church of England.³⁹

In *Equality and Service*, Miss Royden asserts the segregated 'natures' of 'man' and 'woman'. 'Man' she claims has the duty to defend the 'race', while "[t]he woman also has her duty – the reproduction of the race".⁴⁰ Agnes argues that the duties both of woman and man are dangerous, however man's duty is done in the company of others and is rewarded by victory, whereas woman's duty to bear

³⁸ Multiple biographical sketches of Agnes Maude Royden are available on the world wide web. For example see, www.xrefer.com/entry/360619 - 12k Royden, (Agnes) Maude (1876-1956); and www.bartleby.com/65.ro/Royden-A.html Royden, Agnes Maude. The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition, 2001.

³⁹ For more on women's struggle for ordination in the Anglican Church, see Dagers, "The Victorian Civilising Mission".

⁴⁰ Agnes Maude Royden, *Equality of Service* (19--?). GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 51.

children is a solitary one and “the reward of service is more service [to her family’s needs]”.⁴¹ Moreover, ‘civilisation’ minimised men’s active realisation of their duty but women consistently carried out their own:

whereas men are framed by nature to perform a hard, dangerous, and sacred duty, and some few do actually perform it, all men are entitled to political freedom, whereas women are framed by nature to perform a hard, dangerous, and sacred duty, and the great majority of them do actually perform it, no women are entitled to political freedom.⁴²

In many ways this is a rebuttal of the ‘physical force’ argument discussed above; Royden emphasises that men’s duty is indeed based on greater physical strength but that women’s equally important duty is based on maternity. Thus, the ‘nature’ of woman entitles her to a vote: “We are not claiming our liberty as a reward, but as the right which should accompany duty, as duty accompanies right”.⁴³ Royden emphasised the equal importance of ‘woman’s mission’ to nurture and to perpetuate a morally sound ‘race’ to challenge the masculine value system founded on ‘man’s duty’:

The very nature of the man’s duty (defence) implies the destruction of life; the very nature of woman’s is to create it, though it be at the cost of her own. And we have constructed our State on the grounds that the former is greater than the latter ... Yet motherhood remains sacred, and to give life is more sacred than to take it away. The fact has only to be stated to be admitted, and our civilisation has suffered from its (tacit) denial in the past. Motherhood, we contend, should have at least equal rights with soldiership – the capacity for giving life with the capacity for taking it away.⁴⁴

In accordance with the centrality of Christianity and ‘woman’s mission’ to the ‘feminine public sphere’, arguments like Royden’s (that responded to an acceptance woman’s primary role as nurturer and moral guardian) were particularly valuable for religio-feminists. Religiously inspired demands for the enfranchisement of the

⁴¹ Royden, *Equality of Service*, 1. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 51.

⁴² Royden, *Equality of Service*, 2. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 51.

⁴³ Royden, *Equality of Service*, 2. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 51.

⁴⁴ Royden, *Equality of Service*, 2-3. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 51.

special characteristics of women were not confined to the constitutionalists. The Women's Social and Political Union published a cleric's assertion that a new era of social reform was dawning which necessitated women's contribution: "it is not merely that all social reform legislation affects women as much as men, and often more, but that no such legislation can be wise and sound unless we have the advantage of the women's distinctive point of view through from start to finish".⁴⁵

These 'essentialist' arguments went hand in hand with arguments for the 'expediency' of women's suffrage. The 'expediency' stance argued that the maternal, loving and self-abnegating 'nature' of woman presaged a socially responsible electorate. In other words, women's 'essential' makeup meant they were well 'fitted' for the vote. The idea that social reforms would swiftly follow on the heels of women's parliamentary vote had an obvious appeal for middle-class women active in the temperance and social purity movements, and 'expediency' claims exploited emotive issues such as prostitution and female drunkenness. 'Expediency' also rested on a more vague understanding of the reform benefits of the women's vote: "For if there is anything that will make for moral ends in this nation, it is the influence of good women".⁴⁶ As the previous chapters show, the women of this study definitely considered themselves to be 'good women', women who were qualified to chart the moral direction of society.

References to the inevitable advancement of prohibition through women's enfranchisement riddle suffrage pamphlets. Constitutionalists and militants attempted to persuade their readers that women's 'essential' goodness would make

⁴⁵ WSPU, *The Emancipation of Womanhood: Extracts from an Address Delivered at the High Pavement Chapel, Nottingham, 14 November 1909*. (London: WSPU, 19--?.), 8. GUL SP. Coll. f255 / 17.

⁴⁶ Rev. James Black, *The Women's Suffrage Service* (London: NUWSS, 19--?), 4. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 3.

for an ‘expedient’ route to a temperate society. Temperance was not the central theme of suffrage pamphlets. However, the inevitable passage of prohibition by the female electorate was repeatedly cited in arguments for women’s equal enfranchisement. In the early days of the movement the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies published Rev. Canon Kingsley’s discussion *Women and Politics*:

The late extension of the franchise has admitted to a share in framing our laws many thousands of men of that class – whatever be their virtues, and there are many – is most given to spending their wives’ earnings in drink, and personally maltreating them.⁴⁷

Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century women’s desire for prohibition was also used by the Women’s Social and Political Union to whip up support. The WSPU published a preacher’s claim that: “Their [women’s] help for temperance reform would be, I believe, decisive; whereas now the brewer and his friends are victorious to the point of defiance and contempt”.⁴⁸ Thus, the suffragists conjured the ‘demon drink’ to press their case. So, while previous chapters provided evidence of cross-membership among constitutionalist agencies including the Scottish Christian Union and the Scottish Federation of Women’s Suffrage Societies, it is clear from suffrage pamphlets that temperance reform was an important issue in suffragism. Moreover, an interest in temperance reform cut across methodological boundaries and gives further credence to the ideological similarity between constitutionalism and militancy.

Women’s ability to conquer the ‘social evil’ was another focus of ‘expediency’ arguments. The ‘social evil’, or prostitution and the sexual exploitation of women, was at the centre of the Victorian and Edwardian social purity movement. Susan Kingsley Kent has argued for the importance of the double moral standard and

⁴⁷ Rev. Canon Kingsley, *Women and Politics* (London: London National Society for Women’s Suffrage, 1869), 11. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 5.

⁴⁸ WSPU, *The Emancipation of Womanhood*, 7. GUL SP. Coll. f255 / 17.

the sexual objectification of women to the growth of suffragism: “The vote became the symbol of the free, sexually autonomous woman and the means by which goals of a feminist culture were to be attained”.⁴⁹ Suffragist discussions of the ‘social evil’ argued that economic necessity, lack of education and employment opportunities pushed women into prostitution. Two pamphlets produced by the Women’s Freedom League show that, as was the case for drunkenness and prohibition, suffragists argued that it was possible to legislate against sexual vice. Rev. R. J. Campbell’s discussion illustrates the understanding that woman’s ‘complementary nature’ was particularly well-suited to the campaign for social purity:

In stating this one hard moral and economic fact I have deliberately chosen one of the more prominent evils the remedying of which a radical change is called for in the political status of women. If this terrible evil, with all its vicious accompaniments, is to be abolished it is the women themselves who will have to do it.⁵⁰

Likewise, Ursula Roberts argued that women’s suffrage was a matter of social morality and would herald the end of prostitution: “there is a sense in which people can be ‘made good by Act of Parliament,’ or at least be prevented from becoming bad”.⁵¹ In this way, it was demanded that the ‘distinct ministry’ of women be recognised in the governance of the country.

The intersecting suffrage ideologies of ‘essentialism’ and ‘expediency’ were particularly appealing for the religiously motivated women of this study. Their belief in evangelical doctrine and their pursuit of ‘woman’s mission’ symbolised their acceptance of woman’s unique ‘nature’. This attitude did not necessarily reject ‘equal rights’ claims for the vote. Instead, religio-feminists might qualify arguments

⁴⁹ Susan Kingsley Kent, *Sex and Suffrage in Britain 1860-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987; reprint, London: Routledge, 1990), 13 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

⁵⁰ Rev. R. J. Campbell, *Women’s Suffrage and the Social Evil* (London: WFL, 19--?), 4-5. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 5.

⁵¹ Ursula Roberts, *The Cause of Purity and Women’s Suffrage* (London: WFL, 19--?), 7. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 49.

of basic human rights through an apologia of woman's 'natural' human character. Likewise, associated notions of feminine moral superiority convinced women of faith that middle-class women's vote would be a vehicle of social reform and an elevated social morality.

The empire played a dual role in supporting suffragists' claims. First, the success of women's suffrage in the white settler colonies – what Pugh has termed the 'Australasian experience' – was habitually used to counter anti-suffrage arguments.⁵² Second, the sense of racial superiority that accompanied imperialism ensured that the languages of 'civilisation' and race formed an important part of suffrage pamphlets.⁵³ New Zealand was the star of the global women's movement; Chapter 4 showed that the Scottish Christian Union emphasised the connection between New Zealand women's enfranchisement and social reform legislation. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, the Women's Freedom League and the Women's Social and Political Union took a similar line in their pamphlets. The WFL's *Colonial Statesmen and Votes for Women* was a report of the WFL's questions to colonial representatives at the Imperial Conference in 1911. The WFL's questions were modelled on those used by the eminent anti-suffragist, Lord Curzon, in his *15 Reasons Against Women's Suffrage*. The benefit to society supposed to result from women's enfranchisement was confirmed by Mr G. W. Russell, chairman of the board of governors of Canterbury College, Christchurch, New Zealand. In his response to question three (Has the Woman's Vote in Australia and New Zealand had any effect on the community other than for good?) he assured the WFL that:

'I trace nearly the whole of the progressive legislation of the country during the last fifteen years to this source' (Women's Suffrage). 'I need not

⁵² See Pugh, *The March of the Women*, 91-7.

