

Drink and Society: Scotland 1870-1914

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CHAPTER 5

PROHIBITIONIST IDEOLOGIES AND STRATEGIES.

PROHIBITIONIST IDEOLOGIES AND STRATEGIES



General Neal Dow.

1804 - 1897.

Source: G.U.L. Alloa Collection.

### Prohibitionist Ideologies and Strategies

Whilst moral suasion has been neglected by historians, prohibition features in many studies.<sup>1</sup> The principal Scottish organisations were the S.P.B.T.A., I.O.G.T., and the Scottish Prohibition Party (S.P.P.) established in 1901. In contrast to the early anti-spirits movement, and to moral suasion its agitation was primarily political: prohibitionists placed in temperance legislation all the hopes which other temperance reformers placed in individual moral reform. Their divergence on ideology and strategy was responsible for heated controversy within the mid-Victorian temperance movement<sup>2</sup> such that the movement was temporarily "distracted".<sup>3</sup> Ill feeling stemmed from prohibitionist sectarian defence of the Maine Law and perfervid pursuit of legislation aimed at abolition of the Trade.

Prohibitionists were often "argumentative personalities", in whom some of the darkest and lightest aspects of the 'Victorian Mind' were found side by side, enthusiasm energy and idealism blended into obsessiveness, dogmatism, impatience with details, and inability to compromise.<sup>4</sup> Their 'sectarianism', which alienated Cobden and Bright, was all the more remarkable given the breadth of reform and philanthropic interests which many undoubtedly had. Whereas moral suasion reflected the social and moral aspects of the evangelical conscience, prohibitionism exemplified its political aspects.

Prohibitionists were often Bible literalists who condemned all disobedience to Bible ethics, and everything which blocked spreading the Gospel. They echoed Dunlop's claims that under their influence labour aristocrats could be induced to attend Hebrew classes to assess for themselves the Bible's advice on prohibition. Many took Paul's dictum "neither to eat flesh, drink wine, nor do anything whereby thy brother is offended" quite literally as Harrison's



sample of U.K.A. patrons 1868-9, including vegetarians, anti-smoking/opium men, anti-slavers and reformers interested in factory reform, the treatment of women, children, and the old and the disabled reflected.<sup>5</sup> Like Lees they often produced "turgid, over-documented and fractious writings" on the Bible to stress that it contained nothing to justify licensing, or to detract from prohibition. Their ranks included many Nonconformists. As with 'political Nonconformity', evangelicalism was the force by which prohibitionist fragmentation was transcended.<sup>6</sup>

In many ways prohibitionism was simply yet another crusade launched by the Nonconformist Conscience. It was symptomatic of Non-conformity's "at last putting political quietism, born of long years of social and political exclusion" firmly behind them.<sup>7</sup> Many, whether Nonconformist or not, shared Nonconformist interest in the education and disestablishment questions, and criticism of laissez faire's neglect of moral progress by elevation of wealth to the nation's *raison d'etre*.<sup>8</sup> Education and disestablishment were sensitive issues, but were of less import in Scotland than England and Wales. Education was a less divisive issue, and the divide between the Church of Scotland and the Free and U.P. Churches was more a question of "wider contacts and broader sympathies" by 1874.<sup>9</sup> Prohibition was an emotive theme for Scottish evangelicals.<sup>10</sup> U.F. Church concern for the quality of Scottish life was symbolised in the years after 1914 by the work of the Revd. James Barr, who regarded his Local Veto campaign as an integral part of his leadership of Home Mission activity.<sup>11</sup>

Many were millenarian in their expectation of the benefits conferred by prohibition, and vision of a 'world hereafter' on earth. The alliance of such enthusiasts with Liberalism in general, and local

Liberal elites in particular were often uneasy as militant prohibitionism could verge on demands for radical social change and "revolutionary chiliasm".<sup>12</sup> Millennialism accentuated existing fin-de-siècle expectations of social progress, and imbued their demands with a strong sense of urgency. The S.P.P.'s marked millennialism reflected not only Scrymgeour and Walsh's eccentric desire for a messianic role, and their penchant for inflammatory oratory, but also that the increasing self-assertiveness of Dundee's workers "demanded a heightened radicalism from those who hoped to influence its progress."<sup>13</sup> Much of the "reign of terror" in the social and political life of Scottish cities instigated by men like Scrymgeour and Chisholm was prompted by Prohibitionist puritanism, reminiscent of George Cadbury's control of Daily News copy. The S.P.P. sported "purity badges", publicising their determination to live pure lives, so demonstrating the viability of a future paradise by exemplifying their fitness for it, as the tea-drinking altruists of Russian radicalism did.<sup>14</sup> Many, like Hugh Price Hughes, resembled "a day of judgement in breeches". Like T.H. Green, they not only sympathised with the moral idealism of Nonconformist culture but also admired the 17th Century Puritan Commonwealth, and were proud of Covenanting forebears.<sup>15</sup> 17th century legislative initiatives against drink had since been perverted. Prohibition was the logical conclusion to the Puritan Reformation of Manners. Webb felt many envisaged a new world of "independent Roundheads".<sup>16</sup>

Puritanism, often linked with fatalistic belief that self-interest and religious apathy would bring its own social disasters, was prohibition's most noticeable feature to many Scots. Prohibitionists branded drink as "not only the Devil's way to man but also man's way to the Devil" pace Whittier. They were short on sympathy for

those who did not share their moral inflexibility. Many enjoyed being "fanatics", regarding this as a tribute to their moral worth.<sup>17</sup> Rival solutions to the drink problem were regarded as heresy by this 'sect'. Most overstated their case by seeing DRINK lurking like Sin the serpent beneath all social problems, by negativity, (e.g. F.W. Newman's famous comment "I am anti-everything!") and close association with Sabbatarianism, in spite of their support for Sunday opening of museums.<sup>18</sup> Whilst local option gradually gained popular acceptance, prohibitionism symbolised the unacceptable face of Liberal puritanism. Fitzmaurice's suspicion that "Heaven on Lawsonian principles" would be quite unbearable was not confined to High Church critics of prohibition, although High Church and Catholic hostility was often a reaction against anti-ritualist, anti-popery prohibitionists, represented by "the tyranny of Hopeny", membership overlap with the Glasgow Evangelistic Association, and S.P.P. incitement of sectarian unrest.<sup>19</sup> Use of Free Church criticism of football as inducement of Saturday drinking and Sabbath breaking from the 1890's on as proof of counter-attractions' failure gained prohibition enduring identification with the kill-joy propensities of the Calvinist character, evocative of Herbert's lines "Let's find out what everyone is doing and then stop them from doing it!"<sup>20</sup>

This censorious image was heightened by health propaganda. Prohibitionists were, as Harrison noted, fascinated by science, originally to reconcile science and religion and latterly to synthesise physiological, psychological, and pathological research, to create an impressive case for prohibition. Working from the premise that alcohol was a narcotic or a toxic, they stressed addiction, prevalence of the "drink crave", drink induced susceptibility to T.B., inebriate incurability, high proportions of alcoholics in annual mortality

statistics, drinking's hereditary consequences and implications for physical deterioration.<sup>21</sup> Their dire predictions were symptomatic of class tension and the social purity crusade's influence on many Nonconformist social reformers.<sup>22</sup>

Prohibitionism overlapped with social purity at several points. Mid-Victorian prohibitionists were hostile to standing armies as a source of vice. Prostitution was a central concern in later attacks on 'modern Babylon'.<sup>23</sup> The S.P.B.T.A. had links with the Glasgow based National Vigilance Association (1910). Social purity also interested the S.P.P. because of the large numbers of relatively independent female mill operatives in its native Dundee. Coatbridge meetings of the S.P.P. following the Temperance Scotland Act (1913) digressed from local option to "White Slavery" and "sex hygiene". They allied with the Women's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.) against double standards in morality. After the 1880's both believed that the licensing system was no more justified than the Contagious Diseases Act and European licensing of vice.<sup>24</sup>

Negativity was balanced by optimistic assessment of prohibition's benefits for women and children. Prohibitionists like T.H. Green took a more serious view of the drunkard's threat to the home than Mill did. Sometimes, as with Green, this was the result of having a drunkard in the family. In Lawson's case however association of prohibition with the defence of "the Home" and women's suffrage reflected failure to accept prohibition's lack of popular appeal and desire for a new electoral recipe.<sup>25</sup> Others, e.g. Gulland, Rowallan, Newman and the S.P.B.T.A. Ladies' Auxilliary, participated in children's and women's temperance organisations and women's suffrage, and were markedly more sympathetic to their plight than Herbert Spencer or J.S. Mill. The S.P.P. also courted female

support, employed a lady on the Scottish Prohibitionist, and aligned with the women's movement and the "mill girl vote" in general, in bids to oust Churchill from his Dundee seat. They supported female candidates in School Board Elections, e.g. Mrs Watt of Glasgow, and criticised Labour's stance on suffrage. They also brought Carrie Nation, "the original bar room smasher", to speak in Scotland in 1908. Nation, the self-styled Joan of Arc of American prohibition, was a kindred spirit to the eccentric Scrymgeour, who had pilgrimaged to American Prohibition Party Conventions and corresponded enthusiastically with reformers like Boston's John A. Roberts. Mrs Nation, a demagogue and a megalomaniac, regarded her name and its connotations of 'saving the nation' as "Providence", and claimed "I am the roused heart and conscience of the people". Her division of society into "God's crowd and the Devil's crowd" was typical prohibitionist polarisation. Her allegations of an American masonic conspiracy to defeat "liberal free speech and the Church" with the aid of the Trade, were typical of prohibitionist conspiracy theories. Her advocacy of personal violence repelled would-be prohibitionists and, with characteristic perversity, Scrymgeour began to attack Nation for allowing dress reform and anti-smoking to divert her occasionally from prohibition. The S.P.P. continued however to use the women's temperance slogan "For God, Our House and Right", doubtless in recognition of the rising tide of the 'woman question'. Scrymgeour and Dollan highlighted municipal suppression of information on Pankhurst's arrest, and the plight of the 700 women workers who had applied to the Scottish Council of Women workers, in 1914.<sup>26</sup>

The S.P.P. attitude to child welfare was also slightly unorthodox. They placed great faith in young abstainers to implement and maintain prohibition, and were genuinely concerned about poorer

children. Scrymgeour allied with Dundee Social Union to push through corporation summer trips for them. Yet he also used the issue to criticise Labour's "Young Crusaders" and I.O.G.T. juvenile workers lukewarm to the S.P.P., and to denounce the N.S.P.C.C. The latter linked much domestic cruelty with drink, yet had officials who directed public house trusts. The S.P.P. proclaimed itself "the real N.S.P.C.C." for its uncompromising adherence to prohibition. At the time of the Children's Charter, they criticised the inadequacy of juvenile charity work, turning conventional sentimentality on its head to ask "Should we Save the Children?" Until all could expect the basic necessities of life, mere Baby Funds were futile. They watched closely the activities of the "Tribune" Rendezvous Conference on children and drink in 1907, and deliberations of groups like the Glasgow Council of Child Welfare. In 1914 the S.P.P. asserted that the major parties still ignored the fundamental problem of ensuring children were fed at week-ends and, in their obsession with war, had failed to protect children against deprivation and depravity, "domestic atrocities".<sup>27</sup> S.P.P. attitudes to divorce and the family were however standard expressions of the "Nonconformist Conscience", with a grain of class hostility reminiscent of the 1870's 'Glasgow Tracts for Trades Unionists' denunciation of divorce as yet another aristocratic privilege.<sup>28</sup>

Prohibitionists constantly tilted at privilege. Local option's cachet derived from raising popular control as a counterpoise to magistrates' control of licensing. Licensing was thoroughly odious because of magistrate s' interest in the licensing status quo, as landowners with grain to sell, or landlords. Licensing could also easily become a tool of social control. It in no way interfered with the habits of the rich. Licensing had connotations at best of

centuries of inefficiency and, at worst, distinct magisterial collusion in perpetuation of the Trade and the gentry's ability to escape taxation.<sup>28</sup> Much of the class tension exhibited in the debate over temperance versus total abstinence was also present in later debates on prohibition, local veto, and local option versus licensing measures. The Permissive Bill especially stressed local self-determination, attractive to those who sought to attack the governing classes by strengthening local initiative.

Not all shared Scrymgeour's desire for a messianic role but most did see themselves as champions of the working man. In the 1860's prohibitionists defended the working classes against Robert Lowe's allegations of heavy drinking. Some were concerned that workers' habits were ill-suited to voting, but many more shared Thomas Burt's hostility to the small man's vulnerability to manipulation in an increasingly impersonal world. They echoed moral force Chartism in desire to re-order the system to enable free competition for social advancement, and their insinuations that "present rulers" dreaded above all "the sobriety of the people". Whilst the obverse of this attitude was manifest in prohibitionist support for complete suffrage, Hardie's work for independent labour representation, and formation of the S.P.P., the reverse of this apocalyptic vision of popular judgement of the nation's political system encompassed fear of social unrest expressed by Manning and the Tory paternalist Shaftesbury. Yet in general prohibitionist voting patterns suggest they were consistently more eager than their critics to "challenge the morality and authority of the aristocracy". (Harrison)<sup>p199</sup>.

Perpetuation of class consciousness even in mid-Victorian prosperity was aided by allegorisation of the temperance versus Trade dichotomy. This permitted Kirton, Rodger, and many others to attack

socially mobile licensed traders - a tendency which critics of prohibition found highly offensive, especially as their rhetoric could easily be extended to business in general, and was often accompanied by criticism of Church absorption in overseas mission work at the expense of the Scottish worker.<sup>29</sup> Great faith was placed in the innate good sense of an enfranchised common people, and the power of the free press to work to abolish the drink slavery, thus continuing the social progress set in motion by the factory acts, public health legislation etc.<sup>30</sup>

To Scots, as F.W. Newman, the Permissive Bill epitomised ascendant localism and reflected misgivings on centralisation, Parliament's work load, lack of local initiative, and desire for decentralisation. Some saw the latter as a counter-revolutionary force, as did Manning, whilst most saw prohibitionist measures as an aid to civic and national pride, and a vital accompaniment to land reform. Prohibitionist banners and insignia utilised nationalist emblems, (see Scrymgeour's cartoon image of himself overleaf) and prohibitionists blamed the obstructive tactics of English M.P.s and the House of Lords for blocking Scottish temperance legislation. Scottish temperance opinion, it was emphasised, was years in advance of that in England. Nationalist suspicions added another facet to prohibitionist theories, and prohibitionist nationalism reflected the Highland nationalism of the 1880's, the non-radical movement for restoration of the post of Scottish Secretary, in which nationalism and the ambition of Rosebery featured,<sup>31</sup> and support of Home Rule not only by Liberals but also a pot-pourri of "romantic conservatives", Unionists who wanted to direct Home Rule against the Irish, radicals who equated it with the 8hr. day, and Gladstonian Liberals.<sup>32</sup> There was no radical nationalist movement, although nationalism partly



Prohibitionism as a channel for nationalism.

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SATURDAY



# UNDER THE STANDARD AND HOLDING THE FORT.

Source : Scottish Prohibitionist

encouraged Hardie's conversion to socialism.<sup>33</sup> Much prohibitionist nationalism was of the cultural variety noted by Kellas, and was connected with the teetotal cult of Burns created by John Paton of Barrhead. Paton came to the startling conclusion that the bard was a "true temperance man" on the basis of his egalitarianism and awareness of his sins. This cult was boosted by prohibitionist purchase of Burns' Cottage at Alloway, and extinction of its ale-house licence, and establishment of Burns Clubs and periodicals from the 1880's and 1890's on. Reformers like the Revd. David Macrae used his poetry to demonstrate that all were capable of rectitude. Life in a nation with permissive licensing however maximised temptation and degradation at the expense of virtue, and genius. Significantly Macrae was a friend of the former Chartist John Fraser.<sup>34</sup> Burns' egalitarianism, together with the Nonconformist Conscience, provided the respectable cultural back-drop against which many moved towards support for a collectivist State.

Prohibitionists and moral suasionists differed in attitude to the State. "Prohibitionist political theory had three essentials: a belief that the State could never be morally indifferent, an organic conception of society, and a positive definition of liberty."<sup>35</sup> They demanded State supervision of morality, an attitude to government echoing the pre-Restoration period. The State was not to be expected to protect or regulate harmful trades, and could promote morality by environmental improvements. Precedents for belief that things which were morally wrong could never be politically correct included the slave trade's abolition and factory reform. It was not politic however for early Prohibitionists to cite the latter too often for fear of alienating factory-owning supporters. State intervention if 'wise' was entirely justifiable, models being the quaran-

tine laws, and regulation of poisons, adulteration, obscene literature, explosives, and air pollution. They did not see the State and the individual as separate, conflicting entities. The State was the nation's cumulative conscience. The individual was part of the State and could have no complaint against measures designed to secure the greatest good for the community. No case could be made for the tawdry liberty of self-interest. Their emphasis on the State's dignity and organic role challenged the Manchester School, and anticipated the analysis of T.H. Green, who later joined the U.K.A. Lees for example stressed that the State was no mere policeman, rather a "natural growth from Humanity's Seed", aware doubtless that urban society rendered traditional libertarianism, and the confusing ethics of the policeman theory of the State, irrelevant.<sup>36</sup>

Their goal was to create an environment conducive to self-help. Early prohibitionists sought merely to counter prevailing fatalism on temptation and social distress as necessary character tests. Many, like Lees, were concerned to make moral conduct feasible, to replace "impulsive will" by "moral will", and to create a moral commonwealth rather than a welfare State. State intervention was to be sanctioned on the merits of each case. As with factory and housing reform and municipal utilities, and interest in poverty following Stead's revelations, moral progress was the keynote.

Much early prohibitionism was merely paternalistic authoritarianism. Prohibitionists were far more aware of human frailties, and gaps between intentions and actions, than Mill. Most shared Owen and T.H. Green's conviction that modern Babylon contaminated all, making "preventative justice" vital. The S.P.P. promoted building societies for this reason. Many supported 'welfare capitalism'. Richardson, founder of the Bessbrook community, was a prohibitionist,

and Scrymgeour wrote enthusiastically of Ford Motor's package, which included profit sharing.<sup>37</sup> It was easy for such reformers to regard legislation itself as a powerful educational influence, and to argue that voluntaryism's failure made an excellent case for State compulsion - as with national education. Many like Kirk had an autocratic frame of mind,<sup>38</sup> being influenced by the contradictory notions of individualism and authoritarianism as were 17th century Calvinists.<sup>39</sup>

Moral suasionists, like Mill, felt the individual could vanquish drink's temptation as Nature intended. Prohibitionists thought the question and its consequences too serious to wait for people to realise their own best interests - a view influenced by slum visiting and awareness of violence, in spite of criticism that prohibitionism would foment unrest as in the Sunday Trading Riots.<sup>40</sup> Authoritarianism was defended in terms of Guizot's political theory and Bentham's "Principles of the Civil Code". Bentham's view that it would be impossible to make men sober by act of parliament was conveniently ignored, as was criticism by Bishop William Magee (1821-91), Whig Bishop of Peterborough, for whom national liberty was preferable to compulsory sobriety.<sup>41</sup> Utilitarianism born of puritanism thus influenced advocacy of intervention and also "communitarianism and even socialistic attitudes", just as paternalism had led reformers like Shaftesbury to support some measure of intervention in the early 19th century - the State assuming a 'parental role' in the face of thorny social problems.<sup>42</sup>

Prohibitionism's attraction was ironic, as was municipal socialism's. Many prohibitionists resembled the "individualist councillor", wryly described by Webb, who lauded municipal enterprise yet still rejected "fantastic absurdities" like socialism in favour of "individual self-help."<sup>43</sup> Many turn of the century prohibitionists

however were, like the Revds. Barr and Walsh, Christian Socialists. Several of the first generation of Labour leaders were of course connected with temperance. Whilst John Maclean (1879-1923) was merely a personal abstainer, Tom Johnston (1882-1965) was a former Band of Hope boy involved in thrift work, and Keir Hardie,, Willie Gallacher (1881-1965) David Kirkwood (1872-1955) E. Rosslyn Mitchell (1879-1965) James Brown, William Adamson, Ernest Brown, Andrew Gilzean, and William Graham LL.D. were all Templars.<sup>44</sup> Many tended to reject organised temperance work as "anti working class" at later stages of their careers. Like Snowden, Kirkwood and Rosslyn Mitchell did not. All acknowledged drink-related suffering and waste, urging abstinence for individuals and for "the Moral force of the (Labour) Movement", their rhetoric and social pathology often echoing teetotal Chartism.<sup>45</sup>

Local I.L.P. organisers did not resent the status accorded the drink question by Snowden and Henderson, who used the issue as a bridge to trades union veterans and later as a means of by-passing older labourist unionists in appeals to the thinking working man. Intemperance was regarded as a very real social problem. Excesses associated with traditional "usages" had been supplemented in many areas by rowdy bonfires to celebrate Ladysmith and Mafeking.<sup>46</sup> Temperance also gave "richt rebels" carte blanche to attack the foibles of local councillors and M.P.'s with respectability, if not impunity.

Overlap in membership of the Labour and temperance movements was encouraged by common Radical interest in land reform, in which many linked idealised notions of pastoral Scotland with Cobbett's denunciation of land monopoly as a prime factor in pauperisation and Georgeite social criticism, and support of labour colonies and

habitual drunkards' rehabilitation schemes, and in peace.<sup>47</sup>

Prohibitionist pacifism was produced by evangelical expectations of foreign policy, i.e. honourable dealings at all times and attempts to uphold moral standards. This attitude, exemplified by Shaftesbury and Kirk's reactions to the Opium War and subsequent Sino-British relations which flew in the face of "national morality and religion", re-emerged in Templar internationalism and support of local peace and arbitration societies. The temperance press was a model for Daily News hostility to war and attempts to rally Nonconformist opposition to the Boer War. Many prohibitionists supported Lawson's "Stop the War" campaign, although "global Christianity" and imperialism, and the patriotism of Volunteer prohibitionists, probably contributed to this pressure group's poor showing in the 1900 "Khaki Election". The tax of 1/- per barrel on beer and 6d per gallon on spirits, imposed in 1900 to finance war, was deeply resented as "paying for one evil by perpetuating another".

Prohibitionists joined in Radical criticism of policy after 1905 when defence spending rose and Grey seemed "devoted to that radical bogey - balance of power in Europe", equated with war mongering, and at the expense too of weaker nations' freedom and independence. The fate of Persia especially over 1907-1913 revived traditional dissent on foreign policy. Prohibitionists shared Hardie's hostility to entente with Russia, and often sympathised with the non-violent mystical wing of the Russian radical movement. Many thought The Nation's 1908 criticism of Grey's "illiberalism" justified and called for better relations with Germany following the Moroccan Crisis. The Nonconformist Conscience was aware of other flaws in British policy e.g. use of coercion in India and Egypt, and failure to restrain Italian ambition in North Africa. The Daily

News helped lead a "Grey must go campaign".

Grey's critics won only minor concessions however, epitomised by the temporary halt in Dreadnought construction demanded by 120 Liberals in 1906. The peace movement's last and greatest victory was really 1886 recognition of the need for parliamentary consultation on annexation of territory and declarations of war, reflecting the Peace Society's decline in years when the Crimean War, Indian Mutiny, American Civil War, the Bulgarian Atrocities and Armenian Massacres, overseas mission work, and defence of the "native races", predisposed even Nonconformists to move from faith in diplomacy to calls for intervention and justification of force. Peace was still "vaguely attractive", evident in Free Church Council support of Stead's 1898 Crusade of Peace, enthusiasm for an Anglo-American agreement in 1911, peace conferences, and the 1911 Associated Councils in the British and German Empires, (est. 1911). Moral absolutists like Scrymgeour who outlawed war however could only look to Quakers and the Left for support.

The I.L.P. and the S.P.P. both attempted to rally opposition in the face of widespread support for the Great War. Even the Labour movement's reactions ranged from acquiescence with reservations on the position of the British worker to the "Hunhating jingoism and ultra-loyalism". The S.P.P. ridiculed "War Peril" hysteria, as it had the arms race, and was close to Quakerism and the Left on conscription and the need for a "Conscription of Riches". They favoured increasing the idle rich's taxation and sequestration of unearned income until further notice, pace Webb rather than Hyndman's plans. Barr was also President of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Peace Society in 1914. Barr, the S.P.P., and well known temperance men were prominent at the Glasgow Green, <sup>Glasgow,</sup> Peace Demonstration of August

1914. Scrymgeour was prophetic in assertions that support of war would be disastrous for the cause of moral reform, although at the time his criticism reflected more the eschatological facet of evangelicalism, or the cry in the wilderness of the puritan non-juror or passive resister than the voice of political acumen.<sup>48</sup> Prohibitionist pacifism and socialism drew closer together on many issues in the years after 1910 when the balance of power in parliament swung away from the Liberals, strengthening existing links e.g. the Revd. Fergus Ferguson's contributions to Johnston's Forward and Hardie and Burns' denunciations of drink. On conscription and the Military Service Act their ideas converged greatly.<sup>49</sup>

The relationship between prohibitionism and socialism in general however remained asymptotic. Paternalism, animistic tendencies, individual responsibility and self-help were uneasy bed fellows of collectivism and secularism. Ayrshire Socialists, mindful of this, were careful not to antagonise aristocratic reformers or the local clergy. Prohibitionists were profoundly democratic which helped reduce friction. They supported franchise extension, assuming a natural community of interest between those not of the privileged classes which dominated politics. Many like Manning, sought to pre-empt Socialism by reform, in the process radicalising the Liberal Party and making it more representative of Nonconformist opinion.<sup>50</sup> They refused to be associated with Socialists willing to municipalise or nationalise the Trade. In this instance municipalisation and nationalisation were thought sinful, meretricious measures to perpetuate the Trade. Both threatened to involve "the people" in Trade guilt and its particularly vicious profit motive. They seemed inconsistent with the socialist vision of a non-profit making civil government, and struck many as evidence of general socialist acata-



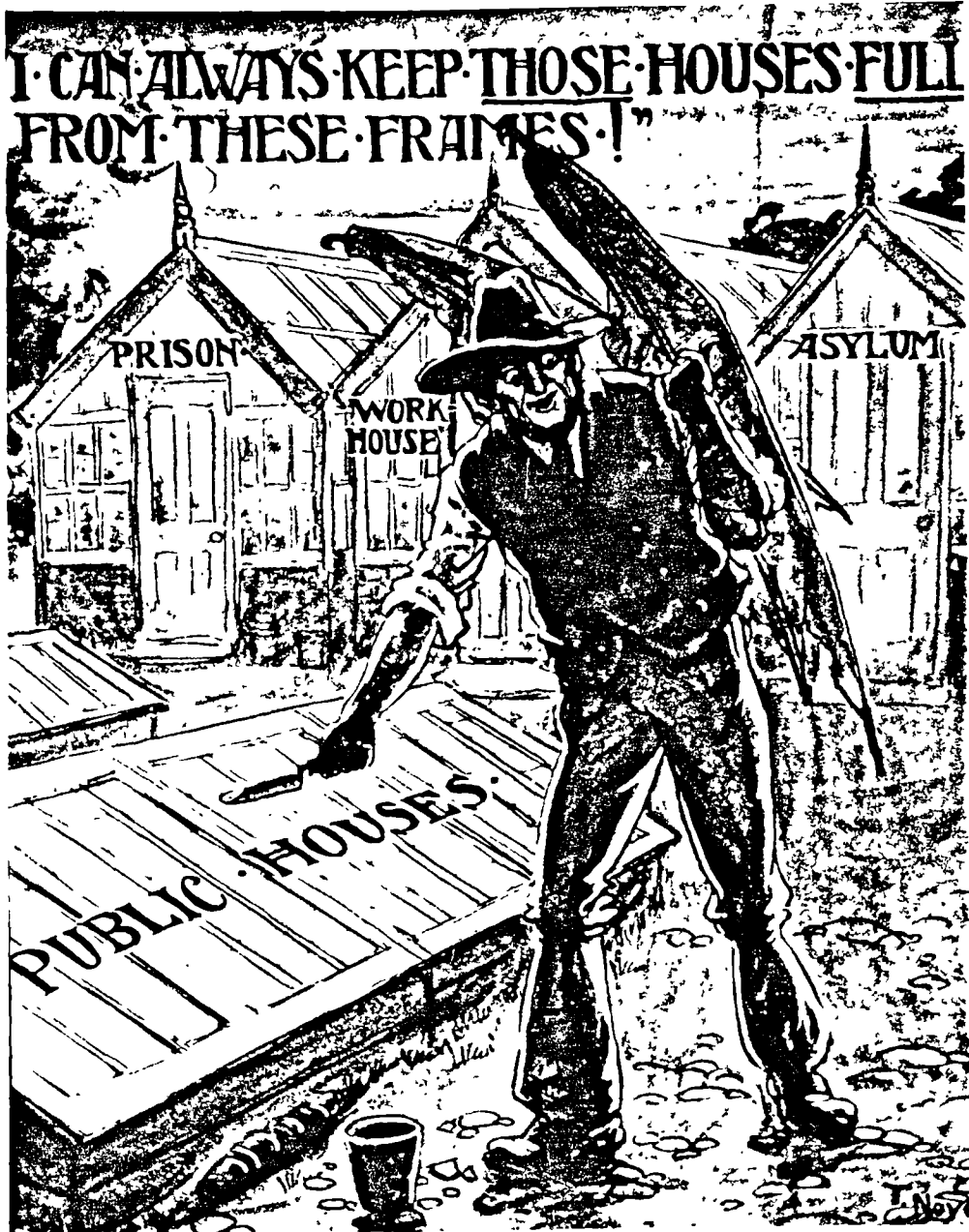
phasia. Extremists, e.g. the S.P.P., denounced all those who favoured management schemes as apostates. Moderates, e.g. S.P.B.T.A. and I.O.G.T., were less bichromatic, yet they too shunned Chamberlain's municipalisation scheme and socialist management schemes alike.

Prohibitionist asperity was trained on socialism in numerous well publicised debates, e.g. Hibbert versus Quelch, Scrymgeour versus Tom Kennedy, Dundee organiser of the S.D.F., and versus McLean in 1907. These debates, fuelled in the last instance by Clarion and Labour Leader exclusion of S.P.P. letters, focussed on the topical "economic aspect of the Drink Question", the causes of poverty and particularly whether drinking habits reflected nature or nurture. Gladstonians, leaders of the I.L.P. and some trades unions still supported the prohibitionists' Chalmerian "moral interpretation" of poverty, as did the C.O.S.<sup>51</sup> The Reform Act which seemed to entrust some of the "undeserving" poor with the franchise, apparent interaction of high levels of alcohol consumption with the "Great Depression", much visible poverty and the cult of respectability, fostered this attitude.<sup>52</sup> Prohibitionist political economy was as over-simplified as Shaftesbury's interpretation of some aspects of factory reform. Impact derived from clarity not profundity. The Great Depression was reduced to a "reality tax" imposed by hard drinking workers. Vexed questions of productivity were traced to subversion of national efforts by "Saint Monday" - publicised by Whitworth, the cotton manufacturer, and many other employers. In some cases this was the product of a mercantile background and reluctance to fault the capitalist system. Yet Scrymgeour, whose background was humble and who railed constantly at "interests" mercenary businessmen, despotic publishing companies etc., shared

this view. Such consensus was carefully cultivated so that reform might prevent the emergence of 'class politics'. The U.K.A. firmly believed prohibition alone could reduce industrial unrest and prevent class war. Hoyle's assessments of working class spending provided a framework in which unemployment and falling profit margins were attributed to sin, gluts of unsold produce to drunkards' gluttony rather than over production, thus reconciling undeniably surplus goods with Britain's relatively high wages. Drink was the "destroyer of wealth". Expenditure on drink was non-productive in two ways. Drink money was wasted because drink, in contrast to food, did not nourish or produce energy for longer work. Unlike purchase of consumer goods nothing permanent was gained in the process. Secondly its purchase benefited a very few, again in contrast to most consumer goods industries, the Trade was a domestic craft turned industrial process, it had never been labour intensive and with innovations in bottling etc. never would be, whilst those in retailing were deemed moral incorrigibles for whom prohibition would be a necessary prerequisite for rehabilitation. Abolition would inconvenience few and Trade capital would be released to enter fruitful channels. Employment would be stimulated and poverty reduced, whereas socialist redistribution of wealth without moral reform would simply worsen the nation's drink problem, according to prohibitionists like J.M. Skinner.<sup>53</sup>

Whilst the S.D.F. ignored prohibitionist apologies, socialists like Tom Mann and Robert Blatchford attacked supporters of the "economic aspects of the drink question" as apologists of mercenary industrialists. They equated prohibition with unemployment and reduction of wages, following "the iron law of wages", and focussed on the need to improve living conditions and maintain and improve

Prohibitionist propaganda.



Scottish Band of Hope Union copyright.

working conditions. The Liberal left was also critical. J.A. Hobson regarded the moral interpretation of poverty as outdated, and an escape from consideration of the prosperous classes' culpability, or of more positive measures. In "Problems of Poverty" (1891) total abstinence was represented as a boon for the individual but a bane for the masses in general because drink was a part of their staple diet. Prohibition would encourage industrial efficiency, but also poverty. To be cost effective it had to be accompanied by more recreation, social insurance, or as Blatchford suggested, better housing.<sup>54</sup> This debate lost much of its interest and urgency by the early 1900's. Extreme prohibition was checked by the 1895 Liberal defeat, licensing reformers and prohibitionists had drawn closer, and the question was deflated by awareness of per capita consumption's decline from the high levels of 1870-90. Also, the Labour view on temperance appeared more clearly to be that of Macdonald and Snowden, "who remained Liberals in outlook and conduct". These "life long puritans" made cautious diagnosis of poverty in which economic and moral reform were interdependent.<sup>55</sup>

Some aspects of prohibitionist theory survived neo-classical economists' rejection of traditional concepts, e.g. the wage fund, which under-pinned their reasoning. Rate-payer temperance, which stressed the ever increasing burden drink placed upon urban rate-payers, via institutions for the poor, for criminals and the sick, and for their offspring was a constant, as the illustration opposite reflects. Most were firm supporters of "retrenchment", as of reform and peace. Many blamed  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the rates bill on intemperance's "social costs". This was thought to interfere with the course of industrial development, encouraging manufacturers to leave highly-rated cities, and subverting the price-structure of British exports,

thus driving investment to more temperate lands. Basic unease on shouldering responsibilities abnegated by the drunkard, a keynote of the early temperance movement, lived on in determination to pare social reform's costs down as far as possible. This was exemplified by Bird of the S.P.B.T.A.'s work for the Glasgow Ratepayers' Federation, and the Citizens' Union which provided support for Glasgow's Progressive Union.<sup>56</sup> As Thomson found, such apolitical ratepayers' associations were often supported by Conservatives. Their stance on economy could anticipate that of inter-war years 'Progressives', whilst leftist Prohibitionists were closer to the 'gospel of socialism's' vision of an eradicated National Debt.<sup>57</sup>

Scottish prohibitionism was largely associated with Templary and the S.P.B.T.A. over 1870-1914. Templary had an American abolition pledge, the S.P.B.T.A. a strategy based on promotion of total abstinence and "total suppression of the liquor traffic by legislative enactment...through the united efforts of moral and social reformers". Initially virtually a U.K.A. auxiliary, S.P.B.T.A. was closely associated with its strategies. Indeed, inflexible insistence upon the U.K.A. legislative solution, the Permissive Bill, often thwarted co-operation envisaged. The Permissive Bill differed greatly from the Maine Law. It was local and permissive, the Maine Law national and compulsory. Some reformers were alienated by its 1864 introduction, and in its early days it was supported mainly by working class reformers. Many came to see it as a more practical temporary solution for areas already favourably disposed to total abstinence.<sup>58</sup>

From 1859-74 prohibitionists utilised tactics employed by Anti-Corn Law League and anti-slavery agitators - "the public meeting, the deputation and the petition" - to convince politicians of support

for the Permissive Bill. Indignation meetings were typical of the Nonconformist Conscience.<sup>59</sup> Deputations to the Secretary of State, Solicitor General, local politicians, and on occasion the Prime Minister were to become constants of prohibitionist pressure. Petitions were a feature of the 1860's and 1870's especially, featuring petitions from town councils like Stirling, Greenock, Dumfries Darvel and Aberdeen, Glasgow Trades Council, which represented 150,000 working men, and Churches. By 1872 Glasgow prohibitionists could easily produce 40,000 signature Permissive Bill petitions.<sup>60</sup>

U.K.A. electoral action commenced in 1854. Unfavourable candidates were simply publicised. Early prohibitionist candidates were publicity stunts, as with Chartist candidacies. Only after 1918 did the deposit system discourage this type of pressure. Sunday Closing and the Permissive Bill became test questions in elections, but Glasgow's Electoral Permissive Bill Association was formed only in 1864. Such associations were usually ad hoc. Prior to the Reform Act and 1872 Secret Ballot constituencies and majorities were small. Prohibitionists therefore attempted to organise a bloc vote for favourable candidates. Electors were canvassed, organised in ad hoc associations, and committed in advance to electoral pledges by signature. Depending on local circumstances pledges could be positive, negative, or open. Voters were usually asked to withhold votes until one of the candidates pledged himself to support the Bill.

Voting for "the better man" was the 1864-71 strategy, evident in the S.P.B.T.A.'s intervention in municipal elections and the Glasgow constituencies, organisation of electoral associations in Edinburgh, (well in advance of W.P. Adam's work for Liberal organisation there) and smaller towns like Dumfries, and of committees to coordinate pressure in unwieldy counties. Prohibitionists like

SCOTTISH POLITICS

SEATS WON BY THE PARTIES

1868-1910

<u>ELECTION</u>	<u>CON.</u>	<u>LIB. UN.</u>	<u>LIB.</u>	<u>LAB.</u>	<u>OTHERS</u> <u>(i.e. CROFTERS)</u>
1868	8		52		
1874	20		40		
1880	7		53		
1885	10		57		5
1886	12	16	39		5
1892	10	12	45		5
1895	19	14	39		
1900	21	17	34		
1906	8	4	58	2	
1910 (Jan.)	8	3	59	2	
1910 (Dec.)	7	4	58	3	

Source: J.G. Kellas "Modern Scotland: The Nation Since 1870",  
London, 1968, Table 20, p. 251.

Knox aimed to publicise principles, "turn the stupidest M.P. around", revitalise temperance in the lull after successful defence of Scottish Sunday Closing, and break the Trade's suspected stranglehold on Parliament.<sup>61</sup>

This often led to support of Liberal candidates embarrassingly lukewarm to the Bill. Bright for example was "the better man" in an 1867 contest. Liberal partisans were frequently unperturbed by this. The Liberals had Scottish majorities at every election over 1832-1918, barring 1900. The situation however was most unsatisfactory and contributed to prohibitionism's lack of impact on the 1868 Election. After the Irish Question passed from the political centre stage and Scottish M.P.s gave their first majority for the Bill in 1870 prohibitionists rethought strategy, strengthened by their solidarity against Bruce's Bill.<sup>62</sup>

Coercion, and greater organisation, were embarked upon. Prohibitionists like Dr. McCulloch called for support only of those in favour of the Bill, employing propaganda and organised abstention on the Anti-Corn Law League model and, where possible, provision of Permissive Bill candidates.<sup>63</sup> They were gratified by unopposed return of Sir H.F. Davie, Laing, Fordyce, Grieve, McLagan, Trevelyan, Dr. Cameron, who had issued a Permissive Bill address, Reid (Kirkcaldy), Noel (Dumfries Burghs) McGregor (Leith) and McIntosh (Inverness Burghs). Ability to cause selection disputes and to split the Liberal vote was soon apparent. Influencing contests' outcomes however depended greatly on the extent of Trade/Tory opposition. Prohibitionists were pleased at unseating Col. Campbell (Renfrewshire), Bouverie (Kilmarnock Burghs) Craufurd (Ayr Burghs) and Sir J. Ogilvie of Dundee, but counted the contests of Wedderburn and Finnie (North and South Ayrshire), the Millers (of Berwickshire and Edinburgh) and



of Grant, Bowmont and Jardine (Elgin, Roxburghshire and Dumfriesshire) as failures. Later, they consoled themselves that in exchanging Bruce for Cross the Trade had "merely exchanged one inconvenience for another."<sup>64</sup>

Liberal prohibitionists and also Nonconformists like Cossham were perturbed by coercive tactics dismissive of citizens' duty to vote. Even Barrhead militants were confused: what happened when all candidates were neutral? Were prohibitionists bound to support only Permissive Billers regardless of other questions? Even although Conservative prohibitionists were rare, contests with complicated allegiances caused confusion. Abstention was nevertheless more practicable than expensive independent candidacies as at Aberdeen in 1872. Abstention became "the predominant method", whilst many partisans co-operated with local Liberals. Liberal M.P.s outnumbered Conservatives by 54 to 6 prior to the 1874 Election. Not surprisingly much activity was then "behind the scenes", prohibitionists often demanding far less of Liberal candidates than leaders intended. Sinclair, Balfour, the Highland Radical McGrombie and Kinnaird were mere temperance sympathisers yet their return to a "beer and parson Parliament" with only 41 Scottish Liberals was welcome. U.K.A. similarly worked to return Ashley in 1874. Local prohibitionists preferred usually to infiltrate Liberalism and radicalism. Glasgow temperance reformers co-operated to return Dr. Cameron, thus gaining an important voice in the Commons. They encouraged prohibitionist societies to work as "candidate agencies" for Liberalism, suggesting for example Lees, Cossham, or Illingworth as suitable Liberals for Falkirk. Many were already too involved in Liberal politics to adopt truly non-partisan strategies. Beith, McFarlane, Robinson, Green, Sir Thomas Glen Coats, and Pullar were

all influential Liberal officials.<sup>65</sup>

A S.P.B.T.A. urban survey following this election, reported in Scottish Reformer, revealed temperance to be at a low ebb. Conviction that a Trade/Tory alliance had been at work in 1874 encouraged closer identification with Liberalism over 1874-80. In reality, the dissatisfaction of Lowland tenant farmers was more important in determining the Scottish result, and Conservatives ironically were concerned to improve the narrow base of their support. Liberals became increasingly aware of prohibitionist pressure.

Bringing Aberdeen Liberals "up to the mark" on the question for example was thought more constructive than vote-splitting abstentions which infuriatingly let Tories in, as at Kirkcaldy in 1875. (The said Tory did however vote for the Permissive Bill eventually). Formation of new model Liberal Associations in the 1870's also doomed exclusive voting. Restructuring of the Liberal Party to accommodate "new sections" meant integration of many prohibitionists. Realism prompted adoption of strategies resembling the Liberation Society's. Work from within the Liberal Party had wholehearted Nonconformist and partisan support. By 1875 S.P.B.T.A. had electoral organisations in 27 burghs, including Ayr, Dumfries, Hamilton, Kirkcaldy, Paisley, Wigtown, and containing 20% of the Scottish electorate Paton estimated, and the Renfrew and Dumfries counties. Initial recognition was inclusion of the principle of local control of licences in the National Reform Union's 1875 Constitution. Whilst Liberal gain from this arrangement was obvious in terms of acquisition of enthusiastic, experienced workers, and local organisational machinery, prohibitionists were disappointed. Their electoral impact was still dictated by the strength of local interests, not to mention Liberal hostility or obliviousness to the

question. Liberals like George Anderson still voted against the Permissive Bill, the Liberal in the Glasgow and Aberdeen University bye-election of 1877 would give no pledge, E.S. Gordon having voted against the Permissive Bill in 1874-6, and Argyllshire's Lord Colin Campbell had to be kept "up to the mark" although the Marquis of Lorne had voted for the Bill. Friction over the extent to which prohibitionists should bend to Liberals for support led to support of a sympathetic Conservative in an East Aberdeenshire bye-election in 1875, and to demands for independent action.<sup>66</sup>

Dr. McCulloch of Dumfries, important in Kirkcudbrightshire Liberal circles, and the agent John Paton of Barrhead were important influences on British prohibitionist strategies. They emphasised efficient electoral organisation rather than lecture campaigns as the key to a strong bargaining position. They pioneered house to house electoral canvassing, later adopted by U.K.A. Householders were invited to sign pledges, not of abstinence but of abstention from voting for all except Permissive Billers. Systematic canvassing could create successful bloc votes in burghs where the majority was slim, like Wigtown. Paton highlighted electoral registration work in 1875 by personal campaigns and "Hints for the Proper Registration of Electors". Dumfries conferences promoted electoral committees. Canvassing, current in Dumfries, Renfrewshire, Wigtown, Ayr, Aberdeen and Glasgow, was adopted by U.K.A.<sup>67</sup>

This strategy however was neither sophisticated nor successful. It was limited by the extent of funds and temperance rivalries. Local partisans' cooperation with Liberals, and the existence of rival licensing solutions, e.g. Anstruther's, Cameron's and Anderson's Bills, promotion of local licensing boards, the Gothenburg and Chamberlain systems, and Lord Colin Campbell's Bill,

SCOTTISH DIVISION LISTS  
ON THE PERMISSIVE BILL

	1864	1869	1870	1871	1873	1874	1875	1876	1878
AYES	10	12	16	24	18	16	19	18	20
NOES	24	18	12	14	20	19	24	16	15
ABSENT	19	30	32	22	22	25	17	26	25
TOTAL	53	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60

SCOTTISH DIVISION LISTS  
LOCAL OPTION RESOLUTION AND LOCAL VETO

YEAR	1879	1880	1880	1881	1883	LOCAL VETO - 1884
AYES	32	32	43	43	46	12
NOES	10	7	5	5	2	38
ABSENT	18	21	12	12	12	10
TOTAL	60	60	60	60	60	60

undermined militancy. So too did the 1878 switch from Lawson's Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill to a resolution in favour of government legislation encompassing the local option principle. This reflected increasing Commons' opposition to Lawson's Bill, e.g. Scottish M.P.s voting against it doubled 1870-75, and was reminiscent of Liberationist tactics. It boosted the numbers favourable to prohibitionist demands in the House - see Scottish Division Lists, p<sup>297</sup>.

The S.P.B.T.A., whilst working for the return of its Vice President James Stewart on the retiral of the Greenock M.P. Grieve, was keen to see contests run on party lines where Liberals appeared favourable - as in the Perth and Haddington Burghs. Prohibitionists and Liberals alike hoped to make the most of the Glasgow vacancy on the death of the Conservative Whitelaw. The latter's determined opposition to the Permissive Bill was to be expected, yet was still a great affront given the size of his constituency. Lack of electoral militancy in 1880 reflected this shift and Nonconformist support of Gladstone against the Beaconsfield government's foreign policy. S.P.B.T.A. was nevertheless better organised than in 1874. It interviewed all new candidates, acquainted electors with M.P.s' voting records, and issued an election address, although attempts to press Permissive Bill candidates on local Liberal Executive Committees were often dismal failures, as at Edinburgh. Increases in sympathetic or neutral M.P.s were counted as successes. The return of Admiral Sir John C. Dalrymple Hay for Wigtown was regarded as the only blot on burgh organisation. While the Permissive Bill's limited option of voting for the status quo in licensing or prohibition of all licences and relevance only to retailing alienated moderates, extremists, and those suspicious of class legislation alike, the adoption of the resolution diverted attention to the principle of

local option, minimising friction with League moderates and Church societies, and maximising electoral work's psychological impact on politicians. In addition, Dr. Cameron's temperance legislation work heralded greater cooperation between moral suasionists and prohibitionists. By 1907 S.P.B.T.A. had lent support not only to prohibitionist measures but also to the long list overleaf.<sup>68</sup>

In the 1880's identification with Liberalism was cemented by formation of the Scottish Liberal Association (S.L.A. 1881), the electoral counterpart of Liberal Central Office, prohibitionist presence on many Liberal selection committees, and successful pursuit of Gladstone during the Midlothian campaign and receipt of a favourable statement from him at Dalkeith. This recognition was most gratifying, Gladstone being revered as a statesman of principle, moral fervour, and religious conviction. It meant ironically that Liberals could be even more hypocritical on brewer candidacies and pledges, and could avoid making statements on the question by general affirmation of support for local Liberal Association programmes or, later, audacious assertion that the candidate had a temperance bill which he too wished to introduce. Prohibitionists were consequently split into "fire eaters" and "practical politicians". The former sought to punish Liberals by encouraging sympathetic M.P.s to be coercive if no legislation was forthcoming, and by forming independent "Direct Veto Parties."<sup>69</sup>

Scottish militancy was channelled however into a campaign for a purely Scottish local option scheme, thought practicable in terms of the strength of the Scottish temperance movement, the comparative weakness of Scottish Trade Defence, which spent allegedly £535 in 1883 in contrast to £10,000 expended by the two major temperance societies, and "advanced" state of opinion on the question,

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION

- 1853 Forbes Mackenzie Act - Sunday Closing.
- 1869 Mines Act - contra payment miners in public houses: also Act placing beer-houses under Magistrates.
- 1872 Licensing Reform Bill - reducing English hours of sale.
- 1876 Cameron's Publicans' Certificates (Scotland) Act abolishing Quarter Sessions reversals of licence refusals.
- 1879 Habitual Drunkards Act, placing alcoholics in retreats for 1 year minimum.
- 1881 Sunday Closing (Wales).  
Prohibition rum ration to young naval ratings.
- 1882 Cameron's Passenger Vessels Licences Amendment (Scotland) Act on Sunday sale of liquor. Beer Licences Amendment Bill facilitating licensing restriction.
- 1883 Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act.
- 1883 Payment of Wages in Public Houses Prohibition Act.
- 1884 Municipal Elections Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act.
- 1886 Legislation on Sale to Children.
- 1887 Public Houses Hours of Closing Act.
- 1888 Protection of Children Act on Public House Employment.
- 1888 Prohibition Sale Liquor to North Sea Fleet.
- 1894 The Local Government Act prohibiting meetings of Parish Councils on licensed premises.
- 1897 Prohibition Sale British Wines Without Excise Retail Licence.
- 1898 The Inebriates Act.
- 1901 Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Act.
- 1902 English Licensing Bill.
- 1903 Licensing Amendment (Scotland) Act, extending the 1887 Early Closing Act to exempted cities.
- 1907 Irish Weekend Early Closing Measure.

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thought to be typified by acceptance of Sunday Closing, 174 Scottish parishes already "dry", English leadership of Commons opposition to the Permissive Bill, and the relative lack of corruption in Scottish elections.

A Liquor Traffic Local Control (Scotland) Bill, mooted since 1874, was introduced by Peter McLagan M.P. (Linlithgowshire), responsible for the 1877 Game Law Amendment but an opponent of the Permissive Bill at that point. It was subsequently entrusted to John Wilson M.P. (Govan), S.P.B.T.A. President 1884-1900, and a succession of West of Scotland M.P.s, symptomatic of Scottish Liberalism's dominance by "a small coterie of leading men" at national and local levels. S.P.B.T.A. expected Scottish M.P.s simply to transfer support from Lawson's local option resolution to the new veto bill. Restrictive and suspensory options however had to be added to this narrow prohibitory measure. Although Templars supported it, the Free Church was critical, the Evangelical<sup>Union</sup> undecided, and Glasgow and Edinburgh Town Councils and the Glasgow Liberal Association could not initially pronounce favourably upon it. S.P.B.T.A. extremists were dismayed. They felt local option had already delayed prohibition.<sup>70</sup>

The amended bill encouraged further temperance society co-operation. In spite of 1,000 petitions in its favour; plebiscites, expansion of the prohibitionist press, seemingly favourable recent bye-elections, and a "strong deputation" to the Commons of Dr. Murdoch, later Professor, Cameron, Nisbet the publisher, and the former Chartist J.H. Waterston of Edinburgh etc., Parker, the Whiggish Perth M.P., attempted to amend it, and on its second reading in 1883 it was rejected by 150 to 83 votes. 38 Scottish M.P.s were among its opponents. Footholds had been gained at constituency level,



evident in Stewart Clark's return for Paisley, but infiltration of Liberalism was limited by the extent to which efficient party organisation existed, S.L.A. Whiggishness, and nationally by the caucus model of organisation, although large Liberal majorities in most Scottish constituencies obviated close knit organisation of the Birmingham mould. The work of the National Liberal Federation (N.L.F.) also emphasised unity and uniformity, cutting across pressure group crotchets till the late 1880's. M.P.s were unwilling to back legislation without government support. Penetration of the oligarchy of Scottish Liberalism, symbolised by contacts with G.O. Trevelyan, briefly the Scottish Secretary in the spring of 1886, was relatively easy in comparison to attempts to sway the national leadership. It was invariably English dominated, and a "social and cultural gap" separated prohibitionist and Liberal leaders, and heightened dislike of pressure group politics. Five members of the government were reputedly sympathetic in 1880, but approaches to Rosebery were politely rebuffed. Men of Elcho's stature were hostile. The Home Secretary was little comfort to temperance and Trade deputations alike. Scottish prohibitionists felt "betrayed" and were determined to press Scottish veto legislation.<sup>71</sup>

While Home Rule made party leaders more susceptible to pressure, prompting for example Hartingdon's sympathy, the subsequent "state of Ireland" effectively shelved licensing legislation and, with the Empire, exacerbated prohibitionist divisions over legislation. Increasingly licensing restriction movements in cities like Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh were an area where agreement and advance were possible, creating the consensus vital to political credibility, shifting focus to local level and further cooperation with moral suasionists. The latter now wholeheartedly supported local option

whilst prohibitionist attitudes to the licensing system softened in response to growing teetotal influence in local government. The Liberal government's resignation in June 1885 doomed moderate reformers 'wait and see' strategy. Templars and the S.P.B.T.A. drew closer in work for the 'direct popular veto' via the Glasgow Electoral Union (April 1885) and similar unions from Ayr to Aberdeen.<sup>72</sup>

The 1885 Redistribution was thought to treble Commons support. In 1886 a "Parliamentary Temperance Party" was formed, mainly of Liberal sympathisers, and prohibitionists continued to claim bye-election successes. Evident domination of politics by party associations as never before, failure to organise abstention in a South Edinburgh bye-election, when the Whig Childers (Lib.) and the Master of Polwarth (Con.) were equally hostile, hastened "practical politicians'" integration with the Liberal Party over 1886-92. Similar courses were adopted by the National Liberal Federation, the Disestablishment pressure group, and by the Crofters after 1892. The Liberal position as an opposition party, given that 60% of Scottish M.P.s were still Liberal, was ideal for pressure group politics, especially as many prohibitionists were already members of the N.L.F. John Neilson Cuthbertson's leadership of a deputation to the Lord Advocate in 1889 was designed to publicise the 'reasonableness' of prohibitionist demands.<sup>73</sup>

Strains between Liberal moderates and radicals had surfaced even before the Home Rule split. The 1885 Redistribution exposed tension previously masked by running moderate and radical candidates in tandem. Very many of those attracted to the temperance movement were in the radical camp, Glasgow being "the Radical fortress", and Collins, Blackie, Beith, Dick, Dr. Cameron, Principals Rainy and Cairns, Revd. Hutton, Professor Calderwood, were prominent in the 1885

disendowment campaign, symptomatic of Radical attempts to make the Church question a candidate acceptability test. Cameron Corbett, a Liberation Society member, became a Liberal Unionist, as ironically did many Whigs given experience of dissension by Church Defence Associations. Prohibitionists were also associated with the Scottish Land Restoration League's protest against Association choice of bourgeois radicals. Dr. G.B. Clark, head of the Highland Land Law Reform Association was a Good Templar leader and editor, and Dr. Cameron acted as the crofters' link with Glasgow Radicals. Successful pressure prompted the Scottish Liberal Association's 1885 intensive discussion of local option, the church question, and its implications for free education. Prohibitionists were relieved when influential Whiggish, pro-imperialist business and professional elements deserted to Liberal-Unionism, facilitating 'evangelisation' of the party.<sup>74</sup>

English Tory dominance rallied the full force of the movement's hostility during the 1889 Local Government (Scotland) Bill's passage. Following debates on Trade compensation, an issue like disendowment loaded with class and cultural tension, 50 Scottish M.P.s favoured Direct Veto and 12 Local Option. Only 10 were hostile, the M.P.s for Argyll, Bute, Dumbarton, South Lanark, East Renfrew, Ayr Burghs, Glasgow and Edinburgh Central and the University seats. The Newcastle Programme (1891) finally relieved partisans of residual loyalty conflict. Home Rule and the 1885 Redistribution, which redrew boundaries with the deliberate object of "separating the pursuits of the people", although migration patterns later blurred this, made the party more sensitive to prohibitionist pressure and the claims of the Nonconformist Conscience in general. This was accelerated in the Glasgow area by accentuation of the business vote

in the late 19th century. Burgh seats, often with much continuity in voting over 1885-1910, and generally speaking Liberal from 1832-1918, were especially susceptible to pressure. These contests reflected greater strength of rival party organisation, easier house to house canvassing, and greater impact of personality. In England this was accompanied by a "system of corruption" thought to reduce swings. County seats were more problematic. Often dominated by the landlord, farming, and Trade interests, teetotallers felt they were more open to corruption. Wigtown and Bute especially were "pocket counties". After 1885 the landed interest enjoyed "a new lease of life", neutralising the propaganda value of burgh elections preceding county contests. This was especially true of South West Scotland, and although the Liberals controlled most counties over 1906-18 Central Lowlands seats became increasingly marginal after 1886 given Labour mobilisation of hostility to Liberal employers' candidacies, and Orange hostility based in religious and economic discrimination. In Glasgow elections therefore candidates increasingly expressed sympathy for local option at least or, like Ashley in his contest with Trevelyan, "when interrogated quickly declared for McLagan" to S.P.B.T.A. or I.O.G.T. deputations.<sup>75</sup>

Prohibitionists were greatly encouraged by the diminished frequency of retrograde temperance bills, the Corrupt Practices Bill (1883), of great symbolic import although its implications for transport actually benefited the Conservatives, by Rosebery and The Scotsman's campaign for devolution and the rising tide of nationalistic sentiment, and Gladstone's remark that Scots would merit Home Rule if 86% of their representatives supported it. Was not local veto the very best sort of "Home Rule", and were not Scottish representatives entirely behind local option? Synthesis of prohibitionism into

Gladstonianism's broad principles of political right and conscience, e.g. "conscientious objection" to Balfour's Irish coercion, to established church privileges and state-aided denominational schools, was indeed quickening as temperance's value as an issue capable of masking some of the class tensions unleashed by land reform, which the Trade instinctively recognised as being the starting point for many reformers' movement from support for Georgeite land reform to socialism, Disestablishment and Home Rule, was recognised. Both Jacks and J.G. Holborn who helped oust him from Leith for example had temperance connections. For their part, prohibitionists disliked having to compete with other Nonconformist crusades, e.g. education, Disestablishment, sabbatarianism, social purity, anti-gambling, anti-slavery etc., not to mention other pressure groups.<sup>76</sup>

There was however no viable alternative. Independent political action on the American model was impractical. Few seriously questioned the British two-party system and operation therein. The Conservatives did have a social reform record including permissive legislation, and reformers like Dr. Begg, Hope and Shaftesbury were Conservatives. Before 1886 however they were a small, rural party and their temperance vote was overshadowed by identification with the Established Church, Anglican absentee landlords, and Trade allegiance. By the late 1880's it had also been seriously eroded. There was however a Liberal Unionist vote in the burghs and industrial county seats which identified with W.S. Caine, Pease, and Glasgow's Cameron Corbett. The Irish question's impact, and organisation, created a new Unionism in the 1886 Election and considerable Liberal disruption. Liberal Unionists won Tradeston, St. Rollox, Partick, Greenock, Falkirk, Ayr Burghs, North and South Ayrshire and Dumfriesshire, many of which remained lost to the Liberals before 1910.