⁵³ For a recent discussion of imperialism and British racial attitudes, see Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995).

enumerate the outstanding measures, but will refer to three. They are: (1) Liquor legislation in the direct control of the people; (2) the Old Age Pensions scheme; (3) the rapid development of education ... The women's vote has been at the back of all three. With regard to the liquor legislation, I may add that, while I am not a member of the Prohibition Party, I fully sympathise with State control and cheerfully recognise that, as a result of our legislation, the liquor trade has been enormously improved ... Regarding the evils that were freely predicted ... such as dissension in families, 'Blue Stockingism', neglect of home, &c., I can confidently say the prophets were wrong in every single item of their catalogue'.⁵⁴

Thus, while the WFL claimed the beneficial role of women's suffrage, they simultaneously denied that the women's vote would encourage feminism ('Blue Stockingism') or a re-order of social roles ('neglect of home'). Likewise the NUWSS disseminated the claims of the Canadian, Prof. R. E. Macnaghten, that Australian women voters were "in favour of temperance, moral and physical cleanliness, and all that goes to build up a good national character".⁵⁵ At the heart of these pamphlets' arguments is the idea that women's suffrage would actually reinforce conventional middle-class women's roles; suffragists used the success of women's suffrage in Australasia to argue that 'woman's mission' would be enhanced, not diminished, by the ability to enact 'women's' legislation.

Studies of imperial feminism have shown that "the movement for female emancipation in Britain was closely linked to theories of racial superiority and Empire".⁵⁶ Imperial feminism was – itself – entangled with notions of 'civilisation' and 'progress'. For many suffragists women's political status was the mark of modernity and 'civilisation'.⁵⁷ The ethnocentric worldview of suffragists lent itself to the formation of a 'civilisation' argument that compared and contrasted the

⁵⁴ WFL, *Colonial Statesmen and Votes for Women* (London: WFL, 19--?), 7.

⁵⁵ R. E. Macnaghten, *Women's Vote in Australia* (London: NUWSS, 1908), 2. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 37.

⁵⁶ Valerie Amos and Pratibha Parmar, "Challenging Imperial Feminism", *Feminist Review* 17 (Autumn 1984): 5-6.

⁵⁷ In addition to the pamphlet literature, the ENSWS's annual reports include repeated assertions of the political role of women in a 'modern' and 'civilised' nation.

political status of white, middle-class British women with their understandings of the social status of women in non-white, colonised cultures. This fundamentally racist attitude produced statements along the lines of: "I think that the time has long gone by when an enlightened nation can contend that women are not the equals of men".⁵⁸ In other words, to prove its status as an 'enlightened' and 'modern' nation, Britain had to recognise women's political rights. Holton and Rendall have also demonstrated the importance of constitutionalists' attitudes of racial superiority for an ideology which "sought to distinguish British society and institutions from the "savage" brutality' and despotism of less enlightened cultures elsewhere".⁵⁹ 'Elsewhere' was often empire, whence came stories of the lowly status of 'benighted sisters' in 'heathen lands' that fuelled suffragists' perceptions of British racial superiority. As Midgley has found in tracing the course from anti-slavery to imperial feminism:

Such images became an integral part of British feminist discourse, constructing feminism as intrinsically modern and Western in character. In all these texts both the enslavement of blacks by whites and the enslavement of women by men are represented as anomalous and anachronistic in Western societies, which are defined as progressive and free in nature.⁶⁰

Thus, the 'civilisation' argument allowed suffragists to cast doubt on the true modernity of middle-class society through a contrast with 'backward' Eastern cultural practices that were understood as especially oppressive of women.⁶¹ Suffragists also offered a solution to their critique of British 'civilisation', the enfranchisement of white, middle-class women.

⁵⁸ *Australia's Advice* (19--?), 3. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 1.

⁵⁹ Sandra Stanley Holton, "British Freewomen: National Identity, Constitutionalism and Languages of Race in Early Suffragist Histories", in *Radical Femininity*, ed. Yeo, 149. Holton relies heavily on Rendall, "Citizenship, Culture and Civilisation".

⁶⁰ Midgley, "Anti-Slavery and the Roots of 'Imperial Feminism'", 173.

⁶¹ For more on the ways that the middle-class asserted its modernity and sophistication through a comparison with colonised cultures, see McClintock, *Imperial Leather*.

As Kristin Hoganson has shown in the case of the United States, suffragists were inclined to support imperial expansion criticising only imperial policies.⁶² A similar perspective has been taken by Midgley in her discussions of early-nineteenth century British women in anti-slavery and the campaign against *sati*.⁶³ Likewise, I have shown elsewhere that female templars questioned not the righteousness of imperialism – itself – but the harm the British export of alcohol to the colonies did to missionary work.⁶⁴ This attitude is reflected in the suffrage pamphlets:

There is an imperative spiritual demand that national life and influence, as a whole, be Christianized so that the entire impact, commercial and political, now of the West upon the East, and now of the stronger races upon the weaker, may conform and not impair the message of the missionary enterprise.⁶⁵

So although suffragists may have drawn parallels between the political status of themselves and their colonised ‘sisters’, this illustration was meant to highlight the injustice of white women’s disenfranchisement. In other words, many suffragists approved of Britain’s right to assert cultural and racial superiority through imperial domination. However, they insisted that white, middle-class British women’s moral superiority be absorbed into the direction of the imperial project through the franchise.

The rhetoric of ‘civilisation’ that pervaded suffrage pamphlets emphasised women’s duty to reproduce a sound ‘race’; Valerie Amos and Pratibha Parmar have suggested that suffragists’ “compliance with the development of an ideology of women as mothers and reproducers of the race highlighted their interest in upholding

⁶² Kristin Hoganson, “‘As Badly Off As the Filipinos’: U.S. Women’s Suffragists and the Imperial Issue at the Turn of the Twentieth Century”, *Journal of Women’s History* 13, no. 2 (Summer): 9-33.

⁶³ See Clare Midgley, “Female Emancipation in an Imperial Frame: English Women and the Campaign against Sati (Widow-Burning) in India, 1813-30”, *WHR* 9, no. 1 (2000): 95-121 and *Women against Slavery*.

⁶⁴ See Smitley, “‘Inebriates’, ‘Heathens’, Templars and Suffragists”.

⁶⁵ Helen B. Hanson, *From East to West: Women’s Suffrage in Relation to Foreign Missions* (19--?), 2. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 24.

white supremacy”.⁶⁶ The writing of Miss Royden and Prof. McNaghten cited above stressed ‘woman’s duty’ to ‘reproduce the race’ and to influence a ‘good national character’. Similarly, Charlotte Despard believed that:

Slave-mothers in Rome, in South America, in India, were factors, no doubt, in that absence of virility which gave over these nations as prey to their conquerors. To bear and rear a fine and healthy race, capable of holding its own in the world, we must have women healthy of mind and body ... and this we can only hope for when women are free.⁶⁷

Thus, the language of race allowed suffragists to simultaneously identify themselves with oppressed women in the colonies while denigrating the racial stock of these women. On the one hand, disenfranchised British women had the status of ‘slave-mothers’, a state that would, warns Mrs Despard, lead to the racial degeneration of Britain. On the other hand, Mrs Despard upholds the notion that India was incapable of holding off the British imperial advance by citing the racial inferiority – the ‘absence of virility’ – she deems responsible for its downfall. In this way, Mrs Despard defends Britain’s right as a ‘stronger race’ to lord over the ‘weaker races’ of India. Like the female templars who cautioned against ‘the female inebriate’s’ ability to jeopardise the British ‘race’, suffragists from constitutionalist and militant societies argued that the free, enfranchised white woman could guarantee the strength and supremacy of the British imperial ‘race’.

The pamphlet *Homo Sum* encapsulates the suffrage ideologies discussed here.⁶⁸ *Homo Sum*, by Jane Ellen Harrison, is a complicated anthropological and psychological treatise on the ‘nature’ of the sexes. In brief, Harrison argues that individuals are motivated by three ‘life-impulses’: hunger, reproduction and self-preservation. Harrison focuses on the ‘sex-impulse’ and argues that whereas the

⁶⁶ Amos and Parmar, “Challenging Imperial Feminism”, 13.

⁶⁷ Charlotte Despard, *Woman in the Nation* (London: WFL, 19--?), 5. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 12.

⁶⁸ See Jane Ellen Harrison, *Homo Sum: Being a Letter to an Anti-Suffragist from an Anthropologist* (19--?). GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 29.

human ‘herd’ instinct is social, the human ‘sex-impulse’ is exclusive and anti-social.⁶⁹ Moreover, while ‘civilisation’ has minimised the ‘primal instincts’ of hunger and fear “for the prompt and efficient satisfaction of the sex-impulse, society has made, and can make, no adequate provision”.⁷⁰ Thus, Harrison argued that it was this tension between the ‘sex-impulse’ and the sophisticated emotions of each member of humanity that generated the ‘woman question’.

Harrison was an intellectual and an atheist.⁷¹ She dismissed the legitimacy of evangelical ‘woman’s mission’ by claiming that “the maternal instinct in the main is a thing healthy indeed and happy, but nowise specially holy”.⁷² However, although Harrison denied the spiritual basis of gender stereotypes, she mobilised anthropological and psychological theory to describe and evaluate the ‘essential’ differences between ‘man’ and ‘woman’. Harrison’s logic follows that ‘woman’ as a sex is ‘naturally’ in subjection to ‘man’. Further, although she claims to have neither the desire nor the capacity to change this ‘natural state’, she contends that “woman *qua* human being, and even *qua* weaker human being, is not in subjection”.⁷³ So, through the assertion of ‘essential’ difference, ‘equal rights’ are demanded as a member of humanity. Though *Homo Sum* provides a ‘scientific’ analysis of sexual difference that discounts religious explanations, Harrison nonetheless draws similar conclusions on the ‘natural’ and ‘essential’ subjection of ‘woman’ to ‘man’: the ‘instinct of subjection’ “is more highly developed and more uniformly present in women”.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Harrison, *Homo Sum*, 10. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 29.

⁷⁰ Harrison, *Homo Sum*, 11. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 29.

⁷¹ For a study of Harrison’s place in Britain’s intellectual world, see Shelly Arlen, “‘For Love of an Idea’: Jane Ellen Harrison, Heretic and Humanist”, *WHR* 5, no. 2 (1996): 165-90.

⁷² Harrison, *Homo Sum*, 18. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 29.

⁷³ Harrison, *Homo Sum*, 16. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 29.

⁷⁴ Harrison, *Homo Sum*, 15. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 29.

Harrison's route from a discussion of 'woman's' 'instinct of subjection' to a demand for women's political participation relies on a contrast between the 'civilised' and the 'primitive' races. *Homo Sum* claims that individuals cannot be asked to live life within the confines of their reproductive roles – as wives / mothers or as husbands / fathers:

We want to live life, and human life, for woman as for man, is lived to the full only in and through the 'herd' – is social. We want, in a word, for the sake of this fulness [*sic*] of life, to co-ordinate our individualistic instincts, of which sex seems to be the strongest and most exclusive, with our altruistic herd-instincts.⁷⁵

Harrison supports her claim through the 'ethnological' illustration of the 'Man's House' in 'savage' societies. The 'Man's House' is Harrison's understanding of the Native American community's (she does not specify the aborigine group) political, religious, educational and social centre that was open to men only. The institution of the 'Man's House' is labelled an 'advance of civilisation' as it allowed men the freedom to develop their 'herd instincts': "It civilised man by releasing him from sex, or rather, by balancing his sex-instincts which gather round his home with his 'herd' instincts, his comradeship, which centres round the Man's House".⁷⁶ From here, Harrison inverts 'woman's mission' by arguing that 'woman' is not yet fully 'humanised': "Woman, as well as man, is asking to be civilised".⁷⁷

Thus, 'civilisation' and 'progress' are the ultimate goals of women's enfranchisement, and 'ethnological' analysis allows Harrison to conjure the spectre of racial degeneration in her readers' minds. Although the 'civilising' mission of women was not the basis for her argument, the political status of women, in spite of or because of 'essential' differences, was presented as a mark of 'civilisation'; for

⁷⁵ Harrison, *Homo Sum*, 20. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 29.

⁷⁶ Harrison, *Homo Sum*, 24. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 29.

⁷⁷ Harrison, *Homo Sum*, 25. GUL Sp. Coll. f255 / 29.

religio-feminists, 'civilisation' would be secured by the inclusion of women's morally superior 'nature' in parliamentary politics. The recurrent themes of 'civilisation' and race provide evidence of the power imperialism exerted on the imaginations and worldviews of British women. On the one hand, the success of white sisters in Australasia inspired and bolstered arguments for British women's suffrage. On the other hand, imperial domination seemed to confirm British racial superiority, a superiority that might be consolidated by the elevation of women's political status. Finally, these ideologies were shared among the range of suffrage organisations, constitutionalist and militant alike.

The 'Core' and the 'Periphery'

The antagonism between the 'core' and the 'periphery' of the British suffrage campaign can be seen especially in the relationship between the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies. The president of the SFWSS was Miss S. E. S. Mair, who became president of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage in 1906, after the death of Mrs Priscilla Bright McLaren. However, the SFWSS was initiated especially by the work of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage. The minutes from the GWSAWS show that the executive committee was often provoked by the Anglo-centrism of the NUWSS. In 1906, when the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was undergoing re-organisation, the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage attempted to found a Scottish Union *in place* of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Evidence from the minutes during this process support Ursula

Masson's conclusions about the relationship of the NUWSS with suffragists outside London. Masson's study analyses Welsh suffragists' resistance to the NUWSS's pro-Labour policy, the Election Fighting Fund (EFF). Masson's study of the regional peculiarities of the Welsh response is intended:

as a contribution towards the shift of focus in recent suffrage historiography from the centre and the national to the regional and the local, which has so radically transformed suffrage scholarship. Not only can such studies shed light on the relationships between the centre and the geographical periphery, and contribute to the national picture; they should also reveal the particular and local circumstances in which women have made their histories.⁷⁸

My discussion of the formation of the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies joins Masson in this re-examination of constitutional suffragism. Masson's study shows that whereas the supposed autocratic organisation of the Women's Social and Political Union has been well-documented, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies' disregard for local opinion and administrative autonomy has been largely overlooked. For example, Garner suggests that "in spite of internal friction, the NUWSS was important by virtue of its size and democratic structure; it was much more likely to respond to and to reflect the needs of women than was the autocratic WSPU".⁷⁹ This analysis downplays the importance of 'internal friction' to the experience of suffragists, particularly in the 'periphery'; the women of the GWSAWS felt marginalised rather than represented by the London-based policies of the NUWSS.

In 1906, the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage first resolved to create a Scottish Federation rather than to participate in the re-organisation of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies:

The Secretary submitted a letter from Miss Hardcastle enclosing a Draft Constitution for the re-forming of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. After discussion the Secretary was instructed to reply that whilst

⁷⁸ Masson, "Political Conditions in Wales Are Quite Different", 370.

⁷⁹ Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty*, 11.

sympathizing with the objects of the scheme we feel that the distance from England is so great that it annuls in great measure the benefit to be derived by joining the Union and that in the opinion of this Committee a Scottish Union would be more effective for extending the work in Scotland.⁸⁰

The Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage was unsuccessful since the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage was unwilling to join the Glasgow women in rejecting the NUWSS's new draft constitution. Lacking Edinburgh's support, the GWSAWS determined to join the NUWSS and asked that provisions be made in respect to distance; they requested that the NUWSS have regular meetings in Scotland and meetings in London when weekend tickets were available. The GWSAWS's attempt at compromise did little to improve its relationship with the NUWSS:

A letter was submitted from the NU saying it had been decided to have a demonstration on June 13th in London and hoping that 15 representatives would go from the Association. This was felt to be quite out of the question as the expense would be quite prohibitive.⁸¹

The expense and time of travel was a frequent cause of poor relations between the GWSAWS, and the NUWSS and distance from the London-campaign was an issue for all Scottish suffrage societies. For example, in 1909 the Shetland Women's Suffrage Society "decided that it was impossible for the society to send a delegate" to a special NUWSS meeting in London.⁸² The GWSAWS minutes indicate that the Glasgow suffragists felt that the women of London were deeply out of touch with the circumstances of the Scottish campaign. In 1909, the clash with NUWSS came to a head over a Glasgow by-election:

The Secretary gave a report of the unsatisfactory way in which the NU had managed the by-election in the Central Division. She reported that the NU organiser Miss Gardner and she had seen Mr Bowles on the 17th and that she had seen Mr Scott Dickson on the 18th. Mr Bowles had declared that he was opposed to Women's Suffrage. Mr Dickson had professed himself in favour

⁸⁰ GWSAWS, *Executive Committee Minutes* (1906). Mitchell Library 891036 / 1 / 2.

⁸¹ GWSAWS, *Executive Committee Minutes* (1908). Mitchell Library 891036 / 1 / 2.

⁸² SWSS, *Minute Book* (1909). Shetland Archives D.1 / 32.

of it, but on being asked to support us in Parliament he declined to pledge himself in any way for the future. Miss Gardner at once sent a report of the two interviews to London and no reply was received and it was necessary to declare our policy she announced on the 19th that as Mr Dickson's attitude was so unsatisfactory we would do propaganda work only. At Miss Gardner's request your Secretary sent a report of the work being done etc to *Women's Franchise*. On the 23rd Miss Gardner received instructions from London to work for Mr Scott Dickson, but under the circumstances it was felt to be impossible, and we wrote to the NU explaining this and no further communications referring to this were received. The Secretary submitted a letter from Miss Sterling, Hon. Sec. to the NU saying her Committee would be glad to know on whose authority the Glasgow Secretary had sent the report to *Women's Franchise*. That the NU would do propaganda work only. The Secretary was instructed to send in reply a history of the by-election.⁸³

This report is a strong example of the dismissive attitude of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies towards affiliates they viewed as peripheral. In spite of obvious miscommunication, the NUWSS, hundreds of miles south, immediately impugned the work, competency and understanding of women in the local sphere of action. A power-play ensued between the NUWSS and GWSAWS:

Two letters were submitted from the NU regarding the Central by-election. One addressed to the Chairman dated March 22nd stated that this Committee had defied the policy laid down by the NU and that the delay of the NU in declaring their policy was entirely due to the action of Glasgow in withholding information about Mr Scott Dickson's views although the NU had asked for it both by letter and telegram. The letter further asked for a copy of the resolutions passed by the Glasgow Committee embodying their decision to adopt a policy other than that of the NU. The Chairman reported that no such telegram and letter had been received by Glasgow. In reply to this letter he [Mr Ballantyne] asked for copies of the letter and telegram referred to in order that he might look into the whole matter. He received no acknowledgement of his letter.⁸⁴

In June 1909, the Birmingham society of the NUWSS submitted a proposed conference agenda for the re-organisation of the NUWSS which included a scheme to form a Scottish Federation. In September, the GWSAWS invited all Scottish Societies to a meeting in Glasgow in October to "draw up a letter of motivation and a

⁸³ GWSAWS, *Executive Committee Minutes* (1909). Mitchell Library 891036 / 1 / 2.

⁸⁴ GWSAWS, *Executive Committee Minutes* (1909). Mitchell Library 891036 / 1 / 2.

scheme for organising a Scottish Federation to lay before the Conference".⁸⁵ In 1910, the Scottish Federation was proposed under the scheme that:

all societies having for their object the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men shall be affiliated to the NUWSS and each society in the Federation shall instruct and select its own delegates to the General Council of the NUWSS.⁸⁶

Although the NUWSS did not accept the Scottish Federation exactly as proposed by Glasgow:

It was reported that under the new rules of the NU the principle of Federations of local Societies was recognised but that all Societies must affiliate direct to the NU. The Scottish Federation was now started having its office at 2 St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh. Letters and the NU minutes of April 7th were submitted and from these it appeared that the NU was under the impression that the Scottish Federation had been initiated and organised by the Edinburgh Society [letter then corrected but the error was repeated].⁸⁷

The experiences of the Glasgow suffragists within the London-centred National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies exposes a divisive aspect within the NUWSS as well as the power struggle that can characterise relationships between the 'core' and the supposed 'periphery'. The GWSAWS was inclined to see Scotland, especially the central region, as the locus of their campaign rather than as peripheral to the London campaign. Certainly the feud between the GWSAWS and the NUWSS over the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies contradicts Garner's assertion that "the democratic structure of the National Union [was] aided by the reorganisation of 1909, [which] allowed the voice of many more women to be heard".⁸⁸ Indeed, evidence from the GWSAWS minutes prior to and after 1909 suggests that the Glasgow suffragists continued to feel unimportant within the NUWSS. For instance, the row over Helen Fraser's appointment as NUWSS

⁸⁵ GWSAWS, *Executive Committee Minutes* (1909). Mitchell Library 891036 / 1 / 2.