Some Liberal Unionists were radicals on questions like land, education, and local government reform and indeed later returned to the Liberal fold. Prohibitionists scented possible converts, and were disappointed when attempts to commit Chamberlain's National Radical Union (1886) to local option were unsuccessful. Caine's Liberal Unionism was destructive, highlighting impracticality of putting temperance or any one question before all other questions, the petulance of prohibitionists when "friends of Direct Veto" followed their conscience on Home Rule, Alliance Gladstonians' partisanship, class tension, and the blend of Unionist and prohibitionist bigotry to be found in many Scottish towns. Home Rule, and equally ironic allegations of carpet-bagging and ownership of Liverpool public houses, plus competition with a popular candidate, ensured Caine's rejection by Kilmarnock in 1900. Corbett's Liberal Unionism however rallied Orange elements alienated by temperance's identification with Liberalism, Radicalism and Disestablishment. In virtual alliance with the "Liberal Lights" of the C.C.C. he kept local Liberals "up to the mark" on the question, encouraging apolitical social reformers who took prohibitionist claims to substitute Blue and White Ribbons for party colours seriously.<sup>77</sup>

Home Rule splits however also heightened militant demands for independent action. They were appalled by prohibitionist Liberal-Unionists' electoral work for hostile Conservatives and the U.K.A.'s hopelessly compromised position. It had associated with Caine, yet became a vehicle for Gladstonian attacks on Unionists. Demand for exclusive voting, and for an independent temperance party, increased. Most however simply formed Prohibition Leagues, like that formed at Edinburgh in 1890, committed to exclusive voting and boycotting Traders as demonstrations of united prohibitionist

determination to secure Veto legislation.<sup>78</sup>

Interviewing of Conservative candidates resumed. Conservatives blamed prohibitionists for their 1888 reversal at Ayr, S.P.B.T.A., I.O.G.T., and Hector Davidson of U.K.A. having exerted pressure there. Perpetuation of electoral anomalies till 1918 reflected lack of desire for a fully democratic system, and in particular Conservatives detested prohibitionist "bad citizenship" and sectarian attitude to legislation which, given temperance supporters' geographic mobility and possible lodger status, made it impossible for Conservatives to use temperance to gain working class votes. Like Caird, they felt pressure group attempts to coerce the electorate were decidedly illiberal. They viewed increasing competition for the working man's vote after the Second Reform Act, undermining attempts to be the 'party of the nation', with hostility. Such approaches however were mere gestures of prohibitionist impatience. Most continued to be hopelessly partisan and involved in the semi-political organisations carefully fostered by Liberalism after 1885.<sup>79</sup>

After the Newcastle Programme and Liberal return to power prohibitionism's direction changed. Prohibitionists were pleased that social reform as well as Home Rule featured in the July 1892 Election, Hardie's return with Liberal aid being a collaboration reformers applauded. Prohibitionists worked for the government licensing bills of 1894 and 1895 while giving their own solution priority, as they had done with Cameron's Licensing Amendment Act and Ten O'Clock Closing Act, and Alex Findlay's measure for later opening of licensed premises. In spite of petitions from all manner of social reform organisations, neither Sir William Harcourt's Bill nor the S.P.B.T.A. measure made any progress.<sup>80</sup>

As with the Liberation Society, successful pressure under-

Scottish Parliamentary Elections

Source: S.T.L.R. and S.P.B.T.A. 1887-19

Year	Pro McLagan	v McLagan	Pro County Representative Boards	Pro some Local Control	Silent
1887	37	3	11	16	5
1890	45	7	9	11	
1891	49	8	9	6	
1893	56	16			
1894	56	16			
1895	56	16			
1896	38	34			
1897	38	33			
1899	39	33			
1900	40	31			
1901	34	38			
1902	34	38			
Year	Pro Direct Veto	Pro Local Option	Versus Direct Veto		
1903	42	11	19		
1904	42	11	17		
1905	61		11		
1910	61		11		
1911	60		12		
1912	58		14		
1913	58		14		



mined militancy and forced prohibitionists to try to persuade hostile Liberals like Herbert Gladstone that they were not an electoral liability following 1892 bye-election setbacks, Rosebery's inability to hold factions together, and the 1895 Election defeat which brought to power the Salisbury administration. 1895 was fought on Liberal support for Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and local option. Many Liberals resented identification with local option, a fad epitomising growing professional and business class fears for the course of Liberalism, especially as prohibitionists active in Scottish cities were ungrateful for Liberal temperance efforts. This was reflected in declining Commons support for McLagan's Bill over 1896-1903. (See Table p<sup>209</sup>). Prohibitionist propaganda quickly switched from emphasis on Trade political influence, aided by increased numbers of Conservative contested seats, to Liberal election successes.<sup>81</sup>

Prohibitionist fortunes over 1895-1905, an era of Liberal "regrouping and recovery", were mixed. In contrast to the early 1880's even the course of licensing restriction was hampered by unhelpful legal precedents, a constant rearguard action had to be mounted against "3-Fold Option Schemes" involving public management of the Trade, especially as West of Scotland figures like Parker Smith (Partick M.P.), Sir John Neilson Cuthbertson, the eminent Liberal Sir Thomas Glen Coats, Robert Gardiner, a relation by marriage of the Coats, John Mann C.A., William Ure of the Regent Mills, Professor Smart of Glasgow, Daniel Stevenson, the Revd. Harrison, Bishop of Glasgow and a great many ministers were members of a Scottish Alliance to promote this by 1899, and various trust enterprises. American High Licence schemes were also a threat. In spite of exhaustive plebiscite work in the 1880's, which seemed to suggest support for prohibition, popularisation of prohibition was

still necessary. It was difficult to maintain the movement's morale. Increasingly prohibitionists adopted propagandist techniques and social functions, notably Templar concerts or "bursts", reminiscent of moral suasionist strategies, and outdoor work reminiscent of Chartism and Clarionite vans. Increased society cooperation however was produced by the Tory ascendancy and the 1890's compensation debates, which had echoes of the disendowment controversy and overtones of class tension although prohibitionists cited humanitarian public health compulsory purchase powers as precedents for confiscations. Prohibitionists worked to influence United Temperance Councils in areas like Motherwell, the 'United Temperance Party', and the Scottish Temperance Federation of organisations, its Conventions, and subsequent Manifestos.<sup>82</sup>

Greater cooperation was offset by disasters, not only in the shape of the Osgoldcross bye-election, a victory for the forces of anti-Veto, but also the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws' 1899 Majority and Minority Reports, both of which were unsatisfactory to S.P.B.T.A. and extreme prohibitionists, although Cameron, the moderate Scottish Temperance Legislation Board, the League, and even John Wilson, who had guided the Local Veto (Scotland) Bill to the division stage in 1899, publicly supported the Minority Report as a basis for legislation. Humiliation was compounded by Chisholm's exposition of the classic prohibitionist view to the Commissioners, and John Wilson's retiral. The Khaki Election also resulted in U.K. and Scottish swings of 0.95 and 1.6% to the Conservatives and Unionists. The psychological impact of this was heightened by unparalleled Conservative confidence, born of improved organisation, ability to appeal to popular patriotism via the question of conduct of the war and consolidation of the Empire, thus building on their

1895 position, and ability to capitalise on Liberal divisions, epitomised by Camlachie Liberals' boycott of a Labourist candidate, Irish National League boycott of Provand, responsible for the 1897 restriction of Sunday Sale of British Wines, because of his unsatisfactory Home Rule stance and loss of his seat to Bonar Law. Liberal foreign policy was suspect and, although the North British Daily Mail depicted the Liberals as the only viable party in favour of social reform, many were evidently suspicious of the sincerity of Liberal intentions, as at the 1899 N.W. Lanarkshire bye-election.<sup>83</sup>

The inadequacies of the Peel Commission and the 1900 debacle prompted formation of Scrymgeour's Scottish Prohibition Party. The S.P.P.'s birthplace, Dundee, was a populous Liberal stronghold over 1832-1918, although it was by 1910 the scene of a unique Lib-Lab pact and returned a Labour candidate for one of its two seats from 1906-14. The only 2 member burgh constituency in Scotland, its textile industry and port had attracted a high proportion of Irish workers. Sectarian rivalry was a factor in the traditional strength of Dundee temperance, associated with Lamb, Cruikshank, J.M. Skinner, U.K.A. organiser of the Oxford area, William Blackwood, S.P.B.T.A.'s agent, Thomas Menzies, a co-worker with Scrymgeour Sen. and later an employee of Peak Frean & Co. and a Band of Hope and Ragged School lecturer in London, the Congregationalist Revd. John Masson (1806-93), Provost George Rough (1800-88), and thriving temperance societies, a Gospel Temperance Union and a Temperance Vigilance Union. Scrymgeour's party appealed to the apolitical who felt that independent political action on the American model, and following the Labour movement's precedent, would be the only way to secure prohibition. Many prohibitionists followed the progress of prohibition in Scandinavia, the Colonies, and the U.S.A. avidly, tending to forget the



**BIRTHDAY CONGRATULATIONS.**

BACCHUS—"Congratulations on your 70th Birthday.  
Long may you live."  
MR GOSPEL TEMPERANCE—"Thanks, OLD FRIEND,  
Our union has been a long and strong one."

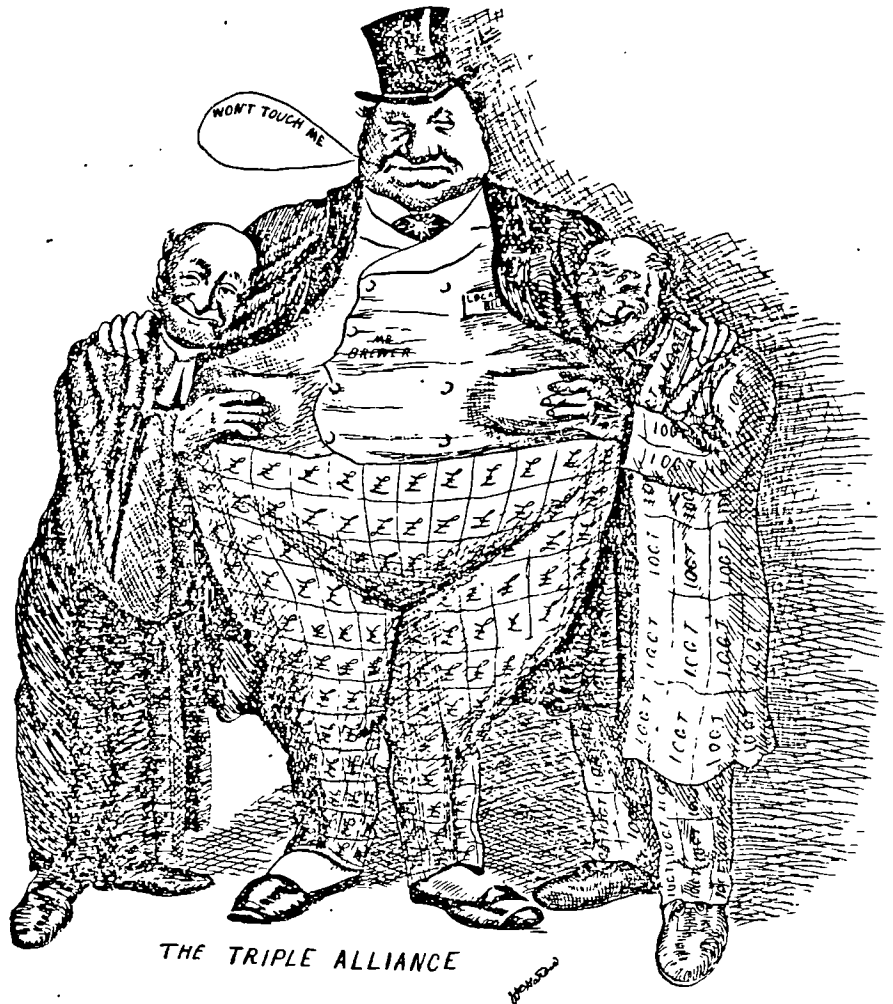
strated our case against them : Comrades Bruce and M'Arthur no difficulty in proving to a large audience the complicity both the Church and Temperance organisations in supporting and maintaining the Liquor Traffic by their votes, and thereby aiding and abetting the destruction annually of 100 of their fellow-mortals in this country through its ravages. A prominent member of the audience criticised Mr Nairn's economic arguments and strengthened our case when we proved that the prohibitionists had not even yet got beyond the elementary stage of social reform if they imagined they could touch the fringe of the solution of the liquor traffic. The *Prohibitionist* was eagerly bought, and many of the audience expressed their delight at the success of the evening.

On Saturday night brought Mr Anderson, of Coatbridge. We went to meet him at Crieff, but the "banks and braes o' bonnie Scotland" seem to have a peculiar attraction for Mr Anderson, as he did not appear in Doune instead of up in Perth. However, "all's well that ends well."

Comrade Anderson did yeoman service for us on Sunday night, and a deeply interested audience listened for two hours to his able address based on the text, "And neighbour as thyself." Numerous remained after the meeting discussing our comrade's points, and as one of our friends, passing a group, asked how they had enjoyed Anderson, as gratified with the reply, "Jingo, he's a clinker; he's put his case up to the hilt!" No doubt he did convince many around him that so long as maintained a liquor traffic in this country there was little hope of the revival or any other demon of a revival either in Perth or elsewhere.

### Tramwaymen's Union

The Tramwaymen held their fortnightly meeting on Sunday at the Masonic Hall, Rankine's. Mr D. Milne, President,



### "Land of the Brave and the Free."

Some of the religious specialists who come over to this country seem determined in holding the belief that it is with "Uncle Sam" all shall eventually be well. As matters stand at present, we feel convinced there is even greater urgency for something more exhaustive than a spring cleaning underneath the "Stars and Stripes" than under the "Union Jack," which is putting it fairly strong. The *National Prohibitionist* of date 12th inst, just to hand, reports:—"Two additional members of the last Illinois Legislature are reported to have made confessions before the Cook County Grand Jury corroborating in practically every detail the original story told by Representative Charles A. White of O'Fallon."

The first man to follow Representative White's example was Representative H. J. C. Breckenridge of Carlyle, who admitted be-

### An Extraordinary Coroner

Two boys—T. W. Spicer, aged nine, of 46 Nettley Road, Brentford, and G. Hills, of 32 Nettley Road—were drowned in the Grand Junction Canal. Two of their companions said that Hills, while walking across a bridge a foot wide at Clitheroe's Lock, fell into the water, and Spicer, trying to reach him, also fell in. Two men passing at the time made no attempt to save the boys, but walked away across the fields before the police arrived. The Coroner said he could not find language strong enough to describe the action of the two men. They had evidently either lost their heads or were utterly callous to the boys' fate.

Now, why should that Coroner and others jump to so rash conclusions? We are more inclined to study for a little whether or not these men rather kept instead of lost their heads, otherwise it is just possible their lives as well as the boys' might have been lost. Besides, these men might have been on

Maine Law's 1860's failures, and often connecting the plight of the British worker with that of the native races.<sup>84</sup>

Scrymgeour aimed especially to make Good Templary live up to its American prohibition pledge, and align with Christian Socialism - a logical development of his family's Wesleyanism, teetotalism and Tory philanthropy. In America Templars were prominent in the Prohibition Party (1869), formed in reaction to Republican unwillingness to antagonise recent immigrant voters by association with divisive cultural questions, and following the example of the 1830's evangelical Whigs. By comparison, British Templars were led by Liberal partisans and cautious Nonconformists and often lagged behind the S.P.B.T.A. Scrymgeour's call to action and emphasis on betrayal by the proliferation of tame temperance societies, now many years old and with few legislative gains to offset taint of compromise with hypocrites and party hacks, (see the cartoons opposite) allegedly won over many Templars and prompted 600 I.O.G.T. expulsions. Unlike the fairly obscure National Prohibition Party (London, 1887) and the Independent Temperance Party (Peterborough, 1905) the S.P.P. returned Scrymgeour for Dundee in 1922, defeating Churchill, a swing reflecting the Great War's impetus to the Left, prompting also organisation of the Co-operative Party (1917) in Salford.<sup>85</sup>

Initially however the S.P.P. was symptomatic, like the Revd. Robertson Nicoll's criticisms, of pressure group impatience with Liberal "inertia". The S.P.B.T.A. co-operated with Bonar Law and Stirling Maxwell on the Public Houses Hours of Closing (Scotland) Amendment and supported the eventual 1903 Licensing Act, doubtless mindful of the way the Liberation Society's identification with the Liberals contributed to its loss of momentum by the 1880's, as well as government willingness to appease following anti-compensation

TEMPERANCE ORGANISATIONS IN EXISTENCE BY 1905.

Anglo-Indian Temperance Association,	Clapham.
Baptist Total Abstinence Association,	Baptist Church House, Kingsway, London.
Bible Christian Temperance Society,	Plymouth.
Bible Temperance Association,	Belfast.
British Medical Temperance Association,	Carlton House, Enfield.
British Temperance League,	Sheffield.
British Women's Temperance Association,	Victoria St., London.
Cadets of Temperance,	Blackfriars Rd., London, S.W.
Central Association for Stopping the Sale of Liquor on a Sunday,	Palace Chambers, London, S.W.
Children's Protection League,	Oakley St., Chelsea, London.
Church of England Temperance Soc.,	Church House, Westminster.
Church of England Temperance Benefit Society,	The Sanctuary, Westminster.
Church of Ireland Temperance Society,	Molesworth St., Dublin.
Congregational Total Abstinence Soc.,	Memorial Hall, London E.C.
Free Methodist Temperance League,	Cricklewood, London, E.C.
Friends' Temperance Union,	Bishopsgate, London E.C.
Homes for Inebriates Association,	Marylebone Rd., London.
I.O.G.T., England,	Edmund St., Birmingham.
I.O.G.T., Ireland,	City Chambers, Belfast.
I.O.G.T., Scotland,	40 St. Enoch Sq., Glasgow.
I.O.R., (U.K. headquarters)	Manchester.
Irish Temperance League,	18 Lombard St., Belfast.
Irish Women's Christian Union,	Malone Street, Belfast.
I.O.G.T. (Juveniles)	Gloucester.
Licensing Laws Information Bureau,	44 Bridlesmith Gate, Notting- ham.
Methodist New Connection Temperance and Band of Hope Union,	Melbourne Rd., Leicester.
National Commercial Travellers' Temperance League,	116 Clarendon St., Hull.
National Temperance Federation,	168 Edmund St., Birmingham.
National Temperance League,	34 Paternoster Row, London.
National Unitarian Temperance Assoc.,	Catford, S.E. London.
Native Races and Liquor Traffic,	139 Palace Chambers, West- minster.
New Church/Swedenborgian Temperance Society,	Forest Gate, East London.
Original Grand Order of Sons of the Phoenix,	Laytonstone, Essex.
Presbyterian Church of England Abstinence Society,	Woodgreen, N. London.
Primitive Methodist Temperance League,	Bootle, Lancs.
Royal Army Temperance Assoc.,	47 Victoria St., London.
Royal Navy " Soc.,	Sailors' Rest, Portsmouth.
Scottish Band of Hope Union,	Glasgow.
S.P.B.T.A. and also S.T.L.,	"
Scottish W.C.T.U.	Edinburgh.
Showman's Total Abstinence Union,	Layrthorpe Grove, York.
Semi-Teetotal Pledge Association,	4 The Sanctuary, Westminster.

cont.....

Society for the Study of Inebriety,	120 Harley St., London.
Sons of Temperance (U.K. HQ.)	Blackfriars Rd., London, S.E.
Students Total Abstinence Assoc.,	The College, Regent's Park, London.
U.K. Alliance,	Deansgate, Manchester.
U.K. Railway Temperance Union,	4 The Sanctuary, Westminster.
U.K. Band of Hope Union,	59 & 60 Old Bailey, London.
United Order of the Sons of the Phoenix,	Kilburn, N.W. London.
United Temperance Council,	36 Memorial Hall Chambers, E. London.
Wesleyan Temperance Committee,	Blackheath, S.E. London.
Workhouse Drink Reform League,	9 Temple St., Birmingham.
Women's Total Abstinence Union,	4 Ludgate Hill, E. London.
World's Women's Temperance Union,	47 Victoria St., Westminster.
Young Abstainers' Union,	18 Exeter Hall, London.

Extensive as this list is, it should not be considered as complete. Obvious omissions in the Scottish sphere are the smaller fraternal orders such as the Sons of Scotland etc.



fervour and fierce Nonconformist opposition to the 1902 Education Act. Scrymgeour went further, and exposed the flaws in the movement's strategy. Organisations like S.P.B.T.A. were reliant upon wealthy families like the Coats who were not personal abstainers, and who did not differentiate between the different wings of "temperance" as prohibitionists did. The S.P.P. gratuitously besmirched the reputations of many leading reformers, but was astute in criticism of the M.P.s upon whom the S.P.B.T.A. relied. The quality of Scottish M.P.s was not high and with the exception of McLaren, de facto leader of Scottish Radicalism before 1881, M.P.s attracted to prohibition enjoyed purely local renown. Few were as active as Dr. Cameron, a Radical and Gladstonian who introduced a lengthy list of legislation. McLagan served on the 1864 Royal Commission on Landlords' Right of Hypothec and that on Grocers' Licences but, like Stewart of Garvocks, had an unremarkable career. Wilson supported a wide range of reforms but promoted only Local Veto. His successor, Hunter Craig, was a provincial who retired in 1906, Findlay was a Motherwell employer of the Colville mould, better known for leadership of the Iron Trade Association and of the Scottish Y.M.C.A., and Sir John McCallum was a typical Paisley employer—M.P. whose unostentatious work for Liberalism was rewarded with a 1912 Knighthood. Sutherland did not enter politics till 1905 and was prominent only in the 1917 Fisheries Committee. Robert Wallace, son of the Revd. Wallace of Dublin, was a Q.C. and former Supreme Court Examiner, but retreated from pressure group politics after becoming chairman of the County of London Sessions. In many ways the Edinburgh Social Radical Wallace would have been a more impressive ally. Some like Robinson Souttar and the Otago born Dr. Chapple wrote temperance propaganda, but few were total abstainers. Pirie for example owned vineyards and

a champagne brand! Cameron Corbett gave efficient leadership and, with Caine, directed the anti-compensation campaign, but was of much less use to the movement after resignation as Liberal Unionist Whip in 1909. This, together with divisions in the ranks of the temperance and developments within the Liberal Party, was undoubtedly behind prohibitionist disappointments after intensive electoral organisation prior to 1906, spurred by retrograde Tory measures.<sup>86</sup>

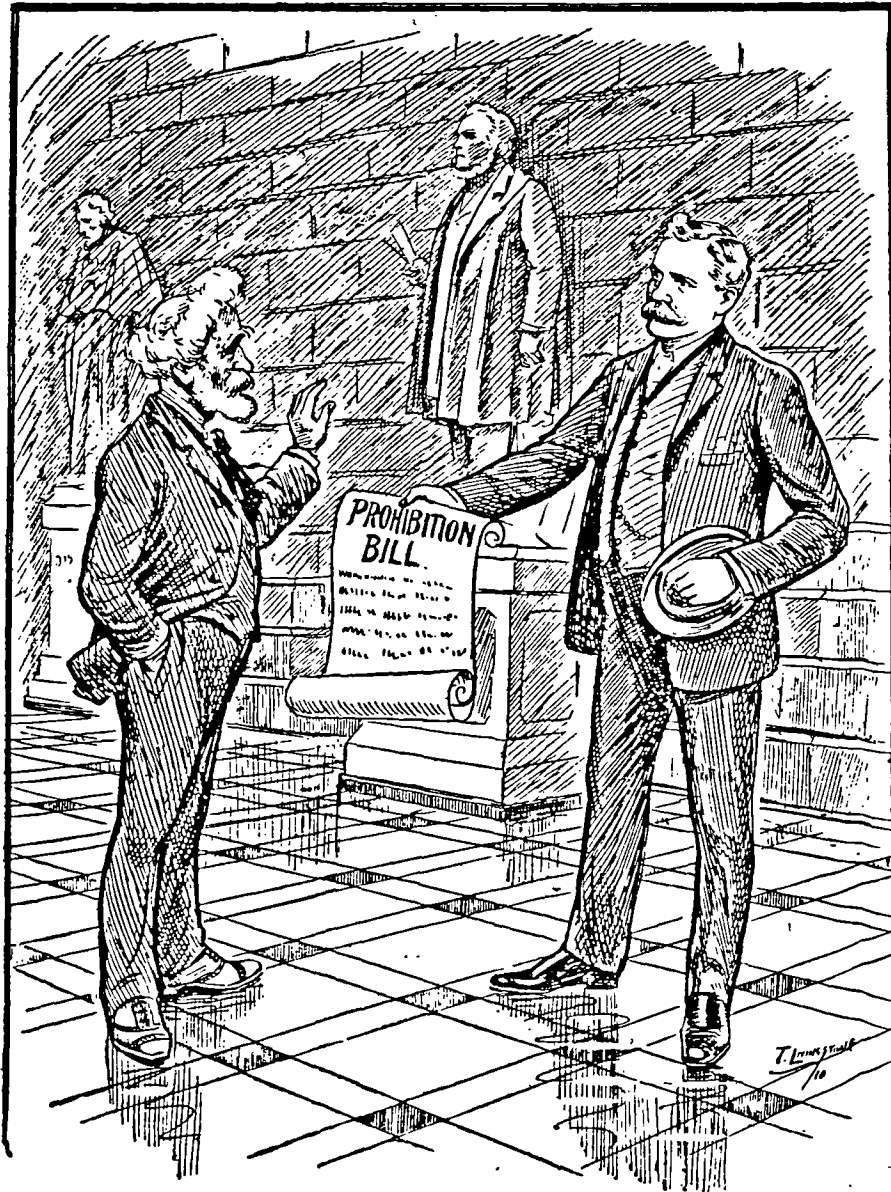
In spite of repeated Liberal assurances no temperance legislation was forthcoming and the S.P.B.T.A.'s two bills made no progress. No Scottish M.P.s moved rejection of the 1907 Local Veto Bill, yet the Secretary of State encouraged the S.P.B.T.A. to press on with their bill, and promptly shelved it in the Scottish Grand Committee. Although Asquith promised government intention to introduce Scottish legislation following the 1908 Licensing Bill, none appeared till 1912.<sup>87</sup> The timing of this apparent victory was significant. Party hacks' fears of the periodic upheavals local veto polls would create were increasingly balanced by desire to use temperance in general, not as a popular minimum reform demand as in the 1880's but as a means of drawing together traditional Radicals of the Lawsonian variety and the younger generation of Social Radicals who thought more in terms of programmes than crusades, thus easing pressure on the party caused by indebtedness to the Irish Nationalists, pressure from Labour's 'ministers of the social gospel' and New Unionism, shifts in the party's social composition, loss of its 'old guard', and even lack of candidates. Temperance too was connected to the 'trinity of revolt' in industrial relations, and the Irish and 'woman question' at various points, and its pacifists revolted at increasing naval expenditure. The promise of action secured teetotal backing for action against the Lords' Veto, not to mention continuity of



**GLASGOW PROHIBITIONISTS' DEMONSTRATION**

Mr W. Munro, S.P.P. Chairman, in centre; Mr J. Smith, speaking; Mr D. Cameron, as standard-bearer.

The picture by kind permission of Glasgow *Evening Citizen*.



Mr NAPOLEON SHARMAN, Chairman of British Prohibition Party,  
"Will you introduce this Bill?"  
Mr J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., "No!"

## A NAPOLEONIC MARCH ON DRINK'S LABOUR LEADER.

### Chairman Prohibition

On Sunday last and Albert S Napoleon Sharmán of the British Prohibition Party addressed a large gathering under the auspices of the Party. His usual, characteristic enthusiasm and frequently melancholy disposition. In consequence to the introduction had recently by and other English members of the House of Commons the attitude Mr Sharmán would take up the Bill then among those present Right Hon. J. Keir Hardie; Mr Dalziel; Mr Stephen C. S.E.; and Mr Mondsey. The consideration of an answer was given by Mr J. Keir Hardie no time to devote to the subject he said "No" before no doubt as representative of the regard to the fore the greater which responsibility urged to give the problem was so prohibitionists were increasing numbers so declare the for Prohibition electors, uncounted many of which arise if the ri

donations from Overtoun, whilst the Temperance (Scotland) Act was designed to appease British Nonconformity. The Secretary of State responsible for it, McKinnon Wood, was a Congregationalist who had recently begun to address temperance meetings, as had Solicitor General Ure. Via temperance Nonconformists, progressives like Hunter Craig, Liberals working within the Labour tradition like Dr. Clark, and traditional Radicals identified with business, could be rallied by 'party men' like Gulland, whose interests conveniently spanned the old and New Liberalism, Sir George McCrae, and Godfrey Collins, and young Liberal temperance enthusiasts like Sir Robert Laidlaw and Duncan Millar, son in law of Alexander Forrester-Paton. Just as moral reform was a cause giving unity to mid Victorian Liberalism and playing down class tension, temperance legislation was seen as a neutraliser for the tension evident in 1906, middle class hostility to the new taxes on wealth, and unrest generated by rising prices and unemployment.<sup>88</sup>

Few prohibitionists were satisfied by the Act. Local option had always been a compromise, and the Act, although it did not include the hated 3-fold option or compulsory Trade insurance, had loopholes and barriers to prohibition in requirement that 55% of voters and 35% of electors had to vote "No Licence" to carry that decision.

Hardie refused to introduce a Prohibition Bill but the S.P.P. would not compromise; They continued to recruit and indeed had support not only in Dundee, but also in Glasgow, Coatbridge and Ayr, whilst the S.P.B.T.A. and I.O.G.T. joined forces with moral suasionists to prepare public opinion for the 1920's Veto Polls. The events of the Great War and the Irish Rebellion however were the catalyst of an electoral transformation, in Scotland as elsewhere in Britain, which accelerated the decline of Nonconformity and Liberalism and the

strategic and ideological framework within which prohibitionism had operated.<sup>89</sup>

Footnotes

Prohibitionist Ideologies and Strategies

1. B. Harrison 'British Prohibitionists: A Biographical Analysis, 1853-72', International Review of Social History, Vol. XV, Part 3, 1970, B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", Chapters 9 and 10 especially, A.E. Dingle "The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England: U.K.A. 1872-1895", London, 1980, W.R. Lambert "Drink and Sobriety in Wales 1835-95", University of Swansea Ph.D. thesis, 1969, N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers, a History of Temperance", London, 1968, Chapter 20, 'Better Free than Sober', pp. 214-227, D. Paton (thesis) op cit Section III, 'The Progress of the Temperance Reformation, 1853-1900', pp. 240 et seq., H. Carter "The English Temperance Movement: A Study in Objectives", London, 1933, M. Hayler "The Vision of a Century 1853-1953: The U.K.A. in Historical Perspective", London, 1953.  
A host of American studies of the American prohibition experiment exist - at least one per state of the Union, although many remain unpublished theses. For twenty years after the repeal of prohibition in 1933 American historians ignored the question. A generation of writers tended to dismiss temperance and prohibition as frivolous interference with individual liberties which bore little or no relation to the problems of an emerging urban, industrial society. Interest in the functions of American reform movements was stimulated by R. Hofstadter's "Age of Reform", N.Y., 1955, and by prohibition in particular by A. Sinclair's "The Era of Excess", Boston, 1962, but the prohibitionists did not receive sympathetic treatment until the 1970's with its focus on contemporary drug problems. N. Clark "Deliver us from Evil", N.Y., 1976 placed prohibitionism in the vanguard of American reform and stressed that it was a response to a genuine evil, whereas J. Gusfield's "Symbolic Crusade: Status politics and the American Temperance Movement", Urbana, 1966, had seen it merely in terms of W.A.S.P. social control. Increasingly Americans have seen prohibition as an integral part of the 'Progressive Movement', as in J. Timberlake "Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920", Harvard University Press, 1963, and J.C. Burnham 'New Perspectives on the Prohibition Experiment of the 1920's', Journal of Southern History, 2, 1968, pp. 57-68. Many of the best known works on prohibition are listed in the bibliography.  
F. Freidel and R.K. Showman "The Harvard Guide to American History", Harvard U.P., 1974, Vol. 2.
2. See the account of this controversy in the work of the well known Methodist temperance reformer, H. Carter "The English Temperance Movement", London, 1933, pp. 103-111, and in N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers", London, 1968, p. 135. D.A. Hamer "The Politics of Electoral Pressure", Hassocks, 1977, Ch. IX 'U.K.A. 1859-74' pp. 165-6.  
Also B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", pp 212 and 215 for the way in which this controversy carried over into the celebrated libel case featuring J.B. Gough (backed by N.T.L. and S.T.L.) and Livesey (backed by U.K.A., and the S.P.B.T.A.).

This struggle was played down in retrospect by individual societies, see e.g. "An Historical Retrospect: 50 years of Temperance Work - a Souvenir of the Jubilee of the S.P.B.T.A., 1858-1908", Glasgow, 1908, p. 4.

There was also however some cross-membership between the warring societies even in these years, which became a calming influence. See. B. Harrison 'British Prohibitionists...' (op cit) p. 402 on William Collins II and John McGavin as examples of this.

3. B. Harrison 'Temperance Societies', in Local Historian VIII, No. 4 1968 and No. 5 1969.
4. B. Harrison 'British Prohibitionists...' (op cit) pp. 379, 382-3, and 395, and also B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", p. 197, A.E. Dingle "The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England", pp 25 and 55, G. Himmelfarb "Victorian Minds", London, 1952, pp. 275-7, R. Altick "Victorian People and Ideas", London, 1972, Introduction.
5. B. Harrison 'British Prohibitionists' (op cit) p. 401.
6. B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", p. 225, noted that "the most important single influence on these men was their religion". On the Lees tradition of preoccupation with Bible-Temperance see Harrison (supra) p. 213. Prohibition could be justified by God's "charge to go smite the Amalek" - see the Dundee prohibitionist Walter Walsh's pamphlet, "The Hewing of Agag", Dundee, (n.d.) pp 10-11. Dunlop made similar comments about the study of Hebrew in "Autobiography of John Dunlop", p. 120 - as S. Mechie notes in "The Church and Scottish Social Development", p. 91. On the reform activities and political pressure of evangelicals and Nonconformity see K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action", London, 1962, D.W. Bebbington "The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics 1870-1914", London, 1982, p. 4, (the origins of the term 'Nonconformist Conscience' being explained in Preface ix), and also S. Koss "Nonconformity in Modern British Politics", London, 1975, pp. 12-13, where the latter explains that although Nonconformist political campaigns did not "involve all denominations simultaneously or to the same degree", their common evangelicalism generated sufficient agreement for Nonconformity to become a "viable and fairly homogeneous tactical unit in modern British politics". G. Kitson Clark's comment appears in "The Making of Victorian England", London, 1962, (1977 reprint) p. 199. There was in fact also a Christian Prohibition League based in London by 1909, which took as its basis St. Matthew's recommendation that evil-bearing trees ought to be felled. It was chaired by C.T.G. Atlee - Scottish Prohibitionist, Jan. 1909, p. 11.
7. A.E. Dingle (op cit) p. 15. See for example R. Murray Hyslop "The Centenary of the Temperance Movement, 1832-1932", London Independent Press, 1932, pp. 46-51, 'The Contribution of Congregationalism', (The author was himself a past chairman of the Temperance Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales). A. Peel "100 Eminent Congregationalists", London,



7. 1931, etc. on Congregational involvement. For Baptist interest see J. McCurrey "Life of James McCurrey" (n.d.) and for Methodist interest see S. Hulme "Memoir of the Revd. William Cooke D.D." (1886). G. Hayler "Famous Fanatics", London, and New York, 1911, devoted parts of Chapters IV and V to Wesley and the Methodists and to the fathers of the Primitive Methodists Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, and also Chapters X and XI to Nonconformists like William Jay, John Angell James, Jabez Burns, C.H. Spurgeon, Dr. Parker, Newman Hall, Thomas Lord, Charles Garrett, Hugh Price Hughes, John Clifford and J.H. Jowett etc. Nonconformists were also well represented in P.T. Winskill's "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century".
8. For the Nonconformist crusades about social purity, slavery, and the Education Acts, see D.W. Bebbington "The Nonconformist Conscience...", Chapter 3, 'The Problems of Society', pp. 37-46, 110-112, and 77-9, 103, and 126-160 respectively. The political importance of the hated Education Acts is discussed in S. Koss "Nonconformity in Modern British Politics", pp. 8, 16-17, 23-7, 37-9, 45-51, 59-60, 79-89, 94-7, 101-112, 121-124, 147-51, 179, 187 and 222. The best study of this particular 'crusade', heavily drawn upon by both Bebbington and Koss, being J.E.B. Munson "A Study of Nonconformity in Victorian England, as revealed by the Passive Resistance Movement against the 1902 Education Act", Oxford D. Phil., 1973.
9. Prohibitionists like James Barr were strongly in favour of Disestablishment but the fairly general antipathy towards patronage, coloured in part by the Revival of 1859, was to some extent balanced by sectarian rivalries and mutual suspicion. For Scots' attitudes to education and Disestablishment, see A. Drummond and J. Bulloch "The Church in Victorian Scotland" pp. 101-4, 329, and 334-41 respectively. No monarch for example had worshipped in a Church of Scotland church since the 17th century. See the earlier section on the background to temperance lessons. See D.W. Bebbington (op cit) Chapter 2, 'The Quest for Religious Equality', and on Welsh Disestablishment specifically see p.36. ("Welsh nationalism pervaded the tithe wars of the 1880's"). For the education question's ability to bring even Nonconformist Unionists and Whiggish Wesleyans into line see Bebbington (supra) p. 76.
10. D.W. Bebbington 'The City, the Countryside and the Social Gospel in late Victorian Nonconformity', Studies in Church History, Vol. 16, p. 424. See for example the earlier section on the S.P.B.T.A. for the rural influences in the careers of men like Sir Samuel Chisholm. A. McNair "Personal Reminiscences, with a Chapter prefixed on the Extent of the Atonement", p. 123. For the influence of evangelicalism's ebb-tide on the philanthropist Shaftesbury too in G. Finlayson "The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury...", p. 493.
11. Revd. A. Bogle 'The Revd. James Barr BD, M.P.', Records of the Scottish Church History Society, 1982, pp. 189-207, and W.H. Marwick 'Revd. J. Barr Modern Covenanter', Journal of Science, Vol. 1, 1973.

12. W. Walker 'Scottish Prohibitionists and the Millennium'  
International Review of Social History, 3, 1973, pp. 353-379,  
especially 357, and 362.
13. W. Walker (supra) pp 358 and 368.
14. W. Walker (supra) p. 364. Russian radicals like Katerina  
Breshkovskaya, Vera Figner, etc. combined support for land  
reform, better living standards for the Russian peasantry,  
( 'Bread and Land' war cries), with attacks on the prevalence of  
vodka drinking and its encouragement of domestic violence and  
the subjugation of Russian women. When such radicals went  
abroad to study or went underground to work to overthrow the  
Tzar they lived like small religious communities, (notwith-  
standing Chernyshevsky's advocacy of free love in "What is To  
Be Done"!) their one luxury being tea drinking - the samovar  
symbolising radical hospitality. See the study C. Porter  
"Fathers and Daughters Russian Women in Revolution", London,  
1976.
15. B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", p. 210.  
B. Harrison and Hanham "Dictionary of Temperance Biography",  
Society for the Study of Labour History, Bulletin Supplement  
1973.
16. B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", p. 295, B. Harrison  
'British Prohibitionists...', (op cit) p. 396, on the arch-  
puritan George Cadbury, also Koss (op cit) pp. 58, 64, 106,  
108, 115, and 128.
17. Whittier - W.N. Edwards' "Temperance Compendium", p. 133.  
On premonitions of social disaster, prompted by the Reform  
Acts, see B. Harrison and A.E. Dingle 'Cardinal Manning as a  
Temperance Reformer', Historical Journal, 12, 3, 1969, pp. 496,  
504-6. Manning was influenced by the activities of European  
secret revolutionary societies. Also A.E. Dingle (op cit)  
p. 17. For Shaftesbury's fears, G.B.A. Finlayson "The Seventh  
Earl of Shaftesbury...", p. 486.  
On 'fanatic' as a compliment, see the Biographical Appendix on  
Archibald Cranston, (1853-1908). Manning's justification of  
extremism was similar.
18. B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", pp. 235, 225 and 290-  
291 respectively.
19. B. Harrison (supra) p. 271 for Disraeli's comment to this effect  
in 1872. The suspicion quoted here was born in the mind of  
Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice in 1872 - see p. 289. On John Hope,  
see D. Jamie "John Hope, Philanthropist and Reformer", Edinburgh,  
1907, S. Mechie "The Church and Scottish Social Development..",  
pp. 94-8. On the role of the Glasgow Evangelistic Association  
in school board elections for example see Roxburgh (op cit)  
p. 41 et seq. Scottish Prohibitionist June 27th, 1914 p. 4.  
Such sectarian unrest was however ever-present, and could easily  
be whipped up by agitators like Murphy, the Fenian outrages of  
the 1860's, and the Dynamitards. See G. Best 'Popular

- Protestantism in Victorian Britain' in R. Robson (ed.) "Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain", London, 1967, and for the battle between the English Church Union (1860), focus for the Ritualist party in the Church of England, and the Church Association (1865) which sought to fight off encroachment by Romish practices and crypto-Catholicism, M.A. Crowther "The Church Embattled: Religious Controversy in Mid Victorian England", 1970, pp. 190-191. Anti-Catholic sentiment was manifested in fears of secular overthrow of European Protestant thrones in the 1830's, suspicion of the Catholic Church's British expansion, secular control of education, plus missions to Catholics in cities like Edinburgh, support of the Protestant clergy in Ireland, interest in the work of the Protestant Defence Committee, and championing of the cause of persecuted Reformation-era Protestant sects in Europe, E.R. Norman "Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England", London, 1968. Shaftesbury's opposition to the Tractarians and Puseyites was heightened by the belief that these were more threatening than overt Catholicism, whilst anti-Catholicism derived some of its obsessiveness from awareness of Catholicism's attractive openness and lack of self-consciousness surrounding devotion - G. Finlayson "The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury...", pp. 116-119, 160-1, 166, 168, 209, 316, 321, 341-3.
20. Some like Lovett and Green were keen to see a reformation of working class leisure patterns. Others resented the credence given to moral suasionist counter-attraction solutions by groups like the Association for the Improvement of the Social Condition of the People. See e.g. its 1892 Conference Report's 'Recreation Section'. Criticism was voiced via Scottish Reformer and The Scottish Temperance Annual. Sir A.P. Herbert (1890-1971) "Let's Stop Somebody".
21. W.N. Edwards' "Temperance Compendium" was largely devoted to prohibitionist health propaganda, (i.e. pp. 18-20, 24, 33, 44, 48, 50, 53, 61, 79-81, 87, 90-2, 110, and 123). Much was made of the Medical Manifesto of April 1907. For the S.P.P. attitude to health, including mild support for the health and hygiene magazine Good Health, attacks on the Trade press for "callous" attitudes to inebriates' homes, Stewart and Scrymgeour's pressure for a municipal inebriates' home in Dundee, support for Dr. Newsholme of the Local Government Board's call for greater restrictions on the liberty of habitual drunkards, and delight in the muckraking activities of Councillor Pratt of Glasgow in the 'Ruchill Hospital Scandal', Scottish Prohibitionist Jan. 1909, p. 12, Feb. 1909, p. 12, May 1909, p. 1 and p. 4, and March 1908, p. 11. (On fundamentalist interest in spiritualism for similar reasons, see the career of Dr. Coates).
22. D.W. Bebbington "The Nonconformist Conscience...", p. 40.
23. This concern can be traced to late 1830's and early 1840's studies such as William Logan's "The Moral statistics of Glasgow", Glasgow, 1849, and "The Great Social Evil", London, 1871.

Comments hostile to standing armies appeared in Temperance Spectator in the 1860's. This was influenced by the way in which the reign of Victoria was relatively untroubled by war, and by latent suspicion of the use of the army in suppression of radicalism - as in the Radical Uprising of 1820. Glasgow reformers also had large barracks nearby, i.e. Cavalry Barracks at Amieda Hill, Hamilton, and Garioch Barracks, Maryhill, built in the 1870's to house 600 soldiers, "Tweed's Guide to the Clyde", p. 56, and "Glasgow 100 Years Ago", p. 47. Most were influenced by the career of Josephine Butler and the campaign for repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, coyly referred to as "The C.D. Acts" by temperance periodicals which strove to be 'family reading'.

24. Scottish Prohibitionist, March 7, 1914, p. 3, and April 4, p. 3. The May 2nd 1914 issue, p. 2, supported the social purity campaign for the introduction of female police, and that of Oct. 31, 1914, p. 4, expressed support for the British International Abolitionist Federation moves against the introduction of the Contagious Diseases Act system in the Plymouth port area.
  25. See J.S. Mill "On Liberty", 1859, where Mill attacked the Maine Law. On T.H. Green and Lawson, see Brian Harrison's "Drink and the Victorians", pp 209 and 253.
  26. See Chapter 8. For Ned Scrymgeour's cultivation of the mill girl vote - Walker 'Dundee's Disenchantment with Churchill', in Scottish Historical Review, XLIX, 1970, pp. 94-108. On Mrs Watt of the S.P.P. Scottish Prohibitionist, June 1909, p. 15 and Sept. 24, 1910, p. 4. On lady reporters, March 1907, p. 8 Nov. 5, 1910 p. 3, recorded S.P.P. approval of Harriet Johnston of Liverpool's work - Johnston being a co-founder of the Women's Liberal Association. See April 1907, p. 7, for references to "Votes for Women" speeches given by the S.P.P., and the S.P.P. training classes for lady speakers. For the activities of the Dundee suffragette Mrs William Bell, also a member of the S.P.P., see the issue for Nov. 26, 1910, p. 1, and on 'Churchill and the Dundee Suffragettes', (a la Scrymgeour), see Dec. 3rd, 1910, p. 4. On Carrie Nation, see Feb. 1909, pp.3-4. 'A Rude Awakening Captures Glasgow', the Sept. 1908 article, 'America's Christmas Present to Britain in 1908 - Mrs C.A. Nation', and also Nov. 1908, p. 8, Dec. 1908, pp. 4-7, and Jan. 1909, p. 1. Scrymgeour, it is fair to say, was far more hostile to Lady Henry Somerset of the B.W.T.A., and accused her of retreating from temperance commitment into mere charity work in June 1907. Little sympathy was also shown towards Mrs Snowden, on account of her support for nationalisation of the drink traffic - see the issue of Jan. 19th, 1914, p. 1. The reference to the fate of Mrs Pankhurst appeared in May 2, 1914, p. 4, and to women's relief applications in Oct. 17, 1914, p. 4.
- Scottish Prohibitionist
27. On child welfare etc., see August 1, 1907, (on trips) Oct. 1, 1910, p. 2, on the Young Crusaders, March 12, 1910, for encouragement of Boys' Brigade 'parliamentary debates', yet July 1909, p. 10, for criticism of the B.B.'s choice of Lord Urquhart as chief. The references to the N.S.P.C.C. occur in March 7,

- 1914, p. 3, May 16, 1914, p. 3, and June 1907, p. 10 carried the article, 'Should We Save the Children'. The S.P.P. commented upon the series on child welfare by G.R. Sims in Tribune, and on the subsequent conference in May 1907, p. 8. The Glasgow Sub-Committee Report on Hooliganism was scrutinised in the issue of Feb. 7, 1914, p. 2. The S.P.P. of course did actually have its own junior branch from 1908 on - Oct. 1, 1908, p. 16.
28. e.g. Professor W.A. Hunter (Professor of Law University College London) "True Origin of the Criminal Laws Affecting the Working Classes", in the series of 1873-4 Glasgow Tracts for Trade Unionists.
29. See B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", pp. 199, 217, 222, 245, and 255, and A.E. Dingle "The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England...", pp. 13, 18, and 20. Anon. "An M.P.'s Reasons for Supporting S.P.B.T.A." (n.d. - U.K.A. Collection, Westminster). J.B. Finch "The People Versus the Liquor Traffic", I.O.G.T. tract, n.d. Revd. Professor J. Kirk "Britain's Drawbacks: A Brief Review of the Chief of those National Errors which retard the Prosperity of Our Country", 3rd edition, Glasgow, 1868. On the guilt of the governing classes see especially Kirk's "The Government and the Spirit Dealer in relation to Pauperism and Intemperance", Glasgow, 1867, which accused the government of undue fiscal dependence upon the Trade, (in terms reminiscent of recent B.M.A. pressure group criticism of E.E.C. policy), and "Why the People Ought to Have a Veto on the Sale of Drink", Glasgow, 1867. The latter exposed magisterial inefficiency and used the examples of foreign policy towards Turkey, and the Opium War, to suggest in forthright terms that the governing classes could not be trusted to act in accordance with Christian conscience. For other tracts and autobiographical writings in similar vein see B. Harrison 'Drink and Sobriety in England: A Critical Bibliography, 1815-72', in International Review of Social History, No. 2, 1967, pp. 262-7. pp. 205-276, especially p. 261, 'The Prohibitionist Apologia', pp. 262-5, 'Prominent Prohibitionists and their Writings', and pp. 265-7, 'Miscellaneous Prohibitionist Argument and Literature'. See Kirton "Buy Your Own Cherries" (op cit, in discussions of thrift), and A. Rodger "Reminiscences of the Glasgow Teetotal Bobby", Glasgow, (p.p., n.d.) The latter work, a manuscript of anecdotes written in the style of a letter to the American high-priestess of prohibition, Frances Willard, was allegedly based upon the author's experiences in the affluent Hillhead district of Glasgow at the turn of the century. Rodger's tale of a well-to-do publican family's cruelty towards a ragged child displays a good deal of class tension. Prohibitionists like Kirk were prone to attack the entire licensed trade as "a swindle" - see A. McNair, (op cit) p. 14.
30. A.E. Dingle and B. Harrison 'Cardinal Manning as a Temperance Reformer', Historical Journal, 12 (3), 1969, pp. 489, 492, 499. Manning firmly believed that the masses' conscience was "far more awakened and unerring than the conscience of what are called the classes". (The said 'classes' tended to be regarded

as adjuncts to major interest groups and as hampering 'national politics'. See B. Harrison "British prohibitionists..." (op cit) pp. 393-394 on U.K.A. exaggeration of working class support for their policy.

31. B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", p. 198.  
A.E. Dingle (op cit) p. 20 notes traditional Nonconformist hostility to, or suspicion of, Westminster in this context. On Cardinal Manning see Dingle and Harrison (op cit) pp. 504-6. This echoed Shaftesbury's 1870 gloomy predictions in Pall Mall Gazette, and in Manning's case was coloured by the Paris Commune of 1871 and suspicion of trade unions and Fenians as subversive forces. See Elspeth King's exhibition catalogue, "Scotland Sober and Free, The Temperance Movement 1829-1979", Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1979, whose title was taken from the 1909 pamphlet of the same name by Gulland.  
C. Harvie "Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707-1977", p. 28.  
As has been mentioned previously, Glaswegian reformers shared Shaftesbury's enthusiastic support of Garibaldi and Italian nationalism. On Shaftesbury and the London committee of the Society for Reform of Religion in Italy, see G.B.A.M. Finlayson (op cit) pp. 454-8.  
See K.O. Morgan "Wales in British Politics", University of Wales Press, 1963, p. 54, and W.R. Lambert (thesis, op cit) on the interaction of temperance and nationalism in Wales. According to Lambert, temperance was increasingly a tool of the nationalistic "Young Wales". The passage of Welsh temperance legislation became far more important to the latter than the details of any such measure - Lambert, p. 384. On Rosebery, who gave his name to a great many temperance lodges and tents in the late 19th century, see J. Kellas "Modern Scotland", Pall Mall, 1968, pp. 192-5.
32. For Hardie, see the Biographical Appendix. Hardie (1856-1915) has been the subject of several biographies, see F. Reid 'Keir Hardie's Biographers', Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, 16, 1968, and also F. Reid's article 'Keir Hardie's Conversion to Socialism', in A. Briggs and J. Saville "Essays in Labour History, 1886-1923", London, 1971, pp. 17-46, and K.O. Morgan "Keir Hardie: Radical and Socialist", London, 1975, p. 43.
33. J. Kellas quoted by Harvie in "Scotland and Nationalism...", p. 38.
34. The cult of Burns as a would-be temperance reformer was partly encouraged by those who held his relative Revd. Thomas Burns in high esteem. The latter left the Church of Scotland for the Free Church at the Disruption and was the first incumbent of St. Cuthbert's Church, Prestwick. In addition the Revd. Dawson Burns and Jabez Burns may have unwittingly or otherwise encouraged this trend. They were father and son. Jabez Burns (1805-76) born in Oldham, was a clerk who became a Wesleyan Methodist preacher. At 24 he accepted a call to the Baptist Church at Perth and joined the temperance movement there. 1835-76 he was the preacher at the Baptist Church, Marylebone.

His interests in anti-slavery, social and political reform were shared by his son, until he died in 1909 - G. Hayler "Famous Fanatics", pp. 86-9. Channing's lines appeared in Journal for the Home About the Home, Oct. 1909, p. 156. Scrymgeour, however, denounced Burns as a drunkard in Scottish Prohibitionist. For the Revd. David Macrae of Gourrock's friendship as a young man with Fraser, see the "Memoir of John Fraser of Newfield", by J.R. Fraser, (his son) Paisley, J. & J. Cook, 1879, pp. 106-7. John Paton wrote "Robert Burns the National Bard and Temperance Reformer of His Age", Manchester, (U.K.A.) 1877, and "Home and the Drink Institution", Barrhead, 1872, etc., somehow managing to reconcile these themes.

35. B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians...", p. 204. Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald were also more influenced by Burns's "Is there for Honest Poverty" and "The Twa Dugs" than by any socialist treatise they claimed - see F. Reid 'Keir Hardie's Conversion to Socialism', and C.L. Mowat's 'Ramsay MacDonald and the Labour Party', in A. Briggs and J. Saville "Essays in Labour History 1886-1923", London, 1971. The general factors which influenced moves from acquiescence in the Victorian 'tutelle' to support for a collectivist state are summarised very briefly in E.C. Midwinter "Victorian Social Reform", London, Longmans, 1968, pp 45-7.
36. B. Harrison (supra) pp. 197-9 and 204-7, and also A.E. Dingle (op cit) p. 19. On T.H. Green see Harrison (supra) pp. 23, 130, 189, 204-210, 246, 278, 351, and 373. Dingle refers to T.H. Green (1836-82) in pp. 8 and 19. See especially Green's 'Principles of Political Obligation', in his "Works", Vol. II, pp. 345-6, and 'Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract', in "Works", Vol. III, pp. 383-4, and M. Richter "The Politics of Conscience: T.H. Green and His Age", London, 1964. T.H. Green's manuscripts are lodged with Balliol College, Oxford.
37. Harrison (supra) pp. 206-7. On Dr. Frederick Richard Lees (1815-97) and his support of the Charter in 1842, his connections with housing reform, his puritanism, innovative medical ideas, lecturing career, and connections with U.K.A., see pp. 88, 134-5, 147, 154, 162, 173, 186, 195, 202-7, 211-4, 219, 243-4, 256-9, 307-8, 321, 334, 344, 353-4, 362, and 388. On J.G. Richardson (1813-90) see Harrison (supra) pp. 156 and 377, and 'British Prohibitionists: a Biographical Analysis'. (op cit) p. 462. Richardson, like so many temperance reformers in general, had a Quaker education, joined the family firm, (linen merchants) and had business connections in America. His Bessbrook experiment, mentioned earlier, was commenced in 1846, and like many Clydeside temperance reformers he was also connected with a shipping line, Inman Line. See also Dingle (op cit) p. 92. For Scrymgeour's comments Scottish Prohibitionist, 24.1.1914, p. 4.
38. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", p. 211. A. McNair (op cit) pp. 113-114.
39. Harrison (supra) p. 296.

40. Harrison (supra) p. 203 and 209, and Dingle (op cit) p. 13. B. Harrison 'The Sunday Trading Riots of 1855', Historical Journal, Vol. 8, 1965.
41. Scrymgeour asserted that his prohibitionism was influenced by Mill and Adam Smith - no doubt as a bid for intellectual respectability, and to soothe the fears aroused by his inflammatory bluster. On Magee, see Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", pp. 201 and 293 and Dingle (op cit) pp. 23 and 25. The comments that it would be impossible to make men sober by Act of Parliament echoed Peel's comment on the impossibility of making men moral by Act of Parliament - made in the face of demands for factory reform, see Finlayson, (op cit) p. 220, f. 30. See B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", p. 293. Magee's famous comment was made during the House of Lords' debate on the Licensing Bill of 2nd May, 1872 i.e. "if I must take my choice...whether England should be free or sober I declare...that I should say it would be better that England shall be free than that England should be compulsorily sober. I would distinctly prefer freedom to sobriety, because with freedom we might in the end attain sobriety; but in the other alternative we should lose both freedom and sobriety". The S.P.B.T.A. tract "Liberty and the Permissive Bill", Glasgow, 1867, was evidently designed to quash earlier criticisms of similar tone. It defended the Permissive Bill in terms of "civil liberty" and "natural liberty", as against the "social babyhood" encouraged by the licensing system.
42. B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", p. 203, and also D. Roberts "Paternalism in Early Victorian England", London, 1979, p. 190.
43. S. Webb "Socialism in England", London, 1890, pp. 116-7.
44. On Barr see the articles referred to by Bogle and by Marwick in Studies in Church History and Journal of Science, E. King "Scotland Sober and Free: the Temperance Movement 1829-1979", p. 23, and R. McKechnie "Good Templary its Work and Workers 1929-79", pp. 33-36. Barr wrote tracts for the I.O.G.T., such as the New Year Tract "The New Patriotism" (1920's?) and was the leading platform speaker in the 1920's "No Licence" Campaign. On Walter Walsh, see William Walker's "Juteopolis..." (op cit). Walsh won international renown with publication of his "Jesus in Juteopolis", which appealed to precisely those American Progressives for whom the theme of "If Christ came to Chicago" was a classic of the Muckraker era. Scrymgeour was scathing about Walsh's supposed contribution to municipal reform - Scottish Prohibitionist, 1 Feb., 1907, p. 13, 'An Imaginary Reformation', in which Scrymgeour alleged that the publicity surrounding the 'Gilfillan Memorial Church Paper of Nov. 1906', and the Boston Evening Transcript, of 23.11.1906 had inflated Walsh's contribution, which amounted to mere sermonising, out of all proportion. Claims that jute merchants, ministers, and workers, had been successfully banded together by Walsh against "the bad old era of selfish and apathetic administration", taking as the basis for municipal reform the recent Report of Dundee Social Union, were wishful thinking Scrymgeour insisted.