⁸⁶ GWSAWS, *Executive Committee Minutes* (1910). Mitchell Library 891036 / 1 / 2.

⁸⁷ GWSAWS, *Executive Committee Minutes* (1910). Mitchell Library 891036 / 1 / 2.

organiser, discussed above, was very much to do with the NUWSS's unwillingness to discuss appointments with the Scottish suffragists.

Studies of the Scottish campaign have been compromised by an acceptance of the 'democratic structure' of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Most importantly, *A Guid Cause* never satisfactorily responds to the tense relationship between the GWSAWS and the NUWSS. Leneman's focus both on the militant campaign in Scotland and on providing a narrative account of the Scottish suffrage campaign seems to prevent any comprehensive discussion of the relationship between the GWSAWS and the NUWSS or indeed between the 'core' and the 'periphery'. Leneman's account ignores the rivalry that influenced the formation of the SFWSS:

There was a *contretemps* when the NUWSS initially refused to recognise the Scottish Federation on the lines proposed by Scotland. However, not long after, the National Union passed new rules recognising federation of local societies, as long as all the societies were affiliated to the NUWSS.⁸⁹

The GWSAWS minutes cited above contradict this rosy portrayal of the formation of the SFWSS. The Glasgow suffragists were annoyed by the SFWSS's unequal status; all local branches within the SFWSS had to affiliate directly to the NUWSS and not solely through the SFWSS. Regarding the problem over the Glasgow by-election Leneman concludes that: "The relationship between the NUWSS – the umbrella organisation for non-militant societies – and local societies was often difficult, though there was enough mutual respect for it to right itself eventually".⁹⁰ Moreover, as the only major monograph on the Scottish campaign Leneman's study has influenced other historians' view of the relationship between the GWSAWS and the NUWSS. For instance, June Hannam's recent study of 'regional suffragism' relies

⁸⁸ Garner, *Stepping Stone to Women's Liberty*, 15.

⁸⁹ Leneman, *A Guid Cause*, 93.

⁹⁰ Leneman, *A Guid Cause*, 76.

heavily on Leneman. This prompts Hannam to claim that the GWSAWS's refusal either to join or to advertise the NUWSS's June 1908 suffrage demonstration in London was motivated purely by pragmatism: "many women had neither the resources nor the time to travel to London for large demonstrations or to lobby MPs and therefore had to take action in their own local area".⁹¹ In terms of the formation of the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies, Hannam's study, under the influence of Leneman, disregards the GWSAWS's efforts in 1906 and states only that: "After 1909 more effort was made to set up branches throughout Scotland and in November a Scottish Federation was formed".⁹² However, these analyses ignore the power struggle that so coloured co-operation between the NUWSS and the GWSAWS.

A Guid Cause was an important step in recognising the contribution of Scotland to the nineteenth-century women's suffrage campaign. However, Leneman's study is not the final word. As my own discussion has shown the women's suffrage movement in Scotland has more to reveal than the importance of militancy to the gaining of the parliamentary franchise. An examination of the Scottish campaign can also expose the local dynamics that characterised the campaign for women's suffrage as a whole. Certainly, an evaluation of regional campaigns demonstrates the problem of describing the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies as 'democratic'. From the perspective of suffragists in the 'periphery', the NUWSS minimised the autonomy of the SFWSS and disregarded the Scotland's contribution through its London-based strategies. Correspondingly, suffragists in Glasgow were likely to view their work as the 'core' of Scotland's campaign rather than as a satellite of a London-oriented movement. Thus, an

⁹¹ Hannam, "I Had Not Been to London", 227.

⁹² Hannam, "I Had Not Been to London", 232.

analysis of regional variation in suffragism can provide new views both of local responses to a wider struggle and of the character of national organisations.

Conclusion

The constitutionalist women's suffrage campaign in Scotland incorporated many approaches to demanding women's political freedom. Women's access to local boards was fundamental to the strategy of many Scottish suffragists but the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation was the most keen to expand women's role in local government. The SWLF's was interested in the political rights both of single and married women and their vigorous campaign was a factor in the slight liberalisation of married women's property qualification after 1894. In turn, although the SWLF has been unduly marginalised in studies of British suffragism and 'first-wave' feminism, it is clear from my own and other studies of the Women's Liberal Associations that Liberal women were an important element of constitutional suffragism. The constitutionalist campaign was also influenced by the rise of militancy from 1906. The response of the long-standing constitutional group, the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage, to the introduction of militancy into Scotland shows that individual constitutionalists reacted differently to the local militant campaign. For some, this meant defection from constitutionalism while others co-operated with the militants while pursuing a constitutionalist programme. Moreover, there were tensions between constitutionalist societies – themselves – most notably between the GWSAWS and the NUWSS. The disputes over the local campaign and the place of Scottish societies in a London-oriented movement suggest that the National Union of

Women's Suffrage Societies displayed some of the autocratic characteristics often associated with the Women's Social and Political Union's administration.

Holton has demonstrated the intersections between the constitutionalist and the militant campaigns: the two wings of the movement shared members and similar ideologies but diverged over methods.⁹³ Both methodological camps of the movement were infused with a devotion to 'woman's mission' and to middle-class women's 'distinct ministry' in the 'feminine public sphere'. Religiously inspired feminists were able to view suffragists' claims based on the 'essential nature' of women as a type of 'equal rights' argument – a demand for the equal political representation of women's 'essential' characteristics. In turn, this understanding of middle-class women's 'essential' goodness overlapped with imperial and racial discourses that emphasised the cultural and racial superiority of British 'civilisation'. In conclusion, then, through the lens of suffragists' strategies, the ideology imbedded in suffrage pamphlets and the relationships between the constitutionalists and the militants and between the 'core' and the 'periphery' a new picture emerges of Scotland's place in the British Victorian and Edwardian women's movement.

⁹³ See Holton, *Feminism and Democracy*.

CONCLUSIONS

Victorian and Edwardian middle-class women were motivated by shared religious and class values to work in the 'feminine public sphere'. This female dimension of the 'public sphere' was not simply an extension of women's domestic lives as mothers and carers but also a site of political participation and activism. Temperance reform and suffragism both attracted women interested in prosecuting their 'distinct ministry' to morally elevate society, and for many the vote became the Holy Grail of their quest after 'woman's mission'.

British suffrage histories have traditionally ignored the contribution of the women's temperance movement. However, a more 'Britannic' perspective reveals that female templars were an important constituency in campaigns for women's political rights, and my investigation of the women's movement in Scotland demonstrates the importance of temperance reform to British 'first-wave' feminism. Unlike the British Women's Temperance Association in England, the Scottish Christian Union echoed the progressive, feminist policies dominant in the World Women's Christian Temperance Union. Scotland's British Women embraced American female templars' innovative policies such as 'do everything', and viewed their remit as much broader than a focus only on drink issues.

Thus, a study of Scotland helps to reveal the variation and continuity that cut across the women's movement in Britain. This analysis contextualises the Scottish dimension of nineteenth-century feminism in the British, imperial and international women's movement. In this way it is possible to connect the British experience to the wider literature on Victorian and Edwardian feminism which has women's temperance as a central feature. From this approach a picture emerges of a

community of white, middle-class Anglophone feminists who shared one another's ideas and values.

These ideas and values were rooted in middle-class women's culture, and women's temperance reform illustrates the importance of gender and social class to the 'feminine public sphere'. Female templars' temperance work responded to middle-class desires to maintain cultural dominance. This can be seen in the British Women's interest in providing 'counter attractions' as a means of drawing the working-classes away from the public house and into forms of 'rational recreation'. Likewise, women's temperance reform was influenced by middle-class ladies' concentration in the 'public' world of voluntary philanthropy. The (lateral) movement of women from charity to social reform ensured that similar methods – such as 'rescue homes' – were used among public women. Women's ability to devote themselves to voluntary work was also predicated on their social status. The women studied here came from the leisured middle classes, and their waged labour was not necessary for their families' survival. Philanthropy and social reform provided these women with an opportunity for meaningful careers outside the home, and their voluntary work should be viewed as a professional pursuit rather than as an amateur hobby.

Female templars' reform ideology also reflects the importance of class to the 'feminine public sphere'. The moral and legal suasionist positions were both informed by middle-class desires to exert cultural dominance. For female templars temperance reform offered a means for the propagation of 'woman's mission' among poorer women. Female templars' desire to convince working-class women of their own 'mission' was partly a product of reformers' Christian values. However, it was also a matter of social control. 'The female inebriate' jeopardised the validity of

feminine moral superiority and threatened 'racial degeneration'. By 'reclaiming' drunken women for marriage or domestic service female templars endeavoured to inculcate poorer women with middle-class, religiously inspired attitudes to gender roles.

Temperance reform ideology also had implications for female templars' understanding of their own roles. Specifically, prohibition reform ideology came to ascendancy simultaneous with the women's temperance movement, and had major implications for the politicisation of female templars. The campaign for the legal restriction of the 'drink traffic' proved to a majority of the British Women that 'woman's mission' could only be fully realised through equal parliamentary enfranchisement. However, the Scottish Christian Union did not have a consensus, and the British Women debated the appropriateness of the SCU's campaign for women's suffrage. The dispute over women's suffrage centred around the relationship between 'woman's mission' and the franchise – could the women's vote bring prohibition and was prohibition the key to a temperate society? Anti-suffragists and pro-suffragists alike looked to New Zealand to support their arguments, suggesting either that colonial women's enfranchisement was largely irrelevant to social legislation or that the women's vote was pivotal to reform legislation. The religio-feminists held the majority opinion in the SCU, and asserted that women's suffrage would allow 'woman's mission' to influence the legislation of the nation and so the passage of prohibition.