Admittedly Scrymgeour was not objective about Walsh. He resented Walsh's fame, as well as his determination to co-operate with the Dundee Labour group and to distance himself from his erstwhile colleagues in the S.P.P., favouring the politics of practicality. In the long term however Scrymgeour was probably correct about the limitations of Dundee's 'municipal progressive alliance' - as Walsh's reluctance to press the question of municipal housing reflected. Walsh's main achievements therefore lay more in his congregational endeavours, his work for a non-sectarian Christian faith placing him firmly in the tradition of the Chartist and Labour Churches. MacLean (1879-1923) a school teacher who joined S.D.F. in 1902, led the anti-war agitation in Glasgow and was subsequently jailed in 1915, 1916, and 1918. Although a member of the British Socialist Party he left it in 1920 and refused to join the Communist Party. On Johnston, see the earlier section on Glasgow friendly societies and Briggs and Saville (op cit) pp. 146, 166, 173, 178. See Willie Gallacher "Revolt on the Clyde", 1936. On Kirkwood, see D. Kirkwood "My Life of Revolt", London, 1935, pp. 54-9, James Hinton's essay 'The Clyde Workers' Committee and the Dilution Struggle', pp. 153-184, in Briggs and Saville (supra) McKechnie (supra) p. 36, and also the Scottish Band of Hope Union's collection of 1950's tracts. E. Rosslyn Mitchell was if anything even more closely associated with the work of the latter society - see the later section on children and temperance - and also wrote tracts for the I.O.G.T., e.g. a New Year Tract "Booze Versus Brains", and delivered the Joseph Malins Memorial Lecture for the I.O.G.T. in 1936. For the work of the miners' leader and Annbank evangelical James Brown, (in honour of whom a notoriously drunken avenue of council housing in Ayr has been named somewhat ironically), see A. Gammie "From Pit to Parliament: life story of the Hon. James Brown M.P. Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland", London, 1931. Ernest Brown, M.P. Leith, was a member of the 'Citadel Lodge' of the Leith I.O.G.T., as was his wife. On Adamson, see the Biographical Appendix. Gilzean, M.P. for Edinburgh Central, was a Grand Superintendent of Educational Work for I.O.G.T. and was Secretary of the Edinburgh Council of the 1920's Scottish Temperance Alliance. William Graham born in Peebles yet connected with Edinburgh, as were the Chambers, was a member of Edinburgh I.O.G.T.

45. Mitchell and Kirkwood were of course evidence that interest in temperance could survive in some form to the 1930's or even the 1950's and was not automatically shelved. The U.K. Band of Hope was able to call upon well known Labour politicians as well as well known 'political wives' like Viscountess Snowden to grace their social events even in the 1950's. Quoted here - Emrys Hughes "Keir Hardie's Speeches and Writings 1888-1915", Glasgow, 1928, p. 47, the "Movement", referred to here being the Labour Movement. Hardie could be relied upon to say something acceptable when called upon for example to open Institutes for Working Men funded by the temperance movement - even although like Scrymgeour he was under no illusions as to the hypocrisy of temperance men of the type of the Muirkirk Templars who resembled Burns' "Holy Willie" in their lip-service

to temperance. I.F. Maciver of the National Library kindly drew my attention to the Blackburn Weekly Standard, 6.12.1902, report of a speech given by Hardie on opening the local Working Men's Educational Institute in Blackpool, "supported by Bruce Glasier, President of the I.L.P." and local councillors. Hardie duly damned the decline in popularity of classics like Thomas Carlyle with the working classes, the adverse effects of a "snippety press", and specified as "the two great evils of the hour...drunkenness and betting". Moreover, like Dunlop, he stressed that "he had just returned from the Continent, and there the leaders of the movement with which he was identified had become total abstainers to set an example to the people" to spur Scots to better behaviour. Unfortunately little of Hardie's correspondence survives to give a framework to temperance as part of his moral approach to politics, epitomised by his 1901 assertion that socialism sought to replace "worship of Mammon with humanity", according to F. Reid 'Keir Hardie's Conversion to Socialism' in Briggs and Saville, "Essays in Labour History 1886-1923", p. 7. Hardie may well have been aware of the existence of affluent teetotal figures at a relatively early age, through his apprenticeship to the Anchor Line's brass finishing shop and his work for a well-known baker - see D. Lowe "From Pit to Parliament", 1923, p. 10. Hardie's conversion to socialism Reid reveals came in the late 1880's, as a result of the crisis in the Scottish coalfields rather than his rejection by the Liberals of Mid-Lanark in 1888. Even in 1886 Hardie still asserted in the Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald, 12.11.1886, that although working class standards of living had improved over the 19th century, the benefits had been dissipated and still "the people are pouring it down their throats in intoxicating drink". Similarly when lobbying took Hardie to London in 1887 he was still enough of a teetotaler to be appalled by the drinking which took place in socialist clubs - see H. Pelling "The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880-1900", Oxford, 1965 (2nd edition) p. 64 - as well as members' tendency to "denounce everything, including trade unionism". On teetotal Chartism, see Harrison's article, "Teetotal Chartism", (op cit) and the studies of Wilson and Wright (op cit).

46. Ben Tillet however did voice criticism of temperance's monopoly of the Labour Party's time - see the Tillet Correspondence in the Labour Party Archives. My thanks to Stephen Bird, Labour Party Archivist for drawing this to my attention. My impression of the attitudes of local I.L.P. leaders is derived from a recent interview with Mr. Alex Fielding of Maybole, a pioneer I.L.P. organiser in South Ayrshire, now resident in an old people's home in Racecourse Road, Ayr. On the tensions within the Labour Party prior to the commitment to socialism as a binding political creed in 1918, see Pelling, (supra) pp. 222-227, and C.L. Mowat 'Ramsay MacDonald and the Labour Party' in Briggs and Saville (op cit) pp. 132-3, where it is emphasised that the underlying tensions between socialists and trade unionists, often Lib.-Lab.'s at heart, worsened over 1906-10. Also, D. Howell "British Workers and the Independent Labour Party 1886-1906", Manchester, 1983. MacDonald was not greatly interested in temperance. Although he

was the general editor of a party tract series which dealt in part with the temperance question his own library, as deposited recently with the National Library, did not include one single article on the subject. His activities as a London clerk in the years before he joined the Fabians are, by Mowat's admission, "obscure", and he may well have been mixing with affluent teetotallers in those years. His later connections with upper middle class society perhaps precluded any great focus on temperance.

47. On land reform, its interaction with social reform and later with socialism - J. Hunter 'The Politics of Highland Land Reform 1873-95', Scottish Historical Review, 1974, pp. 45-68' and especially R. Douglas "Land, People, and Politics", London, 1976, and Chapter VIII. For Hemans (1793-1835), Mitford (1787-1855), the authors of the poems "The Homes of England", and "Our Village" respectively, and for M.B. Foster (1825-99) see E. Burton "The Victorians at Home 1837-61", Harlow, 1972 p. 14. See later section on the treatment of habitual drunkards. For Nonconformist promotion of labour colonies, pace J.B. Paton, see Bebbington "The Nonconformist Conscience...", pp. 55-56.
48. Mid 19th century Nonconformist attitudes were influenced by the non-interventionism of Cobden and Bright, and by the work of the Peace Society (estd. 1816) - especially its programme from the 1840's onwards. See A. Tyrrell 'Making the Millennium: the Mid 19th Century Peace Movement', in Historical Journal, Vol. 20, 1978. The support of peace however declined in proportion to the alarm felt during the invasion scares of the 1850's. G. Finlayson (op cit) pp.174-5, notes Shaftesbury's reactions, whilst Kirk's opinions are given in Kirk's "Why the People Ought to Have a Veto on the Sale of Drink", Glasgow, 1867, cited earlier. On the I.O.G.T. position on the outbreak of the First World War, see the earlier section on the I.O.G.T. and also 'An Emotional Setting', in Scottish Prohibitionist, 22.8.1914, for Scrymgeour's report on those of I.O.G.T. stranded in Germany. (The gravity of the situation for once prevented Scrymgeour from revelling in their discomfort). Some leading Nonconformists were similarly embarrassed - see C. Binfield "So Down to Prayers: Studies in English Non-Conformity 1780-1920", London, 1977, p. 214. For Nonconformist support of the League of Nations, see S. Koss "Non-conformity in Modern British Politics", p. 141. For an example of Peace and Arbitration Society membership, see A.P. Brown's entry in the Biographical Appendix. Prohibitionists like Richardson, mentioned earlier in connection with Bessbrook, shunned connection with war in their business dealings - Richardson retired when the Inman Line became involved in providing shipping for the Crimean War. On the Daily News, S. Koss "Nonconformity in Modern British Politics", pp.32-33. On Sir Wilfrid Lawson, dubbed a "Congregational fox-hunting squire" by Binfield, (op cit) p. 4, see his biographies, W.B. Luke "Sir Wilfrid Lawson", 1900, and G.W.E. Russell "Sir Wilfrid Lawson: A Memoir", 1909, and also his 'autobiography', "The Wit and Wisdom of Sir Wilfrid Lawson", 1886. Many Nonconformists gradually became

imperialists over the years 1870-1900 and actually supported the Boer War - see Bebbington, (op cit) p. 106 for Christian World's comment 21.12.1899 the "Nonconformist Conscience is as silent as the grave", also Binfield (op cit) pp. 210, 214, 218, 227, and 239. On the Boer War specifically see T. Pakenham "The Boer War" 1979. Details of the "War Tax" appear in W.N. Edwards "The Temperance Compendium", (op cit) p. 62. On 1907-13 radical dissent on foreign policy see D. McLean 'English Radicals, Russia, and the fate of Persia, 1907-13', English Historical Review,<sup>93</sup> 1978, pp. 338-352. On the pro-Boer origins of the "Young Scots", see H. Hanham "Scottish Nationalism",<sup>1969</sup>, Chapter 4. This radical Home Rule pressure group was attractive to the I.O.R. on the Great War and Nonconformist pacifism, see Binfield, (op cit) p. 247. Nonconformist internationalists were surprised by the Great War, optimism about international relations having been inspired by their vision of "global Christianity". Binfield muses, "perhaps this internationalism was unduly compromised by the imperialism which grew with it. Certainly it was compounded by naivety...Matthew Arnold was right about them after all". On the Mansion House Trial, the strains placed by the War upon Nonconformist solidarity, the hostility to war of Henry Child Carter, (minister of Emmanuel Church, Cambridge, and a past chairman of the London Missionary Society) see Binfield pp. 242-6. T. Wilson stressed that the identification with the War was disastrous for Nonconformity in "The Downfall of the Liberal Party", London, 1966. For the S.P.P. reaction, Scottish Prohibitionist, 8.8.1914, p. 4. On Barr Scottish Prohibitionist, 31.10.1914, p. 4. Scrymgeour's reaction bordered on John McLean's i.e. uncompromising hostility - but Scrymgeour drew the line at outright non-cooperation. He was aware of the popularity of the myth of the 'fighting Scot' described by C. Harvie in "Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707-1977", pp 96-7. This was epitomised by the high levels of Scots who joined the Volunteers (estd. 1859)<sup>and</sup> was partly responsible for the popularity of the Boys' Brigade etc. according to Hanham's 'Religion and Nationality in the Mid Victorian Army', in M. Foot's "War and Society", 1973, pp. 160-72. The mythical element is highlighted in H. Cunningham's "The Volunteer Force", London, 1976, the best studies of pacifism during the Great War being K. Robbins "The Abolition of War: The British Peace Movement 1914-18", Cardiff, 1976, and M. Ceadel "Pacifism in Britain, 1914-45", Oxford, 1980. On the Labour Movement's reactions, R. Harrison 'The War Emergency Workers' National Committee 1914-20', pp. 211-59 in A. Briggs and J. Saville (ed) "Essays in Labour History 1886-1923", and H. Pelling "A History of British Trade Unionism", Chapter VIII, especially p. 149. On social reform pacifism in general, F. Prochaska "Women and Philanthropy in Victorian England", pp 52 and 233, and B. Harrison "Peaceable Kingdom, Stability and Change in Modern Britain", (henceforth "Peaceable Kingdom"), p. 38.

49. Prohibitionist rhetoric was reminiscent of socialist justifications of intervention - e.g. MacDonald's "The Socialist Movement", p. 11, "the community exists for the improvement of the individual" etc. They were attracted to John Burns for the same

reasons that Hyndman was dismissive of him - he was an effective stump-orator - J. Burgess "John Burns: the Rise and Progress of a Rt. Hon. Member", Glasgow, 1911. He also drifted towards the Liberals and was denounced as an opportunist - R.C.K. Ensor "England 1870-1914", pp. 100, 181, 206, 296, 385, 493, 516-9, Winskill (op cit) Vol. I, p. 175. Burns' library contains a large number of temperance periodicals and tracts. He gave the U.K.A. 1904 Lees and Raper Memorial Lecture "Labour and Drink", Hardie, Snowden, and Henderson were "life-long puritans" - B. Harrison "Peaceable Kingdom", p. 203. Socialist intellectuals shared Liberal hostility to the poor's vicious habits, as E.P. Thompson noted in his 1977 study of William Morris. On Henderson - E.C. Urwin "Five Pathfinders of Temperance", London, n.d., pp. 35-42. Snowden, formerly a Civil Service clerk, rose to prominence by his ability to whip up "a tide of spiritual revivalism" in the 1900 General Election. Like Hardie his speeches were evangelical in tone - Pelling (op cit) p. 180. Snowden emphasised the I.L.P.'s high proportion of abstainers - "Socialism and Teetotalism" 1909. He was still pro-temperance in the 30's - see his "End this Colossal Waste: A Neglected Palliative for Unemployment", 1936. Labour leaders were nevertheless criticised by the S.P.P. for compromising Labour and teetotal principles in dealings with Liberals and personal conduct. See Scrymgeour on "intellectually squint-eyed socialists" in Scottish Prohibitionist.

50. Harrison and Dingle 'Cardinal Manning as a Temperance Reformer' (op cit) pp. 504-6. See resemblances to Miall and Chamberlain's tactics - D.A. Hamer "The Politics of Electoral Pressure - A Study in the History of Victorian Reform Agitations", Hassocks, 1977, pp. 38, 104, 107, and 129.
51. e.g. H. Hibbert and H. Quelch "Would Universal Total Abstinence Reduce Wages, A Public Debate...Lincoln, 1907", Quelch and J.H. Roberts "Would Universal Total Abstinence Lower Wages? A Word About Certain Socialists" I.O.G.T., n.d., W. Reid "Socialism and the Drink Traffic", London, 1905, 'Prohibition Versus Municipalisation', Scottish Prohibitionist, 1.2.1907, p. 10, J. O'Connor Kessack "Drink the Cause of Poverty A Reply to the Temperance Party", Glasgow, 1907. See the debate between Tom Mann and John Burns in the Burns Papers, British Museum. J. Brown 'The Pig or the Sty: Drink and Poverty in Late Victorian Britain', International Review of Social History, pp. 380-95. On Gothenburg, J. Johnson "The Gothenburg System of Public Licensing", London, 1893, D. Lewis "The Gothenburg Licence Scheme", Edinburgh, 1873, his "The Gothenburg and Bergen Schemes", Edinburgh, 1895, J. Malins "The Gothenburg System or Municipalisation of the Drink Traffic", Aberdeen, 1897, J. Chamberlain "Public House Reform", London, n.d. c. 1877, p. 10 especially, J. Rowntree and A. Sherwell "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform", London, 1900, a comprehensive review of all such schemes. Also Dingle (op cit) pp. 65-7, 75, 147, 163, Longmate (op cit) pp. 232-3 and 270, and G. Williams and G. Brake "Drink in Gt. Britain 1900-79", London, 1980, pp. 99-103.
52. Brown (op cit) p. 381, D. Owen "English Philanthropy 1660-1960",

pp. 100-2, 104, 108, 111, 139, 225-8, and 508-9.

53. G. Finlayson (op cit) p. 217, and D. Hamer (op cit) p. 5. Simplicity was necessary for unity. D. Reid 'The Decline of Saint Monday 1766-1876', Past and Present, 71, 1976. B. Harrison 'British Prohibitionists: A Biographical Analysis' (op cit). W. Walker contends that Scrymgeour could easily have become a Labour candidate but chose not to in "Juteopolis Dundee and its Textile Workers 1885-1923", <sup>Edinburgh, 1979</sup> Prohibitionist economics are described in Brown (op cit) pp. 386-8 and 392, and in Scottish Prohibitionist 1.7.1907, pp 12-13, and "Trade and Commerce as Affected by the Drink System. A Lecture in 1880 by ex-Baillie Lewis", Glasgow, 1880, which ranged across Whitworth's alleged loss of £35,000 p.a. through Saint Monday, possible increase in wages of £70 million p.a. were prohibition achieved, (means unspecified) Trade luxury (evident ironically in their philanthropy) hostility to importation of grain from Egypt, Russia, and the U.S.A., absorption of manpower in unproductive pursuits like the prison service, and Glasgow's £50,000 p.w. 'Drink Bill'. Hoyle's principal works were "Our National Resources and How They are Wasted", London, 1871, and "The Influence of Drinking Customs on the Social and Physical Well-Being of the People", London, 1877.
54. Blatchford had denounced drink on occasion, thereby meriting inclusion in P. Winskill's "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. 1, p. 127. Criticism of temperance societies and legislation was implicit in his "Merrie England", London, 1894, and "Dismal England", London, 1899. Scrymgeour sided with the "Pope of Socialism" against Popery. Reformers were sympathetic to Clarionite counter-attractions and Blatchford's willingness to address Labour Churches - Ensor, (op cit) pp. 334-5, Pelling (op cit) pp. 133, 138, 162. Hobson was more in tune with optimistic counter-attractionists - K. Robbins "The Eclipse of a Great Power: Modern Britain 1870-1975", London, 1983, p. 160.
55. Harrison "Peaceable Kingdom", p. 203 and Brown (op cit) p. 394.
56. Biographical Appendix - Bird.
57. I.O.G.T. aims - H. Carter "The English Temperance Movement", p. 193, 'Objects of the Association', Preface, S.P.B.T.A. Annual Report, 1858. (S.P.B.T.A. Annual Reports henceforth cited as S.P.B.T.A.) N. Longmate (op cit) p. 137. They were hostile to Bruce and Ritchie's licensing measures.
58. Dingle (op cit) pp.17, 24, and Paton, thesis, Section III, 'The Progress of the Temperance Reform 1853-1900', p. 240 et seq.
59. D. Bebbington (op cit) pp 14, 17.
60. The Permissive Bill's support was then at its lowest since 1864 - Dingle (op cit) p. 43. R.C.K. Ensor "England 1870-1914", pp. 20-22, H.J. Hanham "Elections and Party Management, Politics in the Time of Disraeli and Gladstone", London, 1959,

60. Hanham (*supra*) pp. 279-85, and 219-46, Dingle (*op cit*) pp. 14, 36-40. Paton details Permissive Bill petitioning as follows: 1864 - 284 petitions, 1869 - 387, 1871 - 541, and 1872 - 1,148. This was part of a U.K. pattern. In 1872 6,490 petitions with 1,400,000 signatures were submitted for the Bill. S.P.B.T.A. 1871-2, 'Report', 1874-5, 'Report', and 1875-6, p. 19.
61. D. Hamer "The Politics of Electoral Pressure: A Study in the History of Victorian Reform Agitations", Hassocks, 1977, Chapter IX, 'The United Kingdom Alliance 1859-74', pp. 165-199. Much of this chapter is strongly influenced by Hamer's interpretation of prohibitionist strategy. Dingle (*op cit*) pp. 26-7.
62. Hamer (*supra*) pp. 176 et seq, Dingle (*op cit*) pp 32-3, Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", pp. 263, 271-2.
63. On Anti-Corn Law League strategy - Hamer (*supra*) Chapter V, pp. 58-90.
64. S.P.B.T.A. 1873-4, pp. 12-13, and 17, and Hamer (*op cit*) pp. 180, 184-5.
65. Bebbington (*op cit*) pp. 1-2. On Aberdeen, Dingle (*op cit*) p. 40. Hamer (*op cit*) pp. 189-190, and S.P.B.T.A. 1875, pp. 12-14.
66. Crapster 'Scotland and the Conservative Party', Journal of Modern History, 29, Dec. 1957, pp. 355-60. On Trade influence - S.P.B.T.A. 1876-7, p. 9, and 1874-5, p. 20. Kirkcaldy - S.P.B.T.A. 1875-6, p. 17. Hamer (*op cit*) Chapter X, pp. 200-226, on the Liberal Associations, J. Vincent "The Formation of the Liberal Party 1857-68", Hassocks, 1976 reprint, and on the Liberation Society, Hamer (*supra*) Chapter VIII, pp. 139-164, and D. Thompson 'The Liberation Society 1844-68' in P. Hollis (ed) "Pressure from Without in Victorian England", London 1974. S.P.B.T.A. 1876-7, pp. 22-3, 1877-8, pp. 16-18, on Campbell, 1881-2, p. 26, and 1878-9, p. 24.
67. Dingle (*op cit*) p. 60, Hamer (*op cit*) pp. 210-213, S.P.B.T.A. 1875-6, pp. 6-11, and 21-3. On Dr. McCulloch, S.P.B.T.A. 1862, p. 22, and Chapter VIII.
68. S.P.B.T.A. 1878-9, pp. 22-4, and 1879-80, p. 13, on the contests mentioned. S.P.B.T.A. 'Record of Work', on the Bill's progress and Scottish M.P.s voting patterns. On increasing opposition, S.P.B.T.A. 1878-9, p. 19, and on 1880, 1880-1, pp.10-16.
69. H.J. Hanham "Elections and Party Management" p. 159, J. Kellas "Modern Scotland: The Nation since 1870", London, 1968, p. 184, S.P.B.T.A. 1880-1, 'Report of the Year's Work', Hamer (*op cit*) pp. 227-237, Dingle (*op cit*) p. 75. The first prime ministerial indication of action came on 18.6.1880 - S.P.B.T.A. 1883-4, p. 21.
70. S.P.B.T.A. "An Historical Retrospect: of 50 Years of Temperance Work" Glasgow, 1908, p. 22, Paton, thesis, pp.315-6, Hamer (*op cit*) pp. 227-238, Hanham "Elections and Party Management", p. 163. A Bill had been mooted since 1874 - Dawson Burns

- "Temperance History", Vol. II, p. 242, S.P.B.T.A. 1879-80, p. 23. Initial discussions with the I.O.G.T. and Dr. Cameron appear in S.P.B.T.A. 1883-4, pp.17-18, 1873-4, 'Report of the A.G.M.', 1879-80, p. 19, and 1882-3, pp. 12-14. Disappointment with the Lords Select Committee on Intemperance, a repetition of the failures of 1834, 1853, and 1872 was important, as was perhaps Lawson's stance - S.P.B.T.A. 1878-9, p. 19, and 1875-6, p. 18. McLagan retired from politics in 1893 - see Biographical Appendix. Dry parishes - S.P.B.T.A. 1882-3, p. 36. Bill - S.P.B.T.A. 1884-5, pp. 17-20, 1885-6, p. 18. Delay of prohibition - 1886-7, p. 23.
71. Paton (thesis) pp.317-8, S.P.B.T.A. "An Historical Retrospect" (supra) p. 22, Hanham "Elections and Party Management", pp. 164, 167, 162. On Clark - S.P.B.T.A. 1884-5, p. 8, on the N.L.F., and this "social and cultural gap", Dingle (op cit) p. 77. Trevelyan - C. Cook and B. Keith "British Historical Facts 1830-1900", p. 38, Dingle (op cit) p. 36-7, S.P.B.T.A. 1887-8, p. 22, 1880-1, p. 13, (where he was 1 of 5 noted sympathisers - i.e. Baxter, Playfair, Campbell-Bannerman, and Grant Duff) and 1893-4, p. 25. On Rosebery and Elcho - S.P.B.T.A. 1882-3, pp 10-11, and 1883-4, p. 9, on Home Secretary, 1883-4, pp 23-4. On Hartington - Dingle (op cit) pp. 76-7, 81, 84, 103, 124, 127. Glasgow Electoral Union - S.P.B.T.A. 1885-6, pp. 9, 21.
72. Dingle (op cit) Chapter IV, pp. 81-105. Hamer (op cit) Chapter XI, pp. 231, 237, Paton, thesis, pp. 319-320.
73. 1885 Redistribution - S.P.B.T.A. 1886-7, p. 21. On Cuthbertson's deputation, including Wilson, Selkirk, Archer (I.O.G.T.) and Mrs Woyka, mentioned in Chapter VIII, S.P.B.T.A. 1889-90, p. 8. C. O'Leary "The Elimination of Corrupt Practices in British Elections 1868-1911", Oxford, 1962, p. 183, J. Kellas (op cit) pp. 174, 183-4, Bebbington (op cit) Chapter IV, 'The Free Church Council Movement', Hamer (op cit) Chapter XII, pp.239-40, and S.P.B.T.A. 1886-7, p. 20, on Childers versus Polwarth.
74. J. McCaffrey 'The Origins of Liberal Unionism in the West of Scotland', Scottish Historical Review,<sup>50</sup> 1971, pp. 47-71, especially 48-50, 56, 70, J. Kellas 'The Liberal Party in Scotland 1876-95', S.H.R.,<sup>44</sup> 1965, pp. 1-16, D. Savage 'Scottish Politics 1885-6', S.H.R.,<sup>44</sup> 1961, pp. 118-35.
75. J. Kellas "Modern Scotland", pp. 174, 182-3, S.P.B.T.A. 1887-8, p. 22 on Trevelyan versus Ashley at Bridgeton, Hamer (op cit) pp. 240-261, H. Pelling "The Social Geography of British Elections 1885-1910", London, 1967, pp. 2-11, and p. 397 for Gulland's remark in the House in 1906 on Border "faggot voting".
- Hanham (op cit) pp. 156, 160, 164, and on S.P.B.T.A. interest in the Local Government (Scotland) Bills - S.P.B.T.A. 1888-9, p. 24, and 1894-5, p. 31.
76. Pelling (op cit) p. 12, Kellas (op cit) pp. 181, 187, A. Cooke 'Gladstone's Election for the Leith District of Burghs, July 1886', S.H.R., 1970, pp. 172-194. Bebbington (op cit) Preface, IX. On Corrupt Practices, S.P.B.T.A. 1883-4, p. 25.



77. Dingle (op cit) p. 25, P. Smith "Disraelian Conservatism and Social Reform", London, 1967, B. Crapster 'Scotland and the Conservative Party in 1876', Jour. Mod. Hist., 29, 1957, pp. 355-60, D. Urwin 'The Development of the Conservative Party Organisation in Scotland until 1912', S.H.R., XLIV, 1965, pp. 89-111, Kellas "Modern Scotland", pp. 61, 66, 188-9, Hamer (op cit) pp. 241-4. On W.S. Caine see J. Newton "W.S. Caine M.P. - a Biography", London, 1907, S.P.B.T.A. 1890-1, p. 8, 1892-3, p. 6, and 1888-9, p. 24, and also on the Kilmarnock contretemps - Newton (supra) pp. 281-2, and also...  
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St. Marnock 1899-1900, Jan. 1899 p. 94. See Biographical Appendix. On appeals to sectarianism in 1886 - D. Savage 'The General Election of 1886', pp. 461-2, and 480-4. On Corbett, Pelling (op cit) pp.402-3.
78. Hamer (op cit) Chapter XII, pp. 255-6. On pressure for Direct Veto M.P.s (often headed by Cameron Corbett), S.P.B.T.A. 1891-2, p. 26.
79. Hamer (op cit) p. 241, S.P.B.T.A. 1888-9, p. 8, J. McCaffrey (op cit) p. 49 for Caird on disestablishment, N. Blewett 'The Franchise in the U.K. 1885-1919', Past and Present, 32, 1965, for description of the anomalies which reflected basic distrust of a fully democratic system on the part of many Conservative and Whiggish politicians, J. Cornford 'The Transformation of Conservatism in the late 19th Century', Victorian Studies, VII, 1963.
80. S.P.B.T.A. 1877-8, p. 24, 1887-8, p. 19, and 1889-90, p. 15, on Cameron's licensing legislation, and S.P.B.T.A. "An Historical Retrospect", p. 24. Findlay's Licensing (Scotland) Amendment Bill for later commencement of public house hours was the third bill which S.P.B.T.A. had had introduced. See Glasgow Centenary Committee "Centenary of the Total Abstinence Movement in Scotland 1832-1932", Glasgow, 1932, pp.100-1.
81. Hamer (op cit) pp. 274, 283-6, on S.P.B.T.A. and I.O.G.T. work in 1895 S.P.B.T.A. 1895-6, pp. 7, 13, and on treating, 1892-3, p. 23. Hanham (op cit) pp. 161-2. G.A. Whitelaw (N.W. Lanarkshire) was typical of Liberal candidates who were hostile, and Unionists joined in the bluff of having their own schemes - 1892-3, pp. 19-21. Catriona Levy assures me however that Conservatives were instructed to express sympathy for the principle of local option merely. Vox Clamantis "Public Morality IV - Drink", London, 1890, p. 7, R.T.M. Feb. 1901, p. 28, 'Abstainers in Parliament', H. Emy "Liberals, Radicals and Social Politics 1892-1914", Cambridge, 1973, p. 11 on the Whiggish 1892 Cabinet's "inertia" on social reform, and pp. 42-5, on the N.L.F.'s adoption of Local Veto. By 1892, 263 of 274 U.K. Liberals were pledged to support it.
82. Scottish Three-Fold Option Alliance "Handbook of Legislative Temperance Reform", 3rd issue, Glasgow, 1899-1900, pp. 1-31, Goldsmiths' Library, University of London. On Trusts, see N. Longmate (op cit) p. 237, and J. Rowntree and A. Sherwell "British Gothenburg Experiments and Public House Trusts", London, 1901, on Trusts in Kelty and in Glasgow. Two Trust run public

- houses lingered in Glasgow's Gallowgate and city-centre until the 1960's. McAlpine, the construction tycoon, and the Coats family were connected with Trusts as was Charles Mackinlay, son-in-law of Mary Mason, and a business partner of 'Holy Joe Maclay', mentioned in Chapter VIII. E. Vale's "Trust House Story", pp London 1949, and J. Wakeman's "Trust House Britain", London, 1963, focus on hotels springing from this movement and add little. The Glasgow ventures are to be the subject of a study by Dr. Nicholas Morgan of Dept. Economic History, University of Glasgow, based on sporadic Trade press references. On High Licence - S.P.B.T.A. 1889-90, p. 20, outdoor work 1909-10, pp.14, 23. On licensing restriction - S.P.B.T.A. 1883-4, p. 27, and Chapter VI. Motherwell Post Office Directory 1894, on the United Temperance Party, S.P.B.T.A. 1896-7, p. 15, S.T.L.R. 1897, pp 86-7, on the Scottish Temperance Federation, S.P.B.T.A. 1897-8, p. 14, 1898-9, pp 12-13, and 1899-1900, p. 11. On compensation, Dingle (op cit) Chapter V, pp. 106-131.
83. Hamer (op cit) pp. 297-8 and 303. S.P.B.T.A. 1900-1, p. 30, 1901-2, p. 16, 1902-3, p. 30. On Wilson, S.T.L.R. 1900, p. 80, and the Biographical Appendix. On Peel etc., Glasgow Centenary Committee "Centenary of the Total Abstinence Movement", p. 101, S.T.L.R. 1899, 'The Royal Commission - list of Members', p. 90, and 1900, 'The Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws', pp. 52-9, and for detailed analysis of its impact, D. Fahey 'Temperance and The Liberal Party: Lord Peel's Report of 1899', Journal of British Studies, 10, 1971.
84. J. Kellas "Modern Scotland", pp.180, 185, H. Pelling "The Social Geography of British Elections", p. 390, W. Walker "Juteopolis", pp. 24, 278-85. B. Lenman, C. Lythe, E. Gaudie "Dundee and its Textile Industry", Dundee, 1969. On Dundee temperance, P. Winstill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. II, pp. 228, 432, Vol. I, p. 125, II pp. 242, 231, 391. W. Walker 'The Scottish Prohibition Party', (op cit), pp.354-5. On the Maine Law - Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", p. 196, Dingle (op cit) p. 24. Overseas example - Williams and Brake (op cit) p. 31, G. Hayler "Prohibition, Remedy for the World's Drink Problem", Birmingham, 1916, W. Edwards "The Temperance Compendium", p. 56, Hight (op cit) p. 434, 'Prohibition', R.T.M. April 1902, p. 77, and especially F. McKenzie "Sober by Act of Parliament", London, 1896.
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- of the Co-Operative Party', in Briggs and Saville (op cit) pp. 185-209, based on Barnes' "The Political Aspect of Co-Operation", Manchester, 1923. On I.O.G.T. moderation - S.P.B.T.A. 1903-4, p. 21, Scottish Prohibitionist, Mar. 1, 1907, p. 2 attacking cessation of electoral action.
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87. S.P.B.T.A. 1905-6, pp. 9-10, 20-21, 23-4, 26, 1906-7, p. 9, 1907-8, pp. 23-5, 31, 1908-9, pp. 9, 14, 16, 22-4, 1909-10, p. 14, 1910-11, pp. 22, 25, 1911-12, p. 12, 1912-13, pp. 17-19. McGregor "Towards Scotland's Social Good", Edinburgh, 1959, Chapter VI, pp. 93-121. Campbell-Bannerman, thought "sound" by the Rechabites (R.T.M. June, 1908, p. 125) had prompted repeal of the Tory Licensing Act and a definitive measure. On hopes at 1906 - Williams and Brake (op cit) pp. 25-7. Asquith promised a "really effective measure" in Oct. 1908 - McGregor, pp. 101-2, "An Historical Retrospect", p. 26, and S.T.L.R.

1909, p. 97-8. On Pentland's obstruction, Asquith's reassurance, and the Bill - Glasgow Centenary Committee (op cit) pp,107-8.

88. Emy (op cit) pp. 44-5, 49, 54, 59-60, Chapter III, p. 86 on Overtoun, and Chapter V-VII. For the M.P.s mentioned, see Stenton (op cit) Vol. II, pp.81, 66, 149, 222, Vol. III, pp 71-2, Vol. II, p. 206, and Vol. III, p. 244. On McKinnon Wood, Koss (op cit) p. 141, and S.P.B.T.A. 1912-3, p. 17, on the S.P.B.T.A.'s work to return him for St. Rollox, the result being a narrow majority in favour - p. 25. He presided at their A.P.M. in Oct. 1912 - p. 36. On the Liberal Party's difficult relations with the Irish and Labour groups - H. McCready 'Home Rule and the Liberal Party', Irish Historical Studies, XIII, 1962, and F. Bealey and H. Pelling "Labour and Politics 1900-1906", London, 1958.

89. On the Act, see Paton, thesis, drawing upon McGregor (op cit) pp. 105-121, Glasgow Centenary Committee (op cit) pp 102-3, and S.P.B.T.A. 1913-4, pp 10-11, 'The Compromise and Its Advantages', p. 11 'The History of the Bill' (a list of its sponsors) pp 13-15, 'The New Statute Summarised', pp 20-6 'The Legislative Effort'. On later switch to intensive propaganda work "No Licence the New Campaign", and Chapter VIII. The S.P.P. had always denounced the Local Veto Bill's introduction as a boring "ploy", see 'Scotland's First Fight', Scottish Prohibitionist Nov. 1908, pp.5-6 on Stewart's first candidature. According to Craig (op cit) Scrymgeour's success rate prior to 1935 dissolution of the S.P.P. was as follows:

Year	% Vote	Year	% Vote
1908	4.1	1922	27.6*
1910	4.8	1923	25.1*
1910	6.0	1924	23.5*
1917	21.8	1929	29.2*
1918	15.1	1931	18.3

\*indicates successful candidacy.

Scrymgeour introduced Prohibition Bills in 1923 and 1931 - Alliance News, LXX, 5 May, 1923, 'Mr. Scrymgeour and the Alliance', pp. 65-73, and Feb. 1931, 'Liquor Traffic Prohibition', and G. Hayler "The Vision of a Century", pp.131-2. On the S.P.P. stance and expansion post 1913, "The Prohibitionist's Catechism", Dundee, n.d., pp. 1-23, and Scottish Prohibitionist.

On moral reform to transcend Liberal sectionalism - I. Hutchison "The Glasgow Constituencies 1846-86", Edinburgh University unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1975. Pelling (op cit) p. 413, and W. Lambert "Drink and Sobriety in Wales 1835-95", University of Swansea unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1969, 'Conclusion', pp 431-2.

CHAPTER 6

LOCAL PRESSURE GROUP POLITICS.

The Ethos of the Licensing Restriction  
Movement.



From the article 'The People Versus the Public'.  
in the Rehabite and Temperance Magazine, July,  
1891, pp. 128-130.

Licensing Restriction -  
The Anti-Licence Movement.

**POINTS TO BE ATTENDED TO IN CONNECTION WITH THE  
LICENSING COURTS.**

1. In Burghs, the Magistrates are to hold sittings on the *second Tuesday* of April, and *third Tuesday* of October.
2. In country Districts, the Justices are to sit on the *third Tuesday* of April, and *last Tuesday* of October.
3. Any Justice or Magistrate, Fiscal, Chief Constable, or Superintendent of Police, may, as formerly, state objections in Court verbally, or in writing, to any licence being granted, renewed, or transferred.
4. Any person or persons *owning or occupying* property in the neighbourhood of the premises sought to be licensed, may object to a licence being granted, renewed, or transferred. But,
5. The objections must be in *writing*, must be signed, must specify the grounds of objection, and must be lodged *not less than five days before the Court meets*. And,
6. A Copy of the objection must have been served on the applicant for the licence, personally, or left at his abode as stated in the application, or at the licensed premises, *at least five days before the Court meets;—and this must be proved in Court or admitted.*
7. The persons objecting ought to be fully prepared at once to lead evidence in support of their objections.
8. All new applications and transfers must be advertised at least twice, by the Town Clerk or Justice of Peace Clerk, in the newspaper or newspapers printed or generally circulated in the district, at least ten days before the meeting of the Court.
9. Any person is entitled to see and examine all applications for certificates at any time on payment of a fee of a shilling.

Source: Scottish Temperance League Register  
and Abstainers' Almanac, 1878.

Local Pressure Group Politics - Licensing Restriction.

Victorian Urban Politics.

"A town is a solemn organisation through which should flow, and in which should be shaped all the highest, loftiest, and truest ends of Man's moral nature" - George Dawson. (Fraser, pp.102-3)

It has become rather a cliché to suggest that 1870-1914 was the 'age of the city'. Nevertheless the "specific economic, social and political structures of the city (were) of crucial importance, in the more localised society of the 19th century". (Gray).<sup>1</sup>

Scotland's population was increasingly urban, and nowhere more so than in the West of Scotland. Glasgow exerted a greater attractive pull than London. In 1801 Glasgow contained 5.1% of the Scottish population, in 1831 8.6%, in 1851 11.5%, and in 1891 19.4%. By 1901 Glasgow was twice as populous as Edinburgh, and almost five times more populous than Dundee. Glasgow's pre-eminence had been undisputed since 1811, after which Glasgow's growth outpaced that of Edinburgh. The city of Glasgow in effect had become 'the Second City of the Empire', since dubbed "the Chicago of Victorian Britain".<sup>2</sup> In this period too Glasgow's international reputation for shipbuilding and engineering was accompanied by leadership in the sphere of municipal enterprise.<sup>3</sup>

Glasgow's experience in these years was symptomatic of a "municipal revolution" which took place over 1833-85, and "lies at the root of major developments in modern British History". (Hennock). The years after 1835 saw the rise of local government, often referred to by mid-Victorians as local self-government to emphasise hostility to centralisation and Whitehall, in response to the new urban society and consequent complexity of administration



and acquisition of additional authorities. This new era in local government featured establishment of the Poor Law Unions Burgh reform, Registration Districts, Local Boards of Health, Burial, Highway, and Sewerage and Drainage Boards, and School Boards. Mushrooming of authorities made for confusion and fragmentation, yet in early Victorian incorporation battles and mid-Victorian pragmatic responses to urban problems the structure within which a "civic gospel" later flourished developed. In the 1830's Whig interest in reform was based upon judicial, political, and administrative concerns. Only Benthamite radicals guessed the ameliorative possibilities of local government reform, and then in terms more limited than those which finally emerged. Local government legislation of the 1830's and 1840's by its permissive nature shifted the onus for reform to the burghs, and made it necessary for vigorous burghs to introduce their own private and local acts of parliament as before. Local initiative's import moreover was heightened by the difficulty involved in enforcing general acts. Noticeable features were, according to Lipmann, creation of ad hoc bodies for particular services and their later absorption, gradual transfer from small to larger units, and confirmation of the "island principle" whereby urban areas were treated as enclaves within counties, a principle reflected in the 1888 County Councils Act. Within this general pattern however the legislative framework applicable to Scottish and English cities varied greatly, further accentuating Glasgow's local pride and independence.<sup>4</sup>

Best notes that a particular feature of Scottish cities was a "civic authoritarianism" underpinning the civic gospel's stress on improvement which resulted in city government which was "tougher... and more enterprising". Environmental improvement was pursued with

Edinburgh's New Town development and Glasgow's City Improvement Trust. Slum clearance was tinged with sobering awareness that decay was not simply a feature of long established slums but also rapidly eroded 'respectable' areas, pressing home Glasgow's metamorphosis from the "fragrant scented orchards and carefully tended market gardens" described by Burn and Defoe and from 1850's guides to Glasgow. It was spurred by social reform interest in model villages, James Silk Buckingham and Patrick Geddes' plans for model cities, and the Garden City movement. Glasgow was not perhaps the most progressive city in the sphere of housing, its voluntary efforts had in built limitations, yet this did not detract from a municipal enterprise which was both early and extensive.<sup>5</sup>

Public health, very much "a 19th century innovation", was central to improvement of the physical environment. Scottish health legislation trailed behind that in England till the 1890's, yet Glasgow's public health department and M.O.H. dated from 1862-3. From the 1870's on high death rates were increasingly combat ed by a "medical revolution", concurrent concern for health and housing, economic and social change, identification of problems , and local and national health legislation. Although the local health initiative in mid-Victorian Britain was frequently a disruptive element in municipal politics, dividing councils into "clean" and "dirty" parties, promoters of municipal water supplies and their opponents, after 1870 the demand for a national health policy gained strength. Fear of epidemics, and publicisation of health problems by the able M.O.H.s Gairdner, Russel, and Chalmers, were however important elements in a civic gospel fostered by the 1869-71 Sanitary Commission's emphasis on civic duty to control the "forces of life and death", removing these from private hands, and practical responses

to the need for sewage systems and sanitary inspection.<sup>6</sup>

Municipal utilities came to be synonymous with 'improvement'. Although the civic gospel rationale for such enterprise was expressed by Chamberlain, Glasgow had already decided that it was the city fathers' duty to minister to the "comfort and convenience" of the citizens and to operate services efficiently, returning the profits made to the community, via municipal trading. Glasgow anticipated Birmingham's "gas and water" socialism, and indeed came to be involved in gas (1869), a water system tapping Loch Katrine and absorbing local water works by 1880, street lighting (1893), although domestic usage grew only very slowly prior to 1901, cheap tramways and a subway system (1894 and 1890), symbols of democratisation as were the first workmen's train fares, and a telephone system. These were the pride and joy of Glaswegians. Their attraction of much favourable comment from American reformers like F.C. Howe, R.A. Woods, Jane Addams etc. boosted civic patriotism greatly. Pride in progress outshining Edinburgh style and elegance and metropolitan experience and self-conscious awareness of carving an historic role for Glasgow, encouraged by "booster histories" emanating from the imposing new City Chambers, helped neutralise fears that Glasgow had embarked on too much and was moving into the realms of socialism. Social reformers' tendency to view enterprise against a broad canvas of civilisation, Greek and Renaissance cities, and Utopian city states also helped deflect debate from the fine ideological line between municipal enterprise and trading and municipal socialism back to public duty in the oldest civic sense, and search for efficiency and economy unfettered by doctrinaire convictions. Virtually constant technological change encouraged pragmatism, as in mid-Victorian urban government.<sup>7</sup>

Intellectual improvement was also a facet of the civic gospel, pressure for national education and urban reform interacting not only in Birmingham but in Scottish cities, where sectarian competition for School Board seats intensified party rivalries and helped propel social reformers into politics. Self improvement and the civic gospel were mutually reinforcing, encouraging the university extension movement promoted by academics like Drummond, Bryce, Caird and Gilbert Murray on the fringes of the temperance movement, and a university settlement movement with "much social and cultural activity" (Checkland). Like the C.O.S., the settlement movement was a predominantly middle class attempt to forge links between the working population and reform - here in the shape of a new 'civic university'. Models were Toynbee Hall (1884) and Jane Addams of Chicago's Hull House (1889). In Glasgow three such ventures were associated with Professor Smart, keen to use settlements of young middle class reformers in working class areas as bases for extension lectures and an adjunct of his housing reform work, the Queen Margaret Lecture Guild of women students, a Students' Settlement which evolved from an evangelical University Missionary Society (1821), overlapped with the University Total Abstinence Society and identified with Pratt of S.P.B.T.A., Councillor for Glasgow's Woodside, a small Garscube Cross settlement, without a paid missionary but with an abstinence society attached, and the Queen Margaret College Settlement Association (1897). As with moral suasion, the latter had thrift and child welfare preoccupations. These agencies encouraged development of an urban sociology, directly influenced establishment of a Glasgow School of Social Study and Training (1912), and contributed to Glasgow's ethos of social service and focus of British idealism under Caird.

A unifying theme of such social service, and the provision of utilities, model lodgings houses, baths and wash-houses for the populace, was a "form of religious enthusiasm for the city", (Aspinwall), born of traditional concentration of Nonconformity and Church social work in centres of population and the alarm at popular apathy which motivated William Collins I's church extension work and subsequent erection of "tin missions". To American reformers who visited the Second City it was above all enviable as a working model of the civic church of W.T. Stead, where a 'moral caucus' might be forged from a dynamic practical faith and desire to win the city, the modern Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, for Christ. Much enterprise was rooted in evangelicalism, as was 1840's interest in public health, and consciousness of need to live up to a tradition of Christian voluntaryist 'progress' established by Adam Ferguson, Robert Knox, and Scottish missionaries and explorers. Stead envisaged this civic church as a pervasive influence, to "energise all the institutions which make for righteousness", notably city councils. Recruitment to the service of the Birmingham corporation of a significant proportion of the social elite of 'big businessmen', and establishment of a tradition of municipal service amongst this section of the community which survived into the next generation, was matched in Glasgow. There, the theocratic idea was exemplified not only by the careers of Sir Samuel Chisholm and Sir Daniel Stevenson, a rich wholesale grocer and coal importer respectively who, like Collins, were drawn via temperance reform to the Lord Provostship but also men like Hunter Craig, leader of Glasgow's Progressive Union, and "Holy Joe" Maclay, First Baron Maclay, leader of Glasgow's Citizens' Vigilance Association, prominent in a campaign to remove the blot of over-licensing from Glasgow's municipal record. Late 19th century

licensing restriction was therefore very much a product of the constructive and preventative philanthropy associated with the Dawsonian 'civic church', its sense of the city as a nation in miniature, influenced by the idealistic nationalism of Mazzini and Kossuth, "exaltation of the comprehensive community" against socially divisive forces, and call to action.<sup>8</sup>

In many English cities licensing restriction campaigns were embarked upon following the licensing crisis of 1871-2. In Glasgow moral suasionists obtained withdrawal of 100 licences at a 1859 Licensing Court. This precocious pressure reflected intense rivalry between Glasgow and Edinburgh, evident in the "Statistical Controversy" in the press of both cities in the era of defence of the Forbes Mackenzie Act, and also rivalry in Glasgow for position within local government and moral leadership of the city. Mid-Victorian urban politics were, as Fraser has demonstrated, dominated by the middle classes, their power struggles, legitimised by 1830's reforms, and friction between the urban elite and the landed gentry. In Scottish cities possible tension between groups in the fairly wide general category of middling classes, the category from which evangelical pressure groups were invariably drawn, was intensified by the Disruption. The bench was an obvious target for radicals to attack. It was the reward of the urban elite in the spoils system of local politics. Licensing restriction campaigns were in the tradition of Cobdenite bourgeois struggle against the aristocracy "for the nation's soul". The relatively successful pressure of 1859 was also a show of strength for the benefit of the Royal Commission on the sale and consumption of exciseable liquors in Scotland of that year. In recognition of demand for licensing restriction the subsequent Public Houses (Scotland) Acts not only tightened the system against

shebeening and the hawking of liquor in the streets but also extended the right of local objection to new certificates for licences.

Initial success, the difficulties experienced in pressure for temperance legislation, and the civic gospel's emphasis on the immense potential for reform at local rather than national level, thereby setting examples for the nation whilst safeguarding the citizens' well being, encouraged a determined licensing restriction movement in Glasgow over 1870-1914.<sup>9</sup>

Little progress was made before the 1870's however. Local licensing had a venerable history dating back to the late 17th century. Although geared in the early 19th century to regulation of spirits it was nevertheless regarded by many as sufficient deterrent to the worst abuses. In spite of population growth over 1779-1800 the system had permitted only a 22% increase in Glasgow licences, and appeared capable of tackling the over-licensing of the 1830's 'free trade' era. From the Home Drummond Act (1828) onwards J.P.s in counties and magistrates in burghs could enforce hours of closing, and the Forbes Mackenzie Act had clarified licensing by creating "on" and "off" licences and hotel licences, and prevented blacksmiths and tollkeepers from retailing drink, as well as effecting Sunday Closing. Further, magistrates in many areas had reacted to 1830's criticism of the numbers of licences granted over 1821-33 by shifting their focus from illicit trade in drink to regulation of the legitimate Trade. Total Scottish licences declined by 19.4% over 1830-50 alone, in spite of a population increase of over half a million. Glasgow United Total Abstiners noted magistrates' "continued efforts to reduce the number of houses licensed" in 1852, and magistrates resolved in 1858 to demand higher standards of conduct of public houses and of publicans.<sup>10</sup>

By 1870 however several noted temperance reformers were councillors in Scottish cities. In Edinburgh John Hope was on the Council 1857-89, J. Buchanan after 1872, the Radical Rechabite Stephen Wellstood from 1873-6, Cranston from 1868-90, and Lewis from 1863-73. These temperance reformers like the Quaker Wigham family were the architects of a radical reform tradition on which McLaren built. Glasgow's Provost Arthur (1869-71) had as Bailies Burt and Salmon, whilst Collins, Horn, Lamberton, and Torrens, were councillors. There can be little doubt that "the mid 19th century political activist pitched his tent in whatever field was open to him" (Fraser), and that the gospel of service, and subsequent relative absence of party politics in Scottish city government noted by Bryce, greatly assisted temperance pressure group politics. A resolution on the sale of liquor in Glasgow Corporation property for example was introduced by Lang of the League as early as 1872, following return of all temperance candidates to the Council, and in 1876 teetotal pressure was successful in persuading the Corporation to seek the opinion of Lord McLaren as to the legality of inserting clauses in feu charters expressly prohibiting the sale of drink. As a result, this device was applied to the Calton area, once associated with weavers' and early mutual improvement institutions but now deteriorating, where the erection of new property on corporation land was anticipated. An ally of the temperance movement was found in James Bain, Lord Provost of Glasgow 1874-6, much to the horror of the Trade. They felt strongly that it was not the Lord Provost's place to impose his personal preferences upon the city, and alleged in particular that the £7,000 p.a. spent by the League was directly responsible for the way in which "the material of the Town Council was so rapidly degenerating." Local electoral organisation of Templary meanwhile was



also justified in terms of purging the Council of elements sent there by the liquor interest before the extension of the franchise, and preventing "halls of legislation being disgraced by the presence of demagogues". The question of licensing restriction was increasingly before local forums like the Philosophical Society of Glasgow in the 1870's. In West of Scotland towns too the movement began to exert more pressure. Teetotalers were in the majority amongst Kilmarnock magistrates for example after 1871. Suspicion of "the liquor party's" political influence prompted ambitious local exclusive voting plans in areas like Rothesay, Dumbarton, Aberdeen, Elgin, Peebles, Galashiels, and Dunbar. By 1876 reformers like Selkirk of S.P.B.T.A. had been invited by teetotal requisitions to stand for council seats, "thoroughgoing temperance men like Ure" of Glasgow were returned at the top of ward polls, and temperance candidates were successful in Aberdeen, Elgin, Greenock, and Port Glasgow.<sup>11</sup>

During Bain's Lord Provostship a campaign for 9 p.m. closure of public houses, under the terms of the Public Houses (Scotland) Amendment Act, spread from Rothesay to the West of Scotland and began to run in tandem with that for restriction. The latter became more determined. Deputations of S.T.L., G.A.U., ministers, Sunday Schools, City Missionaries, the Cross Hall, Cowcaddens Institute, and a representative of J. & J. Thomson's Engine works employees in Finnieston presented memorials to the Lord Provost and Magistrate immediately before the Licensing Court's sitting. Although the early closing movement was discouraged by Court of Session judgement that magistrates exceeded statutory discretion in fixing 9 p.m. closure, restriction was heartened by Shaftesbury's testimony as to the benefits of restriction in Shaftesbury Park Estate at a working men's meeting in Glasgow's City Hall, and by a measure of success in persuading

the Caledonian and North British Railway Co. s to surrender their refreshment room licences. Railways were often targets for restrictions. Stations could be a source of tremendous pride: the St. Enoch Station for example was opened by the Prince of Wales in 1876. Yet when dingy, like Queen St., they were also responsible for giving travellers poor impressions of the city, and were connected increasingly in social reformers' minds with the 'slave traffic' in innocent country girls, especially as cities like Glasgow had 10 stations by the turn of the century. Less successful was pressure for a Suspensory Bill to suspend the granting of all new licences until a licensing measure could be enacted. Action had perforce to be channelled into circularising temperance societies to hold public meetings to promote agitation for restriction and more stringent enforcement of the Public Houses Acts. An ironic effect of Bain's sympathy to temperance was that neutral and hostile magistrates took up the position that their duties were analogous to judges' and henceforth refused to receive deputations. Memorials continued to be sent to the Lord Provost and Magistrates from city societies, notably on the desirability of refusing all licences till a ratio of 1 licence per 750 citizens was reached, and of shutting all back doors and concealed entrances to public houses, a demand which reflected middle class evangelicals' association of the public house with crime and vice. The granting of special licences for winter entertainments in Glasgow's public halls however was also attacked as encouraging drunkenness, a clear reflection of the very earnest desire to 'civilise' the city which underpinned the civic gospel.<sup>12</sup>

Collins' Lord Provostship coincided with a widespread trend towards greater circumspection in licensing, noted by the Webbs, and with a strengthened restrictionist movement. Collins "ascribed his

elevation to the office of the Chief Magistrate to the power of temperance sentiment", and Dr. Cameron's Publicans' Certificates Act, rendering J.P.s' and magistrates' refusal of new licences final, certainly increased interest in licensing. During 1878 memorials for restrictions were presented to the Glasgow magistrates from elders, missionaries, ministers, the various temperance societies, and from doctors and employers in the city, and were rewarded by refusal of "the greater number" of new licence applications and some old licences. A Barrhead petition against hotel abuse of their right to supply drink to travellers on Sundays resulted in withdrawal of all hotel licences there. Over 1876-81 250 Glasgow licences were refused.<sup>13</sup>

In the 1880's Glasgow temperance reformers won back the opportunity to interview the Provost and magistrates, and pressed for the Established, Free and United Presbyterian presbyteries to lend support to their campaign. The Glasgow Free and U.P. Presbyteries joined in petitioning. Licensing restrictionists were however forced to fight a rearguard action against attempts to license railway carriages via a Customs and Revenue Bill, and were disappointed when the Earl of Zetland's attempts to enforce his feu right prohibiting the sale of drink in Grangemouth properties was effectively thwarted by the Court of Session. This was felt to undermine examples set by Liverpool philanthropists and by the Shaftesbury Park venture, and had the effect of broadening licensing restriction's appeal within the ranks of social reform. Restriction petitions began to be promoted by Connal and Glasgow School Board as well as Sabbath Schools, by George McFarlane and the Directors of Glasgow Y.M.C.A. and a proliferation of Free and U.P. Kirk sessions in the poorer areas of Glasgow, and a "citizen's movement" was launched in Glasgow to press for licensing restriction. It demanded refusal of all applic-

ations for new licences, refusal of licence in cases of death and bankruptcy as well as breach of certificate, prevention of transfers from the centre to the outskirts of the city, and refusal of all licences for premises near schools, public works, and in the new districts of the city. It petitioned not only Glasgow magistrates but also the J.P. Court of the Lower Ward of the County of Lanark to this end, and influenced similar moves in Edinburgh, Greenock, and Portobello. This reflected the disillusionment which produced the McLagan Bill and growing prohibitionist influence in the temperance movement, and in local government circles. The Glasgow Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Association began at this point to take the temperance movement far more seriously and to complain of S.P.B.T.A. "hanging judges". Elements of religious and class tension were undoubtedly present in this crusade.

Whilst the Church of Scotland stood aloof from restrictionist protests, the Free and U.P. Churches used the question as a symbol of revitalised social concern. The issue was also a test of moral fitness for local leadership, a means of demonstrating to citizens that wealthy rentiers who did not answer the call of the civic gospel, yet were still willing to accept places as J.P.s, were not "fit and proper persons" to entrust government to. This explains the S.P.B.T.A. and S.T.L.'s divergence on the question of machinery through which to operate Local Option. The League, whose supporters included more middle and upper middle class than S.P.B.T.A.'s, was sympathetic to a Local Option vested in local boards elected by rate-payers in burghs, parishes or combinations of parishes. S.P.B.T.A. was utterly hostile. They disapproved of the present Licensing Courts yet had managed to penetrate them and preferred to work through them till some form of prohibition could be effected. Throughout

this period they were suspicious of moves which would facilitate control of the system by the Tory rentier/'county' element. Cameron's 1882 Passenger Vessels Licences Amendment (45 and 46 Vict. c66) helped draw latent Sabbatarianism to their cause. Glasgow United Evangelistic Association for example organised the 1885-6 deputations to Glasgow magistrates, a new departure prompted by the Home Rule split and identification of organisation of the Irish Nationalist vote with Irish owned public houses. Further, representatives of voluntary societies like Oatts of Y.M.C.A., described by the Trade as "a social nobody", appeared not only to crave personal fame but also to particularly resent the social mobility offered by the Trade. Such men calculated that too many of the 1,758 licences granted in 1885 were held by 'pluralists' and suggested a one-man-one-licence policy as a means of eradicating hundreds of licences with relatively little inconvenience to the majority of citizens. Reformers chose not to refer to it, but doubtless resentment of obligation to compensate licences transferred to new premises from Improvement Trust Properties in the 1870's and 1880's rankled. Finance was by far the most sensitive issue in municipal politics. Even public health reform, an interest connected to concern for the education of the poor, was most attractive when promoted in terms of municipal savings. Grants in aid did not reduce the frequency of rates battles. The 19th century expansion of social welfare services indeed was administered by local authorities not central government. After 1880 local authority spending, and municipal borrowing, rose rapidly - as ratepayer temperance stressed. Small businessmen elected to the Council as temperance candidates were often shocked by Council credit finance, as were Scrymgeour and some of the early Labour councillors. Via 'ratepayer' candidacies, attacks on "corporation junketts", and the

administration of Common Good Funds they made plain their demand for higher standards of conduct on the part of elected officials and their unease.<sup>14</sup>

After the Sharpe V Wakefield decision upheld magistrates' right to refuse licences where there was no complaint against the licensee anti-licence agitation per se quickened. The decision highlighted the basic similarity of rationale behind restriction and Chamberlainite municipal reform. Glasgow's 'eminent citizens', like Birmingham's "small knot of Nonconformist families", sought to apply business-like efficiency to municipal government. Stevenson, like Chamberlain, thought of the city as a co-operative venture with citizens as shareholders, and dividends in improved health, comfort, and happiness. No other reason for eradication of licences was necessary given that licensed premises threatened such dividends and, according to Glasgow police chiefs, often operated illegal lotteries. Glasgow Corporation finally discontinued all licences in its property, a move promoted as a financial saving and as a means of bringing tenants under more direct control.

Much of Glasgow anti-licensing's impetus came from those resident in the suburbs annexed by the city in 1891. As the result of this amalgamation Glasgow's population rose by 16%, from 565,714 to 656,946, heightening evangelical desire to win the city for Christ and, by altering ward representation to 25 wards each with 3 representatives, creating in effect a new 'business' ward. In 14 contested wards 20 of 28 seats were won by temperance reformers and 5 abstainers were returned unopposed. A Trade V temperance contest in the 6th Ward resulted in an unsuccessful Sheriff Court action by the Trade, so fierce was the acrimony. Many reformers typified the evangelical suburbanite's defensive reaction to intellectual

challenge, and attempt to use social amelioration crusades to reassert moral leadership. By 1891 League agents in Scottish cities made Spring and Autumn organisation of objections to licences a prominent feature of moral suasionist work. With a view to penetration of the Burgh Confirmation Court, campaigns to return temperance candidates intensified. Permanent electoral Anti-Liquor Vigilance Ward Committees and a vociferous Citizens' Vigilance Association headed by Maclay and Neilson Cuthbertson emerged with electoral functions similar to the later Dundee Citizens' Union.<sup>15</sup>

They pressed for all "interested parties" to be barred from the Bench, even Professional and Civil Service Supply Assoc. members who received discounts on liquor, restriction of hours in the cities exempted from Dr. Cameron's Act of 1887, greater control of public house design towards health, order, and safety, and treatment of all licence applications as 'new' and capable of refusal. They alleged that there was a booming "traffic in licences", aided by Bench graft, and called for reduction of licences to 1:1000 citizens. Their fears were groundless. The Trade was not particularly well represented on the Council. The Trade's representation as a % in 1892 was probably nearer Birmingham's 1.4% than Leeds's 15.6%. The Trade also felt natural wastage, refusals for breach of licence, and also increasing restriction of licences where transfers, extensions of premises, and death or bankruptcy of the licensee was involved, had created a crisis for the Trade. Although Glasgow licences rose from 1,752 in 1861 to 1,819 in 1871 (i.e. 3.8%), they declined from 1871-81, and rose only 2.7% 1881-91. Further Glasgow, like Dundee, had less licences per 1,000 pop. than Edinburgh and many small towns, (see Tables <sup>pp 364-6</sup> A-D<sub>1</sub>) and by 1891 had the best ratio of licences to population of the chief Scottish towns. Graft did occur, but was

limited to deliberate absence from the Bench thus echoing M.P. s' reactions to divisions on temperance legislation. Restriction however gained momentum, aided by successful pressure for a 'dry' East End Industrial Exhibition, protagonists like Councillors Chisholm, McPhun, Battersby and Paton, Provost Bell's sympathy, and Glasgow's 1893 adoption of county status.<sup>16</sup>

This had the effect of transferring control of licensing from the Lanarkshire to the city magistrates. Welcomed by the police as a move towards reducing proliferation of county courts, it was to teetotalers a tightening of the system against suspect 'interests'. It was a great source of annoyance to restrictionists that many rejected applications were reversed on appeal at the Quarter Sessions and Appeal Courts, hence pressure on Provost Richmond to create more J.P.s, and Chisholm's creation of a large number of teetotal J.P.s who perpetuated his influence and penetrated the Appeal Court after Chisholm himself had been defeated in the Woodside Election of 1900, a defeat reminiscent of that inflicted upon the mid-Victorian reformer Provost Blackie by hostile ratepayers. By 1896 even the Glasgow Evening News normally hostile to teetotalism had warmed to radical restrictionists' attacks on Appeal Court judges as reactionaries out of touch with urban realities, dubbing them "anachronisms in days when we boast increasingly of the 'municipal ideal'."<sup>17</sup>

The Peel Commission and 1903 Licensing Act, a concerted movement by reformers in cities exempt from Early Closing to press for later opening and earlier closing begun by Chisholm, pressure for a 'dry' Glasgow Exhibition (1901), the Whiteinch licence refusal case, and the Report of Glasgow magistrates on their study of Liverpool practice spurred interest in licensing. Liverpool Vigilance Association was taken as a model. It was associated with the Farnham



decision greatly reinforcing <sup>the</sup> restrictionists' case by emphasis on magistrates' administrative role, absolute discretion, and ability to regard all applications as 'new', and alleged massive reduction of crime in Liverpool. The Trade was fearful of what would ensue in Glasgow, especially as magistrates had pushed forward with hours restriction for the Broomielaw and South Suburban areas.<sup>18</sup>

Over 1904-1914 however neither Trade fears of "the drastic character of licensing meetings under Bailie King" nor reformers' hopes, boosted by extension of 10 o'clock closing to the exempted cities and division of city licensing functions equally between County Councillors and Justices under the 1903 Licensing Act, were realised. Licensing evoked its bitterest controversies in the 1870's, when Miller and Torrens were the scourge of the Trade, in the late 1880's when Dr. Cameron, "a man who took his liquor in a rational and respectable manner", shocked the Trade with "insidious" legislation and the late 1890's when interest focussed on post Boundary Extension elections, Corporation intentions towards Improvement Trust property, and the work of "professional objectors."<sup>19</sup> Restrictionist pressure was continued but interest was deflected into less controversial areas like children and the public house and the undesirability of "family departments." In contrast in the 1890's intense focus on renewal procedure, in which reformers were strongly backed by Sir. J.D. Marwick Glasgow's Town Clerk had raised a spectre of imminent confiscation as well as a series of court actions. Bye-laws on holidays were strictly enforced 1905 on. Broomielaw and Govanhill licence application received special attention from 1903 on, and in 1907 assault on the "congested" areas was broadened to the Calton, Whitevale, Townhead, Blackfriars, Anderston, Cowcaddens, Gorbals and Kingston areas of Glasgow under the direction of Maclay and the Vigilance

Association. This work however was overshadowed by pressure for legislation, which reduced the function of the anti-licence agitation to mere opinion polling, especially as the most active restrictionists were also engaged in the legislative effort. This was evident in the postcard plebiscite on licensing sponsored by Glasgow Corporation in 1914.<sup>20</sup>

In its practical sense licensing restriction was fairly successful. The total number of Scottish licences declined steadily in spite of population increase from 12,177 in 1886 to 10,995 in 1906 and 9,858 in 1916, and the burghs and counties of South West Scotland all shared in this. (Table D.). Although the prohibitionist element was hostile to "the reformed public house", the public houses in existence by 1916 were bigger and 'better' than ever before, i.e. refusal of licence for breach of certificate was rare due to Trade circumspection. Restrictionists ensured that Trade influence on municipal affairs was minimal. By 1914 half of Glasgow's 80 councillors were personal abstainers to a greater or less degree sympathetic to restriction, whilst throughout this period the Trade counted only Councillor Alex McLaren, Bailie Doig, and Bailie McLeod of Maryhill as Trade champions. Few members of the Trade wanted to be councillors given the "schisms of the Chisholms" and resorted instead to 'Trade defence'. None therefore were as closely identified with municipal improvement as Liberal brewers in some English towns had been. The new municipal morality was also symbolised by sympathy for the Salvation Army, often ostracised by the S.P.P. and general public alike, and encouragement of its use of former pubs on corner sites for evangelism.<sup>21</sup>

Yet on the other hand many restrictionist successes were flawed. The aid of the Glasgow M.O.H. was secured in 1906 for a

municipal poster campaign on "Abuse of Alcohol and its Results" but in general public health reformers' views of the congested central districts were rooted in science not evangelicalism. Like the Trade, public health officials often preferred to redistribute rather than restrict licences, and sought a "reformed" public house. As housing reformers they were relatively unenthusiastic about the 'dry' aspect of municipal housing. Council individualism made for no overall pattern of progress although the number of teetotal provosts rose steadily from 17 in 1891 to 46 in 1908. Glasgow trams carried no drink advertising but Ayr's, 30 miles away, did. Restriction could have ironic effects. Enforcement of public holiday closing after 1905 in Glasgow, as with 1853 Sunday Closing, made nearby Paisley and Cambuslang popular "resorts".<sup>22</sup> The presence of small numbers of immigrants in the West of Scotland, e.g. Lanarkshire Lithuanians and Muirkirk Spaniards attracted by heavy industry, and increasing numbers of Germans and Italians in catering in Glasgow presented opportunities for moral stewardship. Restrictionism after Bilsland's Provostship however degenerated into racially prejudiced attacks on Italian "fish restaurant proprietors" for failure to apply for aerated water shop licences, foreshadowing later Vigilance Association campaigns against ice cream parlours as a source of vice and vandalism.<sup>23</sup>

Success in municipal politics, as in infiltration of the Liberal Party, simply exposed the way in which reformers agreed on little else save commitment to the civic gospel and moral reform. Teetotal councillors ranged from right wingers associated with Bird's Ratepayers' Federation like Walter Wilson, fanatics often with rural backgrounds like Chisholm, former Chartists, Christian Socialists like Scrymgeour who remained aloof from the Liberal and Labour parties

because of their seeming lack of principle in placing tactics before social reform, Labour councillors who used municipal reform to secure election, to popularise socialism through work towards practical goals and, in Dollan and Battersby's cases, to distance themselves from Irish nationalism and sectarian rivalries, and to use Trade graft and exploitation as an emotive symbol of capitalist evils to sway a populace unmoved by doctrinaire socialism. There was limited co-operation between these disparate groups. Hunter Craig's Progressive Union had an in-built Liberal bias, and was only slightly less aloof from Labour candidacies than the S.P.B.T.A. which unswervingly recommended Liberal parliamentary candidates. The alliance of Liberal, radical, and socialists in municipal progressivism was of an uneasy nature, as Walker's study of Dundee, "unique in the political power exercised by a party dedicated to abolition of the liquor traffic", and parallel studies of London reflect. Even within Scrymgeour's S.P.P. Walsh left to co-operate more with Dundee Liberals, whilst Robert Stewart formed his own National Prohibition and Reform Party and later gravitated to the Communist Party, and Scrymgeour attacked Aldred's "revolution without religion". Teetotal councillors backed many practical reforms but only in Dundee was there anything approaching a "Prohibitionist programme", and Scrymgeour's standing declined after 1905.<sup>24</sup>

The 'Licensing Delusion' indeed was a product of many factors. It was, with its broad vision of improvement, part of the response to the governmental needs of a rapidly growing and fast changing society general to 19th century cities. Awareness of overcrowding was important, and increasing stratification of society was crucial. By 1891 very small proportions of Glasgow men could be described as "working on own account", and in 1911 there were allegedly

18,000 paupers. Emphasis on moral reform was in some ways a sublimation of increasing anxiety about the Poor Law. It reflected transition from oligarchy dominance to democratic party politics, extension of citizenship, and the increasing demand for representative and "more uniform and coherent local government system" (Fraser, 1979) which coloured 1888 and 1894 legislation. Increasingly social reform had to enter the political arena to arrest the attention of the populace and, ironically, municipal debates on Trade liberty and property often promoted 'class politics'. Holy anger, initially a "passport to Parliament" or promise of one, was increasingly impotent given the rise of class politics over 1906-9, a shift from bourgeois focus on the city to proletarian emphasis on national politics, gradual decline in importance of local institutions, and displacement of the politics of paranoid provincials by national party organisations, aided by developments in communications. Over 1870-1914 however this pressure was an extremely important aspect of the 'civic gospel' and controversial municipal socialism which neutralised hostility to expansion of central social services after 1908.<sup>25</sup>

The Lord Provosts of Glasgow

1870-1914

1869-71	W.R. Arthur.
1871-4	Sir James Watson.
1874-7	Sir James Bain.
1877-80	Sir William Collins.
1880-3	John Ure LL.D.
1883-6	Sir William McOnie.
1886-9	Sir James King Bt. LL.D.
1889-92	Sir John Muir Bt.
1892-6	Sir James Bell Bt. CB. LL.D.
1896-9	Sir David Richmond.
1899-1902	Sir Samuel Chisholm Bt. LL.D.
1902-5	Sir John Ure Primrose Bt. LL.D.
1905-8	Sir William Bilisland Bt. LL.D.
1908-11	Sir Archibald McInnes Shaw CB. LL.D.
1911-14	Sir Daniel M. Stevenson.

Licences 1891 Table A.

TOWNS	1881 Pop.	Hotels	Public Houses	Grocers	Porter & Ale only	Total	Lics. per 1000 pop.
DUMBARTON	14,172	1	21	3	-	25	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
GALASHIELS	15,330	5	7	18	8	38	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
HAWICK	16,184	9	12	23	-	44	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
DUNDEE	152,609	8	228	206	5	447	3
GLASGOW	511,532	23	1448	251	-	1722	3
GREENOCK	64,722	7	163	27	4	201	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
PERTH	28,980	24	31	39	10	104	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
ABERDEEN	105,189	29	101	239	9	378	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
EDINBURGH	228,350	42	320	431	10	803	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
PAISLEY	55,638	2	158	36	4	200	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
MONTROSE	14,994	5	14	35	3	57	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
KILMARNOCK	25,844	7	72	38	-	117	5
LEITH	59,485	7	132	137	-	276	5
DUMFRIES	17,092	18	43	20	-	81	5
AYR	20,987	17	60	33	-	110	5 $\frac{1}{4}$

Source : S.T.L.R. 1892, Almanac section.

B. League Estimates of Licence Ratios

NUMBER OF LICENSED HOUSES IN SEVERAL CHIEF TOWNS IN SCOTLAND,  
in connection with Population, so far as could be obtained.

Years	Aberdeen		Dundee		Edinburgh	
	Licences	Population	Licences	Population	Licences	Population
1841	528	63,288	-	-	588	132,977
1851	615	71,973	-	-	528	160,302
1861	429	73,805	463	91,664	745	168,121
1871	454	88,108	531	120,724	868	196,979
1881	390	105,003	458	122,154	846	228,346
1891	388	121,905	446	155,985	759	261,225

Years	Glasgow		Greenock		Paisley	
	Licences	Population	Licences	Population	Licences	Population
1841	-	-	-	-	-	-
1851	-	-	-	-	-	-
1861	1752	395,503	-	-	-	-
1871	1819	477,732	239	57,146	230	48,240
1881	1794	511,415	217	63,899	220	55,627
1891	*1843	658,198	190	63,096	194	66,418

\*57 Public-houses and 71 Grocers - total 128 - of these were in the area added to Glasgow by the extension of the boundaries on 1st November, 1891.

Source: S.T.L.R. 1899, p. 20.

C. GLASGOW LICENCES

	HOTELS	PUBLIC HOUSE	GROCERS	TOTAL
1891	23	1,500	320	1,843
1893	21	1,480	317	1,819
1897	19	1,426	311	1,756
1900	19	1,411	309	1,739
1903	16	1,339	303	1,658
1910	18	1,305	283	1,606
1913	18	1,411	344	1,773
1914	17	1,399	342	1,758

Source: Glasgow Corporation "Municipal Glasgow, its Evolution & Enterprises", Glasgow, 1915, p.2332-3.

D. Scotland - Licensed Premises 1886-1916

	Hotels & Inns			Public Houses			Licd. Grocers		
	1886	1906	1916	1886	1906	1916	1886	1906	1916
AYR COUNTY	126	99	95	280	267	246	201	136	124
AYR BURGHS	35	27	20	152	169	163	117	108	92
DUMBARTON C.	13	15	13	90	62	57	33	17	15
DUMBARTON B.	1	3	3	21	72	73	3	15	14
DUMFRIES C.	37	39	36	11	10	8	28	32	27
DUMFRIES B.	31	24	11	50	35	29	33	20	13
DUNDEE	8	6	6	229	212	212	221	198	186
KIRCUDBRIGHT	40	38	36	27	28	19	33	21	16
LANARK C.	48	41	37	554	331	304	326	143	119
GLASGOW	20	17	15	1465	1330	1359	261	304	321
RENFREW C.	20	12	7	244	86	66	79	23	16
GREENOCK	8	5	4	168	128	112	33	29	28
PAISLEY	2	3	2	161	135	127	40	32	32
STIRLING C.	45	38	35	131	87	78	100	65	55
STIRLING B.	16	16	14	91	116	108	79	79	70
WIGTOWN C.	33	45	43	23	27	18	4	6	5
WIGTOWN B.	27	14	13	23	17	14	7	5	5



Footnotes

Local Pressure Group Politics - Licensing Restriction.

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7. J. Kellett 'Municipal Socialism, Enterprise and Trading in the Victorian City', Urban History Yearbook, 1978, pp. 36-45, B. Aspinwall 'Glasgow Trams and American Politics 1894-1914', Scottish Historical Review vi, 56, 1977, pp. 64-84. Quoted Kellet (op cit) p. 41. "Booster histories" - e.g. J. Lindsay (Town Clerk) "A Review of Municipal Government in Glasgow", Glasgow, 1912, Glasgow Corporation "Municipal Glasgow: its Evolution and Enterprises", Glasgow, 1915. Municipal trading could prompt visionary plans e.g. Joint Select Committee on Municipal Trading, 1900 Q.Q. 246, 545. American admiration of Glasgow - B. Aspinwall 'The Scottish Religious Identity in the Atlantic World 1880-1914', (op cit) p. 513. See also A. Shaw "Municipal Government in Gt. Britain", London 1895, Chapter IV, 'A Study of Glasgow', pp. 69-144.
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  13. On Publicans' Certificates (Scotland) Act - S.T.L.R. 1878, pp. 36, 60-3, also 1879 pp. 36-7, 39-40, 69-70, 1903, p. 10.
  14. S.T.L.R. 1881 pp. 70-3, 1882 pp. 74-7, 1883 pp 79-80, 1884 pp. 58-9 and 74, 1885 pp. 68-70, 1886, pp. 74-6, 1887 pp 78-9. By 1890 Glasgow Corporation had compensated 62 in this way - S.R.A. D.T.C. 6/26 1897 List of Licensees Compensated for Transfer. On finance problem - A. Briggs "Victorian Cities" pp 236-7, Hay (op cit) p. 40, Hennock (op cit) pp 139-40. See Dollan on United Irish League connections with the Trade in Forward - I. Wood 'John Wheatley, the Irish and the Labour Movement in Scotland', Innes Review, 29, 1978, p. 78.
  15. Glasgow Corporation "Municipal Glasgow, its Evolution and Enterprises", pp 57-8, S.T.L.R. 1890 pp 83-4, Briggs (supra) pp 204-5, S.T.L.R. 1890 pp 80-1, 1891 pp. 80-3, 1892 pp. 76-9, 1893 pp 78-9, 1894 pp 82-3, Glasgow Herald 3.4.1890, 'Magistrates and Temperance Deputations', S.R.A. Circular to Publicans from the Magistrates on Glass Doors and Urinals, 1892. On lotteries - Circular of Chief Constable of Mar. 1889, S.R.A. DTC 6/378. Vigilance Association - S.P.B.T.A. 1890-1, p. 9, S.T.L.R. 1892, p. 78, 1901, p. 105, and 1903, p. 64. In Edinburgh restrictionists gained Corporation assent for a recommendation on ceasing to place "telephone call offices" in public houses - R.T.M. April 1901, p. 89.
  16. 'The Traffic in Transfers', North British Daily Mail, 9.11.1893, Hennock (op cit) Fig. 1, pp 34-5, S.R.A. Memorial for Legal Opinion on 'Persons Interested', Glasgow Licensing Court 1890, Glasgow Licensing Court Dispute, Court V. A. Campbell concerning extension of licence to executors, 1893, Memorial of 55 Ratepayers Against Excessive Licences, 1896. S.T.L.R. published details of total numbers of licences - e.g. 1893, p.19.

17. Councillor MacQuisten "An Address to the Electors of Townhead" Glasgow, 1906, pp. 1-20, especially 11-12 on Chisholm and J.P.s S.T.L.R. 1891, p. 23 'Return issued at the instance of Mr. Provand M.P.'s e.g. 1885-9 30% of burgh and of county refusals were granted on appeal. S.R.A. Letterbooks of the Lord Provosts of Glasgow contain entries suggesting Richmond was under pressure to create more J.P.s in 1899. 82 County and 193 Scottish burgh licences were refused in 1893-4, and 52 County and 67 Burgh refusals in 1897 - S.T.L.R. 1900 p. 24. R.T.M. June 1896 p. 145.
18. S.T.L.R. 1898 pp 85, 88, 1901, pp 9, and 52-62, 1902 p. 91, 99. S.T.L.R. 1895 p. 71 Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, Paisley, Greenock and Leith participated. S.T.L.R. 1899, pp 102-3, and 1903 pp 97-8 on the Exhibition. On Whiteinch, *ibid* 1900 pp 100-101, S.P.B.T.A. 1897-8, p. 27 'Plebiscite at Whiteinch'. S.T.L.R. 1902 'Report by the Sub Committee of Glasgow Magistrates who visited Liverpool, March 1902' pp. 42-63, Glasgow Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Assoc. 1903 Report, pp 16-17. S.T.L.R. 1904 'The Licensing Scotland Act 1903' pp. 39. Many Scottish 'temperance exports' went to Liverpool of course e.g. Revd. Robert French, Wm. Davison, Dumfries, Alex Guthrie, son of the Revd. Thomas, Revd. Wm. Elmslie of the Free Church, Edmund Jones of Greenock later agent of Liverpool Central Temperance Assoc. - P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century" Manchester, 1897. On Trade - Chapter VII. See "Glasgow and Lanarkshire Illustrated" Hamilton Herald, Hamilton n.d., (op cit) p. 41 on D.M. Stevenson, a typical reformer of this era.
19. Glasgow Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Assoc. 1903 Report p. 17. See Chapter VII on Trade response of 1870's. Cameron - Glasgow Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Assoc. Reports (henceforth cited as Trade Report) 1888, p. 9, and 1881, p. 23. On 1890's, Trade Report 1894, p. 18, 1896-7 and 1897-8 p. 16, and 1892, pp. 28-30. Licensing Court composition post 1903 was as follows:

Pop.	Under 25,000	25,000 -50,000	50,000 -100,000	100,000 plus
	4 C. Councillors	6 C. Councillors	7 C. Councillors	9 C. Councillors
	4 Justices	6 Justices	7 Justices	9 Justices

The Appeal Court echoed this, with equal numbers of County Councillors and J.P.s making up bodies 14-24 strong depending on districts. See S.T.L.R. 1901, p. 103, and 1903, p. 95 for League views of the Licensing Act.

20. Marwick - "Glasgow and Lanarkshire Illustrated", p. 24. S.T.L.R. 1901, p. 105, 1902, p. 102, 1903, p. 96, 1905, p. 105, on "congestion" 1903, p. 96, 1908, pp 114-5, "Facts Regarding the Drink Trade" Glasgow, 1906, S.T.L.R. 1905 pp. 57-9, R.T.M. Feb. 1906, p. 29, S.T.L.R. 1908 pp 114-5 and 1914 pp 112-3,

Scottish Temperance Annual 1914 p. 172, 'Licensing Plebiscite in Glasgow'.

21. A. Shadwell "Drink, Temperance, and Legislation", London, 1903, p. 68. 1829-96 Scottish licences declined by 58%. G.B. Wilson (op cit) Table 21 'Scotland - Licensed Premises', p. 382, on Trade see Chapter VII, on Trade councillors, Trade Report 1880, p. 22, 1886, p. 19, 1892, p. 16, 1893, p. 15, 1896, p. 22. The remark about "schisms of the Chisholms" comes from the Glasgow Trade Association Chairman - see Trade Report 1892, pp. 28-30. In contrast see confident Trade backing of 5 candidates in 1870 - Good Templar 1870, p. 126. See e.g. K. Neale (ed.) "Victorian Horsham: The Diary of Henry Michell 1809-74", Chichester, 1975, for a Liberal brewer associated with provision of municipal water and gas. See Chapter VIII on the Salvation Army.
22. Scottish Temperance Annual 1906 p. 93, 'Drinking and Physical Deterioration - Action of Municipalities'. P. Snowden "Socialism and the Drink Question" London, 1908, p. 22 on provosts. See Chapter VIII on health reformers. B. Aspinwall 'Glasgow Trams and American Politics 1894-1914' Scottish Historical Review, 56, 1977, pp. 74-5, and R. Brash "The Tramways of Ayr" Dundee Traction Group, 1983.
23. See Daily Telegraph quoted in Trade Report 1905, p. 19. Immigrants - B. Aspinwall (op cit) p. 69, K. Lunn "Hosts Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society 1870-1914", Folkestone, 1980, for Lunn's article on Lithuanians and Poles in Lanarkshire 1880-1914, on Muirkirk T. Findlay "Garan 1631 to Muirkirk 1950" p.p. Muirkirk 1980 p. 27. Spaniards were brought there as labourers by Baird's Ironworks in 1901. For immigrants in catering see biographical sketches in contemporary Victualling Trades Review, Mitchell Library Glasgow. S.R.A. document, Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, Court of Session Vellutino V Forsyth (1906). On Italians in Glasgow - C. Oakley "The Second City", Glasgow, 1967, pp. 201-2, 210, 227, 236. On the campaign against ice cream parlours - Band of Hope Board Minute Book, 1914, n.p. Details of other immigrants in Scotland in 1901, i.e. 14,448 males and 8,179 females of whom 2,410 males and 331 females were employed under the heading 'Food and Drink', many Italian, see House of Commons Accounts and Papers 1904, Vol. 60, 62, Session Vol. 108-110, 11th Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland 1901 with Report, Vol. III, p. XXVI. See hostility to Germans in "The Secret Memoirs of Samuel Rodger (1846-1901): the Glasgow Teetotal Bobby", manuscript, 1897, p. 4.
24. A. Wilson "Walter Wilson 1849-1917" Glasgow, 1920, Chapter VII, pp. 67-72 and IX pp. 78-96. Wilson emphasised his "strictly temperate habits" but was willing to grant transfers to the suburbs, to see municipal ownership and to leave the "inoffensive and businesslike" Trader alone (pp 69-70). W. Walker "Juteopolis: Dundee and its Textile Workers 1885-1923", Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 333-393. Govan (1819-83) a member of S.T.L., sat on the Bench for several years, and attacked

Trade pollution of Pinkston Burn in 1850's - Winskill (op cit) Vol. I, p. 417, and Glasgow Argus, Sept. 19, 1854. On Chisholm Winskill (supra) Vol. I, p. 224 and Biographical Appendix. For an expose of his personal obnoxiousness see 'Teetotal Tales' in J. Smith Samuel's unpublished reminiscences (S.R.A. - T.D255). Chisholm's cross examinations of officials who had moral lapses may have been in the evangelical tradition of sounding the depths of the sinner's heart (see J.D. Hoeveler Jr., op cit p. 256) but seemed sadistic. Battersby, trade unionist and compositor, - P. Dollan 'My 20 Years at George Square', No. 8, Glasgow Evening News, Nov. 27, 1937. Battersby was at the centre of an alleged Trade attempt to bribe the Bench. This 'sting' simply discredited temperance - Cllr. MacQuisten "An Address to the Electors of Townhead", Glasgow, 1907, pp. 11-13. Battersby a League and I.O.R. speaker and J.P. of the Chisholm era presided at the Glasgow Temperance Rally of 1898 - S.T.L.R. 1896, p. 96, R.T.M. July, 1898, p. 167. Sheridan Gilley "Roman Catholics and Socialists in Glasgow 1906-12" in K. Lunn (op cit) See Walker (op cit) pp 361, 369, on S.P.P. allegations of bribery. Labour use of municipal reform - D. Fraser "Power and Authority in the Victorian City", Oxford, 1979, p. 170. On London - M. Katanka "Radicals Reformers and Socialists" London, 1973, and P. Thompson "Socialists, Liberals and Labour: The Struggle for London 1885-1914", London, 1967. Walker (op cit) p. 359.

25. D. Fraser "Power and Authority in the Victorian City" Oxford 1976, pp 2, 19-20, 167, Walker (op cit) p. 357, Census of Scotland 1891 (op cit) Appendix Tables p. XXX, Table LXIII, Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, XI, 1911-12, p. 16, see population growth stressed in F. McKichan 'A Burgh's Response to the problems of Urban Growth, Stirling 1780-1880', Scottish Historical Review 57, 1978, p. 68 et seq, G. Best 'The Scottish Victorian City', (op cit) p. 346, D. Fraser "Urban Politics in Victorian England", Leicester 1976, p. 282. D. Fraser "Power and Authority" Oxford 1979, pp. 152-4. Thompson (op cit) pp 294-5. Walker (op cit) pp 344-6, 355, 393, P. Hollis "Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England", London, 1974, Introduction, A. Briggs "Victorian Cities", London, 1980 reprint, pp 13, 48-9, 84, Hay (op cit) p. 40.

CHAPTER 7

THE TRADE'S RESPONSE

### The Trade's Response

Over 1870-1914 the licensed trade expanded greatly and, in response to teetotal pressure group politics, embarked upon defensive politics, epitomised by the slogan "Our Trade: Our Politics", which brought increasing identification with the Conservative Party. The temperance movement tended to regard "the Trade" as an entity with a predetermined political allegiance. This was a gross, and not entirely accurate, simplification.

The Trade for example was really made up of a spectrum of producers and retailers. Of the producers, distilling was the most valuable side of Scottish drink production and the oldest. Temperance reformers believed that distilling was an infidel practice introduced to Scotland via Ireland and Usquebaugh around 1500. By the end of the 18th century spirits had come to replace beer and ale as the national beverage. Excise reform, technological innovation in the form of the patent still, contributed to this. Rapid technological change was a feature especially of Lowlands distilling after 1823, the Coffey still being available after 1830. Distilling was associated with Dundee, Stirling, Glasgow, Haddington and Perth, although Lowland distillers were greatly outnumbered by Highland distillers. In the late 18th century illicit distillation was still a problem in Glasgow, Ayr, and Dumfries, often related to cross-border smuggling, but especially in the Highlands where it was difficult to levy Excise in remote areas, especially given Highland taste, shebeeners' ability to offer good grain prices to tenant farmers, landlord collusion, and agricultural distress. Shebeening however was on a more limited scale than in Ireland. In the early 19th century a more noticeable feature of distilling was the



emergence of a gulf between the Highland drink craft and a Lowland drink industry, symbolised by pot and patent still distilling.

The number of Lowland distillers decreased 1802-17 yet production continued to increase. By 1814 the largest Lowland stills were at Port Dundas, Lanark, Clackmannan, Stirling, Lanark and Paisley. Lowland distillers were also the main beneficiaries of the 1823 reforms.<sup>1</sup>

Spirit drinking was encouraged by the 1822 reduction of the spirit duty. William Collins testified as to its impact on Gallowgate life to the Select Committee on Drunkenness. Restriction of shebeening was also partly behind a wave of expansion in legitimate distilling. The 1830's however produced many unstable ventures and, although per capita consumption was high, the Scottish spirit market was small from 1823-63. Fiscal harmonisation and increased duty meant there were only 126 Scottish distillers in 1870, as against 160 in 1851 and 329 in 1825. Many small distilleries closed, foreshadowing the amalgamations of 1870-1914. In the late 19th century the pattern was one of increasing consolidation of trade in the hands of long established family firms, Distillers' Co. Ltd. (1877), and amalgamations, and the emergence of large plants and modern marketing and distribution techniques.<sup>2</sup>

There was much rivalry within distilling. The greatest clash, between the pot still craft and patent still science, led to 1870's debate on the definition of "whisky", 1891 Select Committee deliberations, 1905 prosecutions under the 1887 Merchandising Marks Act, and eventual decision in favour of the patent still definition by a 1908 Royal Commission. This came as an unexpected blow to traditional malt distillers, a group made up mainly of Glenlivet and Highland distillers, as the Islay, Campbeltown and Lowland malt

Table A.

Scottish Distillers

1830 - 1914

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	<u>No. Distillers in Scotland</u>	<u>% U.K. Total</u>
1830	249	73
1840	205	68
1850	161	73
1860	125	n.a.
1870	126*	n.a.
1880	141*	n.a.
1890	124	76
1900	159	80
1910	124	79
1914	133	82

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\*includes figure for England.

distillers<sup>were</sup><sub>λ</sub> beginning to produce whisky for blending rather than for direct consumption. In this class blenders, increasingly concentrated in Glasgow, were branded adulterators. They in turn dubbed grain whisky shops "pestilential dramshops" with vehemence reminiscent of the temperance movement. Within blending there was much competition, encouraged by the 1860 Spirits Act. Blends,  $\frac{1}{3}$  cheaper to produce than fiery malts, were associated with Glasgow and Edinburgh, where good water and local markets were available. These cities were also the base for the distributive sector, dominated by Buchanan, Dewar, Haig, Mackie, and Walker. Walker was perhaps the most profitable in the 1880's, but all experienced rapid growth in the 1890's. Intense rivalry led to increasing focus not only on exports but also on securing contracts for supply of clubs, as in Bell's experience, or music halls and railway companies, the source of James Buchanan's success in popularising whisky in England in the late 19th century. Mere suppliers like Bell could afford to be sympathetic to restriction of public house licences in 1890. Those who owned retail outlets could not be so dispassionate. Of the three largest firms, Haig, Dewar and Walker, only Haig owned some Fife licensed property and disposed of it after 1894. Walker however had £100,000 on loan to publicans by 1897 which similarly encouraged interest in licensing. Distillers' associations of 1870-1914 were a product of the "revolution in marketing" (Weir) effected by distributors and blenders. They were principally concerned to regulate prices and competition, but the U.K. Distillers' Assoc. (1878-88), the Malt Distillers Assoc., Scottish Distillers' Assoc. (1865-76), the North of Scotland Malt Distillers' Assoc. (1874) and Grain Distillers' Assoc., a response to the Great Depression of

1873-96, reflected tensions in distilling. The Scottish Distillers' Assoc. for example used its 'muscle' not only to fix grain prices but also to attack wholesalers. Within associations too there was friction. Allocations of trade were surrounded by suspicion of underselling. Plans to include malt distillers and spirit merchants in the Distillers Co. also fell through due to mutual suspicions, while D.C.L. aroused the antagonism of independent firms like Greenlees and Mackie of Glasgow. The peaks and troughs experienced by the different types of distilling were not always synchronised. Most however shared in an 1890's boom, caused by an expansion of exports, mainly of blended whisky to England and overseas, and halted by Pattison's bankruptcy and overestimation of demand for stocks in 1899. Patent still<sup>distilling</sup> was worst hit. The trend towards takeovers accelerated. Notwithstanding whisky's new international reputation, relations between malt distillers, blenders, and grain distillers were extremely strained, reviving malt distillers' hostility to blenders. Only the 1909 People's Budget proposals to increase licence fees and spirit duties, rather than taxes on beer, roused the disparate groups to co-operate in lobbying.<sup>3</sup>

Brewers were far more directly affected by the 'drink question'. The tied house system, a vertical integration begun in England in the 1830's and expanded after 1869 in response to licensing restriction and some deterioration in demand, was not widespread in Scotland. There was no "brewers' battle" for control of retail outlets comparable to that in England during the 1890's public house boom. Magistrates' one man-one licence principle prevented that. Tied houses did exist in some areas nevertheless, e.g. Steel Coulson (Glasgow and Edinburgh) had tied houses in Scotland and the North of England, and the 1898 amalgamation of Turner of Ayr and Watson's Ayr

Brewery was typical of smaller firms which owned property locally. Tied houses were denounced by temperance reformers as a form of slavery which made it imperative for publicans to press drink upon costumers, and also by blenders, who disliked the way in which they purveyed their own cheap blends, by malt distillers, who felt that they sold poor whisky in order to keep beer sales high, and grain distillers, who were worried that brewers' monopolies would lead them to drive hard bargains. Brewers much preferred to use loans to secure outlets and improve distribution in reaction to the 20% reduction of Scottish licences over 1886-1914, and generated enough competition to double or triple public house values in the 1890's. Some firms who made loans whilst brewing capital was inflated became seriously over-extended by the 1903-4 slump, but most were cautious enough to keep this within manageable proportions, often using it too as a means of securing good conduct from publicans.<sup>4</sup>

The rise of brewing was inextricably interrelated with that of the public house. In the 17th century brewing had little formal organisation and was a domestic activity - often of women. In the 18th century it was a rapidly growing primary process industry in response to population growth and rising incomes. Brewing became particularly associated with Lothian, Fife, Angus, and with Glasgow, Dumbarton, Ayrshire, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and parts of the Borders, the size of breweries reflecting the strength of local markets. Over 1700-50 a small export market developed but growth over 1700-1800 was subject to fluctuations, dictated partly by agricultural prices. Rapid expansion over 1780-1800 and transformation of the craft into an industry reflected a rising population's rising living standards and creation of important markets for all agricultural products by urbanisation. A slump after 1815 was followed by steady

expansion till mid-century featuring the decline of brewer/  
victuallers and rise of urban mass production. Although firms like  
Campbell of Edinburgh, Wm. Younger, and J. & R. Tennent of Glasgow  
dated from the 1740's brewing's greatest expansion was from 1850-1914  
as a result of technological innovation and transport developments.  
Although small rural breweries lingered on, the trend was towards  
increasing concentration of brewing in large production units, and  
Glasgow, Alloa, and Edinburgh were important centres. Scrymgeour's  
Dundee was associated with the King St., Lyon, and Ballingall  
breweries.

Glasgow was an important local market. By 1870 no fewer  
than 48 brewing agencies were based there. Although firms like  
Younger and Tennent had important English and overseas markets riv-  
alling those of the Burton brewers, the tendency was still for newer  
firms like McEwan to concentrate on local trade and expand nationwide  
thereafter. "Town trade" absorbed 50% of McEwan's production  
1850-80. Edinburgh brewers were also keen to compete with Tennent,  
Baird's Canal Brewery, Steel Coulson of Greenhead Brewery, Gordon  
Blair of Parkhead, T.Y. Paterson of Petershill Brewery, Springburn,  
and G. & J. McLachlan of Castle Brewery, Maryhill, for the Glasgow  
trade.

This according to Donnachie reflected the increasing popul-  
arity of pale ale from the 1860's onwards, and later of light bright  
beers - developed for the urban market just as Tennent pioneered  
lager principally for export. In the 17th and 18th centuries in  
contrast Scottish "twopenny" or small beer had the reputation of  
"distempering a stranger's body". Sir John Sinclair's Statistical  
Account of the 1740's suggested ale was becoming popular with the  
masses and, although the introduction of English porter from the

1790's did not alter this trend, small beer was sufficiently poor in quality to prompt suggestions that it encouraged whisky drinking. Increases in retail outlets interacted with increasingly 'sophisticated' popular tastes and the improved product of large mechanised breweries from the mid 19th century onwards. As in distilling the tendency was towards increasing concentration of business in a few hands, usually once again in family firms like Tennent, Aitken of Falkirk, George Younger, Meiklejohn of Alloa, Dryborough and William Younger of Edinburgh, Fowler of Prestonpans, and Dudgeon of Dunbar. Ironically temperance personified brewing as "Bung" at a time when it was becoming increasingly impersonal. Brewing and distilling both reflected the trend towards monopoly in industries like cotton, oil, and chemicals, and development of larger units and elimination of absorption of competitors encouraged by enactment of limited liability (1862). The number of joint stock companies registered p.a. in the U.K. rose from 595 in 1870 to 4,966 in 1900 for example, and 17 brewery firms were prominent amongst major U.K. industrial enterprises at the turn of the century. In Scotland the first to follow Guinness' lead in going public were Younger, McEwan and Tennent. "Dramatic change of structure and organisation" (Donnachie) was tempered by retention of family business' original management. By 1914 however brewing was dominated by a dozen large and highly profitable firms.<sup>5</sup>

Scotland also had a long established international wine trade, epitomised by the careers of the Portugal based Grahams, Cockburn, younger brother of Lord Henry, George and David Sandeman, associated with the Commercial Bank of Scotland, and James Henry Dow. There were traditional trading links with Gascony, and Bordeaux wines and claret were shipped to Scotland via Leith. In the 19th

Table B.

Scottish Brewers 1860-1910

YEAR	COMMON BREWERS	VICTUALLERS	OTHERS	TOTAL
1860				220
1870				210
1875	78	120		198
1880	90	45	20	155
1885	101	45		146
1890				153
1895				137
1900				125
1905				103
1910	88		26	114

Source: I. Donnachie "A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland", Edinburgh, 1979, p. 150 Table 56.



century there was a lively trade in port. Development of cylindrical bottles during the late 18th century encouraged interest in vintage port. Over 1815-35 relatively high taxation and unemployment checked wine consumption. Worst hit were those trading in the cheaper types of Portuguese and Cape wines, and fortified wines. The advent of railways, and the creation of a nouveau riche class by the American and Australian gold rushes, led to upper class interest in the finer French vintages, whilst the 1860 revision of duties, Gladstonian encouragement of refreshment licences, and the 1861 'Single Bottle Act' boosted the clearances of wine from bond and the wine trade. As Times advertisements of the period reflect, wine was abundant in the 1870's. In the 1880's however devastation of French vineyards by Phylloxera created a dearth of good wine, and tension between old established wine merchants of upper middle class status like Sandeman and Gilbey and humbler men attracted to this sector of the Trade after 1860. Simon felt that both groups lost trade in this era - to the whisky distillers and makers of temperance beverages respectively. Whisky was cheaper than good claret or burgundy and the campaign against "medicated wines" contributed to a decrease in consumption of fortified wines.<sup>6</sup>

Increasingly wine retailing was a preserve of licensed grocers. In the early 19th century bottles of spirits could only be purchased from public houses. Wine and spirit dealers were only permitted to retail spirits in large quantities. The 1854 Select Committee on Public Houses however recommended that spirits and wines be treated in the same way as a way of protecting servant messengers from the corrupting influence of the public house. Gladstone created an additional licence, whereby a spirit dealer might also retail less than a quart of foreign or British spirits for "off"

consumption. Until the 1870's it was possible for grocers to take out dealers' licences, and additional retail licences, without J.P.'s approval. Licensed grocers were a small proportion of the 731 "grocers, tea and spirit dealers" listed in the Glasgow Post Office Directories for 1870. Yet they were increasing. They faced hostility not only from the temperance movement and the evangelical element within the Grocers' Early Closing Association of Glasgow (1854), which aimed to promote early closing and "the literary and mental powers of its members", but also from publicans who resented grocers' exemption from police raids, their longer hours and lower duties, and alleged tendency to allow drinking on the premises, to despatch drink at all hours, and to falsely enter drink under other headings in passbooks and accounts. On the latter count teetotalers and publicans alike throughout this period accused licensed grocers of worsening the plight of paupers, by exchanging drink for 'tickets', and of increasing middle class consumption, by encouraging female drinking. Publicans insisted that quotas for licences envisaged by Anstruther's Bill in 1875 should also apply to grocers, and tended to agree with the restrictions on grocers proposed by the Report of the Royal Commission on Licensed Grocers, quite unmoved by grocers' hints that this would be a precedent for further action against publicans because over 1854-76 grocers' licences had more than doubled in areas like Glasgow whilst the number of hotel and public house licences declined. Hostility was heightened by the unequal 1880 Customs and Inland Revenue Act, a series of judgements favourable to grocers in appeals against prosecution for breach of licence in the 1880's, lenient treatment of grocers under the terms of Dr. Cameron's Early Closing legislation, and increasing suspicion that grocers were guilty of illegal sale of drink from vans. Only

the onset of a steady stream of private members' bills to "restrict or confiscate" the licensed trade spurred co-operation between publicans and grocers. The initiative for amalgamation of the Licensed Grocers' Assoc. of Scotland with the Scottish Licensed Trade Defence Assoc. came from the grocers, who found themselves the bete noir of women's temperance, and the subject of a bill introduced by John Leng (1828-1906), the well known Dundee Liberal and newspaper proprietor, for separation of the grocery and spirit trade after a 3 year time lapse. None were to carry on the two trades together, not even in separate premises, and in the interim period grocers were to be subject to the restrictions recommended by the 1878 Royal Commission. Leng, whilst not identified with the major temperance organisations, was an advanced Liberal who made his maiden speech in 1890 and had an exhaustive list of interests including local veto and devolution. He was, as Scrymgeour pointed out, later married to the well known grocer William Low's daughter but his bill reflected initially his Congregational Church connection. After his retiral in 1905 similar bills were introduced by Dr. Roland Rainy. They met with equally little success. Although the major temperance societies backed them, their priorities lay elsewhere. Also, all licensed grocers could not convincingly be depicted as exploiters. Items other than liquor were more important to their turnover. At 1879 prices for example 1lb of best Indian tea was 8d dearer than a bottle of malt whisky. "Italian warehousemen" were eminently respectable, catered mainly for the upper classes, and provided custom for wholesale grocers like Chisholm and the butchery and fruit trades. It was easier to depict humble licensed grocers as ruthless money grubbers and petty tyrants, as in Revd. J. McDougall Hay's novel "Gillespie", and Douglas' "The House with the Green Shutters".

This image was to pervade not only licensing restriction but also society, aided by hostile ex-message boys like Gallacher and the B.W.T.A. alike.<sup>7</sup>

Another sector of the Trade comprised wholesalers or "commission agents". Reviled by temperance reformers as early as 1834, they occupied an uncertain area between brewers, blenders, and retailers. Duncan Walker of Glasgow for example was the agent for Cork distilleries, Edinburgh United Brewery, Thomsons Wine and Bordeaux wines, was also the proprietor of the registered brands "Old Glen", "Loch", "Mountaineer", and an Irish Whisky, "The Lake". Wholesalers could sell in smaller quantities than publicans, which led to a longstanding hostility resolved only in 1926. Wholesalers were greatly interested in developments in local markets, but were forced to form their own trade defence organisation, the Wholesale Association in 1912, to make sure that their own particular interests were not overlooked.<sup>8</sup>

Last but not least were the publicans, a relatively humble group whose ranks had swelled after creation of the cheap retail licence to sell whisky in 1793 and the rise of whisky drinking in the 1820's. Differentiated from dealers by the 1825 Excise Licence Act this group spanned keepers of the "low public house", established with a mere 5/-, and publicans who owned several highly rated establishments. Some lived above the public house but this was not necessarily the case. After the turn of the century, when Scottish publicans numbered 7,180, Glasgow publicans often claimed that the owners of public houses in congested areas did not live in those areas at all. There were great variations in standards. Some were little better than the 18th century beer shops and inns whilst others had moved from the mid 19th century pattern of one large

room divided into "boxes", each with a table and benches, towards more stylish establishments dominated not by boxes, associated by temperance reformers with crime and vice, but by the feature ceilings, pillars, decorative tiling, mirrors, and horseshoe bars now presumed to be typical of Victorian 'pub-decor'. With the brewers, this stratified group was the most politically effective section of an increasingly stratified Trade.<sup>9</sup> (See Table C. ).

### Trade Defence

In the 18th century a small but influential group of English brewers were typical of Namier's "inevitable Parliamentary men", according to Mathias. Brewers like Whitbread, Calvert, Hanbury, Barclay and Gurney were of great influence in the City, and in several English counties by dint of their landed estates. The malt and beer interest featured in the Corn Laws but there was no organised Trade lobby as yet, only an identifiable interest. Brewers' opinions in this period had no clear party nature, as divisions on Walpole's policy, the 1770's Administration, and Parliamentary Reform highlighted. English brewers, often originally of Quaker extraction, tended however to be more likely to support than oppose liberal measures. London porter brewers, influential in fixing Trade prices, were drawn into politics by the Excise question, and desire to watch over duties, restrictions and bounties. Their fragile solidarity was a response to governmental restrictions, and activities of merchants in their raw material markets in years of scarcity. The rest of the Trade were important only in local politics. There were no organised links between local and national level pressure in the early 19th century, even although the Trade was acknowledged to be the first great industrial interest. Lobbying

Table C.  
The Structure of Trade Defence

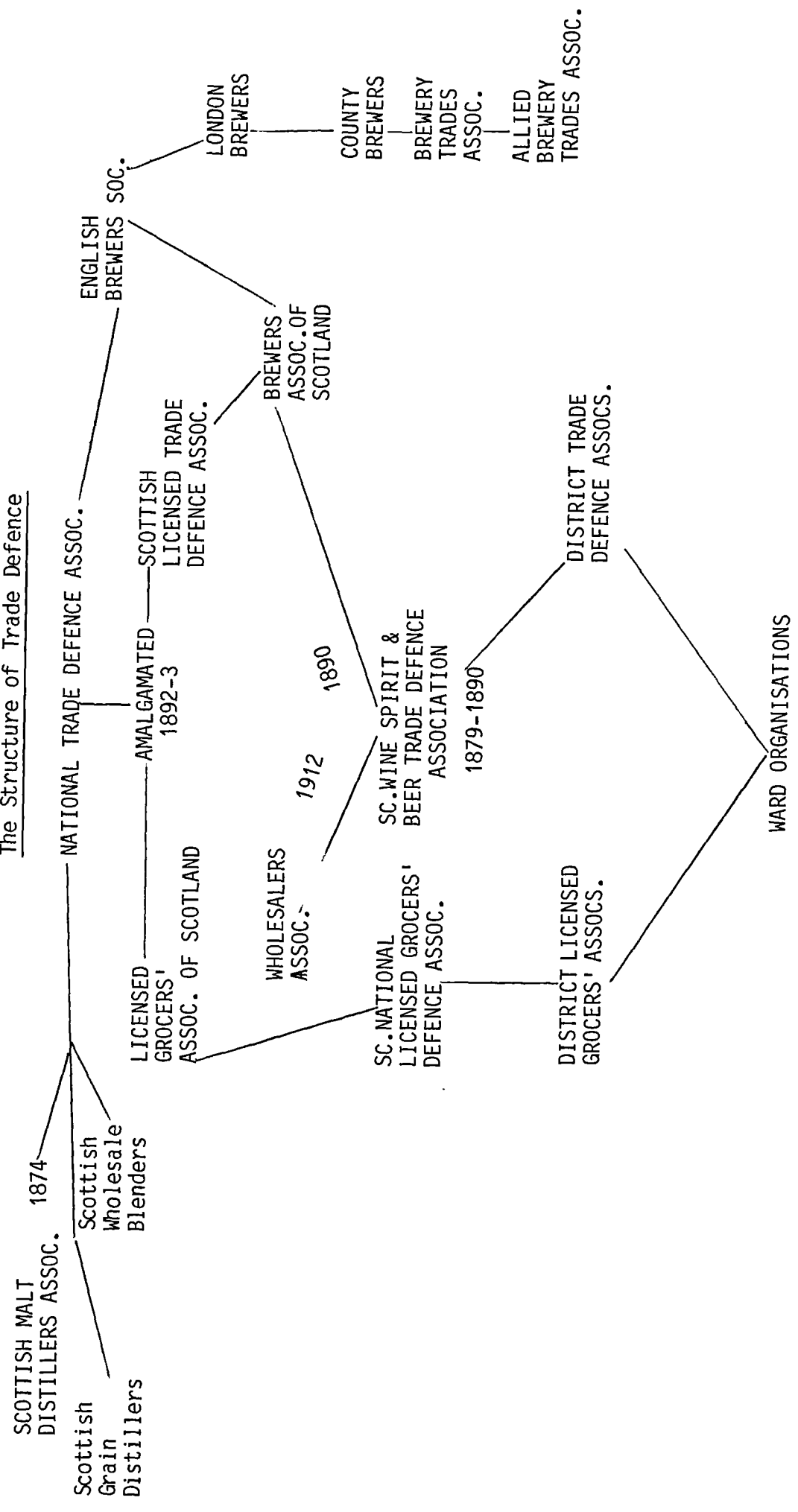


Table D  
NUMBERS EMPLOYED IN THE LICENSED TRADE 1871 - 1901.

Year	Area	Wine and Spirit Merchants	Maltsters	Brewers	Distillers	Cellarmen
1871	Lanark	206 men and 24 women	143 men	254 men	123 men	316 men
	Scotland	3,828 male and 822 female publicans/beersellers	1,923 male and 147 "	1,002 female innkeepers/hoteliers and 318 "	coffee/eating house keepers	
1881	Area Lanark	Hotel and innkeepers 158 men and 79 women	Lodging Houses 49m. and 1,100w.	Coffee/eating Houses 94 men and 219 women		
		Hop merchants 1 man	Maltsters 27 men	Brewers 285 men	Distillers/Rectifiers 139 men	Cellarmen 275 men
		Wine and Spirit Merchants/Publicans 3,162 men and 287 women				
1891	Area Lanark	Hotel and innkeepers 708 men & 334 women	Lodging Houses 65m. and 620w.	Coffee/Eating Houses 205 men and 390 women		
		Hop Merchants 1 man	Maltsters 128 men	Brewers 367 men	Distillers/Rectifiers 221 men	Cellarmen 490 men
		Beersellers and Ale and Porter Dealers 30 men				
		Wine and spirit merchants, and agents 1,017 men.				
1901	Scotland	Order XX in the Census, 'Food, Drink and Lodgings' employed 152,119 (100, 123m. and 51,996 f.)				
		Food industry - 113,438 (76,568 men and 36,870 women)				
		Board, Lodgings and spiritous liquors - 28,095 (16,777 men and 11,318 women)				
		Spiritous drink makers - 5,352 ( 5,252 " " 100 " )				

was confined to the question of barley, hops and malt imports until the 1830's debate on 'free licensing', in which the Trade was clearly divided into those who feared depreciation of their interests, and those who welcomed the new opportunities extended to men excluded from brewing's opportunities for social mobility by high taxation and the need to pay duty before enjoying sales revenue. This divide was accentuated by the anti-spirits movement's inclusion of beer amongst national virtues and fortified wines and spirits amongst popish aberrations and hellish vices.<sup>10</sup>

Prior to 1867 Sunday Closing was the only temperance legislation to seriously affect the Trade. Thereafter increasing Liberal appeal to the Nonconformist element in the 1867 electorate and the first stirrings of earnest licensing restriction, striking not only at expected turnover but also Trade investment, destroyed the Trade's calm assumptions about politics. In England trade defence dated from the licensing crisis of 1871. In Scotland trade defence commenced in a campaign to discredit Sunday Closing. The Trade's response to temperance legislation took the form of passive statement of the Trade's case, and coordination of action to frustrate temperance efforts.

The Trade phrased its case in terms of public demand and national tradition. They argued from the stance of defence of minority and majority rights depending upon the particular debate. Trade disabilities were depicted as morally unjust and economically unwise. Restriction of the Trade was associated with alleged absence of "capable men" in retailing to invoke the threat of disorder. The Trade's view of the drink problem was optimistic. Was not the situation far better than that in the 18th century, and constantly improving? They refuted claims that the Trade manufac-



tured habitual drunkards by suggestions that the moderate drinker was ever their best customer. Their attitude to alcoholics was fatalistic. Trade organisations neither harried Dr. Cameron's Habitual Drunkards Bill nor actively supported it. Frequently likening abuse of drink to other forms of gluttony, Liberal brewers like A.L. Bruce, later a Glasgow Trade Defence leader, emphasised moral suasion and public health reform or, like M.A. Bass, joined Social Radicals in emphasis on housing with counter-attractions and thrift as solutions to the drink problem. According to Crapster however death, Unionism and the spectre of "high licence" depleted the Trade's Liberal social reformers and was "both a cause and effect of increasing intimacy with the Conservative Party."<sup>11</sup> Far more saw social reform simply in terms of a self reformed public house, run on Continental lines with games, food, non-alcoholic drinks, and a family orientated clientele, although in practice this was expensive.<sup>12</sup>

The Trade was sceptical about the benefits to be reaped by management schemes, and were far more hostile to these than to counter attractions, seen as 'fair competition'.<sup>13</sup> They suspected that many eminent citizens having noted buoyant brewery share prices and the virtual monopolies created by licensing restriction simply wanted to make money with a measure of teetotal protection. They accused the Cadburys of self interest, and many more of using temperance as a screen for desire to lower wages. They too quoted J.S. Mill, to emphasise that citizens must be left the choice between right and wrong, and accused temperance reformers of being selfish, un-Christian, radical demagogues.<sup>14</sup>

Reduction of licences was the Trade's greatest headache. Unless restriction was accompanied by compensation a large proportion

of Trade capital would be irretrievably lost. Sobriety via reduction was therefore branded "one of the greatest fallacies any government or party conceived" by distillers like W.H. Ross, whilst retailers had raised the cry of 'confiscation' as early as 1875.<sup>15</sup> Brewers darkly argued that less beer meant less profit but more drunkenness, occasionally broadening comments to attacks on licensed grocers, wholesalers, and the shebeen and brothel trade in drink. A class divide was also evident. Wealthier retailers and distillers with relatively little stake in the retail trade were prone to suggest that restriction plus compensation could be beneficial even after the Sharpe V Wakefield decision shattered Trade confidence in Liberal fair play. Thereafter Trade propaganda sought to win J.P.'s sympathy via emphasis on justice and property rights against "a crusade of wholesale anarchical confiscation". (Brewers' Guardian, 10.4.1903).<sup>16</sup>

Trade views were expressed via the long established London Morning Advertiser, which ironically in the mid 19th century was dubbed "the Gin and Gospel Gazette" under the editorship of James Grant. Only in the 1890's did the Conservative Constitutional Yearbook recommend it to Tories. Wealthy brewers and distillers like McEwan and Dewar often influenced newspapers like the Tory Standard and Edinburgh Evening News. The latter belonged to William McEwan, a Cobdenite Liberal and M.P. 1886-1900. The Trade could also influence local press coverage via advertising, and threats of advertising boycotts. The Glasgow Trade felt that the Glasgow Herald, Scotsman, Citizen, Evening News and Edinburgh Evening Despatch treated its interests fairly. In addition the Trade also had its own press, listed *overleaf*, to discuss technological innovations, commercial news, and supply information on

Trade Press .