In addition to the examination of temperance reform, this study's fresh perspective on British suffragism benefits from greater attention to constitutional rather than militant suffragism. Analyses of militant suffragism tend to be insular and until recently have focused on evaluating the efficacy of militancy in gaining the

franchise. Constitutional suffragism was broader than the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies and its parent the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies; in Scotland, the Scottish Christian Union and the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation made important contributions to the women's suffrage campaign. The SCU co-operated with local temperance politicians, canvassed municipal voters on temperance and local veto issues and petitioned parliament to end the 'drink traffic'. With the municipal enfranchisement of female ratepayers in 1882, the SCU increasingly focused on the female electorate as a locus of local veto support. From 1893 and the adoption of Frances Willard's 'do everything' policy, the SCU systematised its political campaigning using municipal, legal, legislative and women's suffrage departments. Thus, the ascendancy of prohibition reform ideology juxtaposed to the centrality of women in the late-nineteenth-century temperance movement led to the incorporation of a large and important group of middle-class reforming women into the suffrage movement.

The Scottish Women's Liberal Federation also helped to widen women's demands for political rights. Women's Liberal Associations were important sites for women's political work, and the SWLF was committed to extending and consolidating women's participation in local government. Moreover, although the Liberal women did exhibit party loyalties their organisations were autonomous from the main men's party structure, and allowed women a free hand in administering their WLAs. Thus, these party political women gained valuable experience of the political world which reinforced the vigour of their campaigns. As in the case of the Scottish Christian Union, the varied public interests of the members resulted in the SWLF's pursuit of a wide political agenda; women's suffrage and temperance were seen as complementary goals rather than as incompatible. The multi-issue approach

of the Liberal women and the British Women can be largely attributed to patterns of cross-membership, and the SWLF, SCU and SFWSS were united through the activity of public women who joined multiple women's organisations.

The uniquely important position of women's temperance reform in the Scottish women's suffrage campaign makes a strong case for greater attention to regional variation in British historiography. Whereas individual female templars in England and Wales supported women's parliamentary enfranchisement, the Scottish Christian Union was (if not the only) one of the most important women's temperance societies in Britain to officially campaign for women's equal enfranchisement. At this point the existing research – my own and the work of Barrow and Lloyd-Morgan – indicates that the SCU was the largest and most internationally significant British women's temperance organisation to formally demand women's parliamentary suffrage.¹ However, regional focuses on – for example – the British Women's Temperance Association might reveal temperance women's work for women's suffrage at the grassroots level. As it is, there are too many gaps in the historiography of late-nineteenth-century British women's temperance reform to make many meaningful comparisons.

My attention to the Scottish campaign also highlights the need to challenge understandings of constitutionalism not only regarding the organisations that term is used to identify, but also the dynamic between the London 'core' and the 'Celtic fringe'. Specifically, it is mistaken to take for granted the 'democratic' nature of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. The Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage was jealous of its autonomy, and resented the NUWSS's habit of imposing on the Scottish campaign London-oriented policies and

¹ See Barrow, "Teetotal Feminists"; and Lloyd-Morgan, "From Temperance to Suffrage?".

administrators. The GWSAWS viewed central Scotland as the 'core' of its campaign and its work as important as that in London. The GWSAWS's hostility towards central control from London was exacerbated by the NUWSS's resistance to an autonomous Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies and Scottish suffragists' independent policy and administrative decision making.

The need for a more 'Britannic' approach echoes calls for an integration of imperial and international perspectives in British history. Anglophone women's temperance reform and suffragism was supported by a global network. Trans-Atlantic networks and a sense of cultural parity ensured that innovations in temperance reform in America had significant and direct repercussions on the Scottish Christian Union, while the success of women's suffrage in Australasia was a prominent theme in suffragists' arguments and in wider debates on the propriety of the women's vote. Trends in migration guaranteed the Scots had particularly strong ties to America and New Zealand, and many of the leading members of women's organisations travelled between the United States or Australasia and Scotland. However, the empire contributed more to the 'feminine public sphere' than shared personnel and methods. Imperial attitudes influenced middle-class feminists' understanding of racial difference and convinced many of the cultural superiority of British 'civilisation'. The social status of white, bourgeois ladies in Britain was contrasted with the 'low position' of women in colonised cultures. The imperial feminisms arising from this worldview simultaneously asserted Britain's right to dominate less 'civilised' peoples and the importance of women's equal political rights to maintaining the strength of the 'race' and of 'civilisation'.

Imperialism is one of a cluster of issues that contributed to middle-class public women's cultural world. Religion also provided a powerful basis for

women's work in the 'feminine public sphere'. Intersecting ideologies of 'woman's mission', 'complementary natures' and feminine moral superiority supported middle-class women's sense of a 'distinct ministry'. This women's ministry led to work in philanthropy, social reform, foreign missions and the women's movement for political rights. Evangelical doctrine on 'woman's mission' to morally instruct her family and on the individual's responsibility to lead others to salvation was interpreted by public women as a call to spiritually uplift the community. These religiously inspired justifications for women's public lives were reinforced by the importance of civic life for middle-class identity. Through ladies' auxiliaries and women's single-sex organisations middle-class women were able to demonstrate their largess and civic mindedness. In this way, women reflected, shared and contributed to the generation of a middle-class identity in the 'public sphere'. Networks were also crucial to the 'feminine public sphere'. Within relatively homogenous middle-class neighbourhoods, ladies' social rituals were adapted to increasing women's awareness of social and political issues and their ability to become involved in those issues. Male family might have supplied networks with the political establishment, while mothers often drew their daughters into the social reform community. Thus, a web of interlacing factors influenced middle-class women's cultural identities and their pursuit of public lives.

The importance of religion for women's public lives had important implications for suffrage ideology. Religiously inspired feminists were attracted to demands for a parliamentary vote based on the 'essential' qualities of 'woman': moral superiority, social responsibility, self-sacrifice and nurture. Suffragists of this ideological type echoed female templars' insistence that the women's vote would go towards social reform and thereby morally fortify the nation. This ideology was

entangled with contemporary notions of gender that focused on biological differences between the sexes, and thence posited the fundamental ‘natures’ of ‘man’ and ‘woman’. In this way it is possible to view ‘essentialist’ arguments for the franchise as a type of ‘equal rights’ claim; the human ‘nature’ of ‘woman’ was equally important to the running of the nation as ‘man’s’. So, although there is an identifiable divergence between the ideologies of ‘equal rights’ and ‘essentialism’ in suffrage pamphlets, religio-feminists could interpret the meaning of these arguments in a way that does not reflect this division.

So, what then was the fate of the women’s suffrage and temperance movements in the twentieth century?² With the outbreak of war, suffrage societies – militant and constitutionalist – adapted their operations to the circumstances of wartime. The Women’s Social and Political Union dissolved its organisation, while the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies preserved its organisation and adapted its work to support the war. For example, the Edinburgh National Society for Women’s Suffrage concentrated on relieving the struggles of women in Leith whose husbands went to war, while the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women’s Suffrage organised an exchange for voluntary workers and fundraising schemes.³ Women’s voting rights were realised in the inter-war period. In 1918, a limited suffrage was extended to women that enfranchised women over thirty with a municipal vote or who were married to men with a municipal vote, while voting rights for men and women were equalised in 1928.

The Scottish Christian Union continued its work for most of the twentieth century. Immediately before the outbreak of war, Scottish templars celebrated a

² For more on the wartime and inter-war suffrage campaign, see Pugh, *The March of the Women*, 284-88 and *Women and the Women’s Movement*, Chapter 2.

³ For more on the Scottish societies in wartime, see Leneman, *A Guid Cause*, especially Chapter 12.

prohibition victory with the passage of the Temperance (Scotland) Act, 1913 which granted local veto powers, and prohibition remained key to the British Women's twentieth-century temperance reform ideology. Indeed, the twentieth-century minutes of the Glasgow Prayer Union's annual general meetings (which also reflect the life of the movement in Edinburgh) provide evidence of a great deal of continuity with the nineteenth-century movement.⁴ Between the 1930s and the 1980s the Glasgow Prayer Union continued to begin its meetings with hymns and prayer, and prayer remained a central feature of the British Women's work. The twentieth-century sustained the SCU's earlier work with departments for: unfermented wine in churches, tents at shows, education, moral education (or purity), devotional (or evangelistic) with the most major innovation being the development of a peace department. In the 1940s, 'Fireside meetings' gained popularity in the SCU. Fireside meetings were held in members' homes and were akin to the drawing-room meetings of the Victorian and Edwardian period. The *Scottish Women's Temperance News* was published throughout the twentieth century but the magazine struggled to make sales. Ultimately, the British Women retained many of the cultural ideals that distinguished its pre-war ideology. For instance, an emphasis on 'woman's mission' influenced a twentieth-century pamphlet which presented the SCU's aims as: to promote total-abstinence; to lessen access to drink; to provide 'counter-attractions'; to reduce drink driving accidents; and to educate women to use their votes for the good of the community. In this way the British Women hoped to "preserve the sanctity of the home, to secure the happiness and safety of the people and especially of little children, to safeguard the weak, and to add to the spiritual and material prosperity of the nation".⁵ Thus, female templars were still charged with the

⁴ See Glasgow District Union, *Minutes of Annual General Meetings* (1936-82). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 13.

⁵ BWTASCU, "May We Introduce Ourselves?" (n.d.), 2. GCA TD 955 / 43 / 7.

protection of the more 'helpless' elements in society and of the position of the home as the basis of the social structure.

The Scottish Christian Union did adapt its movement to changes in women's political status after 1928. Most importantly, citizenship departments were organised to deal with prohibition issues at the local and parliamentary levels. The citizenship departments absorbed the work of the various nineteenth-century departments – legal, legislative, municipal, parliamentary and women's suffrage – and were responsible for raising women's political awareness and harnessing the female electorate's support for prohibition. The effects of local veto campaigns by the SCU and other temperance societies are visible today in places such as Shawlands in south Glasgow where local veto was particularly effective, and public houses remain a less prominent part of the urban landscape. Citizenship departments were meant to turn claims of women's socially responsible vote into a reality, and these departments were ceaselessly vigilant against the political manoeuvrings of the liquor interests. For instance in 1940 Mrs McDougall, superintendent of the citizenship department, reported "her success in having playing-cards (used at functions in City Chambers advertising liquor) changed over to those with photos of the King and Queen as the result of a protest which she made direct to the suitable quarter".⁶ So, the SCU remained a politically active organisation, and endeavoured to make good on its promises of social reform through the women's vote.

By the early-1980s, the minutes make repeated reference to the barriers of old age and illness to effective organisation. In 1980, the Glasgow Prayer Union president reported that the celebration of the Kirkintilloch Branch's centenary was missed by many because "some of them [the British Women] in different nursing

⁶ Glasgow District Union, *Minutes of Annual General Meetings* (1940). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 13.

homes”.⁷ By the late-twentieth century the Scottish Christian Union had lost its appeal to young middle-class public women, and the ageing membership of the Glasgow Prayer Union disbanded in 1985. The Edinburgh British Women followed suit in the early-1990s. However, the British Women did not fade silently from view, and when they deposited their records at the Huntly House Museum in Edinburgh visitors from around the globe came to witness the end to one of the world’s longest running women’s temperance organisations.

⁷ GDU, *Minutes of Annual General Meetings* (1980). GCA TD 955 / 1 / 13.

APPENDIX 1

LEGISLATION GOVERNING WOMEN'S ACCESS TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SCOTLAND, c1870-1914

Legislation, Date	Provision	Public General Statute Affecting Scotland reference
Education (Scotland) Act, 1872	Established a school board in every parish and burgh. Electors included all persons of lawful age whose names appeared on the valuation role of the burgh or parish and who were the owners or occupiers of lands or heritages with an annual value of £4.	35 & 36 Victoria, c. 62
The Ballot Bill, 1872	All polls were to be taken using ballot papers and ballot boxes.	35 & 36 Victoria, c. 33
Municipal Elections Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1881	Extended to Scotland the provisions of the English Act (1868) that stated that all terms importing the masculine gender included females for all purposes connected with the right to vote in the election of town councillors.	44 & 45 Victoria, c. 30
Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889	Established county councils for the management of the administration and finances of every county. Three year terms of office, then new council elected.	52 & 53 Victoria, c. 50

<p>Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889 continued</p>	<p>No woman eligible to act as a county councillor or member of committee mentioned in the Act.</p> <p>A supplementary register was to be prepared every three years, simultaneous with the parliamentary register, including persons other than parliamentary electors entitled to vote in county council elections. Every woman, unmarried or married and not living in family with her husband and otherwise qualified as a parliamentary elector except through sex, was entitled to be placed in the supplementary register.</p>	
<p>Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894</p>	<p>Allowed married women to be placed on the electoral register for county councils, municipal or parish councils if the husband and wife were not both registered with respect to the same property.</p> <p>Established parish councils in every parish. The parish electorate paid a special rate to be placed on the parish council register. Women, otherwise qualified for the county council and municipal registers were not disqualified by marriage if they were not qualified with respect to the same property as their husbands. No person was disqualified on account of sex or marriage to stand as a candidate or member of a parish council, or as appointed representative of the parish council on district committees of county councils.</p>	<p>57 & 58 Victoria, c. 58</p>
<p>Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1900</p>	<p>Only qualified males eligible to act as councillors. All women (and peers) included as electors if they owned or occupied premises within the municipal boundary and possessed the qualifications entitling male commoners to vote for MPs and if they were not qualified with respect to the same property as their husbands.</p>	<p>63 & 64 Victoria, c. 49</p>

<p>Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1903</p>	<p>No new provisions for women's eligibility. Electorate extended to owners and occupiers within the municipal boundary of any burgh not returning or contributing to the return of MPs and who possessed the parliamentary franchise qualification but were on the parliamentary registration of the county only in respect of premises outwith the burgh.</p>	<p>3 Edward, c. 34</p>
<p>Qualification of Women (County and Town Councils) (Scotland) Act, 1907</p>	<p>Women no longer disqualified by sex or marital status from acting as a councillor in any town or burgh. Provisions and limits on women's scope for action. If a woman was elected councillor this post did not make her eligible to be elected or to act as burgh magistrate, judge in any police court, member of licensing court or court of appeal. If a woman was the chairman or provost: one, she might not act as a burgh magistrate or as a JP; and two, if she was provost then one more bailie than normal was elected to hold that post while the woman was provost.</p>	<p>7 Edward, c. 48</p>
<p>Education (Scotland) Act, 1908</p>	<p>Electorate was to include all those on the parish register as defined in the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894.</p>	<p>1 Edward, c. 63</p>
<p>County, Town and Parish Councils (Qualification) (Scotland) Act, 1914</p>	<p>Any person of either sex and of full age qualified to act as a county councillor if that person had resided in the county or burgh or parish for twelve months prior to the election. Women still subject to the limits set in the Qualification of Women (County and Town Councils) (Scotland) Act, 1907.</p>	<p>4 & 5 George, c. 39</p>

APPENDIX 2

MAJOR TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION IN SCOTLAND, c1870-1914

Legislation, Date	Provision	Public General Statute Affecting Scotland reference
Publican's Certificate (Scotland) Act, 1876	Established a committee of judges to sit as a county licensing committee and as part of joint committees in burghs along with JPs and magistrates.	39 & 40 Victoria, c. 36
Habitual Drunkards Act, 1879	Established 'retreats' run by certified 'medical men'. Individuals who were judged habitual drunkards or those who made an application could be detained in the 'retreats'.	42 & 43 Victoria, c. 19
Inebriates Act, 1888	Continued the Habitual Drunkards Act, 1879 for a further ten years. Detailed licenses for 'retreats'.	51 & 52 Victoria, c. 19
Inebriates Act, 1898	An individual convicted of a crime involving drink who admitted or was found guilty of being a habitual drunkard could be detained in a state or certified inebriate reformatory for no more than three years. The Secretary of State empowered to establish state reformatories.	61 & 62 Victoria, c. 60

Inebriates Act, 1900	Criminalised public drunkenness.	63 & 64 Victoria, c. 28
Temperance (Scotland) Act, 1913	Allowed a local authority to take a poll on three questions: no-change resolution; limiting resolution; and no-licence resolution. For no-licence resolution to pass 55% had to be in favour and 35% of the electorate had to vote. Electors included all those listed on the town council and parish council registers.	3 & 4 George, c. 33

APPENDIX 3

THE DATABASES

Databases are gaining prominence as tools for historical enquiry. The two databases used in the preparation of this thesis were created in Microsoft Access 97, a program routinely used for historical databases. Each database is composed of tables of data subdivided into fields. The raw material for these databases came from membership lists that I prepared in Microsoft Word using annual reports and minute books. I formatted these membership lists – based on the various fields – in order to import the information into Access; the Word files automatically split themselves into the separate fields. The first database, entitled Scotswomen's 19th Century Organisations, was used especially to chart cross-membership and included the fields: Organisation, Department, Office, Title, Name / Initial, Surname, Place (e.g. Glasgow or Edinburgh), Year, Political Allegiance and Relationship With MP. The second database, Scotswomen's Addresses, was designed to trace neighbourhood networks and used the fields: Organisation, Title, Name / Initial, Surname, Street, Place and Year.

All available information for each woman was entered into the fields of the databases. The minute books of the Glasgow Prayer Union, Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage and the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation provided records of variable quality regarding committee membership. The annual reports for the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage and the Edinburgh Central Branch of the Scottish Christian Union, unlike the other organisations, systematically listed the names and addresses of the executive committee membership.

The information stored in the databases was unlocked through the use of Queries. Using the Query Wizard function in Access it was possible to define a criteria and have the program display all matching results. I have included examples of two such Queries. Example 1 comes from Scotswomen's 19th Century Organisations and is part of the program's response to my request for women with membership to both the GWSAWS and the SCU. This example clearly shows that Mrs Janet Cockburn was a member of both organisations. This example is also interesting because it suggests that Mrs Cockburn's daughter, Miss Cockburn, joined her in temperance work, thereby providing evidence of a mother-daughter apprenticeship system. Example 2, taken from Scotswomen's Addresses, gives an idea of how neighbourhood networks were discovered using the database. After highlighting the streets inhabited by members on an Edinburgh map, I created Queries with truncated criteria in the Street field. For example, inputting "Hartington*" in the Query's Street field returned all addresses with Hartington included, such as Hartington Place and Hartington Gardens. These examples represent the two main ways in which the databases were used in this project.

EXAMPLE 1

	Surname	Name/Initial	Title	Organisation	Department	Year
	Clyde		Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1899
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1911
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	GWSAWS		1909
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1882
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1893
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1883
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	GWSAWS		1913
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1889
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1890
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1894
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1884
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1912
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1895
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1887
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	GWSAWS		1906
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1897
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1908
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1897
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	GWSAWS		1910
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1890
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1907
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1910
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	GWSAWS		1904
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1895
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1886
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1909
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1882
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1888
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1885
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1887
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1884
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow	Whiteinch	1902
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1892
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1883

	Surname	Name/Initial	Title	Organisation	Department	Year
▶	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	GWSAWS		1912
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1905
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1896
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1886
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1888
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1891
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	GWSAWS		1908
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	GWSAWS		1905
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1891
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1906
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1892
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	GWSAWS		1907
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1889
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1893
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1896
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1881
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1896
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	GWSAWS		1903
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1905
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	SCUGlasgow		1885
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	GWSAWS		1914
	Cockburn	Janet	Mrs	GWSAWS		1911
	Cockburn		Miss	SCUGlasgow		1894

EXAMPLE 2

	Surname	Title	Organisation	Street	Year
▶	Inglis	Mrs	SCU	12 Dick Plc	1893
	Inglis	Mrs	SCU	12 Dick Plc	1889
	Inglis	Mrs	SCU	12 Dick Plc	1899
	Inglis	Mrs	SCU	12 Dick Plc	1890
	Inglis	Mrs	SCU	12 Dick Plc	1898
	Inglis	Mrs	SCU	12 Dick Plc	1891
	Inglis	Mrs	SCU	12 Dick Plc	1892
	Inglis	Mrs	SCU	12 Dick Plc	1888
	Jackson	Mrs	SCU	44 Dick Plc	1888
	Jackson	Mrs	SCU	44 Dick Plc	1889
	Jackson	Mrs	SCU	44 Dick Plc	1890
	Jackson	Mrs	SCU	44 Dick Plc	1897
	Jackson	Mrs	SCU	44 Dick Plc	1902
	Jackson	Mrs	SCU	44 Dick Plc	1898
	Jackson	Mrs	SCU	44 Dick Plc	1899
	Jackson	Mrs	SCU	44 Dick Plc	1900
	Jackson	Mrs	SCU	44 Dick Plc	1901
	Jackson	Mrs	SCU	44 Dick Plc	1901
	Jackson	Mrs	SCU	44 Dick Plc	1896
*					

APPENDIX 4

EDINBURGH MAPS INDICATING NEIGHBOURHOOD NETWORKS

This appendix is meant to give some idea of the neighbourhood networks that helped to form the membership of the organisations studied here. Each street that was included in the annual reports of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage or of the Edinburgh Central Branch of the Scottish Christian Union as the address for an executive committee member is listed in the table below. Each street is numbered and given a geographical reference. For example, number 1 – Blacket Place – is identified on the Edinburgh South-East map. The maps shown here bear out the conclusions in Chapter 2, that middle-class women in Edinburgh were very likely to live in the Edinburgh New Town or the southern suburbs; it is clearly illustrated here that public women were clustered in particular neighbourhoods. The maps used here were reproduced from Collins Edinburgh Street Map.