Brewers' Almanac		London
Brewers' Guardian		"
Brewers' Journal		"
Brewing Trade Review		"
Brewer and Wine Merchant		"
Country Brewers Gazette		"
Licensed Victuallers Gazette		"
Licensing World		"
Morning Advertiser		"
National Guardian		Glasgow
Wine and Spirit Trade Record		London
The Licensed Grocer		Glasgow
Liberty Annual	L.P.D.L.	London
Liberty Review	"	"

Trade politics. Glasgow retailers favoured the monthly Victualling Trades Review and National Guardian, both of which underwent 'improvements' in the 1890's. The Trade like the temperance press preached only to a section of the converted. Until the 1890's there were complaints of inadequate support. Later, the Brewers' Guardian and Glasgow National Guardian were an important means of rallying support for exclusive voting, and publicising the Trade's political influence. Leaflets were also an important part of local trade associations' highly developed propaganda machine in bids to counter temperance domination of the Liberal press and Church and social reform platforms. They encouraged the teetotal view of the Trade as a monolithic community of interests, in attempts to gloss over Trade weaknesses.<sup>17</sup>

In the West of Scotland Trade Defence was conducted mainly by the Glasgow Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Association (1864), and the Glasgow Licensed Grocers' Association (1874).<sup>18</sup> The former was motivated by desire to reduce "the presently exorbitant duty on spirits", to watch temperance legislation, and to form a benevolent fund for its members. Its early interests were principally those of retailers, e.g. desire to have rum, gin, and brandy duties calculated more accurately according to true cask content, and investigation of whether temporary licences for races and fairs were to be extended to Scotland. It met English Associations at the request of Manchester Traders to coordinate protest against the Permissive Bill. Although they petitioned for reduction of duty they avoided use of this tactic against Lawson's Bill for fear of drawing too much publicity to it. Also amongst their first actions was a joint memorial to the Treasury on its encouragement of the

blanket term "whisky" with the malt distillers. The retail trade had no wish to be open to charges of fraud in whisky sales, and in fact pressed for Treasury insistence that the practice of marking warehousing dates on permits was resumed, again to safeguard retailers from charges of adulteration. Association members were mainly retailers, yet not all retailers were members. Publicans were advised to encourage distillers, dealers, brewers and agents to become involved, but this mainly reflected desire to create a benevolent society like that of the London Licensed Victuallers, capable of disbursing £9,000 p.a., and supported by William Younger of Edinburgh, his London agent Alex Bruce and all the Younger contacts in Scotland. The Association later looked to producers like the Aitkens, Hillcoats, Dalrymples, Ushers, Steel Coulson, Teachers and Walkers etc. for leadership and deputational work. Its first President however was David Yuille of William Yuille and Sons,<sup>19</sup> a Glasgow Wine and Spirits merchant.

In 1865 it made clear the two principles on which it was to operate: strict adherence to existing legislation and "promotion by all means in their power" of reform or repeal of any legislation prejudicial to their interests. They adopted as their motto in 1872 "Whatever trade parliament licenses it recognises; and so long as the Trade is a source of public revenue it is entitled to public protection."<sup>20</sup> This led the Association into work to ensure that its members were rarely in breach of certificate, employment of a legal agent to defend those who were so accused, careful watch of municipal licensing developments, support of Trade candidates in municipal elections, and participation in Scottish Trade Association pressure at national level.

Much energy was expended at municipal level. In 1865

Glasgow, Manchester and Leicester traders joined forces to attempt to unseat Lawson at Carlisle. Glasgow traders also interviewed candidates, although Scottish M.P.s were "not so easily approached as English members",<sup>21</sup> amongst them William Graham who later pressed successfully for reduction of a Waiter Tax thought "an objectionable imposition" by the Trade. The Trade were also very active in municipal politics in response to Lang's attempts to ban spirit shops from corporation property. They interviewed councillors and recommended candidates but shunned a party identification. Like the temperance movement they viewed the defeat of hostile councillors in the East End and the 3rd, 10th, 14th, and 16th wards as evidence that magistrates' campaigns to close up the back doors of public houses, and other misuse of discretionary power, did not have popular support.<sup>22</sup> Already they regarded the Corporation as unsympathetic, because of failure to extend the profits of the municipal water scheme to licensed premises, and the 1871 Municipal Extension Bill's inclusion of a clause which threatened to abolish the Justices' Appeal Court. They welcomed therefore appointment of a stipendiary magistrate "free from party control and beyond local prejudice."<sup>23</sup> It was a source of great annoyance that many retailers remained apathetic about local politics when it seemed clear that Glasgow and Edinburgh Town Councils, the Convention of Royal Burghs, and the Glasgow radical George Anderson M.P. were intent on abolition of the licensing appeal courts, that teetotalers were pressing for each licensing application to be treated as 'new' and without guarantee of renewal, and had Lord Provost Bain's sympathy although, as the Trade pointed out, a businessman like Bain might have been expected to be more concerned about Corporation "blundering in financial matters."<sup>24</sup>

In the 1870's the Trade Association began its practice of sending memorials to the Provost and Magistrates, setting forth its case in terms of teetotalism's minority interest, individual merits of each case and the need to encourage men of "carefulness and propriety" to join the retail Trade, and of appeal to the Law Courts Commission and the Home Secretary for intervention against magisterial abuse of power. A united front against magistrates' demands for back doors to be closed up and boxes to be removed within 8 days was frustrated by affluent retailers keen to be seen as respectable businessmen, who demanded only more time for alterations to take place. This group dominated the Trade Association, and with the Fiscal's obligation to give early warning of possible charges, influenced the way in which only small proportions of Glasgow licensees, and nominal numbers from the Association, were ever guilty of breach of certificate, even during waves of enthusiastic licensing restriction. The upper echelons of the retail trade were always very aware of the opportunities for social mobility which "the Trade" presented, especially as distillers like Walker and Bell had commenced as wine and spirit merchants within the recent past, and as the wine trade and brewing were traditional avenues to the landlord gentry, as the Gilbeys, Hoares and Barclays bore out, and new posts as brewer/chemists and brewery managers were currently giving access to the upper middle class. A certain amount of smugness was also engendered by the 1875 Summary Prosecutions Appeals (Scotland) Act which allowed spirit dealers greater freedom to appeal against loss of licence than that allowed under the 1862 Public House Statutes, and concessions wrung from the Glasgow magistrates, e.g. revision of certificate procedure so that character references had only to be produced once, and restriction of objectors to

licences to area residents.<sup>25</sup> Trade divisions were evident in William Graham "the extensive wine importer's" support for the Permissive Bill, promotion of the Publicans' Certificate Act by an Islay distiller, and lingering annoyance at wholesale dealers and brewers' hesitant financial and moral support in the 1870-1 licensing crisis. Licensed grocers' extremely active petition and deputation work against Anstruther's Bill, gave way to preoccupation with the Royal Commission on Grocers' Licences, to which they sent 65 witnesses from the West of Scotland alone, including their parliamentary agent, Simson of Wakefield and Simson of London, and organisation of Scottish solidarity with English grocers' protest against Staveley Hill's Licensing Law Amendment Bill. Their Association's numbers fell once the threat from Anstruther passed, giving recruiting drives at the time of the Royal Commission a sense of urgency. In general the Trade refused to be panicked by licensing restriction, the rise of a police 'spy system' post 1862, stringent enforcement of the laws relating to "child messengers", hours, and weights and measures in the 1870's. They regarded "Permissive Billites' ravings as totally chimerical", "absurd", or "an annual farce", and noted Liberal disarray on the question with satisfaction.<sup>26</sup>

In the 1880's complacency was destroyed by vigorous local licensing restriction featuring transfers, extensions, and the "bona fide Sunday traveller" question, which prompted the Glasgow Trade to describe the "extraordinary" dealings of the local Bench in propaganda leaflets, the second Gladstone administration's raising of licence fees, and increasing Liberal flirtation with local veto. (A national Defence Association was formed in 1879). The normally conciliatory grocers were alarmed by Stewart's Licensing Act Amendment Bill, and via Cowan, George Anderson, Elcho, Edmonstone



and Grant, and simultaneous deputations of grocers and publicans, sought its withdrawal. The Customs and Inland Revenue Bill of 1880, Duncan MacLaren's pressure on the question of sales in quart bottles, appearance of Lord Colin Campbell's Licensing Laws (Scotland) Bill backed by 8 Scottish M.P.s, 1883-4 introduction of McLagan's bill to prohibit without compensation, and a Church of England Temperance Society bill to abolish English grocers' licences panicked grocers into greater co-operation with the Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Association of Scotland and the London Licensed Victuallers.<sup>27</sup>

Retailers in general felt that temperance was "a mere stalking horse" to disguise teetotal desire for political power and, although they had previously regarded ability to count both the Liberal Anderson and Conservative Whitelaw as a measure of their apolitical stance's success, they increasingly revived the tenuous Trade/Tory alliance of the 1874 Election.<sup>28</sup> Brewers like Hugh Tennent of the Wellshot Brewery, Cambuslang, George Dalrymple, Ballingall of Dundee, Currie of Dumfries, and Bruce were increasingly active in local defence and in criticism of Liberal vote catching. By 1891 Tennent gave his address as the Conservative Club, Glasgow. Traders bemoaned demise of "the tactics of great Liberals of the past", and the Liberal James Neilson asserted that acts like Corrupt and Illegal Practices which further reduced the moral status of licence holders were the work of Nihilists. Many simply felt Liberal hypocrisy needlessly perpetuated teetotal pressure, especially as Glasgow Evening Times, Glasgow News, and Glasgow Herald articles of 1884 supported the Trade against "the regime of Collins and teetotal magistrates."<sup>29</sup>

In the face of adoption of "Defence Associations", subdivided into Divisional Committees for Ward organisation, and

affiliation to the Liberty and Property Defence League from 1884 on, a pressure group "dedicated to defence of the principles of free contract, rugged individualism and laissez-faire" (Soldon) and increasingly associated with the Conservative Party, Trade Liberal partisans were in difficult positions. The 1884 'Temperance Party of 50' appeared to have considerable influence, Harcourt was lost to Trade influence after 1880 defeat by a brewer at Oxford, yet the Trade made no sudden swing to Conservatism. "Until 1895 the number of Liberal brewers remained significant."<sup>30</sup> Scottish Trade M.P.'s were not overwhelmingly Conservative, due to the Irish Question's power in Scottish politics, and the high proportion of Celts in the retail trade. Only in 1910 did Irish traders threaten to boycott "the confiscation party".<sup>31</sup> Edinburgh brewers remained in the Liberal Party till 1886-1900. William McEwan reconciled Liberalism and Trade Defence until 1900 when, disgusted at "the New Liberalism which is really Collectivism", he retired. This Liberal 'old guard' died out. George Younger (M.P. 1906-22) in contrast received a peerage for services as the Scottish Unionist Whip.<sup>32</sup> Amongst the "whisky barons" the pattern was similar. The Dewar family produced 2 Liberal M.P.'s and 1 Conservative over 1900-11. The Scottish Trade Associations and Trade press however led the gradual drift from traditional Liberalism.

In the 1890's District Associations which in the early 1870's looked to London Traders to lead a movement reminiscent of the Corn Law League were themselves extremely active in local elections, where they adopted teetotal interviewing techniques and occasionally organised mass meetings, and at national level. The Scottish Trade Defence Assoc., reorganised in 1890, had 88 member societies. The number of Trade M.P.'s rose from 19 in 1868-74

(10 Lib., 9 Con.) to 53 in 1886-92 (10 Lib., 35 Con., 7 Nationalist, and 1 Liberal Unionist). Scottish organisations liaised with the English Victuallers' Parliamentary Committee. The Glasgow Association pressed successfully for the Scottish Trade to retain parliamentary agents to lobby against unwelcome legislation, and legal agents to defend members and to take up licensing test cases. After 1893 the Glasgow Licensed Grocers amalgamated with the Trade Association for defence, differences over the 1885 Budget forgotten. The grocers' membership rose rapidly from 123 in 1890 to 296 in 1895 in reaction to McLagan and Leng's bills, the 1892 Burgh Police (Scotland) Act's implications for licensing, formation of a new National Licensed Grocers' Defence Association (1892) and decisions to embark on deputations to licensing courts, canvassing, public relations "to correct misrepresentations of the Trade", and ward organisation. Arthur Guinness & Co. the Irish brewers gave them financial support when it became clear grocers would be unable to switch to the public house sector if Leng's bill were successful. Even 'moderate' Trade organisations clearly did not now "sleep between elections", as in the late 1870's when compromise with the Liberals seemed possible. Brewers, and to a lesser extent distillers, if less evident in local organisations were more heavily committed financially to Trade defence than ever before.<sup>33</sup>

In affiliation with the Liberty and Property Defence League the Trade associated with the landed aristocracy, traditional Liberal welfare capitalists, Whigs, and other paternalistic 'interests' hostile to 'grandmotherly legislation', trade unionism, and collectivism. Essentially a loose combination of new model employers whose status was adversely affected by new model unionists' indepen-

dence after 1867, it was hostile to the reforms of the first Gladstone ministry (1868-73), to industrial militancy and to the fair rent, free sale, and fixed tenure themes of 1880-5 legislation. It was a reaction to the terrorist tactics of the Irish Land League, French Commune revival, the Fair Trade movement's calls for return to protectionism, Georgite land reform, and Chamberlainite "ransom radicalism."<sup>34</sup>

Its claim to be above party appealed to Traders. They shared not Elcho's aristocratic disdain for the masses but the Spencerian interpretation of "liberty" of Lord Bramwell. Although at the turn of the century the Liberty and Property Defence League still included "members of both parties and assorted mavericks" it had become especially close to Conservatism and "the beer barons", indicative of a final movement of the Trade in general towards a Tory alliance, long prevented by Conservatism's lack of strength in Scotland, lack of concessions from Disraeli and the Young England movement's alliance of the aristocracy and poor against middle class capitalists, fears that Conservatives would tax food for the benefit of the landed interest, suspicion of the "Fourth Party", of Sir William Houldsworth's formation of a National Conservative and Unionist Temperance Association in the 1880's and of the Church of England Temperance Society, irritation at the Salisbury government's attempts to appease temperance and Trade by 1888 and 1890 combinations of licensing restriction and compensation, and Conservative unwillingness to allow the Trade meaningful influence upon the National Union (1885).

Traders tended to be Whigs and passed to Conservatism without intermediate steps to Liberal Unionism. Like Goschen, many "could see little advantage in moving from the Scylla of the Liberal

Party to the Charybdis of the Conservative Party if Chamberlain and Churchill were the men of the future",<sup>35</sup> until the 1890's. They had little in common with Radical Unionists who supported Gladstonians on the temperance question in 1887, forced withdrawal of the licensing clauses of the 1888 Local Government Act and took prominent parts in anti-compensation agitation. Few brewers and distillers intervened directly in politics by offering themselves as candidates, e.g. even in 1886-92 there were only 63 candidates throughout the U.K., mainly brewers. Also, whilst the brewer Salvidge was an extremely important Liverpool Conservative and London Licensed Victuallers were active over 1892-6 in opposition to London Progressives, Scottish traders preferred unostentatious work for the party. There was no direct correlation between Trade Association officials and the officials of local Conservative Assoc. General Committees and ward representatives. Nevertheless men like Peter Watson, the Largs wine merchant and Italian warehouseman, were often officials of local Conservative Associations, especially after 1895 when six Scottish brewers and ten distillers joined the Liberty and Property Defence League.<sup>36</sup>

The League greatly influenced Trade propaganda. It convinced Scottish Traders that mass meetings such as that at St. James Hall London in 1884 and at the St. Andrews Halls in the 1890's in Glasgow were a reputable means of imparting the Trade's views to workingmen and to "citizens" or ratepayers. Leaflets by Bramwell and Wemyss and quotations from Mill were employed to reiterate Trade faith in moderation or "individual option", and free education, to highlight teetotal neglect of the club question and of shebeens responsible for far worse adulteration than the lowest public house attempted, (given increasing weights and measures controls), and to back appeals not only to all allied trades for support but to rate-

payers. The Trade felt that the latter group could not fail to be impressed by details of the rates paid by the Trade, and the sums lost through restriction, the amounts profitably invested in the Trade and exposure of the Irish Land Bill as the "germ" from which the prevailing unhealthy attitude to property had sprung, bringing "dynamite, detectives, and demoralisation."<sup>37</sup> If the ratepayer was not swayed by comparison of the drink question to the land question and its implications for property, references to the undemocratic nature of veto polling, the patronising attitude of reformers, the designs of thieves and armchair socialists, and the municipal extravagance of teetotal side-winds like the Municipal Buildings and Regulations Bill were also invoked. The 1898 Union Hotel Licence Case, in which Glasgow's Town Clerk Sir James Marwick's bizarre refusal to deliver a licence certificate awarded on appeal was taken to the Sheriff Court, was cited as an example of reformers' desire to make rather than administer law as a warning to apathetic Traders and the "possessing classes" alike.<sup>38</sup>

By the time of the Peel Commission a certain lethargy appeared to have overtaken the Trade. They regarded the Commission as biased (although it included 8 Trade representatives) and were unperturbed by failure to adequately present their case to it. Similarly their attitude to hours and licensing restriction was stoic. Although the Trade claimed to have been responsible for cutting Cameron's majority at Bridgeton in 1897, and were one factor in the Conservative vote in Western Scottish burgh seats over 1886-1900, the Trade attracted few Tory champions. Trade allies in 1905 included only Sir Lewis MacIver, the West Edinburgh Conservative M.P., Groves, Sir Charles Bine Renshaw, Shaw Stewart, and Sir G.P. Parker, and only Wemyss, Sir William Hart Dyke, and J.G. Butcher were prepared

to introduce private members' bills to protect Trade licences and secure compensation from a fund raised by annual levy of a percentage of the value of licensed premises and from liquor taxes. Pressure for the government to at least pass Hart Dyke's bill to guarantee existing public house licences till 1905 was entirely overshadowed by the tariff question. Even before 1906 the Trade looked to the law, to the Lords where they were assured of the support of Blyth et al., and to mutual insurance.<sup>39</sup>

Scottish Licences Mutual Insurance Association Ltd. was established in Glasgow in 1898 to insure Traders against loss of licence or withdrawal of licence in the event of any veto polls. This pioneering venture reflected the availability of brewers' loans on such security, the prominence of insurance in Glasgow and long-standing Trade connections with insurance via the 1870's Association secretary Smyth, an agent for the Glasgow and Govan Building Society who had operated a brokerage from the Wine Spirit and Beer Trade office and a successor who combined Trade work with agency for Scottish Imperial. Declining Trade Association receipts reflected retailer participation in the two schemes run largely by the Trade for the Trade, and channelling of producer funds towards the national organisations and party coffers in the years before the Licensing (Scotland) Act.<sup>40</sup>

The pace of Trade defence quickened after 1906. Montagu Baird the Glasgow maltster was instrumental in forming the Allied Brewery Traders' Association in London in 1907, in reaction to local veto and prevailing depression in brewing. The Brewer and Wine Merchant emphasised use of test questions in all municipal elections. Only the North of Scotland Malt Distillers' Association (1874) was

conspicuously lacking in solidarity in 1907 because of the intractable problem of matching supply and demand in an era when grain whisky production exceeded markets. Licensed Grocers, like most of the Trade unperturbed by the 1903 Licensing Act, were apprehensive of the form of temperance legislation which the many temperance societies would finally decide upon and feared that Public House Trusts might well be its beneficiaries - especially as municipal ownership had been debated by Glasgow Corporation in 1905.<sup>41</sup>

1909 threw the Trade into considerable disarray. Licensed grocers felt that the People's Budget, although defended in terms of the need for Old Age Pensions, had as a unifying theme "a vindictive attitude to the whole licensed trade" in retaliation for rejection of the 1908 Government Licensing Bill. Distillers like P.J. Mackie of Glasgow blamed the Budget on the Trade's lack of protest at past restrictions, and advocated coercive tactics rather than meek reliance on the Lords and the Irish Nationalists' ability to secure concessions, whilst John MacDonald President of the Scottish Licensed Trade Association "counselled leavers to be independent, not tags in the tail of party kites", and to exploit Liberal divisions, approaching Liberals hostile to the Budget liquor and licensing clauses. Lack of consensus on the form of electoral action the Scottish Trade should take was disastrous. In 1910 Argyllshire returned a Budgetist, the Elgin Unionist vote was meagre, and George Younger, the current Trade spokesman, had a reduced majority at Ayr Burghs. Although in 1912 some Traders attempted to form a True Temperance Association branch, most now regarded local option as inevitable and looked to Younger and ex-Provost Keith of Hamilton of the Scottish Association to gain amendments to the 1911 Finance Bill and to insist on a time limit for the Temperance



(Scotland) Act.<sup>42</sup>

The Trade response to the 'drink question' therefore reflected the great diversity of 'traders' included in this grouping, their varied interests and viewpoints. Contrary to Ensor's suggestion that public houses were "active committee rooms" for the Conservative Party over 1871-4, and that a Tory/Trade alliance brought down the Liberals "in a torrent of gin and beer" (Gladstone) it would seem that any such alliance was limited to certain areas in 1874.<sup>43</sup> Whilst some Palmerstonians did leave the Liberal Party in 1874 for the Conservative Party brewers like Bass, Buxton and Whitbread remained Liberal and Scottish brewers were particularly loth to move from traditional Liberalism to Conservatism, doing so after 1895 in many cases. This substantiates Hanham's general point that the Trade reacted on party lines only where the Trade was already markedly Conservative or temperance was very militant.

Trade strategy was evidently never as well thought out as that of the major temperance societies. Traders moved only belatedly from a 'better man' vote to selective voting. They shunned intemperate language and embarked on propaganda leaflets and meetings only in the 1880's and 1890's. Middle class leaders were shocked by the idea of abstentions, or of utilising Trade employees in street protests, and did not attempt either. They found it difficult to rally the different sectors of the Trade, and more difficult to maintain Trade indignation - a problem shared by teetotalers. Their work to preserve the status quo in licensing had an in-built lack of flamboyance, geared as it was to prevention of teetotal advances rather than promotion of alternative reforms. In a competitive business many could not spare time for Defence meetings, and Trade Associations complained in the 1890's that many

who accepted office neglected their duties. Some felt that Trade attempts to pursue devious strategies, toying with Conservatism yet maintaining lines of communication with traditional Liberals, had backfired.

In reality however the Trade's inability to do other than place a brake on temperance pressure group politics was symptomatic of the difficulty of defending the principles of "liberty and property" in an era of mass democracy, and of class hostility, reflected in criticism of Trade millionaires and of barmen's hours alike. Insistent socialist description of Commercialism and Collectivism as warring concepts, and simmering Liberal discontent with Gladstonian anti-imperialism, accelerated movement of a new gentry of industrialists and commerce in general into the Conservative Party in an era when its traditional base, the landed interest, was increasingly threatened by land reform, imported foodstuffs, and creation of County Councils. Second generation brewers and distillers, often university educated and keen to serve as J.P.'s, or humbler men keen to be members of the Parochial Board and Glasgow hospital managers, were part of this new gentry, and found themselves in alliance with the agricultural interest, as at many points in the Trade's past, and the propertied in general. They remained wary of local veto activists even in the 1930's but it gradually became apparent that 'Trade defence' although initially ill funded and cautious had survived the new class politics whereas temperance pressure group politics were moribund. In the long term, Trade reliance upon self regulation, especially publican probity, and a faith in human nature gleaned from participation in local football clubs and friendly societies, in addition to observations made in public houses, were rewarded in the 1920's veto polls - which held no shocks for the Trade.

Footnotes

The Trade's Response

1. I. Donnachie "A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland", Edinburgh, 1979, p. 163, M. Moss & J. Hume "The Making of Scotch Whisky: A History of the Scotch Whisky Distilling Industry", Edinburgh, 1981, Chapters I and II, pp. 31-72, N. Longmate (op cit) p. 9, R. Weir "The Distilling Industry in Scotland in the 19th and 20th Centuries", Edinburgh University unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1974, pp. 1, 15, 23, and on illicit distillation pp. 91, 95, 98, 101. Contemporary view of 1830's shebeening - P.P. 1834 (559) Vol. VIII Report of the Select Committee on Drunkenness, p. 177 QA 1624. See also I. Glen 'A Maker of Illicit Stills', Scottish Studies 14, 1970, T. Devine 'The Rise and Fall of Illicit Whisky Making in Northern Scotland 1780-1840' Scottish Historical Review, 54, 1975, pp. 155-77, I. Glen "The Scotch Whisky Industry 1939-61: An Economic Survey", Glasgow University unpublished B. Litt. thesis, 1961, p. 10 on the Glenlivet area, and Moss & Hume (op cit) Table VI, p. 224. On early 19th century trends - Moss & Hume (op cit) Chapter IV, pp. 73-99, and Weir (op cit) pp 118 and 146.
2. Moss & Hume (op cit) pp. 88-91 on early 19th century patterns of expansion, decline, and recovery, Weir (op cit) intro. P.P. 1834 (559) Vol. VIII Report of the Select Committee on Drunkenness, p. 177. In 1750 distilleries were few in number. Rapid development after 1822 featured a drop in price, from 7/- to 2/10d per gall. The 1832 duty increase levelled out this boom. Weir (op cit) pp. 153, 200-1, 156. On expansion and emergence modern distilling, Moss & Hume (op cit) Chapter V 'Victorian Heyday: 1858-99', pp. 100-132.
3. Definitions of difference between pot and patent distilling appear in I. Glen (op cit) pp 2-3, and Weir (op cit) pp 162-3 and 462. By 1880 there were 12 patent and 119 pot still distilleries in Scotland - Weir (401). On Stein and Coffey stills - Moss & Hume (op cit) pp 19, 25, 79-82, 96. On blenders - Glen (op cit) pp 15-16, Weir (op cit) p. 522. Moss & Hume (op cit) pp. 26, and 110-124. On distributive trade - Weir (op cit) pp. 405-6, 467, 474, and 467-70 on loans to publicans. Distilling tensions - Weir (op cit) Ch. VIII, 'The problems of Ascendancy - the Trade Associations and Distillers Co. 1856-77', p. 289, et seq., and Glen (op cit) pp. 28-38. On Trade Assocs. mentioned - Moss & Hume (op cit) pp. 110-111, 114, 104, 107, 136, 139, 152.
4. Weir (op cit) p. 475, J. Vaizey "The Brewing Industry 1886-1951: an Economic Study", London 1960, pp. 6-12, Donnachie (op cit) pp. 145, 153-5, 13, 193-5, 211-8, G.B. Wilson "Alcohol and the Nation", London, 1940, pp 81, 84-90. A. Sherwell & J. Rowntree "The Taxation of the Liquor Trade", London, 1901, p. 49, K. Hawkins & C. Pass "The Brewing Industry" London, 1979, pp. 3-5, 26-8, 34-6.

5. Donnachie (op cit) pp. 1-8, 20, 36, 117, 128, 145 on markets, pp. 125, 128, 155, 214-8, on Tennant, p. 173-4, on increasing popularity of beer pp. 3, 11-12, 113, 132, 187-9. On reaction to population growth, e.g. expansion of Glasgow's population from 275,000 in 1841 to 587,000 in 1881 - K. Hawkins & C. Pass "The Brewing Industry" London, 1979, p. 16. On tied houses - G.B. Wilson (op cit) pp. 84-90. The latter use B. Mitchell & P. Deane "Abstract of British Historical Facts", Cambridge U.P. 1962, to suggest U.K. real wages rose 37% 1850-76, money wages rising ahead of prices. Family firms - Donnachie (op cit) p. 63, see also company histories, e.g. Anon "J. & R. Tennent's Wellpark Brewery, Glasgow", Glasgow, 1966, D. Keir "The Younger Centuries", Edinburgh, 1951. On concentration - P. Payne 'The Emergence of the Large Scale Company in Gt. Britain 1870-1914', Economic History Review, XX, 1967, pp. 519-42. W.H. Marwick "Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland", Clifton reprint 1973, pp. 227-8, J. Boswell "The Rise and Decline of Small Firms", London, 1973, G.B. Wilson (op cit) p. 48, Cook & Keith (op cit) pp. 252-4. Guinness - P. Lynch & J. Vaizey "Guinness's Brewery in the Irish Economy 1758-1876", London, 1960, F. Mullaly "The Silver Salver: the Story of the Guinness Family", Granada, 1982, unfortunately is popular journalism with little on Edward Cecil Guinness, later Earl of Iveagh.
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7. 1834 Report of the Select Committee on Drunkenness (op cit) p. 193 (1711). G.B. Wilson (op cit) pp 178-9, Glasgow Post Office Directories 1870, pp. 604-8, where spirit dealers numbered only 40 of this 731, and p. 95 on the Early Closing Assoc. S.T.L.R. 1879, pp. 66-69, 'Royal Commission on Grocers' Licences', Rechabite Guardian Nov. 1877 p. 3, 'Illicit Sales', and Dec. 1877 p. 6 for Macdonald M.P.'s allegations of female drinking to the Royal Commission on Grocers Licences at Glasgow in 1877, and N. Longmate (op cit) p. 229. Glasgow Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Report (henceforth cited as Trade Report) 1873, p. 7, 1875, p. 9, 1878 p. 6, 1881 pp 6, 14, 1882, p. 10, 1884, p. 10. D. Dewar "The Liquor Laws of Scotland", Edinburgh, 1894, pp. 193-5, 198, 201 on e.g. Pirie V Cadenhead High Court 3.12.1881, Blaikie V Linton 8.6.81, Lennox V Ferguson 9.6.82, Haig V Procurator Fiscal of Edinburgh 21.11.83, Kay V Gemmel 13.11.84. On "van trade" - Trade Report, 1905, p. 17. On steps towards joint national defence - Trade Report 1893, p. 11, and 1895, p. 18. On the female crusade against grocers - S.T.L.R. 1891, p. 58, 1892, p. 9, 76 on Leng of Dundee's Bill for separation of the two strands of the grocery trade, on reintroduction of a simplified version of this 1893, p. 77, 1896 p. 83, 1897 p. 88, 1898 p. 86, 1900 p. 99, R.T.M. Aug. 1894 pp 171-2 and Sept. 1894 p. 196, S.P.B.T.A. 1907-8, pp 25, 31. On Leng - Dundee Yearbook 1906-8, pp. 52-69. V. Hartwich "Ale and A' Things: aspects of the Grocery and Licensed Trades in Dundee 1800-1950", Dundee Museums, 1981, p. 20

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  10. P. Mathias 'The Brewing Industry Temperance and Politics', Historical Journal, 1, 1958, 2, pp. 97-113.
  11. On Bruce and Bass - B. Crapster "Our Trade Our Politics - a Study of the Political Activity of the British Liquor Industry 1868-1910", Harvard University unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1949, pp 125-126.
  12. E. Barclay 'The Future of the Public House', 19th Century June, 1909, pp. 994-1004.
  13. Glasgow Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Reports 1877, p. 9, and 1878 p. 8, also on Gothenburg "patronage" and self-interest E. Wemyss "Socialism at St. Stephens 1869-85", London, 1885, pp. 10, 12, 16, 28-30, Sir F. Bramwell "State Monopoly or Private Enterprise", London, 1884, pp. 21-2.
  14. Crapster (op cit) pp. 129-131. On Prohibitionist use of J.S. Mill see Chapter V.
  15. Ross article in Wine and Spirit Trade Review 8.3.1908 p. 146, quoted by Crapster (op cit) pp 136-7. On the brewers' cry of "confiscation", see S.T.L.R. 1909, p. 91 note on Law Magazine and Review's April 1875 reaction to the nascent 'confiscation' debate.
  16. Crapster (op cit) p. 147.
  17. idem ibid pp. 215-23, Glasgow Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Association Report 1892 p. 22, 1893 pp 19-20, 1894 p. 13, 1896 p. 21.

18. Annual Reports of the Glasgow Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Association and the Glasgow Licensed Grocers' Association will henceforth be cited as Trade Reports and L.G.A. respectively.
19. Scottish Review (S.T.L.) 1858, pp. 67, 69, 76 on the 1850's ad hoc Scottish Licensed Victuallers' Defence Association which published 'tracts' against the Forbes Mackenzie Act in 1857. Trade Report 1864, pp. 4-5, 12, 15.
20. ibid, 1865, p. 1, 1872 p. 1.
21. ibid, 1865 p. 8 - interviewed were Dalglish, Ramsay, and Graham, 1870 pp 8, 14.
22. ibid, 1870, pp 1, 9, 13, 1872 pp 9, 15, 1873 p. 9.
23. ibid, 1873, p. 18.
24. ibid, 1874, pp 9, 11, 1875 pp 6-7, 16, 1875 p. 16, 1876 pp 9,15.
25. ibid, 1871 pp. 1, 5-7, I. Donnachie 'Sources of Capital and Capitalisation in the Scottish Brewing Industry', Economic History Review 1977, XXX, 2, pp. 269-83.  
Breach of certificate - Trade Report 1865, p. 4, 1870, p. 14, 1871 p. 8, 1872 p. 5, 1873 p. 6, 1874 p. 1, 1875 p. 17, 1878 p. 1, 1879 p. 13, 1880 p. 14. In 1871 e.g. there was only 1 serious contravention as far as the Association was concerned. In 1872 1 was guilty and 4 fined, in 1875 5 were fined. In 1878 the Association defended members in the Supreme Court in Edinburgh as well as the local police court, but only 1 case was lost. By 1880 7 of 1799 members were fined i.e. only 0.4%. Summary Prosecutions - Trade Report 1876 p. 9.  
Concessions - Trade Report 1870, p. 14.
26. Graham - Trade Report 1872, p. 14, on Islay distiller 1876 p. 11, 1870 p. 15 on 1870-1. Licensed Grocers' policies in 1870's - L.G.A. 1875 pp 1, 6-8, on deputations to London and circulars to M.P.s 1876 p. 4 on their focus on the Sale of Food and Drugs Bill, 1877 pp 6-7 on Anstruther's Bill, Publicans' Certificates, and the 1876 Licensing Bill, 1878 pp. 1-6 on their pressure for a Royal Commission on Licensing, 1879, p. 7 on organisation of witnesses for the latter, and 1880, pp 4, 6, 7, on scrutiny of the Royal Commission Report. Grocers' Association membership fell from 169 to 133 after initial Anstruther shock passed - L.G.A. 1876 p. 5, and although it was expected to "stir up" the Trade by the Sec. of the Provincial Licensed Victuallers Defence League of England, George Candelet, it evidently did so not for long. Child messengers - Trade Report 1871 p. 11, 1872 p. 6, weights and measures - 1865 p. 5, 1870 pp 9, 12, 1881 p. 11, "spy system" - 1872 p. 4, 1875 p. 18, 1876 pp 6, 12, 1877 p. 10, 1878 p. 16, temperance as a joke - 1874 p. 11, 1875 p. 13, 1879 p. 11. On hours - D. Dewar (op cit) p. 181 on the Macbeth V Ashley, House of Lords 17.4.1874 decision.

27. L.G.A. 1880, pp. 1-8, 1881 pp. 5-8, 1883 pp. 1-4, 1884 pp. 1-3. Trade Reports 1881, p. 17, 1882 p. 7, 1887 p. 9, 1888 p. 6 on transfers caused by railway or Improvement Trust activity. On traveller question - Dewar (op cit) pp. 188, 199, 205, on the Glasgow Bench, see Glasgow Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Association "Reminiscences of 1884" Glasgow, 1884, and on alterations Trade Report 1887 p. 7 on Cowcaddens.
28. Trade allies of 1870's included also Orr Ewing, J. Yeaman, Wm. Holms, and Sir Wm. Stirling Maxwell M.P.
29. On vote catching - Brewers' Guardian 24.12.1889, pp 397-8, 'The National Liberal Federation'. Trade Report 1880 p. 21 on Tennent, who in 1891 gave his address as Conservative Club, Renfield St., and 1885 p. 21, 1886 p. 18 and Provincial Licensed Victuallers' Defence League "The Case Against the U.K.A. and the Permissive Bill", London, 1872, pp 17, 21. On Corrupt Practices and Liberal hypocrisy - Trade Report 1881 p. 11, 1883 pp 10 and 18. Local press referred to here - Glasgow Evening Times, 20.3.1884, and 14.5.1884, Glasgow News 23.4.1884, Glasgow Herald 28.5.1884, and letter of 24.5.1884. On Dalrymple Stratten's Glasgow (op cit) p. 118. His brewery covered 3 acres of Glasgow's East End, and was established in 1860.
30. Trade Reports 1881 p. 12, 1883 p. 4, 1884 pp 3-4. N. Scldon 'Laissez faire as Dogma: The Liberty and Property Defence League', in K. Brown (ed.) "Essays in Anti-Labour History - responses to the Rise of Labour in Britain", London, 1974, pp. 208-33. Crapster (op cit) pp. 98, 107-8, 251. The Trade was thus organised in 19 Scottish towns - Scottish Association Executive Report 1884, pp. 25-27.
31. Wine and Spirit Trade Record 8.8.1910, p. 548, 'From Our Glasgow Correspondent'.
32. Wm. McEwan quoted from W. Wallace 'The Political Transformation of Scotland', National Review, Jan. 1901 p. 738. On Younger - Crapster (op cit) p. 255. Irish Question's importance discussed in 'The Scotch Vote', Wine and Spirit Trade Review 8.2.1910, p. 68, and a central theme of J. McCaffrey 'The Irish Vote in Glasgow in the later 19th Century', Innes Review, 1970, pp. 30-6, idem "Political Reactions" in the Glasgow Constituencies at the General Elections of 1885 and 1886", Glasgow University unpublished Ph.D. thesis 1971, I. Wood 'John Wheatley, The Irish, and the Labour Movement in Scotland', Innes Review, 29, 1978, pp. 74, 77. J. Handley "The Irish in Modern Scotland" Cork, 1947, pp. 269-294, remains a highly readable account of Irish 'political activities' in Scotland. Crapster (op cit) p. 255.
33. L.G.A. 1893 pp 1, 4-8, 1894<sup>pp</sup> 4-8, 11. On numerical strength - 1890 p. 6 and 1895 p. 5. From 1892 Glasgow paid a £20 p.a. levy to Scottish Licensed Grocers' Defence Assoc. - ibid 1894, p. 9. Guinness interest - ibid 1898, p. 14. The Glasgow Trade Association treasurers at the turn of the century for example were Wm. Hillcoat (brewer) and Wm. Teacher (distiller).

34. Crapster (op cit) pp 298, 302, Soldon (op cit) p. 209.
35. Soldon (op cit) pp 212, 227, Crapster (op cit) pp 258, p. 3, and Appendix D p. 433 'Trade M.P.'s and Would Be M.P.'s where Liberal Unionists 1886-1900 were never more than 1 or 2 of a total of 28 in 1886 or 45 in 1906. T. Spinner 'G.J. Goschen: the Man Lord Randolph Churchill "Forgot"', Journal of Modern History p. 414. 39, Dec. 1967.
36. M. Hurst 'Joseph Chamberlain, the Conservatives and the Succession to Bright 1886-9', Historical Journal, VII, 1964, pp. 64-93, especially 86-7, Crapster (op cit) pp. 262-3, 433, 235, P. Thomson "Socialists, Liberals and Labour: the Struggle for London 1885-1914", London, 1967, p. 79 on 1880's Victuallers' tactics, and Chapter VIII 'The Liberal Revival and After', pp. 166-189. The Victuallers overlapped with the later London Municipal Society - K. Young "Local Politics and the Rise of Party - the London Municipal Society and the Conservative Intervention in Local Elections 1894-1963" Leicester U.P., 1975. Comparison of Conservative Association Committee Lists and Glasgow Trade Reports for the sample years 1877, 1879, and 1884, simply reveal how tenuous the Tory/Trade 'alliance' was in the West of Scotland before the 1890's. Stratten's Glasgow and its Environs (op cit) pp 241-2 on Watson, and S. Salvidge "Salvidge of Liverpool", London, 1934. Crapster (op cit) p. 213.
37. On Clubs - Brewers' Guardian 24.2.1885, 'A.L. Bruce on the Licensing Question', and Chapter VIII. Trade Report 1884, p. 3, 1885 pp 12-13, 20, 1893 p. 17 on appeal to all allied trades, use of Mill 1896 p. 51, emphasis on shebeens, 1893 p. 20, and on adulteration, 1890 p. 18, 1891 p. 6, 1898 p. 108, on weights and measures controls, I. Leavitt and C. Smout 'Some Weights and Measures in Scotland in 1843', Scottish Historical Review, 56, 1977, pp. 146, 152, where it is explained that standard measures had at first applied only to oatmeal, potatoes and coals. Drink measure standardisation was implemented only by the Adulteration of Food and Liquor Acts 1875, 38 & 39 Vict. cap. 63, 1879 42 & 43 Vict. cap. 30, 1885 48 & 49 Vict. cap. 41 - Trade Report 1895, p. 108. On the extent of shebeening - ibid 1893 p. 20. On St. Andrews Halls meetings - ibid 1894 p. 11. For appeals to ratepayers - 1892 p. 16, 1898 p. 15, 1895 p. 105. Wemyss (op cit) pp. 16, 29. For comparison of the drink question to the Irish and Land questions - Trade Report 1884, p. 7, and 1885 p. 38.
38. Union Hotel Case - The Victualling Trades Review 1899, p. 353, G.B. Wilson (op cit) 'Liquor Trade Propaganda' pp 268-9.
39. On Peel - Trade Reports 1900 p. 27 and 1901 pp 20, 25, on hours 1893 p. 16, 1895 p. 29, 1903 p. 20, on Bridgeton election 1897 p. 16, and on Glasgow organisation in the 90's, 1894 p. 15. W. Wallace 'The Political Transformation of Scotland', National Review, Jan. 1901 pp. 735-744 noted Conservative victories in Bridgeton and Blackfriars where the Trade was well organised.



40. Cockerell & Green (op cit) p. 110. The company account records for 1899-1965, Board Minutes for 1899-1964, claims register 1927-66, investment register 1919-66, policy registers 1913-64 and business results 1890-1965 and lodged with Mr. Milne, Addiewell, 116 Hope St., Glasgow. The firm finally closed in 1976, at the reorganisation of Scottish licensing. See Trade Report 1875 adverts. A Local Veto Protection Co. was also estd. in 1914 - Trade Report 1914, pp. 15, 28, 40.
41. Brewers' Journal, Mar. 15, 1907 pp. 126-7, Brewer and Wine Merchant Nov. 1907 p. 444, ibid Dec. 1907 pp. 492-494 and R. Weir "A History of the Malt Distillers Association of Scotland", Elgin, p.p. 1975. Grocers on 1903 Act - L.G.A. 1905 p. 1 (the Act commenced 1.1.1904), on temperance indecision on compensation, 1907 p. 5, on trusts pp. 2-4. Glasgow Corporation 1905 debate - Trade Report 1905 p. 29 and Glasgow Herald 15.8.1905.
42. L.G.A. 1910, p. 4, Brewer and Wine Merchant, Nov. 1909 p. 450, Brewer and Wine Merchant, July 1910 p. 285, 'A Scotsman's Advice to Scotland', Wine and Spirit Trade Record 8.2.1910 p. 68, 'The Scotch Vote' by D.S. (probably David Sneddon, the Glasgow Trade Association figure).
43. R.C.K. Ensor "England 1870-1914" London 1936 pp. 21-2, challenged by H. Hanham "Elections and Party Management: Politics at the time of Disraeli and Gladstone", London, 1959 pp. 223-7, J. Kellas "Modern Scotland: the Nation Since 1870", London, 1968, pp 188-9, G. Kitson Clark "The Making of Victorian England", London, 1962, Methuen reprint 1965, pp. 241-2, 258, 305, on the "new gentry". On barmen's hours - Glasgow Herald letter of 28.1.1903 and Trade Report 1903 p. 34. Trade participation in respectable recreation - see Victualling Trades' Review 1899 p. 352-3 on John Adams, Gardener, Freemason, cyclist, and assistant secretary of Clyde F.C., and on the Trade and the Parochial Board and management of Glasgow hospitals, R. Gaffney, (op cit) Appendix B and D p. 374.

CHAPTER 8

THE "DRINK QUESTION'S" IMPACT ON SOCIETY

Chapter VIII - Drink in Society.

Temperance pioneers like Dunlop and Collins predicted that a general assault on the drinking usages of Scotland would affect the entire fabric of society. Later reformers tended to gauge support in terms of the views of two professions in particular, the medical profession and the clergy, and their changing attitudes to the drink question. Women and children were frequently depicted as victims of the drink traffic, yet reformers clearly did not always see where such arguments might lead. Their image of the working man moreover was often distorted.

Doctors

"The Best Medicine"

Take the open air -  
The more you take the better  
Follow nature's laws  
To the very letter

Let the doctors go  
To the Bay of Biscay  
Let alone the gin  
The Brandy and the Whisky - Good Templar 1870, p. 180.

"Let there be no mistake about the voice of medical practitioners or authorities in this matter. It is on the side of Temperance - all else is risky" - Lancet.

(W. Edwards, op cit, 1907, p. 137)

The early 19th century temperance movement set out to win the approval of the clergy and especially the medical profession. In the latter instance they were confronted with an almost universal medical opinion that 'moderate' use of alcohol was conducive to health and longevity, and promotion of alcohol as therapy in treatment of sthenic and asthenic disease by the followers of Dr. John Brown

(1735-88). Multi-purpose cures consisting of brandy and port wine were common, especially in cases where patients were thought to require 'stimulation'. Dr. Grindrod of Manchester found that few colleagues signed the pledge with him in 1837, and Scottish medical students of that era were quick to bait Hope because of his teetotalism.<sup>1</sup>

Increased medical interest in alcohol abuse dated from the 18th century, and was influenced by Enlightenment interest in public health, and advances in nerve physiology. In the early decades of the 19th century some physicians began to consider alcoholism a disease, coining the terms dipsomania and alcoholism. Psychiatrists contributed "only modestly" (Bynum) to the concept of chronic alcoholism. Physicians were more thorough in study of alcoholism; and tended to cooperate far more with social reformers on the question. Notable monographs on the subject which prepared the ground for temperance pioneers were produced by Benjamin Rush (1745-1813), the Quaker J.C. Lettsom (1744-1815), Fothergill (1735-1813) and Thomas Trotter (1760-1832), who chose it as an Edinburgh University thesis subject in 1788 and was first to type drunkenness as a disease in 1804. Erasmus Darwin even described drunkenness briefly in "Zoonomia" (1794-6). Of these Trotter's study was most popular with the mid-Victorian temperance movement, not because of its emphasis on disease rather than crime but through its advocacy of total abstinence as the treatment goal for alcoholics. A great many early discussions of the 'medical aspect of the temperance question' were written by laymen to provide the movement with scientific authority and, from the physician's point of view, tended to digress too often to Bible temperance or arid debates on alcohol's lack of food value. Robert MacNish's "The Anatomy of Drunkenness"

(1834), Revd. W.R. Baker's "The Curse of Britain" (1838) and Basil Montagu Q.C.'s "Enquiries into the Effects of Fermented Liquors" (1814), emphasising total abstinence's compatibility with hard work, were typical of this genre. Total abstainers' proscription of drink prompted attacks on continued prescription of alcohol as a painkiller, a tonic, a cure for indigestion and gout, and protection against contraction of many diseases. Had not Bright, Bradlaugh and Thomas Cooper broken their pledges on medical advice? Doctors were thought knaves or fools in the Trade's great conspiracy to encourage drunkenness.

Reformers like Baker and Lees linked drinking with susceptibility to cholera, although the conventional wisdom was that alcohol was a far safer beverage than either water or milk in the early 19th century, and was less expensive than milk. Temperance reformers, like homeopaths, sought more 'natural' medicines partly in reaction to the excessive therapeutic measures of the 18th century, symbolised in the 20th century mind by leeches and blood letting. Reformers like Cruikshank (1792-1878), who drew cholera warnings illustrated with "microcosms", shared popular fascination with epidemics. Dr. Snow (1813-58) the anaesthetist who first researched cholera's connection with contaminated water was an abstainer associated with Band of Hope work. As many historians have emphasised, epidemics were powerful stimuli to the development of hospital provision and the evolution of public health administration. Following a series of epidemics in 1871 and a press campaign of criticism led by the North British Daily Mail for example the Glasgow Police Board was forced to reorganise the public health system under its control. Often the connection which the League Adviser and reformers like Lees and Baker made between drink

and cholera was a propaganda shock tactic, capitalising on the hovering uncertainty surrounding life expectancy which was a feature of even affluent Victorian family life. Later reformers similarly stressed drink induced tuberculosis.<sup>2</sup>

In general whilst valuable work on the physiological effect of alcohol was done by Dr. Brodie, Dr. William Carpenter, and the American William Beaumont, temperance reformers rarely explored beyond moral failings and social effects into physical and psychological causes of alcoholism. Their appreciation of hereditary factors for example was clouded by moralising. Consequently "Victorians often failed to distinguish between alcoholism, drinking and drunkenness" (Harrison). Bynum seems to suggest that reformers forestalled serious medical study of chronic alcoholism till the late 19th century. Early pioneers of such work were instead German and Swedish. Teetotal inability to finance adequate medical research, through extensive prior commitments to charities, ought however to be borne in mind here. Many reformers were already managers of local infirmaries and were engrossed in this work.<sup>3</sup>

From the 1830's onwards temperance societies sent doctors temperance literature in the hope of converting them to non-alcoholic treatment. A 'Medical Manifesto' with 79 signatories appeared in 1839. Dunlop attempted to gather medical signatures in the 1840's. This work did not however have the support of more flamboyant temperance reformers, nor of those who simply despised doctors, much as social purity reformers and anti-vaccinators often did. "In the medical as in the religious world the early teetotalers challenged professional expertise" (Harrison). Together with the anti tobacco movement, homeopaths like the Houldsworths, Dr. John Drysdale, editor of the British Journal of Homeopathy and author of "The Longevity

of Abstainers", hydropathicists like Dr. John Balbernie, Dr. Greer, Monteith and Metcalfe, vegetarians and food reformers like Davie of the S.P.B.T.A. and Dr. & Mrs. T.L. Nichols and the Glasgow Dietic Reform Society regarded doctors as fallible fuddy-duddies. Radical Rechabites also stressed their exploitation of the sick.

They sought a democratisation of medicine free from superstition, yet ironically placed inordinate trust in the 'gospel of health' which they evolved. This gospel was influenced in the case of the Nichols at least, by the work of vegetarian and animal welfare reformers like Thomas Ignatius and Maria Forster, the health and model community interests of Robert Monteith, T. Chisholm Anstey's emphasis on decentralised government, and Mary Howitt's promotion of women's rights, and in turn in its related communal experiments influenced the guild socialism of G.K. Chesterton. In general the influence of the phrenologist Combe's notion of physical health's reflection of spiritual health, and of Sylvester Graham's insistence that anything which impaired the nervous system also impaired "moral sense", were extremely important to this health movement's emphasis on 'natural laws', 'sympathies', and need to draw up personal health plans - like savings plans. Doctors were bemused by the number of health journals like Nichols' short lived Journal of Sanitary and Social Science encouraged by this movement, not to mention the boom in 'health foods', demand for Allinson's bread, Bermaline Bread, corn flour concoctions, and health gadgetry such as the Verel Brothers' 'Hydro' portable folding bath cabinets, and only slightly less cumbersome magnetic appliances. "Medicated wines", patent cures promoted by M.F. Thomson Glasgow's Homeopathic Chemist, and the pretensions of the phrenologist Coates, who charged between 2/6d and 1 guinea per 'examination', however irritated those who sought to

wrest medicine from the realms of folk medicine far more than the rebukes of teetotalers like Kettle.<sup>4</sup>

Teetotal doctors also faced social ostracism and financial sacrifice, which explains why rural doctors became associated with temperance societies far earlier than urban colleagues with clientele of higher social standing. Harrison found nine doctors amongst his sample of prominent teetotalers of 1833-72, and Dr. Daniel Richmond of Paisley (1811-85) was a co-worker with Dr. J.B. Kirk and James MacNair in the early temperance movement who established the pioneering Paisley Youth's Total Abstinence Society (1830). A Temperance Lancet launched in 1841 lasted only a few months. In 1854 2,000 doctors including Sir Astly Cooper, Sir B. Brodie and Sir James Clarke were induced to sign a certificate suggesting that total abstinence would be conducive to health, prosperity, morality and happiness Edinburgh Review noted. Doctors however were not quick to join the movement, perhaps because publicisation of the findings of Liebig and French researchers on the body's inability to convert alcohol into useful energy in works like Scottish Review was still overshadowed by popular obsession with the drinker's reputed risk of experiencing spontaneous combustion, and patients' demand that their medical servants cater for the individual's needs.<sup>5</sup>

Occasional temperance lectures given to Glasgow and Edinburgh University students in the 1850's by Drs. Gregory, Kerr, and McCulloch bore fruit in 1853 formation of the Glasgow University Abstinence Society. Metropolitan doctors however remained unimpressed by Professor Miller of Edinburgh's calls for organised investigation of alcohol. Only 15 accepted his invitation to meet him to discuss this in 1862, and although a committee was formed no report ensued. By 1869 however there was sufficient retreat from



Dr. Todd's "deluge administration of alcohol" (Kelyack, 1916) to permit pressure on the B.M.A. via annual 'Breakfasts' arranged by Robert Rae of N.T.L., editor of the Medical Temperance Journal and erstwhile editor of Commonwealth, from 1869 onwards. The Medical Temperance Journal, published quarterly from 1869-92, was aimed directly at doctors. It paved the way for Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons participation in an 1871 "Medical Declaration" on therapy, and for formation of a very small B.M.A. temperance pressure group, the British Medical Temperance Association (B.M.T.A.) in 1876. In 1879 it had 94 members.

The B.M.T.A.'s first president was Dr. James Edmunds, a pioneer of institutional non-alcoholic treatment and an 1862 convert to teetotalism of an English teetotal saddler. By 1880 it had only 235 U.K. members, mainly temperance veterans like the Congregationalist Dr. Ridge, son of a doctor and health food manufacturer who became Mayor of Gravesend and the founder of Enfield Cottage Hospital, Daniel Richmond, McCulloch, and James Gilchrist of the Crichton Royal Institution Dumfries (1813-86), and Norman Kerr (1834-99), founder of the Glasgow University Abstinence Society and an early member and official of U.K.A. It had nevertheless been important in organising a Lancet Medical Declaration against grocers' licences signed by 920 physicians and surgeons, 27 in London and 638 in the rest of the U.K. B.M.T.A. work was promoted via Ridge's Medical Temperance Review, Quarterly Medical Temperance Journal, later Medical Pioneer, and British Journal of Inebriety, and gradually gained coverage in Lancet and British Medical Journal. Yet although Dr. Alfred Carpenter, President of the B.M.A. Council moved towards the teetotal view of alcohol as poison in 1878 most doctors required greater exposure to teetotal pressure via B.M.A. and Social

Science Congresses. A hopeful sign however was gradual disappearance of heavy drinking at B.M.A. annual dinners after 1880.<sup>6</sup>

Alteration of general treatment patterns and reform of the treatment of alcoholics were influenced by the work of Drs. Edmunds, Dalrymple and Kerr. Edmunds was associated with the 1873 London Temperance Hospital. It admitted abstainers and non-abstainers alike and attempted to treat all without recourse to alcohol, and had as its President the Duke of Westminster. By 1883 its records seemed to suggest that absence of alcohol in no way impeded recovery. Convalescent typhoid cases especially appeared to benefit from its policy. In 1890 however it was still viewed with some suspicion by the public, and had 120 empty beds through "deficiency of funds". Dr. Benjamin Ward Richardson (1828-96) its new physician in 1893 however was unswayed by a lady philanthropist's gift of her cellar to the hospital. 1888-98 in patients rose from 196 to 608 and a children's ward was opened in 1894. Its 6.3% mortality rate was superior to many London hospitals. By 1897 its example was evident in St. Thomas Hospital's current minimal use of alcohol compared with use of 5,699 gallons of beer in 1877. Funds were the hospital's main problem. Although Frank Wright of the non-alcoholic wine firm of that name donated money for an "Aseptic Ward" it was £4,000 overspent in 1899. £10,000 p.a. was needed. The hospital however looked forward optimistically to having its own school of medicine. Its work was an important influence on medical officers of infirmaries, workhouses, and Poor Law Districts, who also pared down the use of alcohol.<sup>7</sup>

Dr. Donald Dalrymple (1814-73) in contrast focussed on the problem of treating habitual drunkards. Only in the 1860's and 1870's did American example convince Victorians of the need for

inebriates asylums, although individual doctors like R.K. Greville of Murrayfield, Edinburgh, Chairman of the Queensbury House of Refuge for the Destitute near Holyrood Palace pressed for "something to be done for this wretched class of persons whilst in the early stages of the disease and whilst sufficiently conscious of their danger to be ready to submit to any remedy."<sup>8</sup>

Important in drawing attention to dipsomania were not only government returns on habitual drunkenness charges but also the statistics produced on lunacy. 'Intemperance and Insanity' featured in Logan's "Moral Statistics", in the 1850's the Adviser stressed this connection to its young readers, and "Intemperance and Insanity" by Dr. Browne (1805-85) of the Crichton Royal Institution Dumfries was a League Social Reform Tract. Reformers like Shaftesbury felt that drink was the greatest single cause of insanity yet sought to have a clear distinction made between habitual drunkards and lunatics per se. Awareness of the lunatic section of the population was heightened after 1845 by payment of rates and especially after the formation of the General Board of Lunacy for Scotland in 1858. Social reform interest had been quickened by prison reform precedents, the philanthropy of Robert MacNair, James Murray, Mrs. Crichton, and Susan Carnegie, Shaftesbury's 1840's pressure for inspection and regulation of asylums, and the 1855 visit to Scotland of the American reformer Dorothea Dix. Whereas asylum provision had been neglected in favour of infirmary provision in the 18th century, alcoholics were now overlooked by hospital charities and appeared equally in need of the 'moral' treatment which Duncan and Morison had applied to the insane. In addition, whilst the first figures available on the number of lunatics in Scotland provided excellent ammunition in defence of the Forbes Mackenzie Act, subsequent cost of provision for

the pauper poor fed the arguments of the ratepayer-temperance element. Some of the latter were intent on connecting allegedly escalating levels of popular insanity with the Irish immigrant. Just as they ignored the flaws of criminal statistics in evaluation of drink and crime, temperance reformers ignored physicians' fads in diagnosis in determination to link drink and lunacy. This was evident even in John Burns' "Labour and Drink" (1904) where he alleged that over 1858-1903 the Scottish population had increased by 52% and lunacy by 120%, using figures from Dr. Clouston (1840-1915), superintendent of the Edinburgh Asylum, a lecturer in Mental Diseases at Edinburgh University, and an oft quoted spokesman of 'medical temperance'. Turn of the century obsession with 'deterioration' merely accentuated this.<sup>9</sup>

The difficulties surrounding detention of habitual drunkards for treatment, for example lack of statutory powers and risk of prosecution for false imprisonment, were highlighted by Dalrymple, a former asylum proprietor and Liberal M.P. for Bath who had visited American asylums. American provision for inebriates had commenced in 1857 with the state-aided New York State Asylum. In 1870 he introduced a private bill to provide legal recognition and institutional provision for habitual drunkards. He envisaged a system of licensed retreats and public funded retreats. Popular concern at the numbers of arrests for drunkenness and mortality figures however was overshadowed by the difficulty of deciding at what point drunkards became dangerous to themselves or others, and general concern for personal rights reminiscent of Wilkie Collins' "Armadale" and "The Woman in White".