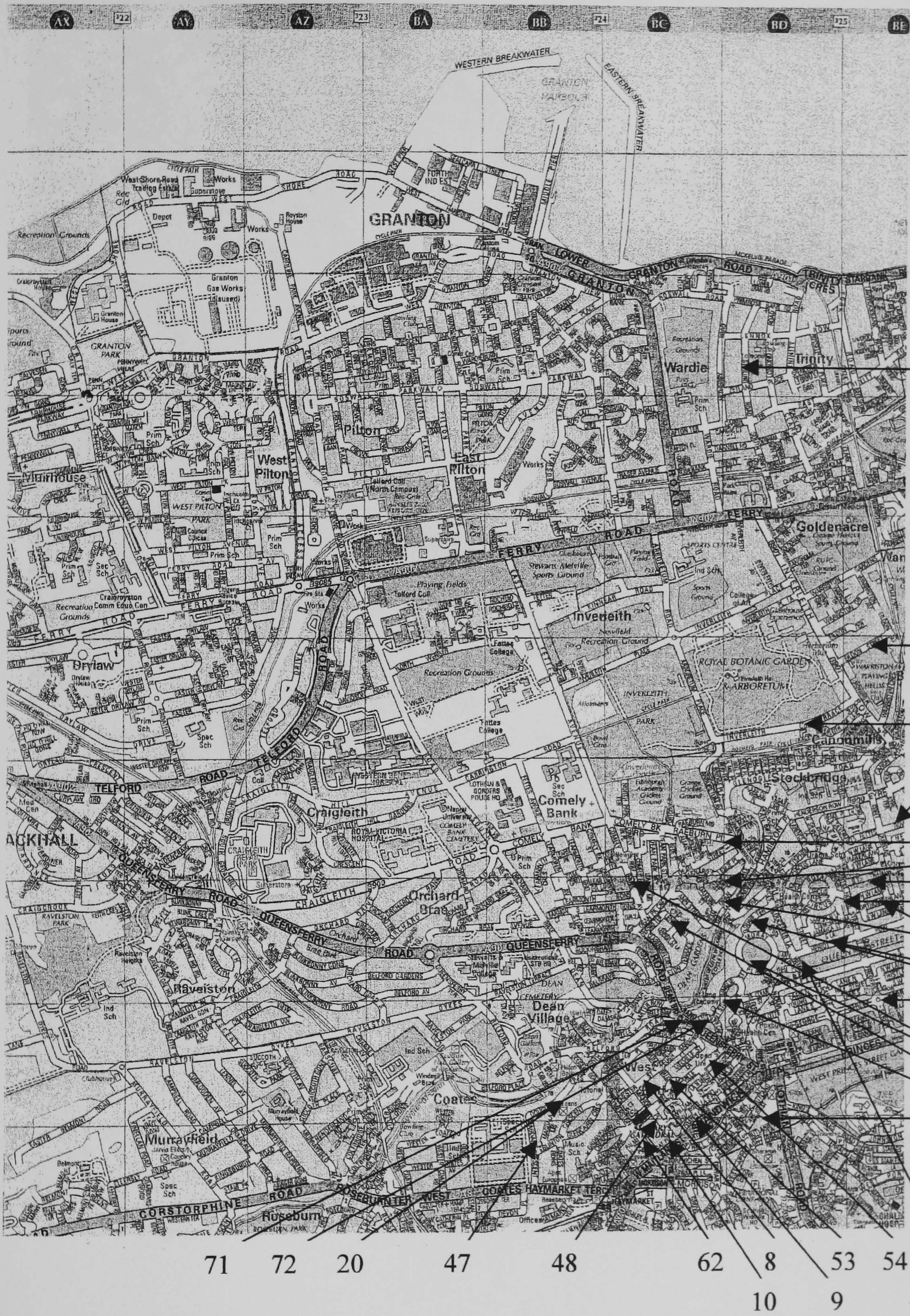
1.	Blacket Place SE	44.	Inverleith Terrace NW
2.	Blackford Road SW	45.	Lauriston Gardens SW
3.	Blantyre Terrace SW	46.	Lennox Street NW
4.	Brougham Street SW	47.	Magdala Crescent NW
5.	Bruntsfield Crescent SW	48.	Manor Place NW
6.	Buccleuch Place NE	49.	Mansionhouse Road SE
7.	Carlton Street NW	50.	Marchhall Crescent SE
8.	Chester Street NW	51.	Mayfield Gardens SE
9.	Coates Crescent NW	52.	Mayfield Road SE
10.	Coates Place NW	53.	Melville Crescent NW
11.	Colinton Road SW	54.	Melville Street NW
12.	Comely Bank Ave NW	55.	Merchiston Avenue SW
13.	Craighouse Avenue SW	56.	Minto Street SE
14.	Craiglea Drive SW	57.	Moray Place NW
15.	Craigmillar Park SE	58.	Morningside Drive SW
16.	Cumin Place SE	59.	Newbattle Terrace SW
17.	Dalkeith Road SE	60.	Newington Road SE
18.	Dean Terrace NW	61.	Northumberland Street NW
19.	Dick Place SE	62.	Palmerston Place NW
20.	Douglas Crescent NW	63.	Palmerston Road SE
21.	Doune Terrace NW	64.	Polwarth Terrace SW
22.	Drummond Place* NE	65.	Queen's Crescent SE

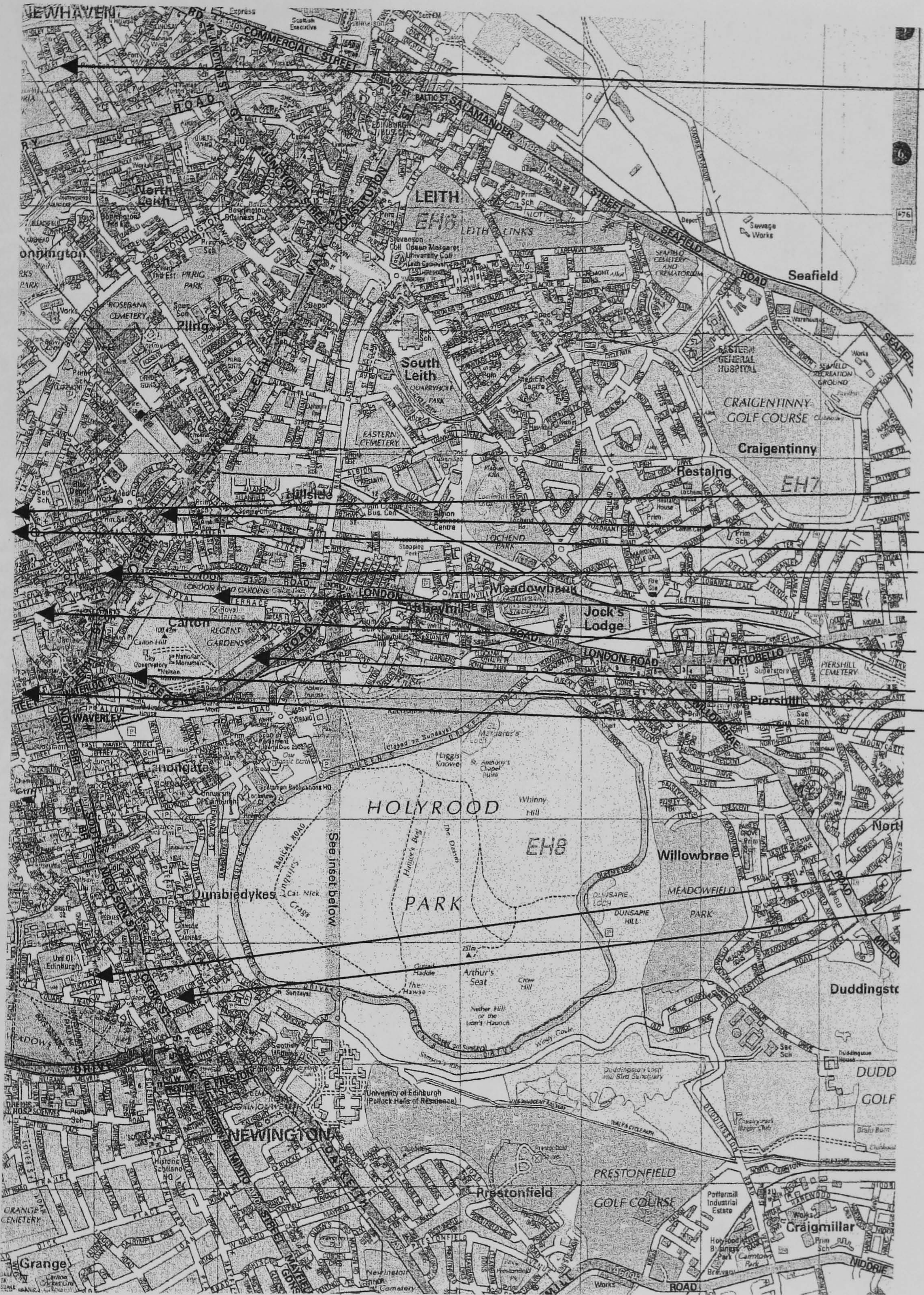
* The shrinking and scanning processes omits these two streets from the maps reproduced here. However, I have marked the approximate positions of these streets, which are only just left off the map.