A Select Committee considered the question in 1872, examining witnesses from the medical profession, the police, prison

service, Lunacy Commissioners and temperance societies. The League wished its case presented by Professor Dr. Gardiner of Glasgow, Dr. Macintosh of Gartnavel, Dr. Fairless of Bothwell, and Dr. Gilchrist. The Committee concluded that American, French, Dutch and Swedish experience suggested cures were possible in 33-40% of cases, and that new legislation should tighten and clarify. Committal of criminal and non criminal alcoholics for definite statutory periods was agreed upon. Supervision, possibly by Quarter Sessions magistrates, evoked less consensus. It was assumed however that state assistance would follow voluntary work, as in America. Although Dalrymple's Bill had the support of the temperance movement and the Social Science Congress it was frustrated by Liberals and Conservatives alike much to the satisfaction of the Vigilance Association for the Defence of Personal Rights.<sup>10</sup>

After Dalrymple's death a B.M.A. committee in alliance with clergymen and philanthropists like Shaftesbury unsuccessfully approached the Home Secretary Cross for action and formed the Society for Promoting Legislation for the Control and Cure of Habitual Drunkards under Dr. Norman Kerr (1834-99), a former Allan Line (Canada) ship's doctor and St. Marylebone M.O.H., Dr. Alfred Carpenter (1825-92) a London sanitary and temperance reformer and later Liberal M.P., and Shaftesbury. Dr. Charles Cameron introduced a bill drafted by them to provide for one year detention of voluntary and criminal drunkards alike, and to give magistrates power to commit frequent offenders. It was later withdrawn following opposition from doctors who objected to control of reformatories by the prison inspectorate. An amended bill was passed in 1879. This Habitual Drunkards' Act stressed protection of the drunkards' rights and his ability to pay for treatment. The problem of the destitute drunkard

was unresolved. The Act was permissive, and the Home Secretary and Treasury were in no hurry to appoint an inspector. The temporary nature of the Act also discouraged investment in the building of retreats.

The initiative popularising such retreats and pressing for efficient regulation was shifted to temperance reformers like Kerr. Their answer was to operate the Dalrymple Home (1880) as a 'model retreat', and to form the Society for the Study and Cure of Inebriety (1884) to publicise their work within the medical profession and to campaign for legislation. In 1888 the Home Secretary successfully sponsored a bill drafted by this group, whilst a bill to introduce similar legislation for Scotland, Morton's Restorative Homes (Scotland) Bill was introduced in 1889.<sup>11</sup> On Kerr's prompting a Parliamentary Inquiry considered the question in 1889-90, and pressure throughout the 1890's for more efficient treatment of inebriates from the Quaker Dr. Batty Tuke and a Homes for Inebriates Association, comprising the well known social reformers Canons Duckworth and Barker, Sir William Chorley and Lady Henry Somerset of B.W.T.A., bore fruit in the introduction of a Bill in the Lords by Herschell. Further progress was prevented by Salisbury's defence of personal freedom, in which he deftly turned Permissive Billers' criticisms of J.P. powers against them.

Publicisation of Salvation Army initiatives in this sphere, involving a street ambulance patrol to pick up the neglected pauper drunkards and notorious offenders, together with European example, led to introduction of a government bill in 1897. Although opposed by Wemyss, and less predictably by the counter attractionist Shadwell, it passed in 1898 with amendments pertaining to the inebriate's rights and government liability only for costs of criminal

inebriates.<sup>12</sup>

Glasgow reformers, via a Committee on the Inebriates Acts which included Lord Provost Chisholm, W.F. Anderson, Battersby, Archibald Campbell, James Dick, James Steele and "Holy Joe" Maclay took advantage of the new legislation to establish in 1901 the Girgenti Reformatory in Ayrshire in a country mansion house and estate previously used by Dr. Cossar's Canadian emigration scheme for boys. This venture was very much influenced by Chisholm and Stevenson's interest in German and Dutch 'Home Labour' or 'workmen's colonies' as a means towards coping with the rising tide of unemployment. Chisholm for example was Chairman of the Scottish Labour Colony whilst Stevenson wrote on the subject in 1892 and subsequently gave evidence on labour colonies to official enquiries.

Moral reform, hard manual labour, small financial incentives and sensible diet were Girgenti's keynotes. Although the institution had a medical officer, the inebriates were under the care of a virtual farm manager and his wife. This did not bode well for cure of Glaswegian female inebriates unaccustomed to rural life. Under the terms of Section III of the 1898 Act the Managers were allowed to decide upon the type of inebriate they would admit and insistence upon honest, moral inebriates from the Glasgow area severely restricted Girgenti's catchment. The Managers, who had switched from original plans for a mixed sex home with morality in mind, were appalled to discover that habitual offenders were invariably prostitutes. They underestimated the difficulty of controlling these women, as frequent escapes reflected. Above all they had overestimated the projected cure rate. Initial faith in the efficacy of detention, boosted by Dalrymple Home reports and the passage of the Act, gave way to awareness that the inebriate's will was all important. Various

quick cures such as the Hagey Cure and D'Arsonval electric shock treatment were promoted. In particular mesmerism appeared a cheaper and more efficient alternative for curing alcoholics, whilst Lady Henry Somerset and prohibitionists stressed the "signal failure of many of the relatively small number of retreats by 1904."<sup>13</sup> Those sent to reformatories compulsorily were usually too advanced in their alcoholism to be treated successfully. Girgenti was cast down by the failure of new drug treatments. The findings of a 1908 Departmental Committee on reformatories intensified pressure on the government to amend the Inebriates Act to make it easier to treat less persistent offenders, but Treasury reductions of grants to local authorities also antagonised collectivists and the ratepayer interest alike and hastened the demise of not only Glasgow's Girgenti but also the L.C.C.'s Farmfield colony for inebriates - leaving this work largely in the hands of the Salvation Army.

A mere 10,000 entered British retreats during 1897-1912, and the question was soon overshadowed by the Liberal reforms and war. The debate which it created however, featuring champions of the 'nature' and 'nurture' schools of causation and new international congresses on alcoholism, greatly increased the numbers of doctors willing to be associated with the temperance movement. The number associated with the League rose from 43 to 107 between 1879 and 1915, while membership of the B.M.T.A. rose from 346 in 1886 to 420 in 1891, possibly in reaction to a B.M.A. study on longevity in 1887, and peaked at 530 in 1892. Scottish doctors accounted for 62% of new members in 1898. By 1901 the B.M.T.A. had 486 members, and 515 associates, in all 1,001, while Dr. Ridge estimated that another 1,000 doctors were also non affiliated abstainers. A national branch system evolved.<sup>14</sup>



Medical Men Connected with the Scottish Temperance League

Year	Total	Year	Total
1879	43	1897	92
1880	45	1898	92
1881	48	1899	96
1882	51	1900	92
1883	54	1901	94
1884	52	1902	95
1885	50	1903	94
1886	55	1904	92
1887	60	1905	93
1888	60	1906	88
1889	61	1907	90
1890	62	1908	91
1891	67	1909	87
1892	68	1910	102
1893	72	1911	106
1894	81	1914	105
1895	84	1915	107
1896	85		

Source: Scottish Temperance League Register and Abstainers' Almanac, 1879-1915.

In the years when the temperance movement's clerical spokesmen had increasingly less impact on the great bulk of the population a new wave of respected medical spokesmen followed in Dr. Benjamin Ward Richardson's footsteps. They included men of local importance like Neil Carmichael, a G.P. & Vaccinator in Glasgow Public Health Dept., Drs. John Garey of Crosshill and Andrew Ritchie of Pollockshields, both G.P.s and suburban temperance politicians, eminent physiologists like Snodgrass, the Free Kirker Harry Rainy, Buchanan, a friend of Caird, John Gray McKendrick, President of Glasgow Philosophical Society and of the Scottish branch of the B.M.T.A. and Noel Paton, N. Morris and R.C. Garry, all of Glasgow University as well as Dr. Carpenter, a connection bred of evangelicism and sustained by later "efficiency" arguments, pathologists like James Coats a member of the Paisley thread manufacturers' family, mental health specialists like Clouston and Gilchrist for whom proscription of drink was part of the increasing professionalisation of psychiatric nursing, of modern humane treatments and a reaction against head shaving, purging, and restraints, gynaecologists like Russel Simpson, Murdoch Cameron and William Reid (1845-1931) a President of the Glasgow Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons who was in fact a noted prohibitionist, Vice President of the Prohibition Party and a B.M.T.A. President, pharmacologists like Wilson editor of the Journal of Pharmacology for many years, Sir William Gull, Dr. Andrew Clark, physician to the Queen, and the eminent surgeon Sir Victor Horsley, as well as environmental health experts like Gairdner and humble medical missionaries, many of whom like Paton professed to be total abstainers. In this period at least temperance and the emerging medical profession were mutually reinforcing - as the career of Dr. T.J. Honeyman M.B. Ch.B. F.R.F.P.S.G., Good

Templar and Glasgow University Rector, reflected.<sup>15</sup>

Footnotes: Doctors.

1. G.B. Wilson (op cit) 'The Change in Medical Opinion and Practice', p. 261, W. Bynum 'Chronic Alcoholism in the first half of the 19th Century', Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 42, 1968, pp. 160-1, N. Longmate (op cit) 'Prescribing Poison', p. 172, D. Jamie "John Hope Philanthropist and Reformer" Edinburgh, 1907, B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians" London 1971 pp. 20-2, 92, 274, 366, 371, 407.
2. W. Bynum (op cit) pp. 162-8, B. Harrison (supra) on cholera pp. 37-8, 124, 201, 229, 299, Longmate (op cit) pp 173-4, F. Smith "The Jubilee of the Band of Hope" London, 1897, p. 268, and P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century" Vol. II, p. 452. A S.T.L. tract of 1850 for example was entitled "Anti Cholera". See W. Logan "The Moral Statistics of Glasgow" Glasgow, 1849, pp. 9-14. Several studies make this basic point - e.g. the eminently readable N. Longmate "King Cholera: the biography of a Disease", London, 1966, the more scholarly M. Duney "The First Spasmodic Cholera Epidemic in York 1832", York, 1974, R. Morris "Cholera 1832: the social response to an epidemic", London, 1976 and M. Pelling "Cholera, Fever and English Medicine", Oxford, 1978, and the following research, R. Gaffney (op cit) C. Pennington "Mortality, Public Health and Medical Improvements in Glasgow 1855-1911", Stirling University unpublished Ph.D. 1977, S. Blackden "The Development of Public Health Administration in Glasgow 1842-72", Edinburgh University unpublished Ph.D. 1976, and H. MacDonald "Public Health Legislation and Problems in Victorian Edinburgh, with special reference to Dr. Littlejohn as Medical Officer of Health", Edinburgh University unpublished Ph.D. 1971. Adviser Mar. 1851 p. 38 'Cholera and Intemperance' On family bereavements see the M.E. Fox "Memoir of Mary Pease" n.d. for an indication of even an affluent Quaker family's frequent sudden deaths, and Alice Lady Fairfax-Lucy (ed.) "Mistress of Charlecote: the Memoirs of Mary Elizabeth Lucy", Gollancz London 1983, and 'Dr. James M. McCulloch', reprinted from Edinburgh Medical Journal Aug. 1888, p. 2.
3. Harrison (op cit) pp. 21-2, 371, Bynum (op cit) pp. 169-70. The Corbetts' interests have been mentioned earlier. Hospital managers included Clark, McKean, Cochran, McFarlane and Polson of Paisley Eye Infirmary according to Glasgow Herald 19.6.1888. The following served on the Western Infirmary Board - James Hamilton (1881-8), John Wilson M.P. (1888-91) - see R. Gaffney (op cit) Appendix. Successful pressure group politicians invariably served on such Boards.
4. On the 1839, 1847 and 1871 Medical Manifestos, G.B. Wilson (op cit) pp 262-3. Harrison (supra) pp. 109, 307, 359 on Dunlop's efforts, p. 288 on links to homeopathy, quoted p. 161, on superstition p. 185. On anti-tobacco movement, R. Walker 'Medical Aspects of Tobacco Smoking and the Anti Tobacco Smoking Movement in the 19th Century', Medical History 24, 1980, pp. 391-402, on the 'gospel of health', B. Aspinwall

'Social Catholicism and Health: Dr. & Mrs. T.L. Nichols in Britain' in "The Church and Healing", Studies in Church History, 14, 1982, pp. 249-70. On Scottish vegetarianism see SRO 1453 GD/MUS 36 records of Dundee Vegetarian/Food Reform Society 1877-83, Good Templar 1871, p. 194 on Munro's "Laws of Health" lectures to Glasgow I.O.G.T., S.P.B.T.A. 1910-11, p. 32 on Revd. Dr. Stewart LL.D. M.D. of Myrtle Hydropathic, an "esteemed Vice President" who took part in a deputation to the Prime Minister shortly before his death in 1911, papers pertaining to the Waverley and Shandon Hydros in the Kemp Papers, NRA. GD 327, and those pertaining to the Oban Hydro in the McAlpine Papers, Glasgow University Archives. A study of 'Hydrophathy in England 1840-70' by R. Price appears in Medical History, 25, 1981, pp. 269-80. On Glasgow Dietic Reform Soc., Dietic Reformer and Vegetarian Messenger, published in Glasgow, London and Edinburgh, 1861-3, and on Nichols' food reform society (estd. 1879), B. Aspinwall (supra) p. 264. On phrenology, see the Phrenological Annual edited by James Coates, Professor of Phrenology and Hygiene, Glasgow, idem "How to Read Faces", London, 1891, idem "How to Read Heads", London, 1890. 1888 was Coombe's centenary year and works on phrenology by Lorenzo Niles Fowler, Mrs M.O. Staunton, J. Simms M.D., A.T. Story, Annie Oppenheim, R. Rogerson M.D., R. Wells of Scarborough, C. Bell M.D., J.C. Lavator, S.R. Wells of New York, and Drs. Drayton and Sizer who had sold 90,000 copies of a work called "Heads and Faces" by 1891 - see T. Parsinnen 'Population Science and Society: the Phrenological Movement in Victorian Britain', Journal of Social History, Autumn 1974, pp. 1-21, and R. Cooter 'Phrenology and British Alienists c 1825-45', I "Converts to a Doctrine" Medical History, I, 20, 1976, pp 1-21, and I ibid "Doctrine and Practice", pp. 135-51. On Kettle, see W. Logan (op cit) p. 158. On Allinson L.R.C.P., Coates (op cit, 1891) p. 45.

5. Harrison (op cit) pp. 156, 137, 152. On Richmond and on Dr. Kirk the Greenock reformer, P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Manchester 1897 Vol. II, p. 370 and II p. 132. N. Longmate (op cit) p. 176, E. Morris (op cit) pp 82-3. On Leibig and French Research S.T.L.R. 1862 pp. 47-9.
6. On Dr. Gregory - Winskill (op cit) Vol. I, p. 427. 1850's university lectures - Temperance Spectator, Feb. 1 1862 and April 1861, p. 64. Glasgow Argus Sat. Nov. 7, 1857, and Temperance Spectator Jan. 1862 p. 9 for an attack on Dr. McCulloch's recent speech to Glasgow students by Robert Ainslie of Brighton. Dr. McCulloch's "The Temperance Reformation from a Medical Point of View", Glasgow 1860, a reprint of his Glasgow University lecture, was in its 4th edition by 1861. Temperance Spectator Sept. 1861 p. 157 also noted a lecture given at Glasgow by Dr. Norman Kerr. Professor McIntosh M.D. LL.D. F.R.S. St. Andrews also wrote a general appeal "Work and the Conditions of Health - An Address to the Edinburgh University Total Abstinence Society", Glasgow, (James Erskine) n.d. On 1871 Declaration, Good Templar Jan. 1870, p. 4, Feb. 1872, p. 181, Mar. 1872, pp 201-2, and 268-9. On Edmunds Winskill (op cit) Vol. I p. 346, on Rae (1821-1900), R.T.M.

- 'Robert Rae' Nov. 1900. On Ridge (1847- ) author of "Alcohol and Public Health" a "Medical Temperance Dictionary" a "Temperance Primer" and "A Temperance Pilgrim's Progress" Winskill (op cit) Vol. II, p. 371. On Dr. James Miller, Edinburgh University Professor of Anatomy and author of "Alcoholism its Place and Power" and "Nephalism" - T. Kelynack (ed.) "The Drink Problem of Today", London, 1966, p. 248, on Gilchrist Winskill (op cit) Vol. I, p. 406, and 'Obituary Notice of Dr. Jas. Gilchrist of Dumfries' reprinted from Transactions and Proceedings of the Botanical Society, 1886, and on McCulloch, S. Tooley 'Recollections of some Dumfries Worthies', Gallividian Annual, XIII, Dec. 1932, pp. 27-8, and 'Dr. James Murray McCulloch', Edinburgh Medical Journal, Aug. 1888. Carpenter's conversion c 1878 - J. Dawson Burns "Temperance History" Vol. II p. 329. B.M.T.A. numerical strength - S.T.L.R. 1881 p. 45-6. The Medical Council on Alcoholism, Grosvenor Crescent, London, The Wellcome Institute, B.M.A., Royal College of Physicians of Glasgow and London and the new A.A.A. pressure group with the B.M.A. have been unable to trace any B.M.T.A. reports.
7. London Temperance Hospital - T. Kelynack (op cit) p. 249, and on changing treatment patterns over 1870-90 F. Smith "The People's Health 1830-1919" New York, 1979. Records of the National Temperance Hospital (the name was changed in 1932) are held on site at Hampstead Rd., London NW1. This hospital is now owned and run by University College Hospital, the administrator being J.H. Garner to whom I am grateful for this snippet of information. S.T.L.R. 1884 p. 52 'London Temperance Hospital', 1890 pp 60-1, and 1892 p. 62 on beds, on Miss Stephens of Bridport's bequest 1893, p. 65, 1894 p. 71 on children's ward, 1895 p. 71 on turnover, on St. Thomas' 1897 p. 72, on Wright 1899 p. 86, 1900 p. 79 on teaching, and 1901 p. 81 on funding. Its surgeon Dr. W. Collins was probably a member of the Glasgow family but no precise link has been proven. On Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson - Winskill (op cit) Vol. II, p. 366.
8. R. McLeod 'The Edge of Hope: Social Policy and Chronic Alcoholism 1870-1900', Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, 22, 3, July 1967, pp. 215-45, Harrison (op cit) p. 22, and on Greville Temperance Spectator Mar. 1862 p. 32.
9. e.g. Return of population and number of persons taken into custody in each town in the United Kingdom for 1851, 1861, 1871, 1876, Parliamentary Papers 1877, lxix, 29. W. Logan (op cit) pp. 16-24. Adviser May 1850 p. 79, Sept. 1850 p. 142 'Insanity and Moderate Use of Alcohol' and June 1851 p. 278 'Intemperance and Insanity'. See also A. Sherwell "The Drink Peril in Scotland", London, 1903, pp. 18-20. G. Finlayson (op cit) pp. 230-1, 411-15 and 572 on Shaftesbury's work. O. Checkland "Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle", Edinburgh, 1980, pp. 165-76. There were 22 Local Authority Lunatic Asylums in 1899. See S.T.L.R. 1905 p. 68 on the Irish insane - 250 per 100,000 in 1880 and 516 per 100,000 in 1903 in institutions and 604 per 100,000 "at large". S.T.L.R. usually carried a section of statistics devoted to the lunacy theme. See J. Burns "Labour

and Drink", London, 1904, p. 23. Not to be outdone Will Crooks also boasted of "the sights he had seen in the asylums of the L.C.C." - S.T.L.R. 1905, p. 80. Dr. Clouston quoted directly in S.T.L.R. 1899, p. 74, 1904 p. 108, and 1905 p. 81. He later became Sir Thomas. Scottish Temperance Alliance "No Licence the New Campaign", Glasgow 1921 p. 141. Also quoted were Dr. Parker of Gartloch Lunatic Asylum Glasgow, Dr. A.C. Marr of Woodilee, Dr. Tuach Mackenzie of Dundee Royal Lunatic Asylum. Dr. Robert Jones of London County Asylum's evidence to the Inter Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration was reprinted in S.T.L.R. 1905, p. 81. On diagnosis fads - O. Checkland and M. Lamb "Health Care as Social History: the Glasgow Case", Aberdeen, 1982 pp 69, 77, 156-7, 167-8.

10. R. McLeod (op cit) pp 218, and 222-9, Scottish Temperance League Board Minute Book 1872 n.p. Glasgow University Archives. Temperance reformers appear not to have been prejudiced by Dalrymple's lack of desire to give an electoral pledge to vote for the Permissive Bill, notwithstanding wrangles at Bath - see D. Hamer "The Politics of Electoral Pressure: a Study in the History of Victorian Reform Agitations", Hassocks, 1977, pp. 184-5, 187. On horror of wrongful confinement - P. McCandless 'Liberty and Lunacy: the Victorians and Wrongful Confinement', Journal of Social History, Spring 1978, pp. 366-87.
11. R. McLeod (op cit) pp. 230-2, C. Greenland 'Habitual Drunkards in Scotland 1879-1913', Quarterly Journal of Study of Alcohol, 1960, 21, pp.135-9. The Tuke family were associated with asylum reform. O. Checkland (op cit) p. 167 on William Tuke (1732-1822). D.H. Tuke was the author of "Reform in the Treatment of the Insane", London, 1892 and "Early History of the Retreat, York", London, 1895. The Friends' Temperance Union distributed information on 40 retreats - W. Edwards (op cit) pp 79-80.
12. McLeod (op cit) pp. 235-7. On the Salvation Army, see F. McLean "Marching as to War: A Salvation Centenary" London, 1979, pp. 7-42. Also fragmentary reports organised by area at S.A. Headquarters, 101 Queen Victoria St., London EC4. Text of Inebriates Act 1898 appeared in full in S.T.L.R. 1899 pp. 50-58.
13. See also W. Walker (op cit) pp 346-7 on Dundee initiatives. Corporation of Glasgow "First Report of the Committee on the Inebriates Acts on Girgenti Inebriate Reformatory" Glasgow 1901, p. 2. 22nd Congress of Sanitary Institute "Souvenir Handbook of Glasgow" Glasgow, 1904, pp. 141-3, Stothers' Glasgow, Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire Xmas and New Year Annual, Glasgow 1911/2, pp. 64-5, Scottish Labour Colony Association Ltd. Report, Glasgow 1905, D.M. Stevenson "Labour Colonies abroad and the Unemployed: a Partial Solution to the Problem", Glasgow, 1892, Scottish Christian Social Union Commission to Germany Report, Edinburgh, 1905, H.G. Willink "Dutch Home Labour Colonies", London, 1889, Report on the Eberfeld Poor Law System and German Workmen's Colonies, 1888 P.P. (c 5341) LXXX, Royal

Commission on the Poor Law, 1909 P.P. Vols. IX, XXV, XXXII. On efficacy of detention - R.T.M. July 1898 Notes 'Homes for Inebriates Assoc. Report', R.T.M. Feb. 1899 p. 27 'The Inebriates Act', R.T.M. Mar. 1901 p. 44, 'Inebriates' Retreats', 'Hypnotism as a Curative Agent', R.T.M. 1898, p. 29, R.T.M. July 1901 p. 151. 'Suggestion in Dipsomania', R.T.M. Mar. 1902 p. 52 'The Inebriates Act' and April 1902 p. 75 'The Cure of the Inebriate', R.T.M. Dec. 1908 p. 272 'Inebriate Reformatories' R.T.M. Jan. 1908 'Notes', 'The Alleged Drug Cure for Inebriety - report of Mr. Dunlop, Inspector for Scotland on Girgenti', (the drug involved being an atropine, quinine, ammonium, sodium, aloine mixture) R.T.M. May 1911 p. 55 'The Problem of the Cure of the Inebriate - Deputation to Winston Churchill', and R.T.M. Oct 1913 p. 264 "Failure to Cure". The Salvation Army still ran two homes at Denmark Hill and Clapton. On post 1914 situation - G.B. Wilson (op cit) pp.168-9. On the 1908 findings - H.M.S.O. "Committee on the Inebriates Acts - Report of the Departmental Committee to Inquire into the operation of the law relating to Inebriates and their detention in reformatories and retreats", London, 1908, plus "Minutes of Evidence" (235 pp).

14. S.T.L.R. 1886 p. 56, 1891 p. 67, 1892 pp 62-3, 1898 p. 73, 1901 p. 80 and R.T.M. 1901, p. 271 'Doctors and Drink'. See e.g. 'The Milan Anti-Alcoholic Congress', R.T.M. Nov. 1913 p. 287. This group met biennially from 1899 on - i.e. 10 years before the International Congresses on Social Work and Service commenced according to R.T.M. May 1914 p. 104.
15. Richardson - P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Manchester 1897, Vol. II, p. 366. Carpenter - T. Sadler "Man of Science and Disciple of Christ, a sermon in memory of W.B. Carpenter", London 1885. Buchanan had worked amongst the Riccarton poor as a district surgeon and was influenced by such early experiences. His brother was a well known Liberal businessman. On Carmichael, S.P.B.T.A. 1909-10 p. 28 McKendrick - P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Manchester 1897, Vol. II, p. 210, and on Honeyman R. McKechnie (op cit) pp 31-2. Noel Paton - "No Licence: the New Campaign", cited earlier, p. 60, C. Easterbrook "Chronicle of Crichton Royal 1833-1936" Dumfries 1940, pp. 95, 106, 124, 137, 145, 189, 207, 214-5, 229, on treatment and specifically on Gilchrist pp. 76-7, 98, 129-35, 135, 149-51. I am indebted to Dr. McKinlay of Kilbarchan for Reid's date of birth.



"A mere handful frequent the House of God but they have other houses of worship in abundance, ...places for the sale of intoxicating drinks, spirit shops, cellars, low taverns, flaring gin palaces and gaudy music saloons, doing the Devil's work as busily as they can."

Dr. Buchanan to the Free Church General Assembly, 1851, quoted from First Annual Report, Glasgow United Total Abstinence Society, 1852.

Drink and the Clergy.

If the medical profession's volte face on the drink question, complete but for several eminent signatories to a Trade 'Medical Manifesto' of 1908, was "very remarkable" (G.B. Wilson) acceptance of teetotalism by the churches over the period 1835-1900 has also prompted much comment by historians.<sup>1</sup>

Paton for example describes the Scottish Churches' relationship with the temperance movement in terms of the differences between Scottish and English Dissent. Close connection between temperance and Dissent in England made for "explosive militancy", whereas in Scotland Presbyterian schisms were of more recent origins and bitterness only slightly disguised common theology, traditions and church government. At the 1851 Census 30.8% of the 42.5% of the population who attended churches in Scotland were members of the three Presbyterian churches. The Church of Scotland differed from the Church of England. Although it was the largest single organisation it was a "minority church". The power of Scottish Dissent, especially in urban areas, encouraged a more positive attitude to state intervention but lack of social and political cohesion prevented militancy. Bebbington however has shown that English Nonconformist militancy was far from widespread until a relatively late date. "At the peak of the Nonconformist Conscience, temperance still *seemed* a growing concern, a cause of the future."<sup>2</sup> Very few teetotal ministers in the 1870's were Wesleyans, the Congregational leader Guinness Rogers never bothered to become a total abstainer, and the prominent Congregationalist layman Sir Albert Spicer did not become an abstainer until the Great War. The Baptist Union Assembly in 1897 rejected moves to have teetotalism made a qualification for

office as late as 1897. While the Primitive Methodists were pioneers of teetotalism, the Wesleyan conferences from 1898-1901 were hostile to further insistence on teetotalism. A Wesleyan temperance committee existed only after 1875 and was organised on a dual basis. A Congregational Total Abstinence Society established in 1874 had no influence on Congregational conferences until 1885, and not all Congregational ministers were total abstainers even in 1904. English patterns of Nonconformist support for temperance were by no means straightforward. Nonconformists had to put pressure on their churches as well as the general population.

Early Scottish reformers like Dunlop, a Church of Scotland elder, and Collins, an elder with Chalmers at the Tron and at St. John's and subsequently prominent in promoting Chalmers' plans for church extension in Glasgow had similarly to convince clergymen that temperance did not seek to supplant orthodox Christianity. Clergymen were amongst the first to criticise Dunlop's attempts to introduce American-style temperance society. Initially Professor Dick of the Secession Church was exceptional in even allowing Dunlop to use church property for a temperance lecture. Much early temperance literature aimed to persuade churchmen that temperance, although capable of being used for secular ends, sought to facilitate the work of evangelisation. The great majority of Presbyterian churchmen suspected the temperance movement of heretical or subversive tendencies, epitomised by Brewster and teetotal Chartism. Many disapproved of Protestant temperance reformers' willingness to cooperate with Father Mathew on his 1841 visit to Glasgow. Others resented Dunlop's inferences that the clergy were to blame for an enormous increase in drunkenness among the masses since 1790 by their lack of social concern.<sup>3</sup>

As Mechie has explained the tardiness of individual churchmen and of churches to support the temperance movement was largely due to the Voluntary and Non-Intrusion controversies. Most of the statistics which impelled churchmen to attack drinking and drunkenness in the 1840's were collected in the 1830's, but only after the Disruption in 1845 and 1847 respectively did the United Secession Church and United Presbyterian Church form a Ministers' Abstinence Society and a Total Abstinence Society. Progress was patchy however. The United Presbyterians had no Temperance Committee until 1866. The Free Church established a Temperance Committee and a Temperance Society in 1847 and 1849. Leading lights in the latter society included Dr. Thomas Guthrie of Free St. John's Edinburgh, and the Revd. William Arnot of Free St. Peter's Glasgow. In these early societies longstanding criticism of drunken funerals and ordination dinners, thought unseemly in the circumstances and, in the first instance, both extravagant and too reminiscent of popish wakes, mingled with concern for order and new awareness of the interdependence of the people's physical and spiritual needs in the aftermath of the Disruption's moral enthusiasm. The Church of Scotland was soon caught up in this ferment. Its General Assembly appointed a Committee of Inquiry and subsequently a permanent Committee on Intemperance over 1848-9.<sup>4</sup>

The Church of Scotland Committee on Intemperance's 1849 Report and the Free Church's decision to petition Parliament regarding intemperance and possible measures to check spirit drinking and separate the grocery and spirit trades were partly the result of the work of a pressure group of abstaining ministers entitled "The Association for Promotion of Temperance by means of the Church and involvement in denominational temperance societies", Paton found.

In the Church of Scotland the temperance question was raised in Church Courts by the Revd. T.C. Wilson of Dunkeld and laymen like Hope, whilst Professor Miller of Edinburgh University, Convenor of the Free Church's Temperance Committee from 1854 onwards, exerted his influence to steer the Free Church towards total abstinence. There were no formal links between Church temperance societies and temperance committees, but they worked together.

Far more of a problem for teetotal activists was the general clerical apathy towards the temperance question. 1850's temperance tracts by reformers like the Revd. William Reid constantly reminded ministers and "professing Christians" alike of their duty to become involved in the movement, now free from taint of Chartism, for the sake of their fellow men. Others on 'Bible temperance' attempted to quell erudite Christian criticism of the movement.<sup>5</sup> Although the Church of Scotland had taken the lead on the temperance question in 1849 General Assembly proceedings reflected little real enthusiasm for temperance in the 1850's. Free Church willingness to support temperance legislation increased through cooperation with the League to attain and secure the Forbes Mackenzie Act. In spite of sabbatarian enthusiasm for Sunday Closing fuelled by Logan's exposé of "intemperance and Sabbath profanation", the United Presbyterians were notably less enthusiastic about this campaign than the Free Church even although individual United Presbyterians were involved in the League, and significant numbers of ministers of this denomination became total abstainers over the period 1845-62. There was an element of "voluntaryist reluctance to invoke the power of the State" (Paton). Identification with the work of the Edinburgh-based Lord's Day Observance Association of Scotland, the Scottish Society for the Promotion of the Due Observance of the Lord's Day, not to

mention overlap with the Glasgow Workingmen's Sabbath Protection Society (1849), in defence of the Sabbath, the symbol of <sup>the</sup> Scottish tradition of Protestant piety as opposed to the Irish navies' Sunday of drinking, card playing, and other improprieties, lent respectability to temperance. Sabbatarians equally saw in defence of Sunday Closing, temperance missionaries' exposés of Sunday drinking, and pressure for English Sunday closing a means of keeping the Sunday question alive even after the 1860's when resistance to Sunday trains had according to Brackenridge faded. Publicisation of arrests for Sunday drunkenness was a feature of the League Register and Abstainers' Almanac even in the 1890's when returns requested by Provand, M.P. for Glasgow's Blackfriars and Hutchesontown Division, were reprinted. Sabbatarianism was central to the P.S.A. s. Rechabites also continued Sabbath protection work by noting details of Sunday traders, often blaming "foreigners" for the prevalence of Sunday trading, and reprinting details of Stead's Daily News public house census in 1904. Turn-of-the-century criticism of sabbath breaking often had distinct echoes of the 1855 confrontation between large and small shopkeepers, and between shopworkers and evangelicals on the one hand and Sunday marketeers and their customers on the other.<sup>6</sup>

After the passage of Sunday Closing United Presbyterians became more closely associated with temperance than any other denomination. In Glasgow for example the Revds. Henry Calderwood, (later Professor Calderwood) Robert Jeffrey M.D., J. Logan Aikman F.S.A., Niven, Ker, Borland, David Macrae, later associated with the Gilfillan Memorial Church, Robertson, J.B. Johnston, McGill, Cowan, Knox, George Blythe, and Professor Lindsay were all associated with the League in the 1850's, as were Hutton of Paisley, Mearns of Coldstream, Wallace of Edinburgh, and Cairns, later Principal Cairns.

Yet ironically only the Evangelical Union gave collective support for total abstinence, ostracism of the Trade, and the use of non-alcoholic communion wine. In 1857 the Evangelical Unionists Nisbet Galloway, James Morison, William Scott and especially Fergus Ferguson were noted supporters of the League. Congregationalists tended at this point to be dominated by cautious, conservative churchmen like Wardlaw. Although 49 Congregational ministers were associated with the League in 1857 personal enthusiasm was only channelled into a denominational society after 1867.<sup>7</sup> Church of Scotland ministers, of whom there were 1,254 in 1868 and 1,780 in 1901, were generally far less likely to be temperance reformers even although early pioneers included Brewster of Paisley. In 1859 Church of Scotland ministers connected with the League, the most eminently respectable of the temperance societies, numbered only 34. They declined over the 1860's and 1870's, peaked in the early 1890's, declined and fluctuated between 1898-1908, and remained at between 39-41 over 1909-15. In 1901 just after the Peel Commission debates for example there were only 32 Church of Scotland ministers affiliated to the League as against 1,780 Church of Scotland congregations and 661,629 communicants. In contrast there were 186 or 16% of Free Church ministers were associated with the League in 1896. Abstaining Free Church ministers were thought to outnumber Established Church colleagues 2:1 in 1891 and almost 3:1 in the early years of the 20th century, whilst within their own Church they had risen to 66% by 1906.<sup>8</sup>

As the table *overleaf* reveals, clerical sympathy for 'temperance' in general only began to develop markedly in the late 19th century. Many clergymen were sympathetic to 'temperance' in its moderation or anti-spirits phase but were hostile to the switch

Clergy connected with S.T.L. 1859-1915 - source S.T.L.R. 1859-1915

Year	Estd	Free	UP	Refd P	CU	Bapt	Episc	EU	Meth	UOS	UN KN	Wes	Prim Meth	Eng Pres	UN TR	FC of E	FC of S
1859	34	127+	182+	12	49	19	2	45	6	1	36						
1862	17	24	111	4	41	16		16		1	35	1					
1863	18	30	106	5	41	15		14		1	32	2					
1864	18	32	99	7	40	13		10		2	30	3	1				
1874	21	40	102	11	39	10	2	16		3	29	3	1	1			
1875	19	40	108	12	42	11	2	20		4	26	3		4			
1877	21	64	112	3	41	12	2	24		5	25	3		5			
1879	24	83	115	4	47	13	3	27		4	26	2		5			
1881	26	91	144	5	46	10	3	33		6	26	6		8			
1882	22	101	133	5	37	13	3	36		8	24	4		8			
1883	27	108	142	4	40	14	2	36		9	23	4		7			
1885	32	120	151	3	38	13	2	37		10	29	4		5			
1887	31	135	166	2	40	10	4	40		10	27	5		12			
1890	42	155	201	4	38	9	3	42		9	22	6		13	1		
1891	42	164	198	4	44	8	4	42		9	25	6		15	1		
1892	42	177	212	4	45	9	4	44		10	24	6		13	1		
1893	40	184	211	3	43	10	4	45		9	19	7		15	2		
1894	40	188	206	4	42	10	4	45		9	20	9		17	2		
1895	40	188	221	4	42	9	4	52		8	20	9		16			
1896	43	186	212	4	44	10	4	47		8	20	9		16			
1897	39	195	212	3	88	9	5			7	21	9	1	16			
1898	35	203	212	4	89	12	5	4		8	21	9	1	15			
1899	35	208	219	4	90	16	5	2		8	21	9	1	18			
1900	32	216	224	4	95	17	6			9	21	9		18			
1901	32	431		5	95	17	9			9	14	7	1	16			
1902	34	441		5	97	19	9	1		8	17	8	2	15			
1903	36	441		4	99	20	8	2		8	19	9	1	15		1	
1904	33	427		3	95	19	6	1		9	18	8		11		1	
1905	33	421		2	90	16	4	1		8	14	6		10		1	
1906	30	423		1	85	16	4	1		9	21	6		8		1	
1907	33	412		1	82	15	4	1		10	13	5		9		1	
1908	38	433		2	86	18	5	1		9	12	1		9		1	
1909	41	440		2	84	19	6	1		9	16	1		9		1	
1910	41	453		2	81	21	5	1		9	24	3		9		1	
1911	40	465		2	81	25	4	1		10	19	3		7		1	
1914	39	470		2	79	21	3	1		11	19		1	5		1	
1915	40	479		2	77	26	2	1		9	15		1	6		1	



to total abstinence and pressure for clergymen to join in the campaign for universal total abstinence. Pressure group politics and attempts to ostracise the Trade were regarded as unwise and un-Christian. Ministers, like doctors, also had much to lose by identification with temperance. Whilst drunken ministers often had the sympathy of colleagues and congregations, especially as expulsion from the Church or even suspension from a charge carried such disgrace, teetotalers especially in affluent districts were liable to be under great pressure to shelve personal preferences in representation of the congregation's views. There were limits to the extent to which rabid teetotalers could press total abstinence upon an unsympathetic congregation. Many 1850's reformers probably found that the Permissive Bill agitation meant that they had to distance themselves from temperance, as the Revd. William Arnot seems to have done. The competitiveness of this profession, resulting from its popularity with the middle class and upper working class groupings, encouraged compromise, especially in urban areas where the parochial system had been eroded and congregational approval was paramount. Peer group pressure to abstain was also lacking. In the 1870's heavy drinking at ordination dinners was still the norm, and drink continued to be sold in refreshment rooms at the Free and Established Church General Assemblies. Moral suasionists and prohibitionists alike lamented the relatively small numbers of teetotal ministers. Paton found that 'temperance' did not make a great impact upon ministers until the last quarter of the 19th century.<sup>9</sup>

Crucial to stimulation of clerical interest in temperance, not just in terms of the Nonconformist Conscience and the Presbyterian Churches but in terms of all churches, was the rise of a distinct "gospel temperance" wing of the temperance movement. 'Gospel

temperance' was another name for the Blue Ribbon Movement which came to England in the late 1870's and "quickly took the country by storm".<sup>10</sup> As with the original anti-spirits societies which were influenced by American associations inspired by Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, this movement was related to waves of American gospel temperance in the 1840's Washingtonian Society era, in formation of Blue Ribbon societies in the early 1870's and in the Ohio Whisky War or 'Women's Crusade' of 1873. This movement bound religion and temperance together in a distinctive creed.

In its most extreme form "gospel temperance" allied with prohibitionism, using Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians for example to assert not only that drunkenness impaired moral sense and prevented the work of evangelisation but also that drunkards were damned and could not enter the Kingdom of God. In general however gospel temperance was simply overt alliance of evangelical religion and temperance following the display of feminine moral fervour in the Ohio Whisky War. Never before had temperance reformers attempted to close licensed premises by prayer meetings in the streets or in the premises in question. A Blue Ribbon Association existed in Maine prior to the Whisky War, its name like that of the Rechabites being taken from the Old Testament - here Numbers, XV, v. 37-38. It emphasised the power of prayer in reforming men and was associated with Francis Murphy, a former convict converted to Protestantism and temperance by a prison visitor. In the aftermath of the Whisky War Murphy extended the Blue Ribbon movement and infused it with revivalism. Intensive camp meetings or missions of several weeks' duration and a drive for personal conversions amongst drinkers and the Trade alike were its hallmarks.

Like Good Templary, gospel temperance was introduced by a

reformer who had visited America and was first associated with a former music hall in Shoreditch, London. The siting of missions in formerly licensed premises in densely populated working class areas was a technique which the Salvation Army later copied. It was backed by the wealthy Quaker biscuit manufacturer W. Palmer of Reading. This freed these Hoxton Hall meetings from preoccupation with funds. Hoxton Hall soon diversified into all manner of counter-attractions. After 1880 the influence of gospel temperance spread to other parts of Britain. Its medium was the Murphy family and the American temperance missionary Richard T. Booth. 1880-85 saw a "temperance fever" as a result.<sup>11</sup>

This "fever" was especially intense in the West of Scotland where the ground had earlier been prepared by Mother Stewart of Ohio and Dwight Moody. They had encouraged the formation of a Ladies' Temperance Prayer Union in Glasgow in 1874 whose members sported white ribbons to denote feminine solidarity with Murphy's followers.<sup>12</sup> Whereas the Murphy family's missions were aimed largely at the working classes, were successful amongst the same groups attracted to Templary, and indeed had Templar support, Booth although another reformed drunkard was a speaker popular with wealthier reform circles. The Countess of Carlisle, an important figure in women's temperance, was converted by a Blue Ribbon Mission of this era. The national temperance societies backed gospel temperance very much aware that it could be a movement for all social classes. Gospel temperance found not only Quaker advocates, like Bowly and Sessions, but also support from the Wesleyan Charles Garrett and the Baptist leaders Spurgeon and F.B. Meyer. This was interesting because Wesleyans, tightly controlled by their conference, were close to the Church of England on some questions and often stood apart from Non-

conformity. Bebbington found that "only amongst Wesleyans were Conservatives to be found in any great numbers", the locksmith Chubb promoter of the Nonconformist Unionist Association being Wesleyan. Wesleyan Methodists were deeply divided over teetotalism in the 1840's. The denomination wanted to broaden its appeal to more prosperous and learned groups. Nevertheless by 1892 teetotalers had successfully pressed for an exclusively teetotal denominational society. Although Scottish Baptists like Francis Spite, Provost of Clydebank, the Rose and Lockhart families of Edinburgh, like McCree, had long participated in temperance a Scottish Baptist Total Abstinence Society was formed only in 1881 with the Revd. Alexander Wylie as its Secretary, possibly because of the way in which individual Baptist churches enjoyed complete autonomy in internal affairs free from Presbytery, Synod or Assembly control. During gospel temperance fervour the number of abstaining Baptist ministers rose from 50 until by 1901 there were only a handful of abstainers amongst a pastorate at least 268 strong. This was all the more important as the Scottish Baptist membership increased by 2,429 over 1882-91, and 4,962 over 1891-1901, whilst Church of Scotland and United Presbyterian expansion slowed and the Free Church lost members, and as a general feature of the Baptist Church had previously been an emphasis on doctrinal definition which had marked the denomination out from the Congregationalists. Congregationalists, whose origins lay in the "Old Dissent" of the 17th century, had been far more interested in Christian humanitarianism than Baptists.<sup>13</sup>

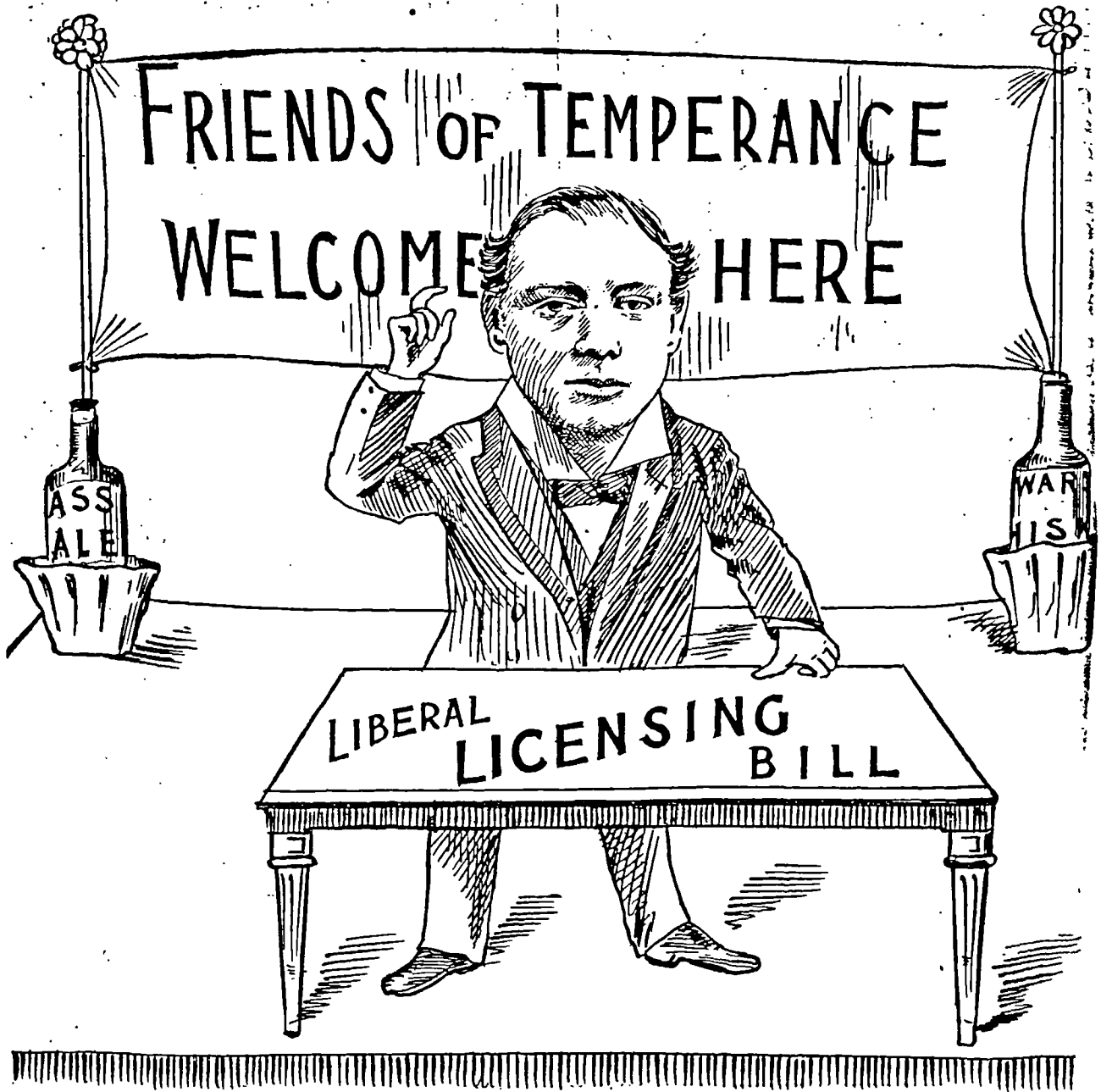
In Glasgow 20,000 allegedly took the pledge in response to Murphy's visit and over 1 million people had adopted the Blue Ribbon even by 1882. Much of Booth's success was due to careful stage managing of his missions. Local committees organised efficient

advance publicity, the hire of capacious halls rather than inhibiting church halls, choirs to heighten the emotional impact of Booth's personal witness and calls for public pledge commitments, and supporting speakers. Permanent missions were established after revivalists had passed to pastures new. They were referred to as the Blue Ribbon Gospel Army but were linked only by a Blue Ribbon Gazette. By 1886 there were thought to be 100 of these missions in Britain and Canada. There was much that was suspect about gospel temperance. It encouraged pseudo-evangelists to commit frauds, it gave Booth and Noble grand lifestyles which irritated temperance veterans and some working class teetotalers, and its theatricality aroused the hostility of reformers like Shaftesbury. Moreover its influence on the masses was ephemeral: it asked only that they don a ribbon - it meant no permanent accession of strength to temperance societies. After a 12-year course gospel temperance faded. Its missions acquired purely local significance and passed quickly from the popular memory, as with the Paisley Mission of Love which gave its name to Love Street, and encouraged the formation of St. Mirren F.C. Lillian Lewis Shiman found that "the Gospel Temperance journals, missions, and preachers vanished as quickly as they had appeared and the large numbers who had flocked to the anti-drink standard melted away".<sup>14</sup>

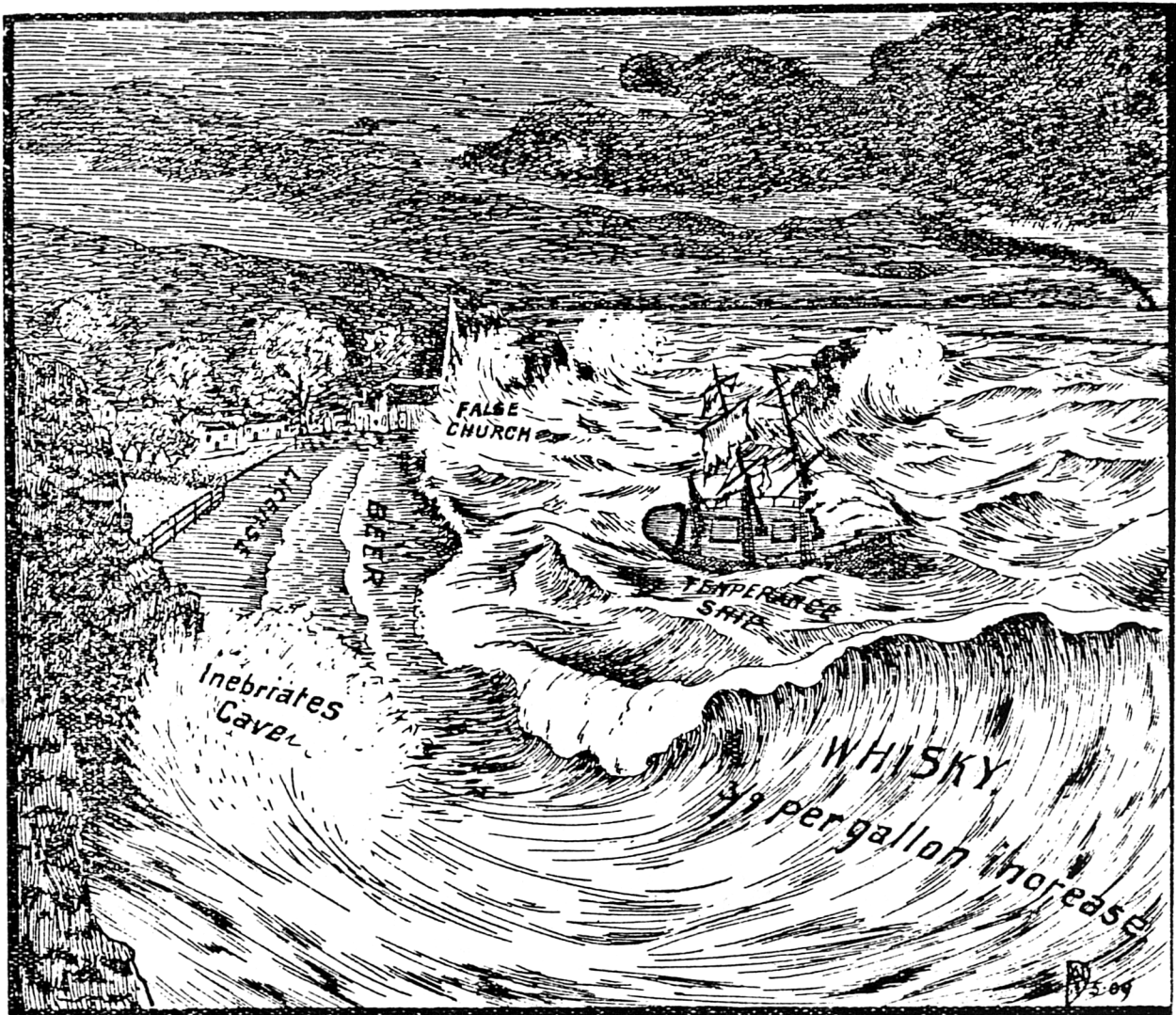
An enduring outcome of this movement which fed on economic uncertainties and status fears was commitment of the Churches' to the temperance movement. For churchmen temperance became a spiritual rather than a moral question. Nonconformist support for licensing restriction became noticeable at Free Church Councils at the turn of the century. Previously Nonconformists like Morley, first treasurer of the Congregational Total Abstinence Society, had not been

convinced of the need for temperance legislation. Like Magee they felt State intervention might be a greater evil, and Guinness Rogers dubbed the Permissive Billers faddists. Gladstone's initiative on licensing and gospel temperance however encouraged younger Nonconformist leaders like Hughes and Clifford to identify with the U.K.A. By the turn of the century the Baptist Union voted to abolish grocers' licences, there was considerable Free Church support for the Children's Bills of 1900 and 1901, and especially for uniform Sunday Closing, established in Scotland in 1854, Ireland in 1878, and Wales in 1881. English Sunday Closing remained elusive however in spite of Nonconformist support. Nonconformist support was also extended to management schemes, especially after formation of the 1894 Public House Reform Association. Hugh Price Hughes, like Rowntree, had connections with Sherwell the leading publicist of public management. Hugh Price Hughes, F.B. Meyer and the well known Wesleyan T.P. Whittaker had been 'converted' to support for the Gothenburg scheme by 1903 in spite of Local Vetoist hostility. Whilst the Nonconformist churches per se did not initiate temperance legislation they were active in the agitation against the 1888 County Councils Bill, the 1890 licensing scheme and the compensation clauses of the 1904 Licensing Act. After 1893 they also lent weight to the Local Veto campaign, and in concert with the Church of England which had a very active denominational temperance society pressed for the Royal Commission on Licensing. Nonconformity disappointed prohibitionists however by tending to support the Minority Report as a basis for reform. This highlighted the way in which "temperance was the political question on which there was most cooperation between Church and Chapel".<sup>15</sup> The S.P.P., in great disgust that Nonconformists like Meyer should cooperate with the Liberals and brewery-

## A Mare's Nest.



*Rev. F. B. Meyer, at the Free Church Conference in Newcastle, answering Mrs Carry Nation, made the most important admission that "the issue before the country was not between the Drink Party and the Prohibition Party." The reverend gentleman and his Temperance friends have hitherto professed to believe largely in the Liberal Party. Now it is being recognised as a "Meyer's" nest. But the Prohibition Party is coming up to fight the Drink Party, which has 670 representatives in the House of Commons.*



## Temperance Waves.

What are the wild waves saying,  
Sister the whole day long;  
That ever amid our playing  
I hear but their ribald song.  
Not by the "pub" bar only,  
There it sounds wild and free  
But at night in Club and Theatre,  
And in "D.T.'s" 'tis still with me.

Brother, I hear no singing,  
'Tis but "the Temperance wave,"  
Ever its "sane" course winging  
O'er some Inebriate's cave.  
'Tis but the noise of watered  
Poison on a licensed shore,  
And "the wind raised" in some bleaker quarter  
Mingling with its roar.

No, it is something greater  
That speaks to worldling alone,  
'Tis the voice of Britannia's Dictator  
Dwells in that fiendish tone.

Yes, but the waves seem ever  
Singing the same sad thing,  
And vain is my weak endeavour  
To guess what the surges sing.  
What is that voice repeating  
Ever by night and day?  
Is it a friendly greeting?  
Or a warning that calls away?

Brother the inland mountain  
Hath it not blend or brand;  
Speaks not the dripping brewery  
As it bestrews the land.  
E'en by the household ingle,  
Stricken, and smitten and torn,  
Do not their voices mingle  
Producing our National storm.

No, it is something greater  
That speaks through false church alone;  
'Tis the voice of Hell's Prime Minister  
Crying to all "well done."



share owning Anglicans, increasingly complained of "the false Church". (see the illustrations opposite).

In Scotland too the number of abstaining ministers rose steadily from around 1,573 in 1891 to 1,861 in 1899. By the 1903 Licensing Act 30% of Established Church ministers, 68% of Free Church's, 65% of United Presbyterian s', 97% of the Congregational Church's ministers, all Baptist and Evangelical Union ministers, and the great majority of Original Secession, Reformed Presbyterian, Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist ministers in Scotland were abstainers. Yet abstinence was not synonymous with society membership or support for legislation and the League noticeably ceased to attempt to make such calculations after 1906. The great majority of ministers associated with the League in 1900 were United Presbyterian or Free Church. Over 1901-1915 the number of United Free ministers associated with the League rose from 431-479. Yet although many individual Free Kirkers were prohibitionists, e.g. the Revds. William Lindsay of Edinburgh, John McCracken of Glasgow, and F. Wilson Stuart of Gartly not to mention James Barr, the Revds. Principal Rainy and James Paton committed the United Free Church to press for legislation "on the lines and in the spirit of the Minority Report" in 1902. Much energy was directed into giving temperance sermons for the League and popularising non-alcoholic communion wines.<sup>16</sup>

As the table overleaf reflects, the numbers of Free Churches in Scotland using non-alcoholic wine increased from 70 in 1887 to 375 in 1900, 420 in 1903, 521 in 1906 and 734 in 1914. The "wine question" had been raised as early as the 1870's, and was largely a reflection of the theological facet of evangelicalism and continuation of the anti-spirits movement's 'Bible temperance' and total abstainers' attacks on Christian expediency arguments. By the 1880's

Source : S.T.L.R. 1889-1915

Churches Using Unfermented Wine: 1887-1915

Year	Estd.	Free	UP	Cong.	EU	Baptist	Wes. for Footst	Church of Christ	Prim. Meth.	Misc.
1889	17	70	80	61	74	27	-	-	-	1
1890	21	93	97	65	85	31	18	-	-	3
1891	25	109	121	76	87	56	25	-	-	3
1892	28	121	129	76	87	78	25	-	-	9
1893	28	120	124	76	84	78	25	-	-	9
1894	31	142	140	77	87	87	28	-	-	13
1895	32	147	144	78	87	98	28	-	-	14
1896	32	153	147	165	-	99	30	-	-	12
1897	32	157	153	165	11	113	33	-	-	14
1898	33	168	162	154	11	112	52	-	-	14
1899	39	178	171	155	11	117	52	-	-	44
1900	43	375	-	167	12	119	50	44	15	4
1901	44	386	-	174	11	119	51	44	15	5
1902	41	410	-	176	10	124	50	44	15	7
1903	43	420	-	176	9	123	50	44	15	7
1904	43	439	-	178	8	122	51	44	16	8
1905	48	506	-	183	7	123	50	44	18	8
1906	49	521	-	185	-	124	50	44	18	15
1907	52	548	-	182	-	125	51	44	18	16
1908	52	548	-	182	-	125	51	44	18	15
1909	62	556	-	182	-	128	54	49	18	15
1910	67	629	-	184	-	134	56	52	21	24
1911	75	639	-	184	-	136	56	52	21	30
1912	87	711	-	186	-	136	57	53	21	32
1913	93	721	-	186	-	138	57	53	21	32
1914	93	734	-	181	-	138	57	53	21	33

the Bible had been studied exhaustively by temperance reformers and the impression that the Bible referred only to unfermented grape juice, even in the Can a miracle, was taken as orthodox thought by Scottish reformers. Pressure by individual ministers and congregations for non-alcoholic wine reflected the growing proportion of life abstainers in the population who, having been exposed to Adviser tales of almost instant dipsomania and disaster following the use of drink, were genuinely fearful of communion wine and its effects on reformed drunkards. Moreover the number of church officeholders who were teetotal had also increased. The wine question was, in many areas, simply an aspect of their status politics. In addition, fundamentalists who often felt themselves too unworthy to take communion were extremely hostile to communion being abused by alcoholics - or by Trade propagandists. As drink impaired 'moral sense' use of non-alcoholic wine was best for evangelisation and maintenance of church attendance rates, which in the Established, Free, and United Presbyterian Churches at least were declining over 1876-91.