23.	Dudley Gardens NE	70.	Raeburn Place NW
24.	Duncan Street SE	71.	Randolph Cliff NW
25.	Dundonald Street* NE	72.	Randolph Crescent NW
26.	East Castle Road SW	73.	Rankeillor Street NE
27.	Eildon Street NW	74.	Regent Terrace NE
28.	Fettes Row NW	75.	Rochester Terrace SW
29.	Findhorn Place SE	76.	Royal Terrace NE
30.	Forth Street NE	77.	Rutland Square NW
31.	Frederick Street NW	78.	St Alban's Road SE
32.	Gilmour Road SE	79.	Salisbury Road SE
33.	Glengyle Terrace SW	80.	South Gray Street SE
34.	Glenorchy Terrace SE	81.	South-East Circus Plc NW
35.	Great King Street NW	82.	South St Andrew Street NE
36.	Great Stuart Street NW	83.	Stirling Road NW
37.	Greenhill Park SW	84.	Strathearn Road SW
38.	Greenhill Terrace SW	85.	Suffolk Road SE
39.	Haddington Place NE	86.	Upper Gray Street SE
40.	Hartington Gardens SW	87.	Warrender Park SW
41.	Hartington Place SW	88.	Waterloo Place NE
42.	Heriot Row NW	89.	Wemyss Place NW
43.	Hope Terrace SW	90.	York Place NE

* See the above note.

EDINBURGH NORTH-WEST





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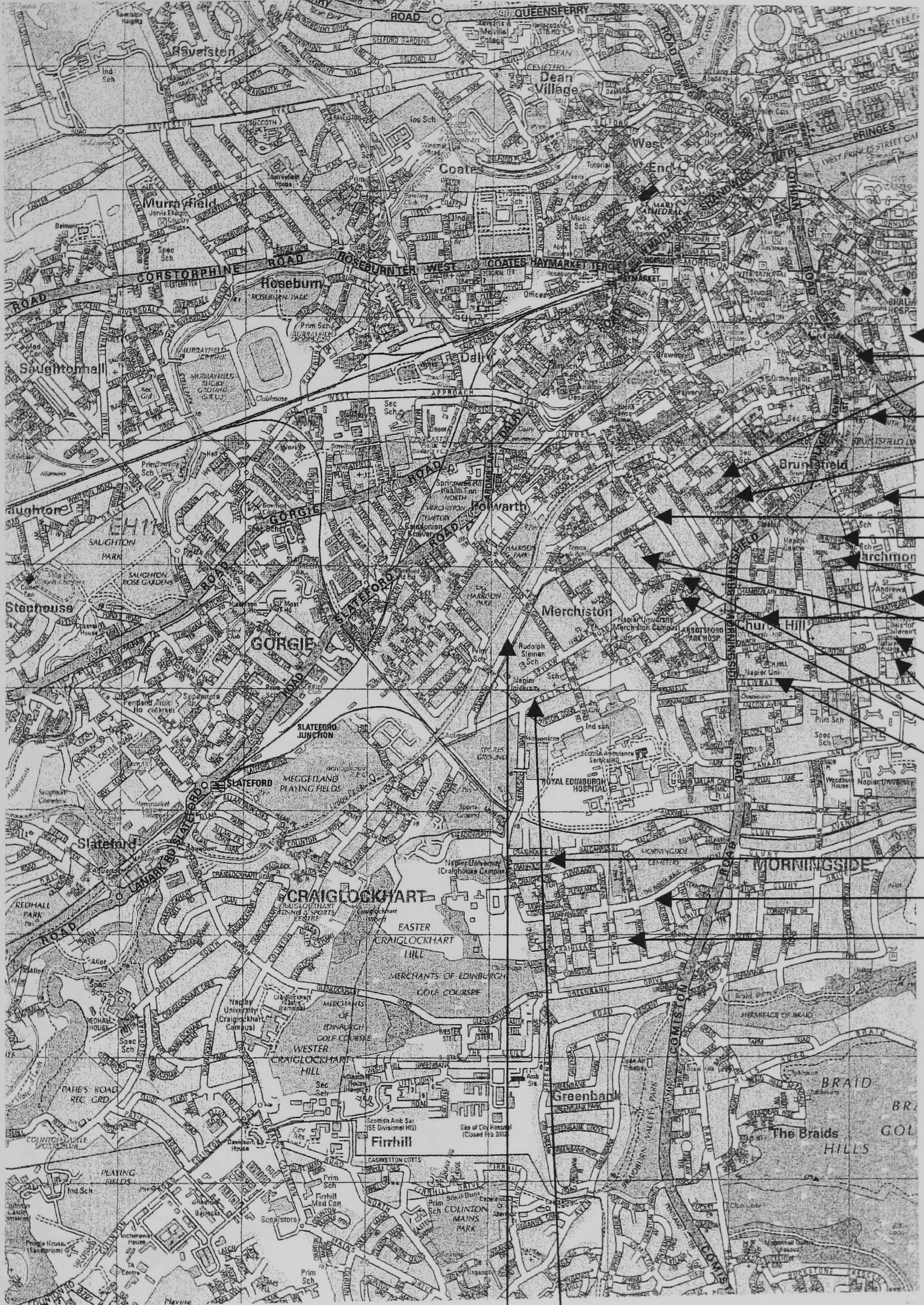
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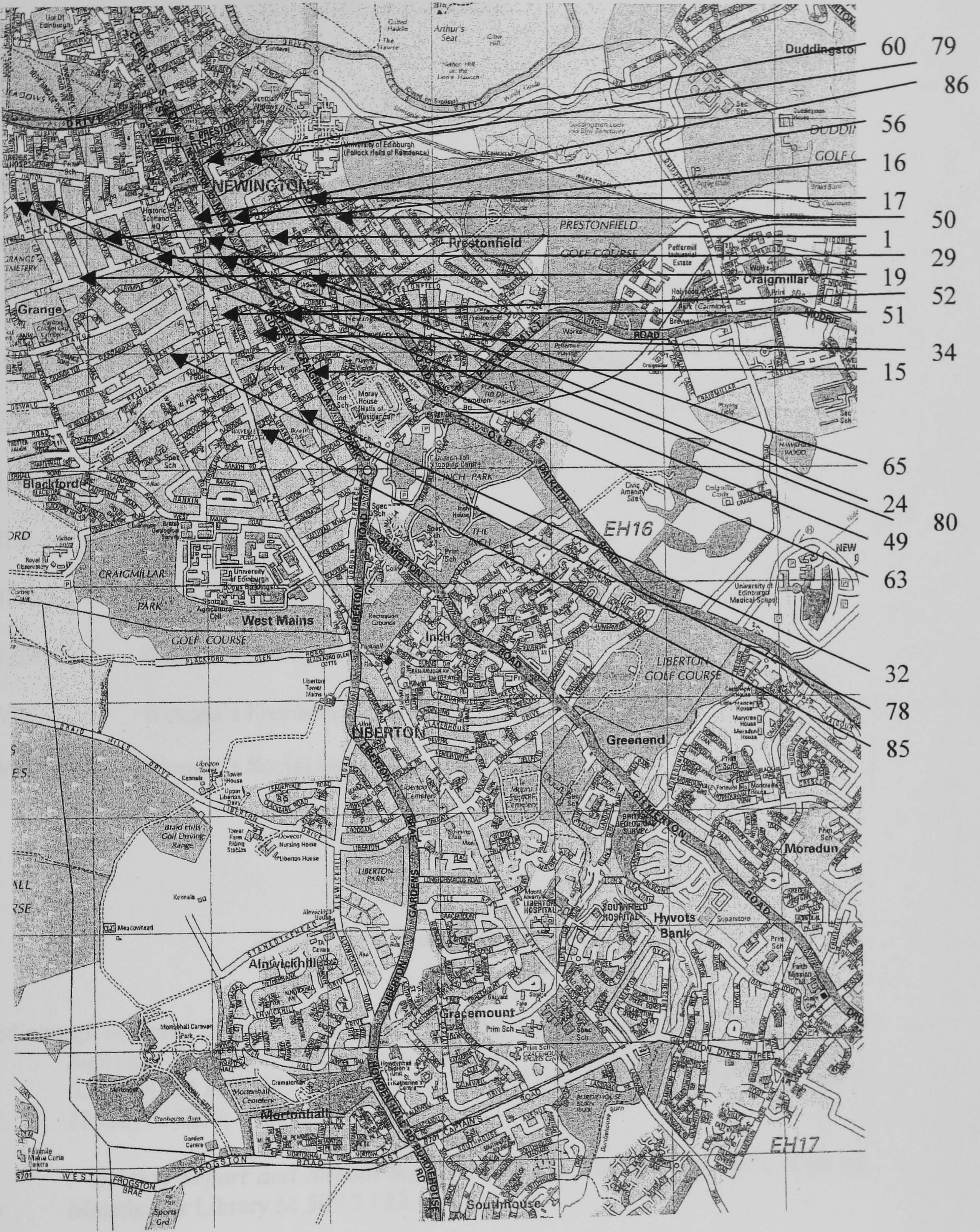
EDINBURGH SOUTH-WEST



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- 87
- 5
- 38
- 37
- 43
- 2
- 59
- 13
- 58
- 14

64 11

EDINBURGH SOUTH-EAST



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Abbreviations

BWTASCU	British Women's Temperance Association Scottish Christian Union
GCA	Glasgow City Archives
GUA	Glasgow University Archives
GUL Sp. Coll.	Glasgow University Library Special Collections
LSF	Library of the Society of Friends
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
<i>WHR</i>	<i>Women's History Review</i>
WFL	Women's Freedom League
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union

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