The wine question was raised in all three Presbyterian denominations in the 1870's, causing much ill feeling amongst United Presbyterians and threats of secessions. The Church of Scotland ironically helped settle the question by deciding in favour of entrusting the choice of alcoholic or non alcoholic wine to the discretion of individual ministers in cases which came before the General Assembly in 1878 and 1879. Such a solution was important because although few Free Church congregations felt compelled to break away, secession of Free and United Presbyterian congregations prevented from adopting non-alcoholic wine did occur. The question was also emotive for the Congregational Union, which had joined with

the Evangelical Union in 1897. By 1914 around 185 Glasgow churches had made the switch to non alcoholic wine, amongst them suburban congregations, the well known Kent Road United Free Church, 8 United Free Mission Churches, the Congregational Mission at Cedar St., 13 Baptist churches, 2 Wesleyan Methodist Missions and 6 churches, 6 Churches of Christ, 2 Primitive Methodist churches, 1 each of Original Secession and Free Church of Scotland, the Camlachie Free Church of England, and 2 Independent Methodist congregations.<sup>17</sup>

By 1900 Scottish churchmen had very largely adopted the language and assumptions of temperance reformers. They were associated with temperance on the School Board and also in the Licensing Court, where once their main function had sometimes been limited to supply of character references for applicants. Inevitably there was denominational diversity. The United Free Church (representing 489,000 in 1900) was the most outspoken on the question, and had the largest and most influential temperance society. The Established Church only joined in its insistence upon total abstinence in the 1914 'Patriotic Pledge Campaign'. Its temperance society like those of the Church of England and the Episcopal Church was organised on the dual basis. The Free Church stance approached S.P.B.T.A.'s - the Church of Scotland's the League. It supported licensing restriction but had reservations on denial of compensation, and throughout this period its Committee on Intemperance often produced sympathetic comments on Three-fold Option, Trust management, and Gothenburg public management schemes which sent prohibitionists into paroxysms of rage. Only in the 20th century did the Church of Scotland Intemperance Committee's views coincide with the Free Kirk Temperance Committee's on Bills to amend the Inebriates Act to secure compulsory treatment for all who could be proved to be habitual

drunkards, on the 1901 Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children Bill, the 1908 Children's Bill and Local Option. Whilst the Church of Scotland was willing to protest about evasion of the Children's Act in 1911, criticism of sensitive areas of the drink question such as drinking club anomalies stemmed more often from the Free Church Temperance Committee. The Congregational Union conducted temperance work via a committee dominated by the Revd. G.C. Milne of Woodside, a prohibitionist who had been secretary of the Congregational Union Temperance Society from 1889-96, and men who carried on the Evangelical Union tradition of enthusiastic temperance reform, epitomised by the denomination's 1857 manifesto ostracising the Trade and later consensus for Veto, and personified by Kirk, Ferguson, and Dr. John Guthrie.<sup>18</sup>

Revivalism was an important conditioning factor in support for the temperance movement. So too were secularisation, scepticism, sectarianism, and socialism.

As Inglis indicates mid-Victorian apathy was a powerful challenge to Scottish churches. The 1851 Census of Religious Worship, available after 1854, came as a shock given the enthusiastic church building programmes of William Collins I, the moral fervour of the Disruption and Atonement Controversies and the work of the Sunday Schools. Temperance missionaries found that in many areas of Glasgow  $\frac{1}{3}$  did not attend church,  $\frac{1}{4}$  had no Bible, and many did not educate their children - cutting them off from the Church. Increasingly temperance was portrayed to the clergy as a social bridge to the lapsed masses. Their conversion was all the more imperative in the late 19th century given increasing secularisation.

Secularisation<sup>ation</sup> accompanied urbanisation, as the historians Kent,

Binfield, Gilbert, Heeney, Meller, Yates and Yeo have variously illustrated. The relationship of secularis<sup>ation</sup> to urbanisation was far from straightforward. Urban religious activity was highly differentiated and secularis<sup>ation</sup> similarly was felt more strongly by some social groupings than others. Classes and sub-classes reacted in different ways. Historians like Gilbert have regarded Nonconformity's rise and 'fall' over 1740-1914 in terms of the industrialisation of rural and semi rural areas. Decline of the Nonconformist Conscience is attributed to the city's offer of a new cultural environment, in which coherent working class communities were resistant to organised religion. Binfield and Meller in contrast stress the way in which a 'religious sub-culture' powered mainly by the labour aristocracy and lower middle class, but with direction in many instances from wealthier middle class types, became increasingly fragmented after 1870 as strongly disciplined evangelicalism gave way to a more liberal theology. In their interpretation not only socialism but also the elite's increasing detachment from city life, suburbanisation, intellectual adventurousness, and interest in peace, foreign missions, and social reform contributed to secularisation and the eclipse of the religious sub-culture. In addition historians like Yeo stress that apathy was often the product not of total indifference but of the unattractiveness of orthodox religion, and limits on individual freedom of choice - notably those created by poverty. Economic and social change therefore may have been more important than urbanisation per se. Temperance in this sense was the churches' reaction to loss of secular authority and prestige. The march of science which propelled medical men into the temperance movement also undermined Scripture and made Calvinism untenable. Although many ministers continued to

Gospel-temperance Propaganda.



Scottish Band of Hope Union copyright.

attempt to synthesise science and religion in temperance literature the era when they could do so convincingly to a general audience, as McCosh did, had passed.

The larger denominations resented the way in which the Baptists, United Original Secession, Episcopalian, Reformed Presbyterians, Free Church of Scotland, Primitive and Wesleyan Methodists and especially the teetotal Salvationists, Universalist missionaries like Soule (1824-1903) and Crossley, and Churches of Christ appeared to benefit from their decline. The latter's congregations rose from 39 in 1900 to 55 in 1915. There were six in Glasgow alone, spread over city centre areas and the South and West suburbs. Not a little of the hostility displayed towards the S.P.B.T.A. derived from its association with the Mormon Elliot Tickle. The popular vogue for spiritualism was simply another permutation of this challenge.<sup>19</sup>

Many Presbyterian churchmen were most conscious of the challenge to their hegemony from the Catholic Church. Its attendance levels were good over 1851-81, and although it shared in the general decline in church attendance between 1881-91 the number of Catholic churches in Scotland increased by 23% 1881-1901, and the Catholic population increased by 35% from 321,008 to 432,900 - a figure approaching the number of Church of Scotland communicants in 1871.<sup>20</sup>

Catholic temperance did not fade away altogether after Father Mathew of Cork, the "Apostle of temperance", and hugely popular pledge campaigns of the 1830's and 1840's. Father Mathew (1790-1856) who pledged 2,000,000 Irish by 1840 and visited Glasgow in 1842 was dogged by financial problems, and many of those who took the pledge at his hands subsequently broke it, but after a mid-century lull Catholic temperance re-emerged in the League of the Cross,



established in February of 1872, and recognised by the Pope in 1874. Its organiser was Father Nugent of Liverpool (1822-1905) who had met Mathew and spoken frequently on temperance in the 1850's, but was later inspired to form a denominational temperance society by an 1871 visit to America, where he encountered temperate Irish in Indian a, his hostility to Liverpool's boxing saloons and the low public houses in Liverpool's dockland where the Irish gathered to read The Nation , and his experiences as a Walton Gaol chaplain.

The League of the Cross had a strong self-help ethos and, as with Presbyterian temperance, sought to counter popular apathy and to return drunkards to the Church's fold. Branches were organised in 17 Liverpool parishes by 1888 in spite of some clerical hostility. "Perseverance reunions" were held every Monday evening as a counter-attraction to public house culture. Its male and female members wore sashes and medals to church and to rallies. Offshoots of the movement included the formation of a Veterans' group, a Boys' Crusade which complemented Nugent's work for Catholic education, establishment of a Boys' Refuge as well as refuges for fallen women and organisation of a Texas emigration scheme, establishment of Catholic Times and Catholic Fireside and organisation of Saturday evening concerts, bands, and thrift work. This was reminiscent of Templary although, as Bennet noted, Catholics refused to march alongside this "secret society" at rallies. In London the League of the Cross was associated with Manning (1808-92), Archbishop of Westminster in the late 1860's and a Cardinal after 1876. In its first four years it established 22 branches and pledged 58,000 to abstinence. In Glasgow Catholic temperance survived the mid-century lull after the hiatus of Fr. Enyaght's 9,000-strong society formed on 1 November 1839 and Fr. Forbes' work, mentioned earlier. An 1871 meeting of the

St. Vincent's Temperance Society, associated with Frs. Murphy and Hogan, attracted an audience of 1,800. 1876-7 saw large demonstrations in many cities organised by the League. Archbishop Eyre opened a temperance hall in the autumn of 1877, twelve years before he made the League of the Cross obligatory in every parish in the Glasgow area and assumed presidency of the organisation. By 1882 the League had 31 London branches with 35,000 members, total U.K. membership of 200,000, and 2 Scottish branches. Glasgow work was associated with laymen like J.M. McMullan, and Father John C.P.. The League swept across Lanarkshire in the late 1880's. By 1891 the League had even reached the two Catholic churches of Barra. The 'Wine Question' was paralleled by Catholic debate on the frequency of Communion.<sup>21</sup>

Temperance as far as the Catholic clergy was concerned was an attempt to provide the predominantly Irish Catholic population with a strong self-help ethos to help them make the best of their situation, and to distance themselves from the more suspect aspects of Irish Nationalism. Temperance, like education, was seen as the key to survival, provision of middle class leadership, and also a brake on radicalism and conversion to Protestantism. As such it was part of Eyre's "consolidation, stabilisation, and Romanisation" of the Church in the West of Scotland.<sup>22</sup> Self-help associations for 'Commercial Men', young men, electors, schoolmasters, libraries and improving literature followed waves of church building aided by benefactors like Agnes Maxwell, Monteith and Charles Gordon. A devotional revolution was accompanied at every step by a 'cult of respectability' generated by ultramontanes like Manning and Eyre, personally wealthy men with close links to the Anglican establishment who stressed the rights of the poor, and the rights of property, and sought to use temperance to quell tension between the competing

national and political loyalties of Highland and Irish Catholics whilst channelling the zeal of wealthy Catholic converts like Monteith in the general shift in mid-Victorian religion from theological and liturgical disputes to involvement in moral and social reform. Catholic temperance was a reaction to Scottish anti-popery, associated with the teetotallers Hope, McGavin, Turnbull and the Edinburgh mission to Catholics, as well as the Revd. James Begg and the demagogue John Sayers Orr, and also to the more positive facets of evangelicalism which contributed to a new 'social Christianity' in the late 19th century. The 1869 Vatican Council decision on Papal authority, together with Home Rule and Irish Nationalism, meant that in contrast to the 1840's there was very little cooperation between the Catholic and Presbyterian churches in the temperance movement. Few apart from Hays graced Presbyterian platforms, a reflection of "a more tranquil period of relations" over 1890-1914.<sup>23</sup>

By 1914 therefore the Presbyterian churches and the Scottish Catholic Church were firmly identified with the temperance movement. This contributed to Presbyterian 'church unity' on the one hand and a polarisation of the evangelical and ultramontane standpoints on the other. Churchmen were influenced by the rural-urban dichotomy, described by Mews, but "prophetic awakening" (D.C. Smith, 1964) of social criticism was also a question of social 'shifts' over the period 1840-1900. Those attracted to temperance, and some would say intemperance, were often the lower middle and working class men attracted to the ministry in the post-Disruption years. Often found in home mission and overseas mission work, they sought in the drink question and its 'native races' sub-theme a means to recapture the excitement and moral certainties of the Disruption years and subsequent revivals. In this their allies were the middle

class evangelicals described by A.A. Maclaren. Late 19th century mobility, and especially the shifts away from static social class categories described in earlier chapters, had a very important impact on 'religiosity' - especially as cities were highly receptive not only to religious radicalism but also to radicalism per se. Even as temperance reformers like Blaikie, Swanson and Barr continued the social Christianity of Guthrie and Begg and attempted to utilise temperance to find new pastoral perspectives rivalry between the denominations made the 'clerical voice' less authoritative, and only one of many pressure groups seeking with increasing difficulty after 1906 to influence popular will. The churches' identification with bodies like the Temperance Council of Christian Churches (1915) presided over by the Archbishop of Westminster, the Moderator of the Free Church Council, and <sup>the</sup> General of the Salvation Army ironically accentuated working class indifference or hostility to organised religion as 'temperance' became passé and irrelevant in the inter-war years.<sup>24</sup>

Footnotes - Drink and the Clergy

1. S.T.L.R. 1908 'The Medical Manifesto' pp. 112-115, G.B. Wilson (op cit) p. 261 'The Change in Medical Opinion and Practice'. Temperance and the Churches has been studied by D. Paton (i.e. Paton, thesis, pp. 326-75) S. Mechie (op cit) Chapter VI, pp. 81-99, M.B. McGregor "Towards Scotland's Social Good" (op cit) B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians" London, 1971, e.g. pp. 163, 179, 181-3, 226, 293, 282 on the Church of England, W. Lambert thesis (op cit) studied the Welsh Chapel background, D. Bebbington (op cit) Chapter III the Nonconformist response in general, and K. Heasman (op cit) Chapter VIII pp. 126-147.
2. Paton, thesis, pp. 326-31, Bebbington (op cit) pp 46-7.
3. Mechie (op cit) p. 85-6, 92, Paton, thesis, p. 333. Typical of this phase was W. Collins' "On the Harmony between the Gospel and Temperance Societies" 1832, reprinted Glasgow, 1836, and Revd. M. Willis "Temperance Societies, Scriptural", Glasgow, 1831. On 1841 see J.F. Macguire M.P. "Father Mathew - A Biography", Cork, 1864.
4. Mechie (op cit) p. 93. Drummond and Bulloch (op cit) p. 27 simplify this "second stage" greatly. See Revd. Thomas Guthrie D.D. "Autobiography of T. Guthrie and Memoir by His Sons", 2 Vols., London, 1874. On Arnot - W. Arnot "Autobiography of the Revd. Wm. Arnot", London, 1877, pp 250-8.
5. Paton, thesis, pp 334-5. Examples of this tract warfare include Aristides (pseud) "A Reply to the Revd. J. Gibson's Principle of Bible Temperance" Glasgow, 1855, Revd. Dr. Brown "Nehushtan, or the Principles of Hezekiah's Reformation applied to the Temperance Reformation", Glasgow n.d., J.B. Burnett "Christian Self Denial - its Application to Abstinence from Wine and Strong Drink", Montrose, 1845, A. Dewar "An Urgent Appeal to non-Abstaining Ministers of Christ of all Denominations on their Apathy to the Temperance Reformation", London, 1856, G. Easton "The Wine of Can a", Glasgow, 1856, Revd. J. Gibson "Principles of Bible Temperance" Glasgow, 1854, Revd. William Reid "The Church in a False Position Regarding Temperance", Edinburgh 1846.
6. Office bearers of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Society in 1879-80 for example included William Kidston of Ferniegar, William Collins, Kinnaird, John McGavin, James Hamilton, James Salmon, Bailie Torrens, Councillor Colquhoun. Its Patron was Shaftesbury - Annual Report 1879, Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Society, Glasgow, 1879. See R.T.M. June 1911 'Violation of the Sabbath', where 20% of Sunday traders were foreign. On Sabbatarianism's appeal contrasted with that of temperance see Drummond & Bulloch (op cit) pp 21-22, 25. On mid-Victorian sabbatarianism in the

- West of Scotland - E. Robertson 'Early Scottish Railways and the Observance of the Sabbath', Scottish Historical Review 57, 1978, p. 151 on the Irish quoting from P.P., 1846 (530) xiii Evidence, here that of the Edinburgh Superintendent of Police. Paton, thesis, quoted p. 339-40. Parliamentary returns on Sunday drunkenness arrests - S.T.L.R. 1891 and 1892 p. 19. Temperance missionaries Sunday 'pub-watching' - Glasgow United Total Abstinence Society 3rd Annual Report, 1854, n.p. where it was alleged 381 drunkards could be seen in the city streets on one Sunday morning. Adviser 1850 p. 23 estimated 2 million "desecrated the sabbath" in 1850. Glasgow Argus Sat. 29 Aug. 1857 describes the exhausting evangelical Sunday. B. Harrison 'The Sunday Trading Riots of 1855', Historical Journal, VIII, 2, 1965, pp. 219-45. Scottish support for English Sunday Closing and Dr. Cameron's participation in the Select Committee on Irish Sunday Closing are described in S.P.B.T.A. 1877-8, p. 19, S.P.B.T.A. 1900-1, p. 11 noted John Wilson M.P. and Cameron Corbett as delegates to the 1900 Sunday Closing Conference in London, and the Scottish M.P.'s Sir J. Brigg, Burt, Henderson, Wilson, Harvey, Richards and Sir G. White were amongst those who presented a 1911-12 Sunday Closing Bill - Trade Report 1912, p. 24.
7. On the U.P.s - Scottish Temperance Annual 1899-1900, 'The U.P. Church Total Abstinence Union', pp. 75-8, on Macrae (1837-1907) S.T.L.R. 1908 pp. 81-5, R.T.M., June 1897 'Notes', on Ker ( -1886) Aird (op cit) pp. 302-6, on Hutton S.T.L.R. 1909 pp. 71-4, on Wallace, Aird (op cit) pp. 363-8. On the Evangelical Union, F. Ferguson "A History of the Evangelical Union", Glasgow, 1876, McNair (op cit) H. Kirk "Memoirs of John Kirk DD" Edinburgh 1888. S.T.L.R. 1857, pp 59-62, 'List of Abstaining Ministers'. On the Congregationalists, Revd. A. Cossar 'The Temperance Movement in the C.U. of Scotland', Scottish Temperance Annual 1905-6, pp. 59-63.
  8. Cook and Keith (op cit) p. 224. *Details of ministers from S.T.L.R., and conclusion therefore different from Paton, thesis, p 351.*
  9. Paton, thesis, pp 345-52. On Arnot's career, W. Arnot "Autobiography of the Revd. W. Arnot", London, 1877.
  10. L. Lewis Shiman 'The Blue Ribbon Army: Gospel Temperance in England', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Dec. 1981, Vol. L, No. IV, pp. 391-408. I am indebted to Mrs Shiman of Nichols College for sending me a copy of her article. K. Heasman (op cit) Chapter VIII 'Gospel Temperance' pp. 126-47. S.T.L.R. 1894 p. 13 S.T.L. dated the movement from 19.1.1872 in Maine.
  11. L. Lewis Shiman (op cit) p. 397. On Palmer see S. Yeo "Religion and Voluntary Associations in Crisis", London, 1976.
  12. K. Heasman (op cit) p. 131. See later section on women's temperance.

13. On Quakers, E. Isichei <sup>"Victorian"</sup> Quakers", London, 1970, p. 240. L. Lewis Shiman (op cit) pp 397-8, K. Heasman (op cit) pp 133-4, on the Wesleyans M. Edwards 'The Teetotal Wesleyan Methodists' Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society XXXIII, 1961-2, pp. 63-70, E. Urwin "Methodism and Sobriety" London N.D. Bebbington (op cit) pp. 3, 7-8. Scottish Temperance Annual 1901-2 pp. 64-7, 'The Scottish Baptist Total Abstinence Society'. The Roses and Lockharts were subscribers to the League for many years. On Spite, tea dealer and health food specialist see earlier section. Wylie, later tutor to the Baptist Union Theological Hall, was succeeded as Secretary in 1883 by A.B. Thomson of Edinburgh, and by Francis Spite in 1891. Spite was also a Director of S.T.L. and Chairman of the Band of Hope Board. Cook and Keith (op cit) p. 230, Table 24, Bebbington (op cit) p. 4 on Baptists, and A. Gilbert "Religion and Society in Industrial England", London, 1976, p. 43.
14. A. Kimball "The Blue Ribbon", New York, 1894, pp. 85, 213, 216. Robert Simpson the Glasgow merchant invited Murphy to Glasgow. K. Heasman (op cit) p. 133, L. Lewis Shiman (op cit) p. 407. The Mission of Love left its funds in trust for the Band of Hope to continue juvenile work in Paisley, home of juvenile temperance. The Band of Hope do not however have any documentation on the Mission or its demise.
15. D. Bebbington (op cit) pp. 47-9, L. Lewis Shiman 'The Church of England Temperance Society in the 19th Century', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Vol. XLI, 2, June 1972, where the society's strength in Yorkshire and Lancashire is discussed, and on the Peel Commission D. Fahey 'Temperance and the Liberal Party: Lord Peel's Report of 1899', Journal of British Studies, X, 1971. Quoted Bebbington (op cit) p. 51.
16. S.P.B.T.A. 1913, pp. 38-9, S.T.L.R. 1902, p. 99.
17. R. Howie "The Churches and Churchless in Scotland: Facts and Figures", Glasgow, 1893, p. 118, Paton, thesis, pp. 356-60. S.T.L.R. 1915, pp. 47-56.
18. Paton, thesis, p. 363. On character references see letters of 24.5.1855 from Revd. David W. Gordon of Earlston to George Baillie Esq. of Jerviswoode "respecting the Black Bull at Earlston", from Folio II, No. 34, held by the Regional Librarian, and Minutes of Evidence of Oban Town Council, 5.1.1847. (Ref. DC 5/1/1). On the Free Church - Revd. James Hunter of Laurieston 'Jubilee of the Free Church Temperance Society', Scottish Temperance Annual 1899 pp. 70-3, R.T.M. Jan. 1903 'Important Resolution by Glasgow U.F. Presbytery', p. 52 on Dr. Reith's successful pressure for abstinence to be urged on new communicants. Revd. James Paton 'The Temperance Movement of the Church of Scotland 1849-99', Scottish Temperance Annual 1900 pp. 71-75 - its total membership rose as follows:
- |      |        |      |        |      |        |
|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|
| 1894 | 32,000 | 1896 | 49,157 | 1898 | 63,164 |
| 1895 | 38,960 | 1897 | 56,360 | 1899 | 65,808 |

Only after 1895 did the Established Church set forth its views precisely, but in 1896-7 it was "satisfied" by the principle of Three Fold Option and in 1898-9 "heartily" approved of Parker's amended bill. As late as 1897 Dr. Donald McLeod, an ex Moderator, appeared at Edinburgh Trade dinners - R.T.M. April 1897 'Comments'. The dual basis was of course admittance of abstainers and non-abstainers - in the 1870's foreign observers incorrectly included the Church of Scotland with total abstinence societies - e.g. International Temperance Conference "Centennial Temperance Volume: A Memorial of the International Temperance Conference" Philadelphia, 1876. M. McGregor (op cit) Chapter VI, pp. 94, 96, 98-103. Revd. A. Cossar 'The Temperance Movement in the C.U.' (op cit) pp. 59-63. See 'An Appeal to the Ministers of Scotland' S.T.L.R. 1908 pp. 78-80.

19. J. Muirhead 'The Revival as a Dimension of Scottish Church History', Records of the Scottish Church History Society XX, 1980, pp. 179-96. Glasgow United Total Abstainers' Association Report 1853 and Report 1854. Ferguson the Gorbals missionary complained of no Bibles but "plenty of bottles". G.U.T.A.A. sampled 50 sections of Glasgow. See also Shadow (op cit) No. IV Monday Night, pp. 42-51 in similar vein. Cook & Keith (op cit) Table IV p. 221. A. Gilbert (op cit) C. Binfield (op cit) H. Meller (op cit) S. Yeo (op cit) discussed in H. McLeod 'Religion in the City', Urban History Yearbook, 1978, pp. 5-21. S.T.L.R. 1900 pp. 81-8, and 1915 pp. 47-56. On Universalists, J. Ure Mitchell (1833-1905), and Caroline Soule active in Glasgow, - manuscript of Dr. R.E. Miller 'The Scottish Mission'.
20. Cook & Keith (op cit) Table 10, p. 223, Table 11, p. 224.
21. A racy account of Fr. Mathew's work appear in G. Hayler, "Famous Fanatics", London, 1911, pp. 48-54 and Longmate (op cit) pp. 110-18. Canon Bennet "Father Nugent of Liverpool", Liverpool Catholic Children's Protection Society, 1949, Chapter X, pp. 104-142, R.T.M. Sept. 1905 'Death of Monsignor Nugent', G. Hayler (supra) pp. 55-8, A. Dingle and B. Harrison (op cit) pp. 487-8, S. Dark "Cardinal Manning", London 1936, Chapter III, pp. 65-103 and L. Strachey "Five Victorians" London 1942 pp. 345-434. Tablet 14.1.1871. Morris (op cit) pp. 92-3, 162-3 and Winskill (op cit) Vol. I p. 359 on Envaght, S.T.L.R. 1898 p. 60 on date of formation. S.T.L.R. 1877 p. 59 Archbishop Eyre diary Ms. entry 10.9.1877 on St. Patrick's Temperance Hall. Circular "To the Faithful of the Arch-diocese...Glasgow 13.5.1889 by Charles Archbishop of Glasgow", S.T.L.R. 1881, p. 44, 1882 p. 56, 1891 p. 61, 1894 p. 69. On Barra where 800 took the pledge see R.T.M. Nov. 1891 'Novel Scene'. On formation of St. Mary's, Hamilton see Hamilton Advertiser, 2.2.1889.
22. B. Aspinwall 'Second Spring and Formation of the Catholic Community in the West of Scotland', Clergy Review, 65, 1981. On Highland versus Irish tension amongst the clergy - Revd. J. Walsh 'Archbishop Manning's Visitation of the Western District of Scotland in 1867', Innes Review, XVIII, 1967, pp. 3-18. On 'respectability', W. Walker "Juteopolis", (cited



- earlier) pp. 55-6. On wealthy Scottish converts see B. Aspinwall 'David Urquhart, Robert Monteith and the Catholic Church' Innes Review Vol. XXXI, 1980, pp. 57-70, and I. Wood 'David Urquhart, Robert Monteith and the Catholic Church: a Search for Justice and Peace' Innes Review XXI, 1980 pp. 71-87, on savings banks, J. McCaffrey 'Roman Catholics in Scotland in the 19th and 20th century', Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. XXI, 1983, on St. Mary's Calton, Glasgow, on the Catholic press, Owen Dudley Edwards 'The Catholic Press in Scotland since the Restoration of the Hierarchy' Innes Review, XXIX, 1978, pp. 156-83, and on Catholic culture in general, B. Aspinwall 'The Formation of the Catholic Community in the West of Scotland', Innes Review XXXIII, 1982. On Irish politics see J. McCaffrey (op cit) and W. Walker 'Irish Immigrants in Scotland', Historical Journal, XV, 1972, pp. 649-67.
23. Quoted J. Cooney "Scotland and the Papacy" Edinburgh, 1982 p. 17 et seq. On Eyre, Hamilton Herald Glasgow and Lanarkshire Illustrated, cited earlier, p. 10. I have only found references to St. Andrews Catholic Temperance Society participation at Amalgamated Temperance Council Demonstrations - S.P.B.T.A. 1909-10, p. 22.
24. i.e. S. Mews 'Urban problems and Rural Solutions - Drink and Disestablishment in the First World War", Studies in Church History Vol. XVI, D. Baker (ed.) 'The Church in Town and Countryside', D.C. Smith 'The Failure and Recovery of Social Criticism in the Scottish Churches 1830-1950", Edinburgh University unpublished Ph.D. thesis 1964, pp. 54, 63, 75, 79, 83. William Anderson of St. John's Relief Church whom Smith mentioned was in fact associated with the League in the 1850's. A.A. Maclaren "Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in Aberdeen", London, 1974. On social backgrounds see Biographical Appendix. I am indebted to the Churches Council on Alcoholism and Drugs, 4 Southampton Row, London, for information on the Council. Paton, thesis, pp. 371-5.

TEMPERANCE AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE - an interesting

interchange of propaganda.



The campaign for women's suffrage was waged in increasingly violent form throughout the decade before the First World War. In 1908 *The Illustrated London News* published, above, the drawing by H.H. Flere which posed the question "Which is fitter to have a vote?"

Source : James Bishop

"The Illustrated London News  
A Social history of Edwardian  
Britain" Angus & Robertson,  
London, 1977.

Women

"Our charge against the drink traffic is that it is the greatest cruellest known enemy of the human race".

Mrs Lloyd George  
Glasgow, 14.10.1919.

"Strong drink changes love into lust and carries the victim into licence and impurity. It is always the faithful ally of the baser nature. It is ever the friend of the beast in man".

Mrs Bramwell Booth

"I want you to think of the effect of these restrictions in terms of women and babies".

Lady Astor M.P.

Source: Glasgow No Licence Committee  
"No Licence: The New Campaign",  
Glasgow, 1921.

WOMEN AND TEMPERANCE

Scottish lady temperance reformers - platform speakers.



Mrs WOYKA, Glasgow.

Source: C.E. Robertson "British Women's Temperance Association Scottish Christian Union: its Origins and Progress",  
Ayrshire Post, Ayr, 1908.

Some of the earliest temperance societies, such as that established at Maryhill in 1829 by connections of Dunlop, were female temperance societies. The early 19th century United Order of Female Rechabites has been described earlier. Paisley where the Coats' mills employed large numbers of female operatives had a thriving female society with the Coats' and Clarks' wives and daughters as patrons. By the 1860's Paisley, Chapelhall, Coatbridge, Millport and Edinburgh had female societies affiliated to the S.T.L. In addition from the late 1840's onwards reformers encouraged women to join and subscribe to societies like the S.T.L. and S.P.B.T.A. Only in Templary however did women hold office alongside men and a women's temperance movement as such was created only in the 1870's in response to the Ohio Whisky War and the White Ribboners.<sup>1</sup>

The principal British women's temperance organisations over 1870-1914 were the B.W.T.A. and B.W.T.L. The Glasgow Branch of the B.W.T.A. Scottish Christian Union was formed in 1874 during Moody and Sankey's Glasgow Green and Drill Hall Mission. Men like Simpson involved in this evangelistic work were appalled at the number of women who attended the Saturday night and Sabbath breakfast meetings during this mission and invited ladies interested in forming bands of praying women on the American model. A weekly prayer meeting was formed by Mrs George Stewart, wife of the Ewing Place Church minister, Simpson the "dry goods" merchant's daughter-in-law, and Mrs Rannie and Mrs Robert Service, both wives of S.T.L. figures. Its committee were all total abstainers. It held prayer meetings and also public meetings to gather support for active visitation work amongst "drink victims". Whereas women members of S.T.L. and S.P.B.T.A. were confined to traditional roles of district visiting, a feature of even early 19th century charities, and fund raising as

in anti-slavery work this new Ladies' Temperance Prayer Union built on the tentative petitioning of the Edinburgh Ladies' Abstinence Society and American inspiration. Amongst its first objectives were visitation of city ministers, "in deputations of two", to ask for their support and to press for introduction of non-alcoholic wine, a letter campaign against Glasgow publicans, a boycott of all licensed grocers, and deputation work to open branches in neighbouring towns.

Its leaders represented a broad spectrum of social reform interests. Miss Mary White, a Quaker, and Miss Bryson were prominent in prison, savings banks, visiting, Y.W.C.A., and reclamation work, Mrs McPherson was a relative of Annie McPherson who organised emigration schemes in which Miss White also cooperated, Mrs Allan was the wife of Alexander Allan, just as Miss Forrester, Mrs. Johnston, Mrs Alexander Wallace, Mrs Hunter Craig and Mrs John Wilson were also wives of prominent Local Vetoists, whilst Mrs Woyka was the wife of the Glasgow timber merchant John Woyka, a Hungarian emigré like her husband who had fled persecution of the Protestant faith and came from a family of wealthy landowners who had long dabbled in evangelistic work and patronage of medical missionary work. Miss Wigham of Edinburgh was a member of the family of Quaker radicals interested in anti-slavery, and prominent in organisation of a boycott of slave cotton utilising the social reform press to set up a mail order enterprise and retail outlets for approved cotton goods, Sabbath protection, and the peace movement. Mrs Milne, a geographically mobile Congregational minister's wife, was also involved in the peace movement and corresponded with American reformers. The Presidents of the Scottish B.W.T.A. over this period were the Free Kirker Mrs Blaikie, active in emigration work, Catherine Forrester Paton, Mrs Colville

of Motherwell and Mrs Gemmil of Glasgow S.P.B.T.A. Its Hon. Sec. was Mrs Miller, daughter of Duncan McLaren M.P.

Scottish ladies, notably Mrs Parker of Dundee (1829-96) were also prominent in formation of the national B.W.T.A. at Newcastle in 1876. Parker, wife of a wealthy tannery owner, was a Good Templar leader with many American connections and actually invited Mother Stewart to Britain. Among the promoters of this body was Mrs Lucas of London, sister of Bright. Parker was its first President, and with Mrs Stewart, Mrs Woyka and Miss Wilson of Glasgow attended the First International Women's Christian Temperance Convention in Philadelphia in 1876. The Scottish branches drew together formally under the Glasgow branch in 1879 as the Scottish Union of B.W.T.A. with the right to send representatives to the B.W.T.A. in London.<sup>2</sup>

Women's temperance was based upon two premises. Firstly drunken women were thought to be an increasing social problem in years when consumption patterns did seem to be responsive to reform. Middle class women were suspected of secret drinking in the increased hours of leisure given them by mechanisation, and to be utilising opportunities for drinking given by "hotel and restaurant life, the custom of lunching out alone, general freedom of behaviour, incessant pursuit of excitement, newly won independence and the command of money". (Shadwell, 1903). Working women were similarly thought to be over represented in the figures of habitual drunkards. The "female uproariousness" of a town like Dundee shocked reformers. To them the sight of a female drunkard was doubly appalling, in terms of loss of God-given female dignity, personal vulnerability, and jeopardisation of an entire family's comfort and well being. God intended women to be ministering angels. 'Bad women' were often so far removed from this image that they tended to be depicted as

incorrigibles of an almost demonic type. Sanger found alcoholism attributed to personal evil in Glasgow even in 1913. Secondly however women were seen as the victims of male vice. How many homes were disrupted by male alcoholism, and how many girls could bear to be prostitutes if they were not drunk for most of their waking hours?<sup>3</sup>

The myth of drunken working women encouraged reformers to combine traditional fund-raising roles with reclamation work, provision of club facilities and respectable accommodation, and work as G.A.U. "lady missionaries" on the lines recommended by Bayly.<sup>4</sup> The latter visited women in their own homes, distributing tracts and encouraging them to join G.A.U. home-economics, thrift, and handicrafts classes. Mrs Black and Chisholm's influence ensured continuation of the "cold hearth" theme, the traditional radical allegation that poor housekeepers encouraged husbands to patronise public houses. Working women were supplied with hints on cheap and nutritious fare. Middle class hostesses were encouraged to buy alternative non-alcoholic cookery books.<sup>5</sup> The Ladies' Auxiliary of the S.P.B.T.A. combined afternoon meetings for working class women on traditional Dorcas Society and Mothers' Meeting lines with "At Homes" for ladies.<sup>6</sup> The B.W.T.A. however defied attempts to be confined to the limited roles of female supporters of philanthropic endeavour. They cooperated with Alexander Allan in British Workman Public House work, and with Mr. McGill in connection with the Grove St. Mission and Institute (1859), a branch of the Evangelisation Society of London which operated a medical dispensary for the poor and was reputed to employ 200 volunteers in 1892. The Prayer Union resisted amalgamation with the 'Bible women nurses' under direction of male reformers. They sought rather to expand their all-female organisation and to diversify their activities.<sup>7</sup>



An initial problem was public speaking. Ladies rarely spoke in public. Anne Jane Carlile the Band of Hope founder was considered a great novelty when she spoke in Glasgow in the 1840's, as later were Beecher Stowe and Mother Stewart. The soubrette role which women played in charitable organisations did not prepare them for public speaking. Indeed the temperance idol J.B. Gough threw the ladies of the Glasgow Temperance Visiting Association into considerable confusion at their banquet in his honour by a speech which required their reply. There was an uncomfortable pause, male reformers "seemed at a loss" and then the ladies "improvised it well...they waved their white hankies!" (Gough).

This was a problem which the B.W.T.A. never entirely conquered although it soon ceased to rely on male speakers. Many of the ladies attracted to women's temperance were painfully aware that it was considered "vulgar". Although they admired the militant American reformers they had no desire to sound strident or unfeminine. Scotland produced few famous lady speakers. Amongst their most self-confident speakers were Quaker ladies like the Wighams and Pease Nichols. No longer quietists, Quakers embraced a very wide range of social reform concerns and had the benefit of being treated as equals in Quaker affairs. Quaker piety and enthusiasm for social reform was often also matched by erudition. Mrs Docwra, a member of an Kent family of merchant bankers associated with patronage of the St. John's Ambulance Association, was a noted speaker as was Mrs McKinnon of the I.O.G.T. Mrs Woyka of Glasgow was an extremely popular speaker because of her Hungarian emigré status, Hungary being a focus of Presbyterian missionary interest visited by reformers like Annot, a connection with Judaism which made her an authority on Bible temperance according to the Sephardic Jews, her militant

Protestantism and a mastery of physiology superior even to Helen Kirk's. Both Woyka and Docwra were, like Josephine Butler, ladies of great personal attractiveness which contributed to their popularity with mixed meetings just as J.B. Gough's looks accounted for his rapt, and predominantly female, audiences.<sup>8</sup> It was much easier to persuade women to write for B.W.T.A. in The Call , The Torch , and B.W.T.A. Journal and later Scottish Women's Temperance News , and to write temperance short stories and novels. Few however were able to rival Clara Lucas Balfour, Mrs Henry Wood, "Annie S. Swann", or Mrs Wightman.<sup>9</sup>

The extent to which B.W.T.A. flourished given very great overlap with the Ladies' Auxiliary of S.P.B.T.A. and the ladies' of the S.T.L. was remarkable. Following establishment of the Scottish Union with its headquarters in Edinburgh in 1879 there were 21 affiliated branches, mainly in Central Scotland and the Borders. These were especially strong in Glasgow, Paisley, which soon had one of the largest female societies in the world, Greenock and Edinburgh. The support of Lady Hope, the Countess of Aberdeen, and the Marchioness of Ailsa were secured. By 1903 the B.W.T.A. had 803 branch associations in the U.K.. In 1908 the Scottish Christian Union had 332 Branches and 80,000 members - in spite of adverse factors such as the B.W.T.A. Board's refusal to allow Scottish branches to pay lower affiliation fees, and a massive split in the ranks of women's temperance in 1893 which led to secession and formation of the British Women's Temperance League.<sup>10</sup>

The overlap between women's temperance and women's suffrage is well known. Harrison noted that prohibitionism especially was "a noteworthy example of the alliance between feminism and middle class puritanism which Bernard Shaw so detested." Prohibitionism

*the feminism* often had common enemies. Their move towards support for women's suffrage and the non-militant 'constitutional' tactics of the National Union (1897) was prompted by connections with the rising tide of American feminism 1873-1900 via the W.C.T.U. and Willard et al. and by the rhetoric of Local Veto to which B.W.T.A. was committed. The suffragist stance of Lady Henry Somerset came as a shock to more conservative elements who stressed defence of the home and the family rather than political action itself. It would appear however that these were in the minority in Scotland. No Scottish branches joined the secretaries in the British Women's Temperance League or Women's Temperance Association Union whose work was confined largely to visitation work and petitioning.

The "politics of domesticity" epitomised by the B.W.T.A. motto "For God and Home and Every Land" ironically encouraged women to embark upon more and more adventurous work for temperance, involving the press, the platform, increasingly sophisticated organisational structures involving a Peebles women's inebriate home and salaried branch and district agents, and increasing amounts of lobbying for Local Veto and abolition of grocers' licences. The drink question encouraged unprecedented numbers to stand as parish councillors after 1864, as Mrs Barton did, or for the School Boards, as Mrs Mason and Black did. Visitation work was excellent training for canvassing. Links to the White Cross League (1891) and social purity in general also spurred Wigham, Pease, Nichol, Bright Lucas and Isabella Tod to insist that women "were without guilt in placing laws on the statute book" (Parker, 1876) - a comment equally applicable to the Contagious Diseases Acts or licensing. As has already been indicated many male temperance reformers like Corbett, Chisholm, Ure Primrose, and Revd. James Bain encouraged women to

believe not only that suffrage would bring the Veto but that it would purge the political system. Temperance periodicals frequently quoted Wollstonecraft's stress of the need for female education and Mill's view of the value of introducing female qualities into government. Female reformers like the McLarens, Isabella Tod, Wigham and Mrs Millar etc., shared in the 1860's focus on marriage laws, education, and entry to the medical profession. Later and especially younger temperance reformers like Lady Henry Somerset, and Rosalind Countess of Carlisle, President of the National Women's Liberal Federation, headed support for organised pressure for the vote. B.W.T.A. exasperation with Liberal policy paralleled that of suffragists, whilst a "do everything" strategy influenced by Willard encouraged female reformers to re-examine their social role in terms of the possibilities of higher education, local government, and the professions. S.P.B.T.A. promoted not only fundraising work for the Samaritan Hospital for Women but also the Glasgow General Nursing Association whilst the London B.W.T.A. was identified with the metropolitan equivalent. It was also easier for suffragists to influence younger reformers after 1893 formation of the Y.B.W.T.A. and the emergence of temperance societies specifically for nurses and teachers by 1902. The S.P.B.T.A. brought Balgarnie to Glasgow to help train its Ladies' Auxiliary to get the temperance vote out. Consequently, as Holton has noted, it was to the B.W.T.A. and S.P.B.T.A. that the Glasgow and West of Scotland Franchise Association (1902) looked for support. Leading members of the S.P.B.T.A. Ladies' Auxiliary Mrs Cockburn and Miss Henderson became delegates to the Association, and in response to the latter the B.W.T.A. agreed to establish its own women's suffrage committee, whilst Cameron Corbett presided at its 1904 Annual Meeting. Some suffragists also became temperance

advocates, e.g. Frances Melville, Mrs W.C. Frame, Mrs Somerville, Mrs Rankin, Mrs William Reid, and Mrs Frank Smith. Corbett and the militant teetotal suffragist Janie Allan also shared suffragist interest in the Scottish Council for Women's Trades.<sup>11</sup> Female trades unionists were at cross purposes with the temperance movement on the so called 'barmaid question'. Trades unionists sought to improve hours and conditions and supported the private members' bills to this effect in 1890, 1896 and 1898. The B.W.T.A. and Y.W.C.A. preferred the Glasgow situation - where women had long since ceased to be employed as barmaids. In 1908 Eva Gore Booth and Constance Markiewicz sprang to the defence of barmaids against threats of abolition of their employment and demanded the franchise for women to protect this labour.<sup>12</sup>

If success is measured in numbers, women's temperance was a success. Although the B.W.T.A. spanned the Presbyterian denominations and thus was subject to internal rivalries it still had 450 Scottish branches in 1933 and a total membership of 50,000. Its decline did not occur until the 1950's. The B.W.T.A. was probably responsible for improving the standard of cooking in many working class households, although standards of nutrition were a problem which this organisation was only obliquely aware of. Yet over this period its interests evolved ever outward in concentric circles from 'home protection' towards a 'gospel socialism'. In spite of cross currents on the 'barmaid question' gospel temperance and related charities led the middle "new woman" not merely from charity to social work but also to support for suffrage and the New Liberalism. In doing so they often became aware of the limitations of their success. The Dundee mill girl of radical sentiments for example still remained largely immune to gospel temperance's message, though quick to

unionise. The B.W.T.A., like the Rechabites, looked to the young as the solution. In their Little White Ribboners, Girls'and Boys' Department, and "Y." Branches they fancied they saw 'the hope of the race'.<sup>13</sup>

Footnotes: Women.

1. On Maryhill, W. Logan "Early Heroes of the Temperance Reformation", London, 1873, on U.O.F.R. see Chapter IV, on Paisley Female Temperance Society S.T.L.R. 1860 'Affiliated Societies', on Chapelhall ibid 1862 - its President was the wife of the President of the local male society. On Coatbridge and Millport ibid 1863. Coatbridge's Honorary President was the writer Clara Lucas Balfour. On the Edinburgh Ladies' Abstinence Society, Temperance Spectator 1.4.1862, p. 63. On 1840's recruitment of women E. Morris (op cit) pp. 141-3, 190-1.
2. On the American example see B. Aspinwall 'The Feminine Connection' (op cit) pp. 9-10, J. Dannenbaum 'The Origins of Temperance Activism and Militancy Among American Women', Journal of Social History, XV 1981, pp. 234-52, R. Bordin "Woman and Temperance; the Quest for Power and Liberty 1873-1900" Philadelphia 1981, which includes an excellent bibliography. There are now Ph.D.s on the W.C.T.U. in nearly every state of the Union, most of them unpublished. J.D. Burns "Temperance History" II p. 226-7, S.T.L.R. 1875, pp.39, 69, 71. See B.W.T.A. "A Century of Service 1876-1976", London, 1976 on the national organisation. C. Robertson "British Women's Temperance Association Scottish Christian Union: Its Origins and Progress", Ayr, 1908, pp. 1-62. B.W.T.A. "Formation of the Ladies Temperance Prayer Union, Glasgow", Glasgow, 1924, pp. 1-56, on Miss White see Scottish Reformer 3.10.1903 p. 9, and Biographical Index. J. Goodfellow "The Print of his Shoe" Edinburgh, 1906, pp. 74-9. I am indebted to Dr. Woyka of Haddington for information on Mrs Woyka. On the Wighams, not to be confused with the Whigams, long established wine merchants of Ayr - see 'Shops in 18th and 19th Century Edinburgh', Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. XXX, 1959, pp. 135-9, S.E. Wigham "Memorial of Sarah Elizabeth Wigham" daughter of J. and S. Wigham, Edinburgh, p.p. 1855. On Parker B.W.T.A. (supra) pp. 22-3 and 52-6, P. Winskill (op cit) Vol. II, pp. 299 and B.W.T.A. Annual Report 1876 p. 10, which noted that her 17 year old son had just died at this point. On Mother Stewart - B.W.T.A. (supra) pp. 22-7, and S.T.L.R. 1877 pp 55-6. Her visit prompted S.T.L. Conversazioni on the theme "The Sphere of Woman in the Temperance Movement". See her "The Crusader in Great Britain or the History and origins of the B.W.T.A.", Springfield Ohio 1893, especially pp. 209-359.
3. F. Prochaska (op cit) Introduction, 'Woman's Nature and Mission', pp. 1-17. On Dundee, Walker (op cit) pp. 42 and accompanying table. On the drunken women myth - Adviser Aug. 1850 p. 124 'The Banished Wife', a tale of a 'lush' banished to a Drunkard's Island in the Clyde, Glasgow Argus Sat. 10.10.1857 on "dissolute mothers" in Jamaica St. public houses, ibid 29.8.1857 for a description of a drunken female being carried through the streets on a barrow having had a

suicide bid thwarted by Police Surgeon McGill, ibid Sat 15.8. 1857 'Lay Lectures VIII' by Franklin. S.T.L.R. 1859 and 1860 re Resolution of 11.5.1858 on S.T.L.'s desire to appeal to women, and S.T.L.R. 1861 p. 12 on Revd. W. Reid's "Woman's Work for Woman's Weal". On female drunkards and vice - J. Coates "The Grave Social Problem: A Lecture on Morals and Society", London, n.d. c 1886, e.g. p. 6. "those who prostitute their bodies...are the classes from which the wine and spirit merchants draw their best customers". The pioneering study here was W. Logan (cited earlier) "The Moral Statistics of Glasgow" 'Intemperance and Female Prostitution' pp. 41-7, and also 55-7, which drew upon Revd. Ralph Wardlaw's "Lectures on Female Prostitution: its Nature, Extent, Effects, Guilt Causes and Remedy", Glasgow, 1842. Drunken women as threat to home - e.g. Glasgow Argus Sat. 28.11.1857 description of a police office scene in which "a poor helpless boy was forced to witness a mother's shame". Drunken women as victims - see M. Sanger's comments in J. Young (op cit) pp. 171-2. A. Shadwell "Drink, Temperance and Legislation", London, 1903, Chapter IV 'Female Drunkenness', pp. 75-89, which alleged that middle class secret drinking was on the increase as was working class habitual inebriety. He had no proof but believed Dr. Norman Kerr's interpretation of the Registrar General's statistics on deaths from chronic alcoholism, and supposedly damning evidence of court proceedings for drunkenness against women expressed as a proportion of the population. Quoted here p. 76. P. Snowden's "Socialism and the Drink Traffic" London, I.L.P. 1908, pp. 41-3, 56-7 echoes this, quoting a 1907 White Paper on public house attendance.

4. On G.A.U. lady missionaries, G.A.U. (op cit) p. 60 et seq. This work commenced in the 1860's. G.A.U. utilised Mrs Bayly of London to publicise it. Bayly (1816-?) was author of "Ragged Homes and How to Mend Them" London, 1860 - see B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", London 1971, p. 337, N. Longmate (op cit) pp. 203-4, 210, K. Heasman (op cit) pp. 24-6, 32-3, and F. Prochaska (op cit) pp. 110, 134, 148, and his excellent Chapter IV 'In the Homes of the Poor' pp. 97-137 in general. On traditional liaison with City Missionaries - Scottish Review, 1858, p. 351. On Mothers' Meetings much in vogue with Quaker ladies in the 1860's, M.E. Fox "Mary Pease: A Memoir" London, 1911, pp. 129-133. J. Wells "The Revd. James Hood Wilson of the Barclay Church" London, 1904, p. 46.
5. On the home economics theme, G.A.U. (op cit) pp. 61 and 67, (its cookery classes preceded public school domestic science lessons) Glasgow Argus 29.8.1857 which emphasised women should be industrious, but that their first priority was to keep a good house, and recommended Ester Copley's "Cottage Cookery", Lay Lecture XII which denounced beer and butcher meat as English fads, accused women of ignorance of cooking and looked forward to the demise of female employment outside the home. Glasgow Argus 26.9.1857 described the "bleezin' ingle, clean



hearth stane and carefully washed children" thought to be every man's right. Indeed this theme of female culpability continued into the 20th century - see for example J. Burns "Labour and Drink" London, 1904, 'Women's Labour' which called for reduction of female employment in factories and quoted Dr. Scott of Glasgow's evidence to the Committee on Physical Deterioration to the effect that "a great deal of Glasgow intemperance is due to ill cooked food". P. Snowden's "Socialism and the Drink Traffic" London, 1908, p. 78 similarly attributed child deaths to "wrong feeding". On Mrs Black and the origins of domestic science teaching in the Glasgow area, E. Miller "Century of Change 1875-1975, 100 Years of Training Home Economics Students in Glasgow", Glasgow 1975, pp. 1-49, which briefly describes the careers of Grace Paterson and Margaret Black. Chisholm was involved in management of Mrs Black's cookery school - pp. 17, 20. This was a permutation of the interest in cooking depots expressed by earlier reformers - see e.g. W. Chambers "Cheap Cooking Depots and Dining Halls" pp. 1-24, mentioned earlier.

6. On S.P.B.T.A. Ladies' Auxiliary see S.P.B.T.A. 1895-1914, invariably p. 5 of 'Annual Report, Read at the Annual Business Meeting'. Prominent were Lady Mary Murray, Lady Bell, Mrs Ormiston Chant, Mrs William Smith, Mrs George Mason, Mrs Black, Mrs McLay, Mrs Allan Coats, Mrs John Buchanan, Lady Cameron, Lady Maclean and Mrs A. Henderson.
7. B.W.T.A. (op cit) pp. 20-22, the Prayer Union resisted amalgamation with the Temperance Mission of Christian Ladies based at Grove St. On the Grove Street Mission see O. Checkland "Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle", Edinburgh 1980, pp. 70, 84, 206. It was associated with Drs. J. Anderson Robertson and J.G. Connal. There was also a temperance connection with the Moncur St. Mission, run by the Glasgow Medical Missionary Society (1868).
8. The American clergy's lack of hostility to lady speakers was a point made by Parker - B.W.T.A. Annual Reports, hereafter cited as B.W.T.A. 1876. F. Sherlock "Anne Jane Carlile Temperance Pioneers" London, 1897, pp. 21, 31, 54, "Memoir of Thomas Guthrie" (op cit) p. 365 on Stowe, J.D. Burns "Temperance History" Vol. 1, p. 397 on lady speakers of the 1850's, J.B. Gough "Autobiography and Personal Recollections of J.B. Gough with 26 years experience as a public speaker", London, 1870, pp. 347. Originally this was not particularly to prevent women from entering the pulpit although in 1875 Soule was barred from a Selkirk Dr. R.E. Miller "History of Universalism" manuscript. See S.E. Wigham (op cit) pp. 35-7, 40-58. Young Sarah Elizabeth (1834-54) who died suddenly was influenced by Schiller's Letters and had made her own translations of Schiller and Manzoni. On Elizabeth Pease Nichol - P. Winskill (op cit) Vol. II p. 280. On Mrs Woyka - B.W.T.A. 1877 p. 11, on tour of North of England with Parker, and p. 35 on her feelings of frustration with evangelistic work, 1880 pp.13-14 on Woyka's

two-week tour of London drawing room and public meetings for B.W.T.A. She had evolved a chemical demonstration of food and drink analysis by this point.

See also C. Robertson "British Women's Christian Association Scottish Christian Union. Its Origins and Progress" Ayr 1908 p. 36. See e.g. B.W.T.A. 1880 p. 48 on Mrs Kirk's lecture "Women's Medical Use of Alcohol" given at a conference in Memorial Hall, Farringdon St., London. Mrs McKinnon of I.O.G.T. was a noted B.W.T.A. evangelist - C. Robertson (op cit) p. 37. Mary W. Docwra wrote "Non Alcoholic Cookery" London, 1880, and later left B.W.T.A. at its secession - B.W.T.A. 1893-4 p. 27. On the 'star' element of platform work see Gough (op cit) pp. 336, 344.

9. On writers see L. Lewis Shiman 'Band of Hope Movement. Respectable Recreation for Working Class Children', Victorian Studies XVII, 1973, pp.62-4.  
"Annie S. Swan" wrote the temperance tales "Aldersyde", "Carlowie", "Thomas Dryborough's Dream" and "Miss Baxter's Request", published as part of an Oliphant "popular shilling series". Other ladies who contributed to this series remained unknown. Annie S. Swan was Mrs Burnett-Smith, a friend of Mrs George Mason and Kate Cranston. She spoke at the centenary celebrations for the temperance movement in Edinburgh in 1932 - Centenary Committee "Centenary of the Total Abstinence Movement in Scotland 1832-1932" Glasgow, 1932, p. 27.
10. Expansion S.T.L.R. 1878 p. 40, 1879 p. 48. T. Hamilton (op cit) p. 42 on Greenock, on Dundee B.W.T.A. 1876 p. 15, 1877 p. 19, 1881 p. 99.  
On Edinburgh B.W.T.A. 1878 pp.9, and 24, 1879 pp 12, 28-9, 1881 p. 18, 1882 p. 46, C. Robertson "British Women's Temperance Association Scottish Christian Union: Its Origins and Progress" Ayr 1908, p. 43, and S.T.L.R. 1902 p. 80 and 1903 p. 76.
11. B. Harrison 'British Prohibitionists a Biographical Analysis', International Review of Social History, Vol. XV, 3, 1970, p. 402, and his "Separate Spheres: Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain", London, 1978, F. Prochaska (op cit) p. 229, S. Holton "Feminism and Democracy: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain with Particular Reference to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies 1897-1918" Stirling University unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1981, pp. 40, 61, 64, 68, 78, 96-7. Dr. Holton omits to mention that the following were involved in both movements according to the Minute Book of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage, May 1902 p. 17 et seq. -  
The Ms. Allan, Beith, Blackie and Grace Paterson, Bailie Bilsland and Lady Glen Coats - all with a teetotal connection. See also H. Blackburn "Women's Suffrage: a Record of the Women's Suffrage Movement in the British Isles", London 1902, reprint New York 1971, pp. 19, 53, 63, 86, 99 and 261.  
On the W.C.T.U. drift towards suffrage, ably assisted by Willard's "do everything" strategy - R. Bordin "Women and Temperance. The Quest for Power and Liberty 1873-1900" Philadelphia 1981, F. Willard "Glimpses of Fifty Years: the Autobiography of an American Woman", Chicago, 1889, 1970

Source Book reprint. See earlier Chapter III on temperance lessons. Parker quote from B.W.T.A. 1876, p. 8. On social purity J. Coates (op cit) p. 14, Josephine Butler "Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade" London, 1896, p. 189 on Mrs Pease Nichol, Miss Wigham, Mrs Bright McLaren, and Miss Isabella Tod, and on Bright Lucas p. 304. On S.P.B.T.A. and Balgarnie, S.P.B.T.A. 1896-7, pp 5-7. S.P.B.T.A. estimated there were 20,437 female voters in the city and to fully organise these 1,000 lady volunteers were required - 40 per ward, each to visit 20 voters. Balgarnie supervised ward organisation. She returned in 1898 for the municipal elections - S.P.B.T.A. 1898-9 pp. 5-6. On Melville, Galloway and overlap with those pressing for higher education see O. Checkland "Queen Margaret Union 1890-1980" Glasgow, 1980, pp. 1-11. On "politics of domesticity" - B. Epstein "The Politics of Domesticity: Women Evangelism and Temperance in 19th Century America" Columbia U.P. 1981. See R.T.M. illustrations of "do everything" e.g. Jan. 1898 'Woman's World' discussed a series of occupations, 'Ladies as Vets, as Preachers, as Physicians, as Inventors' and so on, and in 1900 gave details of the women attending London University. On the Y.W.B.T.A., Scottish Women's Temperance News, Vol. LXXVIII, No. 1, Jan.-Mar., 1976. On temperance lessons see R. Bordin (op cit) pp. 4, 18, 135-8. On local government see Ignota 'The Part of Women in Local Administration' Westminster Review, July 1898, c1, pp. 33-46, and Sept. pp. 248-60. There were at this point 40 Scottish female parish councillors. The R.T.M. encouraged women to enter local politics - e.g. Jan. 1911 p. 1 'Miss G. Morgan, Mayor of Brecon'. On nursing, S.P.B.T.A. adverts, B.W.T.A. 1880, p. 62, and R. Gaffney (op cit) Chapter V, pp. 260-305. Interest in nursing combined "middle class conversion to appreciation of the benefits of hospitals", changing medical requirements and admiration of Nightingale - on the latter see F. Smith "Florence Nightingale: Reputation and Power", London, 1982, especially p. 18 on her radical Unitarian background. See R.T.M. May 1899 p. 101 - "Miss N. has given us a brilliant example of devotion to the commonwealth". Many temperance reformers were involved in fundraising for the Royal Samaritan Hospital "Bazaar Brochure", Glasgow 1924.

12. On the 'barmaid question' see Anon "The Barmaid Problem", London Joint Committee on the Employment of Barmaids 1904 pp. 1-7, 'Barmaids and the Licensing Bill', Brewing Trade Review 1.7.1908, p. 405 on a Trafalgar Square meeting of June 73, Eva Gore Booth and Countess Markievicz presiding. Work as barmaids was always identified with vice, although by 1908 few continued to assert that publicans generated brothels in living quarters above public houses - R.T.M. 1898 p. 101 'The Lost Women of London'. In 1909 there were 27,000 barmaids in England and Wales, mainly under 35 - S.T.L.R. 1909 p. 74. There were only 2 barmaids in Paisley by 1906 - R.T.M. Mar. 1906 'Notes'.
13. Bordin (op cit) Chapter VII pp. 117-139. Scottish Churches Handbook (cited earlier) pp. 128-9.

CHILDREN AND TEMPERANCE.



Source : James Bishop "The Illustrated London News - A Social History of Edwardian Britain," Angus & Robertson, London, 1977.

The Young

"Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it."

PROVERBS, xxii, 6.

Partly as a result of a decline in child mortality by the early years of the 19th century children had begun to occupy a more prominent role in family life. They were increasingly the object of much philanthropic endeavour, invariably with moral reform and social mobility goals. As in the early 19th century the evangelical impetus was strong. In the late 19th century however an additional factor was Catholic participation in a growing drive to single out the young for special treatment via formation of church-based children's organisations and youth groups.<sup>1</sup>

The principal children's organisation was the Scottish Band of Hope Union although as has been indicated earlier there were also juvenile B.W.T.A., Templars, Rechabites, and S.P.P. plus juvenile denominational societies. There was inevitably much overlap in affluent suburban areas. Designed mainly for the benefit of working class children, Bands of Hope originated in Leeds in 1847. Their founders were the Revd. Jabez Tunncliffe (1809-65) and Mrs Anne Jane Carlile (1775-1866) often described as 'the Elizabeth Fry of Ireland'. The movement spread to London in 1849 and the London Temperance League encouraged formation of a Union. The B.L.J.A. was established in 1847. Bands of Hope did exist on the Clyde even in the 1830's. Juvenile abstainers paraded before the Prince of Wales in 1849. The Glasgow Union and Scottish Union however were not formed until 1871 and 1879. Leadership overlap with the League has been mentioned earlier. Quarrier, Alexander Allan,

Scottish Band of Hope Union Lantern Slide



Scottish Band of Hope Union copyright.

John Wilson M.P., Sir Andrew Maclean, Sir George Green, Rowallan, City Treasurer G.D. Morton and Dr. Honeyman were prominent officials. Leaders were occasionally drawn from the Church of Scotland but far more often from the Methodist, United, Free, Baptist and Congregational Churches and Brethren Assemblies.<sup>2</sup>

The organisation made steady progress from 7 societies in 1871 to 250 in 1881, 502 in 1891 and 700 in 1900, with around 130,000 members. At the Band of Hope's Jubilee recognition of its U.K. membership of over 3 million was reflected in Queen Victoria's patronage of their celebrations and a Jubilee Sermon by the Archbishop of Canterbury in St. Paul's Cathedral. Expansion had been effected with the help of the clergy and Sabbath Schools although reformers like Logan had been scathing about the latter's initially lukewarm response to juvenile temperance. The bulk of membership lay in the 6-12 age group. In the Glasgow area Rowallan, Henderson, and Green were associated with introduction of a Crusader movement in 1907 for older children to ensure that they were not lost to the temperance movement in adolescent years. Crusader football teams and singing and crafts competitions for girls were seen as the best possible means of retaining adolescent interest. By 1908 there were 110 Crusader branches with over 6,000 members.<sup>3</sup>

As one might expect the Band of Hope whilst moral suasionist moved into line with prohibitionists on Local Veto and licensing at the turn of the century. Band of Hope figures were behind pressure to ensure that no public houses were sited near schools. In Glasgow they became increasingly identified with "Holy Joe" Maclay's Vigilance Association, and petitioned with Sir George Williams' Y.M.C.A. (with whom they shared venues and workers) against licences and for Veto and non-alcoholic communion wine.<sup>4</sup>





"CHARITY." PAINTED BY W. UNDERHILL. FROM EXHIBITION OF NAT. INST. FINE ARTS.

How did this youth grow up? What sort of a man did he make? are very natural questions for my young readers to ask. He studied diligently very many branches of knowledge, and at twenty years of age, decided on entering the Church as a minister, and devoting his talents to the service of God. He did not take a parish as a pastor for six years from that period, for he wanted to become "mighty in the Scriptures," "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed." At the end of that time he wished to go into a poor district, where he might be made a blessing to a destitute people, and God granted his desire. He was appointed the pastor of the *Bah-de-la-Roche*, (or rocky district), the *German Steinthal*, (or stone valley.) Five villages were scattered among almost inaccessible rocks; and the people were poor neglected creatures, without comfort in this world, or hope of a better.

The pastor was twenty-seven years old when he came into this wild region: he laboured among the people sixty years! and many volumes would not suffice to tell the good he did. He planned roads and bridges, and set the example of working on them himself. He taught farming and gardening, introduced

dear boy have the comfort of relieving distress. Often there would be wandering Savoyard boys come past the house with their simple musical instruments; and while the mother would ask them of their state, and point out a better way of life, or tell them of some employment in the fields or vineyards, little Frederick would give them his savings. So it often happened that "the blessing of those that were ready to perish" came upon the child even in its infancy.

As he grew in years, he grew in grace, particularly the grace of charity (love). One day during his boyhood he was returning from school, and saw some rude boys attack a poor woman, and break her basket of eggs, at which she seemed in very great distress. Frederick had some money in his savings' box, he ran home and fetched all that he had, and gave it to the

poor woman. At another time, he noticed a decrepid old creature, bargaining in the marketplace for an old garment, and unable to buy it, for the want of two more sous (pence). Frederick very quickly put the coppers in the dealer's hand, and told the man to let the poor cripple have the garment without saying anything of the trifle he had given. Even at that early age Frederick did these acts from love to God and his fellow-creatures, and not for praise. He always shrunk from his good deeds being spoken of.

He was brave as well as kind. Once he saw a man in authority, a sort of beadle cruelly beating a friendless boy, and though Frederick was still young, he interfered, and caused the man to be brought before the magistrates and punished.

mechanical trades and manufactures, and made the whole sterile district into a fruitful land.

He established schools for the young, and classes for adults. The infant-school system, now so generally introduced in England, was his plan. He distributed the Bible among all his people, and taught them, not only in his pulpit ministrations, but by going, from house to house, among them. He was so beloved that the inhabitants could not help calling him by the endearing name of father, or in their language, "cher papa" (dear papa), and not only the country of his labours, but all the Christian world reveres the name of the good pastor, Frederick Oberlin.



Juvenile temperance strategies, in terms of metropolitan shoeblack brigades, Hope's evening classes, Volunteer Corps, excursions, holidays and the later Fresh Air Fortnight (1888), the teaching of games and sports, choral music, thrift, health and hygiene and vocational skills like crafts, home economics, shorthand, public speaking etc., provision of wholesale alternatives to early "penny dreadfuls" by the Band of Hope Review and Band of Hope tracts and 'adventure stories with a moral' are well known. Underpinning provision of rational recreation for respectable working class children was the desire to win youth for the temperance movement and the churches.

The Band of Hope Review and League Adviser constantly worked to inculcate Smilesian virtues and self reliance in tandem with Christian humility. Such values could be inculcated not only via the Juvenile temperance press, which had a circulation of around 300,000 even in 1861, the platform and 'catechisms', but also via the organisational structure. Children were encouraged to organise 'work parties' within their branch and to recruit, and subsequently look after, younger children. 'Respectability' was the key. The English observer noted in 1860 that Band of Hope leaders were a more 'respectable' set than the early teetotal pioneers, and Harrison concluded that the careful catechising and dignified entertainment which the Band of Hope dealt in reflected "a decline in the almost millennial<sup>n</sup> enthusiasm of the early teetotal movement."<sup>5</sup> In the late 19th century however it was no less 'respectable', a reflection of its association with upwardly mobile temperance reformers and their offspring, and desire to produce members with sufficiently moral earnestness not only to become life abstainers and workers in the temperance movement but also to be able to prevail upon erring elders



"A word spoken in season how good is it."

**THE LITTLE PLEADER.**

ONE Monday, not long ago, a drunken mechanic was standing at the door of a gin-shop opposite Somerset-house in the Strand. His money was gone, but still he thirsted for more drink. One of his more sober shop-mates passed this moment, when the poor sot seized him by the coat and endeavoured to pull him inside the gin-shop. "Come in, and stand treat," said he. One of our readers, a little girl not nine years of age, the daughter of wealthy parents, was at the same moment passing in company with a female servant. No sooner did the little creature observe the drunkard striving to prevail upon his fellow workman to go into the gin-shop, than she darted forward and laying hold of the arm of the enticed one, imploringly cried out, "Please don't go in—don't—oh don't go in—please don't!"

Both the men looked at the child with amazement.

The drunkard relinquished his hold,

and apparently struggling under the smitings of conscience, hurried from the gin-shop without uttering a word!

"A word spoken in season how good is it?"

**A DOG'S AFFECTION.**

In the parish of Saint Olave, Tooley Street, in the City of London, a poor tailor, dying, left

a small cur-dog inconsolable for his loss. The little animal would not leave his dead master even for food, and whatever he ate was put in the same room with the coffin. When the body was removed for burial, this faithful attendant followed his master's remains. After the funeral, he was driven out of the churchyard by the sexton. The next day he again found the animal which had made its way by some unknown means into the enclosure, and had dug himself a bed on the grave of his master.

Once more he was driven out, but was found in the same situation on the following day. The minister of the parish hearing of the circumstances, had him caught, taken home to his own house and fed, and used every endeavour to win the animal's affections, but they were inseparably wed-



"Please don't go in!—Don't—Oh don't go in—Please don't!"

to mend their ways, as in the best temperance fables (see 'The Little Pleader' opposite). As Prochaska has noted children were frequently seen as "little vessels" by reformers, capable of influencing others or of raising funds. Earnest entertainment went hand in hand with inculcation of the need to be charitable to those less fortunate than themselves. The Band of Hope Review's early copies were full of tales which evoked sympathy for Negroes, old people, and animals. Members were encouraged to use the penny banks promoted by the Revd. J.H. Wilson of Aberdeen and, if their position allowed, to donate money for children's charities. The Glasgow Band of Hope for example made donations to, and raised funds for, William Mitchell's East Park Home for Infirm Children. Indeed they did not lack advice on deserving children's charities. Reformers like Caird, Sir Peter Coats and Neilson Cuthbertson were prominent in work for deaf and dumb children.<sup>6</sup>

In the short term the Band of Hope was highly successful, as its fame even today suggests. Its three main departments of work, Bands attached to Churches, Crusader groups, and school hygiene work all thrived prior to 1914. The Band of Hope had gained the support of the great majority of churchmen, even those hostile to adult temperance. It had become virtually synonymous with Sunday School work, important as in 1903 there were 65,000 Sunday School teachers and 713,336 pupils in Scotland. It could be argued that its pressure for children to sign temperance and anti-smoking pledges had a more enduring effect on public opinion. The number of elderly people still able to recite the Band of Hope pledge is quite remarkable. Band of Hope work whilst ultimately not a force for prohibition clearly did predispose those exposed to its "blue blazes" lectures to become only moderate drinkers. The success of its school

work and pressure on the teaching and medical professions has been described earlier. In addition it was also successful in pressing for legislation to bar children from licensed premises, via sympathetic M.P.s like Cameron Corbett, Sir George Trevelyan, Findlay, Hunter Craig, Holmes, Duncan Millar, and Gulland. It pressed for 1872 legislation to prohibit general supply of spirits to the under 16s, to prohibit the sale of beer to children under 13 in 1886, and to insist that as children were likely to be used by working class parents as messengers liquor for "off-consumption" had to be retailed in sealed vessels. This 'messenger question' was increasingly part of the licensing restriction movement agitation against the Trade. Traders, who had cooperated with recommendations of local magistrates on ceasing to give free food, sweets or toys to patrons' children, found the 1901 Child Messenger Act promoted by Robinson Souttar and Crombie enigmatic. By some oversight it raised the age at which beer was prohibited. The legal position was however clarified by 1903, 1904, and 1908 legislation which excluded all children from licensed premises, even child performers, and made supply of drink to a child under 5 a penal offence. After 1909 children could only be brought into family departments, and notices regarding their exclusion were obligatory. The Intoxicating Liquor (Sale to Young Persons) Act of 1923 excluding the young from public bars was the culmination of this work, although several loopholes still existed. Drink could still be sold with food to the 16-18 age group, and in theory there was little to stop any person over 14 being employed as a barman or barmaid. Public disapproval, created by the Band of Hope and the Children's Protection League (1900), formed to enforce the Child Messenger Act and to engage in child rescue work, however prevented Trade abuse of these. Juvenile temperance had in this

sense an in-built advantage - the emotive nature of the child welfare question secured a consensus impossible on adult restrictive measures.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand the very success of the Band of Hope encouraged imitators. Their slogan had long been "Save the Children." In 1890's debates on 'deterioration' and turn of the century exposés of child cruelty and the problem of malnutrition a dominant voice was that of the N.S.P.C.C., not the Band of Hope. The Band of Hope lost workers and subscribers to the N.S.P.C.C. Teetotal allegations of infanticide and "overlying" gave way to the C.O.S.' detailed studies. Equally much of the Band of Hope's success was due to its pioneer work in children's recreation. As with adult counter-attractions it led, and many others followed, e.g. Baden Powell's Scouts (1907), and Guides, William Smith's Boys' Brigade (1883), the Girls' Brigade, the Lifeboys, all of which blended military style discipline with summer camps and more boisterous activity for children than that allowed by the Band of Hope, the Scripture Union (1897), the Crusaders (1906), a rival Bible Study group with 20 Scottish branches by the 1930's, Glasgow Schoolboys' Meetings (1910), the Scottish Schoolboys' Club (1912), which combined Bible Study with rambles and parties, British Camp Fire Girls (1913) The Scottish Girls' Friendly Society (originally Anglican, estd. 1874), and many more. Some like Smith's 'B.B.' had abstinence pledges; this was part of their "Sure and Steadfast" ethos. Their temperance work however was secondary to emphasis of military-style organisation, drilling, and physical fitness. It faded rapidly, as did the temperance work of the vast Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. structure and connected Red and Blue Triangle Clubs. Socialist "Crusaders" also emerged.<sup>8</sup>

The pan-denominational structure of the Band of Hope encouraged fragmentation. Many Bands' allegiance was to the Non-

conformist Churches rather than to the Unions. This was compounded by Scottish parochialism, jealousy between the Glasgow and Edinburgh workers, and loss of many Crusaders and workers in the First World War. The success of the Glasgow Union was largely the 'personal rule' of Sir George Green, who died in 1915. The Band of Hope also found far fewer champions amongst the medical profession and science in general after 1914, which detracted from the authority of its message. By 1914 magic lantern work was no longer the novelty it had been in 1870. The entertainments revolution of the 20th century doomed the Band of Hope, although it should be remembered that its membership had always been limited even within the ranks of the 'respectable'. Public school pupils and middle class children were the preserve of Church of England and B.W.T.A. organisations, and of local Young Abstiners' Unions, whilst Catholic children were organised in juvenile branches of the League of the Cross under the direction of Catholic Women's Guilds, a feature which distinguished them from Protestant organisations according to Shiman.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless the strength of the Scottish Band of Hope Union, boosted by a 'Million More' campaign in 1897 and a 1911 'Forward Movement' was remarkable - especially as the Scottish Union did not have the financial support of the aristocracy which the English Union had. There is much in Shiman's suggestion that the enthusiasm of its lower middle and working class workers resulted in a less patronising approach which did not, in spite of Scrymgeour Sen.'s allegations of Band of Hope desire to assume <sup>2</sup>loco parentis control, antagonise working class parents. Over 1870-1914 such workers were able to adapt their message in response to restriction of opportunities for social mobility fairly easily. A shift from emphasis on self-made men to 'responsible citizens' was almost imperceptible. The

eclipse of juvenile benefactors like Dr. Thomas Guthrie, founder of the Ragged Schools, Sir John Kirk, George Müller, Dr. Barnardo, Quarrier, and myriads of lesser emigration scheme promoters like the B.W.T.A. ladies mentioned earlier, William Gregan of Dumfries, and Dr. Cossar, by organised social work and State intervention, epitomised by the Children's Charter, was insurmountable. A society once so important together with Begg and Guthrie in channelling church interest towards child welfare and emphasising that adult cultural forms, like adult labour, were unsuitable for children, was reduced in the 1920's to venting impotent wrath against ice cream parlours.<sup>10</sup>

Footnotes - Youth.

1. F. Musgrove 'Population Change and Status of the Young in England since the 18th Century.' Sociological Review xi, 1, 1963, p. 72 et seq.  
J.H. Plumb 'The New World of Children in 18th Century England', Past and Present, 67, 1975, pp. 64-93.  
F. Prochaska (op cit) p. 74, K. Boyd "Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and the Family 1850-1914", Edinburgh, 1981, D. Vincent (ed.) (op cit) intro. quotes M. Anderson's "Family Structure in 19th Century Lancashire", to suggest 47% of all Preston children died before age 5 in the early 19th century and comments that in Glasgow this might have been nearer 50%.
2. See A. Gammie "A Romance of Faith: Story of Orphan Homes and William Quarrier", London, n.d. pp. 36-73 on Quarrier, Scottish Band of Hope Union, "Scottish Band of Hope Centenary 1871-1971", Glasgow 1971, n.p., idem "Scottish Band of Hope Union Diamond Jubilee 1871-1931", Glasgow 1931, pp. 1-15. On Carlile see F. Sherlock "Anne Jane Carlile - Temperance Pioneer" London, 1897, pp. 10-81, and R. Crofton "Anne Jane Carlile and Her Descendants" St. Leonards on Sea, 1950, pp. 19-40, E. Morris (op cit) pp. 117 on early Clyde Societies encouraged by Dunlop, James Mitchell and Robert Reid, pp 144-5, on early excursions for the young, and p. 159 on A 10.9.1849 Juvenile Demonstration to the Prince of Wales. B.L.J.A. - D. Jamie (op cit) pp. 165, 178, 181, 184-6, on its origins and organisation. On the earliest society estd. Dec. 1830 - F. Smith "Band of Hope Jubilee Volume", London, 1897, pp 13, 15-16, it was at Paisley or Saltcoats, p. 23 on early anti-spirits societies.
3. Scottish Temperance Annual 1901, pp. 68-71, Smith (supra) pp. 7-12, R. Taylor "The Hope of the Race", London 1946, p. 9, on Sabbath Schools see Good Templar 1870 p. 86, and W. Logan "The Moral Statistics of Glasgow", (cited earlier) pp. 57-60. The Glasgow Sabbath School Union in 1879-80 however had Collins, Connal, Neilson Cuthbertson and Salmon as Directors - Report 1879-80. By the 1890's few Sunday Schools were not associated with temperance - Smith (supra) p. 152. On Crusaders - D. Strachan "Scottish Band of Hope Jubilee Brochure 1871-1931", Glasgow 1931 n.p., Scottish Band of Hope Union Annual Report, 1908-9, p. 11.
4. Band of Hope, Licensing and Veto - see Chapters V and VI. On George Williams' support for Band of Hope Smith (supra) p. 164, and on Williams, (1821-1905), G. Hayler "Famous Fanatics" London, 1911, pp. 113-115.
5. On 52-part catechisms, one per week, see L. Lewis Shiman 'The Band of Hope Movement: respectable recreation for working class children', Victorian Studies XVII, 1973-4, p. 57. N. Longmate (op cit) pp. 121-131, and quoted B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians" London, 1971, p. 194. On press Smith (supra) pp. 56, 102, 107. Fresh Air Fortnight - O. Checkland "Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland" pp. 71, 218,301.



6. F. Prochaska (op cit) 'Little Vessels' pp. 73-94, on Revd. J.H. Wilson, Band of Hope Review Oct. 1, 1858, on Eastpark, C. Harvey "Ha'penny Help" Glasgow, 1976, pp. 90-101. Glasgow Society for the Education of The Deaf and Dumb, Report 1879-80, p. 3, Smith (supra) pp. 150-151 English Societies made donations to the Lancashire Cotton Famine Fund and London Temperance Hospital.
7. G.B. Wilson (op cit) pp. 160-1, Williams and Brake (op cit) p. 11 and Chapter XII, pp. 177-193, H. Levy (op cit) pp. 164-7, C. Heath "The Control of a Dangerous Trade" London, 1947, pp. 23-5.
8. On cruelty theme see G. Finlayson "The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury 1801-85" (cited earlier) pp. 586-7, S.T.L.R. 1890 p. 15 W. Edwards (op cit) pp. 64-5, R.Q. Gray (op cit) pp. 83-7. Teetotal view of Children's Charter - R.T.M. June 1909, p. 100 'The Children's Charter'. On the B.B. see D. McFarlan "First for Boys: The Story of the Boys' Brigade 1883-1983", Glasgow 1983, pp. 1-48. Scouts, in Glasgow from 1908 onwards, were not pledged but Baden Powell wrote sympathetically of temperance - e.g. Juvenile Rechabite July 1919 p. 1, 'Boy Scouts and Drink', Lieut Gen. Sir R. Baden Powell K.C.B. The Crusaders were established in 1906 in North London by Revd. Kestin, and were active in Scotland from the 1920's on - I am indebted to W.A. Crawford, Secretary Scottish Crusaders Glasgow for this information, on the Girls' Friendly Society see B. Harrison 'For Church Queen and Family: The Girls' Friendly Society 1874-1920', Past and Present 61, 1973, pp. 106-38. (They still have a Paisley Home). See W. Stewart "Keir Hardie" London 1921, p. 297 on "Young Socialist" and "Crusaders".
9. Smith (supra) 'Denominations and the Band of Hope', pp. 197-208, on R.C.'s ibid pp. 206-8 and L. Lewis Shiman (op cit) p. 53. Public school work is mentioned in B.W.T.A. Annual Reports in the 1880's and 1890's.
10. R. Taylor "The Hope of the Race: 100 Years Crusade for Children" London, 1946, pp. 53-4, 57, Lewis Shiman (op cit) pp. 69-71, on parental support see Glasgow Working Men's Total Abstinence Society Reports 1853-73, G. Hayler (supra) 'Juvenile Benefactors' pp. 159-180, on Barnardo see earlier chapter, on Gregan see Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser 19.6.1867, 15.1.1868, 4.10.1876. Scottish Band of Hope Union functioned on £1,500 p.a. - Board Minute Book 1911. On Guthrie see "Life of Dr. Guthrie D.D.", Glasgow, Marr, n.d. Chapter XI 'Efforts in the Temperance Cause' pp. 77-92, and his "Memoir" (cited earlier) p. 266 where the Ragged School Report of 1848-9 estimated 8.10 ragged school children were the children of drunkards. On Scrymgeour's allegations, W. Walker "Juteopolis" (cited earlier) pp. 340-1. On the 'parlour peril' Scottish Band of Hope Minute Book 1914-24.

The dilemma of the Working Man .



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The Dilemma of the Working Man.

The burning question for temperance organisations and Trade defence associations alike was the extent to which the 'man in the street' did or did not support the temperance movement. Both sides claimed the working man as their ally. The Trade pointed to continued patronage of the public house by the working man, to the presence of working men at Trade compensation rallies, and willingness to sign petitions to protect the Tract, without the duress which surrounded teetotal petitions, as evidence of the working man's keenness to protect his liberty and to see fair play prevail in licensing restriction. Teetotalers of course regarded the mass membership of the I.O.G.T. and I.O.R. as clear evidence of popular support for Local Veto, and equated popular will with the will of God.<sup>1</sup>

Both groups generalised about the working class. The temperance movement especially adhered to Dunlop's broad categories of trades and does not appear to have refined its viewpoint over the period 1870-1914. This was partly the result of the inevitable stratification of the temperance movement into the League and S.P.B.T.A. with middle class support, working class organisations such as the I.O.G.T., and individual officials who passed between the two. Rechabatism would have been an ideal source of information on the relative levels of support of different occupational groupings if League reformers had cared to consult the Order but they did not. Lack of curiosity reflected desire for social harmony, mingled of course with preoccupation with the views of prohibitionists rather than thrift reformers. Scrymgeour, who championed the cause of Dundee Corporation workers, although a sensitive social critic, made equally generalised assumptions about working class support for

temperance and prohibition. It also reflected a connection with organised labour which was, at best, tenuous.<sup>2</sup>

This is exemplified by the Co-operative Movement. Although the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society was reputed to be staunchly teetotal overlap between the two movements was not great. They shared common hostility to the Truck System but by the late 1890's there were reports of many co-operative stores with no scruples about retailing drink. Although co-operative groups were amongst those supporting the "No Licence" Campaign they had played little part in the earlier pressure for Local Veto. Co-operative teetotalism was largely a question of individual co-operators, like William Maxwell, and careful image building in the face of hostility from middle class grocers.<sup>3</sup>

Equally tenuous was the trades union connection. Trade union connections with the friendly society movement after the Combinations Act have been described earlier. The existence of a correspondence between John Hope and the Edinburgh Trades Council over the years 1853-70 is also well known.<sup>4</sup> The initiative was Hope's. Hope sought to be kept informed of Council meetings and activities. He sympathised with the early closing movement and, like later prohibitionists, sought the Trades Council's support for a deputation to change polling days and times to facilitate pressure group politics. He also hoped to interest the Trade Council in education and moral reform. Little came of this. In addition Glasgow's Trades Council (1858) had the reputation of being teetotal but as an organisation it played little part in the temperance movement. In this respect it resembled Glasgow Chamber of Commerce. The Trades Council was prominent only in 1892 demonstrations - an overt bid for 'respectability' in prevailing industrial unrest. The

Scottish trades union movement had no particular spokesman on the drink question,, apart perhaps from James Brown of Ayr. Yet even although he was prominent in Ayrshire Christian Union and Church of Scotland circles the miners' leader was amongst the less well known Templar leaders, along with Isaac Marks of Glasgow.<sup>5</sup>

This was in many ways a reflection of the way in which trades unions in the 1850's absorbed elements which, though no longer in favour of Owenite restructuring of society, remained strongly in favour of moral reform. Moral reform was useful to trades unionists too in organisational terms. It was a rallying call which could be used by New Model unionists to counter regional loyalties and bring about more effective unity - a Glasgow Trades Council priority in 1861. It also lent respectability to formation of the trades union pressure group in the years 1860-80. S.P.B.T.A. radicals were natural allies in reform of the Master and Servant Law, which threatened employees in breach of contract with prison, whereas employers were liable only to civil proceedings. In the years after the "Sheffield Outrages" and passage of the Second Reform Act it was no longer so important to identify with teetotalism. At the second Trades Union Congress (1869) the drink question was introduced in a paper entitled "The Disorganisation of Labour" by George Potter. This was recognition of trades union support for the Club and Institute Union work of the Revd. Henry Solly, sometime editor of Beehive. Solly's attempts to turn Beehive into "a cross between a parish magazine and Tit-bits" (Roberts) resulted in a marked drop in sales, Solly's dismissal, and Beehive's decline. Trades union interest in the question peaked in 1875 when Battersby of the Compositors, later a noted Chisholmite, presided at the 8th T.U.C. in Glasgow in 1875, and in Alexander McDonald's denunciation of licensed grocers as a

source of female inebriety in 1877. Temperance Teas and Socials were organised in connection with the T.U.C.'s from 1886 on but the questions of union "wet rents" had been settled in 1871 and in 1882 legislation had been passed preventing payment in public houses. The question was revived at the 1891 conference by Burt and in 1892-3 interest peaked in Hodges' denunciation of Labour meetings in public houses at the Glasgow Congress and presentation of a Labour Manifesto in support of Direct Veto signed by many trades unionists. After another lull a Trades Union and Labour Officials' Temperance Fellowship was finally formed in 1905, presided over by Arthur Henderson. It cooperated with the National Temperance League and by 1906 boasted an array of M.P.'s and also 36 union general secretaries representing 194,575 men. It countered Trade propaganda, but disappointed the S.P.P. by supporting Local Veto and stressing working men's liberties.<sup>6</sup> Temperance was the badge of the skilled and groups like the Railways' Temperance Union (1882) were established. Yet even within the ranks of the skilled there was much apathy.

Labour party and trade union use of temperance, as of thrift at the time of the Wages Arrestment Bill, actually masked grave popular doubts about temperance reform. Although temperance was linked in the 1830's with sedition, licensing restriction later had connotations of the "police spy system" after the Forbes Mackenzie Act. As Wood has emphasised this became an important issue in Glasgow politics, where the main organ of working class radical opinion in the 1850's and 1860's, The Sentinel campaigned against the Act, denouncing it as class legislation which left clubs and hotels patronised by the upper classes untouched. Hostility to police entry to public houses blended with a campaign against police force abuses <sup>from</sup> 1857 on.<sup>7</sup> Moreover this hostility did not end in the

A rare photograph of the working man's public house.



Scottish Band of Hope Union copyright.

mid-Victorian period, it continued in resentment of magistrates' demands that back doors be bricked up, curtains removed etc. to facilitate policing.<sup>8</sup> Awareness of fundamentally anti-working class elements in the ideology of evangelical reformers had earlier prevented Chartist cooperation with temperance societies even although the Chartist movement was sympathetic to temperance in general. Similarly later suspicion of vetoists' preoccupation with ratepayers' rights, and awareness that liquor consumption levels had fallen since 1875, distanced labour aristocrat socialists, religious sceptics and *bonne viveurs* from temperance. Paton found that whilst gospel temperance flourished amongst the self employed fishermen of the East Coast, keen to buy their own boats and lifeboats and to have Free Kirk approval, the miners of the West had different values in times of plenty as in want. The conjunction of drink with conviviality in the popular mind, reinforced by pride in the Scottish whisky industry, was impossible to dispel. Many correctly suspected reformers had never set foot in a public house.<sup>9</sup>

For many ordinary people the drink question was still one of moderation as opposed to excess. The Trade was more in tune with popular opinion than reformers when it, like the medical profession, identified adulteration as an important question. The Trade, whilst grumbling under the burden of Food and Drugs Acts, felt that eradication of adulterated shebeen liquor, which at worst could kill, was the real 'drink question'. They also highlighted the fact that there was a small but growing 'meths.' drinking problem which reformers did not appear to know about.<sup>10</sup>

They accused temperance reformers of ignoring the problems of the very poor, and were probably justified. Reformers were concerned to reform the working man - the vagrant drinker was the



object only of Salvation Army temperance work. The Salvationists, active in Glasgow from 1879 on, commanded working class respect for their determined reclamation work in the very worst urban slums often at the risk of personal assaults. Their temperance work involved entering public houses, accompanying drunkards home, and ensuring that they attended meetings or received treatment in Army homes. Although the Army fomented sectarian unrest in many areas, it did appear to do excellent reclamation work - often with Trade aid. It was difficult for ordinary people to understand the temperance movement's lack of cooperation with the Army, especially as Thomas Robinson had invited them to Glasgow, and temperance reformers like Gallie, the Clarkes of Paisley and the Macfies had initially supported it financially. Henry Edmonds, the young Major in Glasgow was also a prohibitionist from Maine, and after 1884 Booth launched a special campaign of Saved Drunkards' Meetings. By 1909 there were 4 Salvationist institutes, 25 Corps, a Rescue Home at Pollockshields for battered women and pregnant girls, and a specialist Police and Prison team at work in Glasgow. It was difficult for the man in the street not to conclude that this was more beneficial than mere agitation.<sup>11</sup>

Above all the 'club question' and the Great War controls reflected popular suspicion of teetotal motives. The Unitarian Solly found his attempts to run a dry Working Men's Club movement were doomed by the sheer impossibility of attaining financial viability. Solly had wide social reform interests and became interested in clubs via Bayly's work and the educational wing of the Co-operative movement. He promoted clubs with Tweedie's help and envisaged "homely scenes" in these establishments. He soon discovered they were suspected of being a screen for organisation of black-leg

A GLASGOW GREEN TEMPERANCE RALLY CIRCA 1910



Source : D.Daiches "Glasgow", London, 1977, p.130,  
from the collection of the anarchist Aldred.

labour and, although Blaikie formed an Edinburgh club, other temperance reformers were hostile. After Solly was manoeuvred out of the Club and Institute Union it became a pressure group to prevent the Trade from making clubs liable for higher licence duties, and to resist teetotal elimination of anything other than the "bogus club", and found a champion in Cremer. Its membership by 1914 was vast, yet only 1.5% were teetotal.<sup>12</sup>

Whilst the Temperance (Scotland) Act of 1913 was acclaimed at large public meetings calls for prohibition during the Great War appear to have fallen on deaf ears. Lloyd George was however receptive to state control, partly in an attempt to quell disorder in munitions areas suddenly full of thousands of extra workers. Carlisle was allegedly "Bedlam" in 1915 because of its influx of navvies. It was also a fiscal measure. The Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) established in July 1915 under the Defence of the Realm Act made Orders covering most industrial areas including the Clyde. Public houses could only open for 5 hours per day, at lunch-time and 6-9 p.m. State purchases were made at Gretna, Carlisle, the Cromarty Firth and Enfield Lock, all naval bases and munitions areas. During 1916 Gretna and Annan witnessed a "reformed public house" movement. Distilling was limited and the gravity of beer reduced. All this, as the Trade was forced to admit, went surprisingly smoothly. Contemporary allegations of heavy drinking and slacking in the Clyde engineering works, (more usually associated with Rechabism,) and amongst the wives of servicemen, were bitterly resented. Social and spiritual solidarity at the war's outbreak was fragile. As Mews has shown Lloyd George's actions were motivated by desire to pacify the Nonconformist Conscience, epitomised by Alexander Whyte of the Free Church and "Holy Joe" Maclay - but also by

Welsh Disestablishers who required to be brought to heel in 1915. This merger of teetotal moral authoritarianism and right wing political authoritarianism was a stage managed "moral panic" which evaded important questions of housing and living standards, and heightened the unrest which came to be called 'Red Clydeside'. If the results of the 1920's Veto Polls indicated anything, it was the working man's boredom with the drink question. At the first Veto Polls 60% of those who bothered to vote opted for "No Change", and few working-class areas subsequently went 'dry'.<sup>13</sup>

Footnotes - The Dilemma of the Working Man.

1. See Chapters I-VI on temperance and VII on the Trade.
2. i.e. in J. Dunlop "Philosophy of Artificial and Compulsory Drinking Usages in Great Britain." London 1839, 1939 reprint and on Scrymgeour see W. Walker "Juteopolis. Dundee and its textile workers 1885-1923" (cited earlier).
3. S.C.W.S. Mss. Glasgow University Archives. Contains little on temperance. On Co-operative support in the 1920's see No Licence Committee "No Licence: the New Campaign", Glasgow, 1921, Appendix.
4. I. Macdougall "The Minutes of Edinburgh Town Council 1859-73" Edinburgh 1968.
5. A. Gammie "From Pit to Parliament" (cited earlier) R. McKechnie (op cit) pp. 34 and 21. Marks was a Templar organising secretary. G. Hayler "Labour and Temperance Reform" London, 1927, pp. 1-19.
6. H. Pelling, "A History of British Trade Unionism", London 1981 reprint, p. 51, A. Musson (op cit) p. 60. B. Roberts "The Trades Union Congress 1868-1921" London, 1958, pp. 56-7, 62-3, G. Wilson, "Alexander McDonald Leader of the Miners", Aberdeen U.P., 1982, p. 170, G. Hayler (op cit) pp. 5-6, "Scottish Temperance Annual 1909" pp. 209-10.
7. I. Wood, 'Drink Temperance and the Labour Movement' Scottish Labour History, May 1979 p. 26. On the spy system see also Scottish Review 1858 p. 79, Trade Reports 1872 p. 4 and 1903 p. 23. Glasgow Argus also argued rigid enforcement of Forbes Mackenzie created new criminals - urban shebeeners - e.g. 15.8.1857 'Bailie Clouston and Shebeens'.
8. See Chapter IV.
9. A. Wilson (op cit) p. 133, G. Best (op cit) pp 218-9. D. Paton, thesis, Chapter III.
10. On adulteration see Trade Reports 1872, p. 9 'The Mysteries of Glasgow Whisky', 1877 p. 13, 1884, p. 19, 1882 p. 20, 1890 p. 18, 1892 p. 34 etc.
11. Salvationist May 1879, pp. 125-6 A. Gammie, "In Glasgow's Underworld: the Social Work of the Salvation Army", London, n.d. pp. 52-8, Scottish District, First Annual Report, 1882 p. 6 listed these subscriptions. War Cry 28.5.1884.
12. H. Solly "These 80 Years" Vol. II, London, 1893 pp. 165, 190-6, 204, 211, 256-7 Anon "Short History of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union 1862-1926" London, 1927 Chapter V 'Legislation'. See S.P.P. disapproval in 'Clubbing the Worker', Scottish Prohibitionist, Sept. 1908 p. 9.

13. See A. Shadwell "Drink in 1914-22: a lesson in control", London, 1923, pp. 157-195.  
I. Donnachie 'World War I and the Drink Traffic', Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society XVII, 1982, pp. 20-25,  
Marr Murray "Drink and the War" London, 1915 pp. 149-156  
felt prohibition should, and could, have been enacted early in the war. S. Mews 'Urban Problems and Rural Solutions - Drink and Disestablishment in the First World War', Studies in Church History, (ed D. Baker) Vol. XVI, pp. 449-75.  
No Licence Committee (op cit) pp. 18-19.

Conclusion.

It is clear that over the period 1870-1914 the 'drink question' was a powerful and emotive issue. A proliferation of temperance societies, the more important ones with their headquarters in Glasgow, worked highly efficiently to publicise their view of the question prompting a reluctant Trade to embark upon organisation of Trade Defence Associations.

The Temperance movement was not the monolithic entity which its propagandists described. Split into a moral suasionist and prohibitionist wing, each with a coherent ideological basis in Protestant evangelicalism, cooperation in pressure group politics evolved gradually - peaking in the anti-compensation struggle of the 1890's and campaign for Local Veto. The basic ideological difference between moral suasionists<sup>and prohibitionists</sup> remained that of individual moral reform versus desire to make men sober by Act of Parliament. This divide contributed to the movement's later demise. In the late 19th century however waves of temperance fervour, often stimulated by revivalism, brought both groups together. Both were dependent upon middle class evangelicals and labour aristocrats for support. The keynote was 'respectability': from the merchant prince down to the humblest self employed tradesman, all were brought together in a desire for respect and 'respectability'. Although the "possessing classes" (J. Young, 1979) dominated the League and the S.P.B.T.A. hierarchy, it was the lure of social mobility which attracted very able reformers to their service. Such men used temperance as an escape from manual labour. By dint of their ability to give witness to working men as working men they were ironically able to rise into the lower middle class. Similar processes of course were at work in

political organisations. Whilst the Templar leadership, headed invariably by clergymen, would seem to suggest an embourgeoisement process study of the Rechabite Order makes clear selectivity of the 'received values' of respectability. Class collaboration however was evident in establishment of works temperance societies, and in support of anti-slavery, pacifism, and many social reform movements.

Moral suasionists were largely responsible for the drink question's pervasive influence in society. Motivated by an ideology which was Chalmersian and Smilesean, they extended their operations outwards from traditional propaganda techniques using the platform and pulpit, creating a temperance press which filled the gap in 'improving literature' left by the demise of the Chartist press, and pressing for 'temperance lessons'. An important means of preserving evangelical ratepayer values in the schools which in some way paralleled the Nonconformist education crusade in general, this pressure was rewarded in compulsory "hygiene" lessons. They were also responsible for many highly successful counter-attractions. Further, this wing of the movement overlapped with the thrift movement, and was active not only in penny savings banks but also building societies, where they built on Chartist interests, and insurance. This counter-attraction and thrift work was often more than a response to the evils of urban industrial society. Counter-attractions created social mobility, for example in the case of hotels, the grocery trade etc., but also responded to the needs of the new white-collar commercial class. This was true of much 'homeownership-thrift', promoted variously by the teetotallers of the C.C.C., Scottish Temperance Life, and the Temperance Permanent Building Society. This new group however was limited in number and needs, thus placing a natural brake on the success of this work. In addition cost and



hostility to gambling and to credit finance circumscribed reformers' limited efforts, whilst favourable popular responses were related to the way in which these were perceived to have overt religious or class bias. Often crude attempts at reformation of manners were tinged with Philistinism. Belief in a need to control popular leisure was frequently justified in terms of conditions of labour, but did not make the negative aspects of this policy any more attractive. Teetotalers in this respect shared the same problems as Clarionite creators of 'counter culture': popular taste could be guided but not dictated. The immense vitality of the evangelical response to the problem of the lapsed masses was reflected in the erection of a parallel Roman Catholic cultural framework. Both religious subcultures however faced an increasing challenge from socialism, religious scepticism, and the rise of 'class politics'.

Ironically the drink question, rooted in desire for a levelling up process and class collaboration, polarised politics for the Trade and gradually pushed prohibitionists from support of State intervention on Local Veto towards support for the New Liberalism via land reform, interest in education, child welfare, health questions and Old Age Pensions. In this sense groups like the Rechabites were typical of a gradual 'labour movement' move to the Left. What was striking about the I.O.R. was that their concept of social justice evolved principally from their moral reform thrift and health work with very little reference indeed to the standard of living debate, such was teetotal sublimation of the emergent class politics. The problems of low pay, underemployment and unemployment, shown by Treble to be central issues in urban life in the late 19th century, featured only as sub-themes in the 'drink question' debate. Many reformers nevertheless had moved quite far from traditional

Liberalism by 1914, as the idiosyncratic Rechabite reaction to National Insurance reflected. Rechabites felt that thrift could be promoted via the State system whereas the great majority of friendly societies saw in National Insurance the end of individualism and the rise of the 'grandmotherly state'. Both groups were to be proved wrong, although in the short term the I.O.R. benefited from a huge accession of State members.

By 1913 the 'drink question' appeared to be a victory for temperance. The churches were committed to temperance reform, the medical profession had formed a temperance pressure group, temperance work amongst women and children thrived, the Labour movement had allied itself with temperance and the temperance movement had been extraordinarily successful in making the drink question part of the 'improvement' ethos of the 'civic gospel'. As a result of the latter focus Glasgow still has local bye-laws more stringent than any other Scottish town. Yet in effect it was a Pyrrhic victory. Local Veto was to be far less devastating to the Trade than prohibition of licensed premises on Corporation property, given subsequent housing policy. Pressure group politics and Nonconformist Conscience crusades were rendered impotent and irrelevant by the Great War, 'class politics', and the disintegration of the Liberal party. At local level too individual benefactors had been superseded by organised charity. After the debacle of State control, the days of the 'drink question' were numbered.

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ADAMSON WILLIAM (1863-1936)

B. Dunfermline 1863. Prominent T. Unionist. 27 yrs. miner. Treas. Sc. Miners' Fed., Gen. Sec. Fife and Kinross Miners' Assoc. Elected 1890 Executive Board, Mbr. Standing Comm., Vice Pres., Interim Pres., Assoc. Sec., and Gen. Sec. Miners' Assoc. Lab. M.P. East Fife. Lab. Sec. of State.

ALLAN ALEXANDER (1825-1892)

Senior partner family shipping firm, 3 brothers James, Hugh, and Bryce. Firm had business with Canada, U.S.A., and Latin America. Acquired "State Line" in 19th Century. Philanthropist, temperance work, evangelical services, Wellington St. U.P. Church, mission work. M. dt. of R. Smith "City Line", also philanthropist.

ANDERSON GEORGE (1819-1896)

B. Liverpool, son of Fife man. Glasgow merchant, educ. Edinburgh High and St. Andrews University, Chairman of Emma mine, U.S.A. Glasgow Radical M.P. 1868. Moderate by 1880 Lib. Assoc. standards. Leading Scots M.P. 1874-80 era - Bailie. Successes - Wages Arrestment Bill, Scottish Betting Bill. Opposed to Disestablishment and Local Option. Anti-Catholic. Pro national education, currency, army reform, abolition laws of entail, institutes, counter-attractions and some municipal enterprises.

ANDERSON W.F. J.P.

B. Glasgow 1855. Educ. Anderson's Acad., Gorbals. Commercially trained for family hat manufacturing business. Assoc. with G.F.B.R.S., Parliamentary Debating Soc., Caledonian and Thornliebank U.F. Gorbals Councillor 1892 on. River Bailie, magistrate - prominent Health and Housing. Prohib. I.O.R.

ARNOT REVD. WILLIAM (1807-1875)

B. Scone, educ. Glasgow. Originally C. of S., 1843 on F.C. Joined F.C.T.A.S. 1849. Tract writer for S.T.L. in 1850's. Prohib.

BARR REVD. JAMES (1862-1949)

B. Kilmarnock farm. Educ. Waterside. Dux Kilmarnock Acad. 1879. First Class Hons. Moral Phil. and Logic. Medal essayist political economy 1884. Breakdown. Toured U.S.A. F.C. College Glasgow. 1889 accepted charge Wamphry and Johnstone. M. 1890. B.D. 1892. Active Lib. politics. Post 1896 Dennistoun minister. Noted evangelist. Ran popular lectures, P.S.A., children's mission, peace soc. On 1914 Royal Commission Housing. U.F. leader 1929. Home Mission Sec. 1931 Chairman Parl. Lab. Party Consultative Comm. 1924 Lab. candidate Motherwell 1935 elected Coatbridge.

BATTERSBY JOHN BAILIE

B. Glasgow 1839. Educ. Little Hamilton Street School. U.P. Attended night school attached Dr. Edmonds Church U.P. Blackfriars St., Compositor "Courier" office 1854 on, later Sec. Typographical Assoc. Glasgow Town Councillor 1891 on for Hutchesontown. Committees - Churches, Water, Tramways, Health. Mbr. Glasgow Trades Council. Burgh magistrate. Exposed licensing court bribery.

BELL A.W.R.

B. Baillieston 1853. Apprentice joiner, joined I.O.G.T. and I.O.R. Connected with Revd. George Gladstone's Cong. Church in North Dundas St. Glasgow.

BERRIE THOMAS F.C.I.S.

B. Strathmiglo, Fife. Ill health meant little education. Farm worker and damask weaver. Trained for factory inspectorate. Already in position of trust at 20. Identified Dunfermline temperance, missionary, and unspecified literary work. Moved Edinburgh 1877. Entered office of Currer and Cowper S.S.C., protégé of ex Provost Birrell, Dunfermline. In Edinburgh till 1890. Studied at Heriot Watt and Edinburgh University. During studies offered General Secretaryship of Scottish Clerks' Association. Continued with it after graduation. Glasgow I.O.G.T. lodge chief 4 years. L.A. Interested youth work. Editor I.O.G.T. "District Guide". 8 years Conv. G.L.S. 1894 on Grand Electoral Superintendent for Scotland. 1898-1907 Grand Treasurer. Came to Glasgow 1890 when S.G.A. membership only 1,000. Urged to stand board elections in Glasgow, Partick and Renfrewshire but too involved in S.C.A. and philanthropy. One of the founders Provident Bank of Scotland, (Chairman for 7 years and still a Dir. in 1907) - managed by S.C.A. members. Member L.O.A.F., Insurance and Actuarial Society of Glasgow, Fellow Chartered Institute of Secretaries, Fellow and Vice Pres. Institute of Accountants (London).

BIRD ROBERT (1855-1929)

B. Govan. Quaker lawyer of Messrs. Bird, Son and Semple. Educ. Glasgow University. Member Faculty Procurators. 1886 Secretary to Lib. Un. Comm. 1898 estd. Glasgow Citizens' Union, 1903 estd. Glasgow Ratepayers Federation, its secretary till d. Member of Ballad Club, poet author Scottish novels "Reversed on Appeal" (1907) and "Jesus the Carpenter of Nazareth", "300 Best Hymns for Young People" and other Christian Works.

BLACK MRS. MARGARET (1830-1903)

B. Rothesay. F.C. Well educated. Married John Black, shawl manufacturer, 1870. Lived in Woodlands Rd., Glasgow. Widowed 1874 by Kelvin drowning accident. Childless. 1878 estd. School of Cookery. 1885 F.E.I.S. for teaching and books on Home Economics. Lib. 1888 Sec. Women's Lib. Assoc. Glasgow. 1891 candidate for School Board - temperance and free education platform. Mbr. School Board till d. Mbr. Parish Council. Office bearer N.T.L.

BONE JOHN SCOTT

B. Edinburgh 1854. Son of T.A.S. founder. Educ. Newington Acad. Later cashier to Glasgow businesses. Recruited by Dunnachie to I.O.R. 1892. Baptist Church Deacon and Treasurer. Dir. of Blind Assoc. and Scottish Band of Hope Union for many years. Treas. of the Scottish Baptists' T.A.S. 1905 on dir. tea firm.

BORLAND BAILIE

S. Ochiltree Farmer. B. 1893. Accountant of Gorebridge Powder Mills and Cumberland Foundry. Est. City Iron Foundry 1872. Councillor 1903, full-time magistrate 1908. Active parks, water, sewage etc. Council Comm. on Inebriates. Elder John St. U.P. Church, Lenzie Union Church and Queens Park. Mbr. Bakers Incorporation. Director various companies.

BRAIDWOOD PETER

B. Whitekirk, Haddington 1848. At twelve a child mill-worker attending evening classes. Moved to Edinburgh 1851. Later became important organiser of I.O.G.T. and I.O.R. Founder member I.O.R. Associated with Greenock and Rothesay as a tramways manager.

BRECHIN HUGH D.L.

B. Cumberland 1846. Head Glasgow largest butchers, worth £60,000 in 1904, Dir. John Swan & Sons Edinburgh, and of 3 hydros. Councillor Glasgow's 5th Ward 1888. Ward Comm. Treas. and Chairman. Elected Parochial Board 1883. Conv. Finance, Law and Assessments Comm. and later Chairman. Elected Dennistoun Ward 1806. Chairman Churches Comm., Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, Conv. Finance and supporter municipal trams. Represented Corporation at General Assembly, C. of S. 1889 River Bailie. 1889-91 magistrate, later Police Judge and C.P.

BREWSTER PATRICK REVD. (1788-1859)

Youngest brother of academic and scientist Sir David F.R.S. C. of S. Minister of Paisley Abbey 1818. Purposeful debator. Pro abolition of slavery, Catholic Emancipation, repeal of Corn Laws, Temperance, Chartism, national education. Author of "Sermons" 1833, "Passive Obedience" 1836, and "The Chartist and Military Discourses Libelled by Abercorn" 1843. Publicly subscribed monument erected to him Paisley 1863.

BROWN A.P.

Ardent temperance worker 40 years. Hon. Sec. Kilmarnock T.A.S. Sec. Ayrshire Temperance Union. Dir. S.T.L. (Publications Committee) and later Hon. Dir. Pres. and founder of the Kilmarnock C. of S. Temperance Soc. 50 yrs. Sunday School Worker. Super. Kilmarnock High Church Sabbath School over 40 yrs. Interested Indian Missions 1855-1895 Hon. Sec. Kilmarnock Abstainers Union. 1891 estd. "Noble Reserve Gospel and Temperance Mission Auxiliary". Dir. local Peace and Arbitration Soc. Anti-smoking, anti-gambling, property developer.

BURT JOHN

Business Pleasance Leather Works, Bridgeton. Councillor 2nd Ward Glasgow 1851-70 and 14th Ward 1873-9. Bailie 1869-70 and 1874-6. One of the most prominent temperance reformers in the West of Scotland. Pioneer complete suffrage agitator. Chairman Lib. Assoc. for Middle Ward of Lanarkshire, a pres. Lib. Assoc. Burgh of Rutherglen. D. 1891.

CAINE W.S.

B. Liverpool 1842. S. metal merchant and anti-slavery leader. Nonconformist. Joined family firm. M. Baptist minister's daughter 1868. T.A. 1862. Gave up business 1868. Associated with Baptist T.A.S., Cong. Temperance Soc., B.T.L., and Pres. National Temperance Federation 1884 till d. Chairman Temperance and General Provident Institution. Entered politics 1873. Contested Liverpool. Elected Scarborough 1880. L.U., platform religious equality, land and game law reform, Sunday Closing, devolution, abolition corporal punishment, repeal of Contagious Diseases Acts, and retrenchment.

CAIRNS REV. PRINCIPAL D.D. LL.D. (1818-92)

B. Berwickshire. S. Secession Church elder. Shepherd, educated village school. Edinburgh University at 17, first class degree Classics and Philosophy. United Secession Church trained. Prof. Theology 1867. Joined Temperance and I.O.G.T. 1868. Active U.P. ministers' T.A.S. Saw temperance as second to disestablishment issue. Lenient to non-abstainers. Speaker Evangelical Alliance 1861 Geneva. Liberation Soc. speaker. Dubbed "greatest Scottish preacher" by Calderwood.

CAMERON DR. CHARLES M.P. (1841-1924)

B. Dublin. Editor and proprietor "North British Daily Mail", connected with "Dublin Advertiser". Supported temperance legislation. S.P.B.T.A., S.T.L. Educ. Madras College, Trinity College Dublin. Medallist in degrees M.B. and M.B.Ch.B. Studied Paris, Berlin and Vienna. M.B. M.A. 1865. L.L.B. and L.L.D. 1877. Served on Peel Commission. Interested Public Health, B.M.A., animal welfare, e.g. cattle transit conditions. Brought forward Publicans Certificates Act 1876, Marriage Notices Bill 1878, Habitual Drunkards Bill 1879, Definition of Time Act 1880, Debtors Scotland Act 1880, Mine Franchise Act 1881, Bankruptcy and Session Act 1881, and Civil Improvement Act 1882. Platform Home Rule, Local Option, land reform. Lost to Stirling Maxwell 1895. Returned for Bridgeton 1879. Retired from politics 1900.

CAMERON CORBETT, A. (1856-1933)

2nd s. Thomas Corbett, Cove, Dumbartonshire, and Sarah d. A. Cameron Edinburgh. Educ. by private tutor. Briefly art student Kensington. Unsuccessful Lib. cand. N. Warwickshire 1884. Returned Tradeston Glasgow 1885. L.U. 1886. Resigned L.U. Whip 1909 over Free Trade. Re-elected Indep. Lib. Free Trader Jan. 1910. Rejoined Lib. Party. Tradeston Lib. till Baron Rowallan, Rowallan, Ayrshire, 1911. M. 1887 dt. of John Polson. Property developer, emigration agent, magistrate, L.A., S.P.B.T.A. President. Pro-womens' suffrage, child welfare, 1908 shipbuilding aid fund. Estd. Farmers' Co-operative Creamery 1906. Pro-accredited herds.

CAMPBELL ARCHIBALD BAILIE

B. Glasgow 1861. Educ. Gorbals Territorial School and Glasgow University. Family firm Andrew Campbell & Co. Shipbuilders and repairers, a large concern. Later sole partner. 1900 elected for Gorbals ward by council vote. Later returned by substantial majority. Sub-conven. Water Comm., mbr. Electricity, Libraries, Police, Finance, Cleansing, Inebriates Comm's. Conven. Municipal Buildings Comm. River Bailie 1905, City Magistrate 1906, later Senior Magistrate. Conv. Finance Comm., (Water Dept.) and Libraries Comm. Dir. of Samaritan Hospital, Stirling's Library, Glasgow Celtic Soc., Pres. Celtic Musical Assoc., Conven. Haldane Trust, Glasgow School of Art, and Night Asylum for the Homeless. Mbr. Royal Exchange Chamber of Commerce, plus 60 other Societies. Mbr. S.T.L., S.P.B.T.A. and I.O.G.T. Lib. Tradeston Lib. Assoc. Pres. Interested sketching, photography, yachting.

CAMPBELL JOHN

B. Glasgow, 1869. Associated with G.F.B.R.S. from age 9. First ex-foundry boy to captain a holiday camp. Joined I.O.R. 1893, tent official, 8 years later district official. Deacon Fairbairn U.F. Church. Treas. and Musical Dir. Baltic St. G.F.B.R.S.

CAMPBELL RICHARDSON

B. 1850. Spent early years London. Returned to Scotland on father's death. Served engineering apprenticeship. Joined National Bank of Scotland. Became Good Templar and Rechabite. 1884 High Secretary and leader of I.O.R.

CARLILE ANN JANE (1775-1866)

B. Co. Monaghan, of landowning stock. M. Presbyterian minister 1800. Widowed 1811. Became shop owner to support family. Prison visitor and prostitute reclamer. Fellow worker with Father Mathew in Dublin

anti-spirits movement. One of the first female temperance orators to visit Scotland. Prohib. identified with founding Band of Hope 1847.

CHISHOLM SIR SAMUEL Bt. D.L. L.L.D.

B. Dalkeith 1836. Moved to Glasgow, became wholesale grocer. 1872 on connected with Glasgow Foundry Boys Religious Society. Pres. 20 yrs. Dir. more than 40 yrs. 1888 entered Town Council. 1891 Convener City Improvement Trust. 1892-9 Bailie. Senior Magistrate of the City. 1899 Lord Provost and Lord Lieutenant of the County and City of Glasgow. Chairman Clyde Navigation Trust. Mbr. Carnegie Education Trust. Chairman great number benevolent and philanthropic institutions. Leader Council temperance party. Pro licensing restriction and early closing. Revised Standing Orders of Corporation. Office bearer U.P. Church. Chairman Unemployment Relief Comm. Unsuccessful Lib. candidate for Camlachie. Chairman International Exhibition 1901. Associated with Volunteer work during Boer War. Mbr. Acting Comm. Royal Patriotic Commission. L.L.D. Glasgow University. National Bible Society of Scotland Comm. mbr. Chairman Scottish Labour Colony. Identified with Revd. Cossar's Canadian juvenile immigration schemes.

CLARK Dr. G.B. M.D. F.R.C.S. LONDON (1846-1935)

Original member of the B.M.T.A. Council. Good Templar. First editor G.L.S. "Good Templar". Chairman I.O.G.T. Credential Comm. at early G.L.S. sessions. Organised Templary Western Isles. Land reformer, author "A Plea for Nationalisation of Land" (1881). Supported the First International and visited the West End branch 1872. Active Land Nationalisation Soc.

COLLINS WILLIAM (1789-1853)

B. Renfrewshire. Educ. parish school. Weaver and cotton mill clerk at 17. Opened Glasgow School 1813. Promoted Sunday Schools. 1819 estd. publishing firm. On 1820 trade visits to London met prominent evangelicals including Wilberforce. Survived financial problems 1825-9. Helped found the Scottish "Anti-Spirits Movement". Published first temperance newspaper "Temperance Society Record" 1830-35. Estd. anti-spirit movement in Bristol and London. Moderate Tory. Supported parliamentary reform 1830-2. Estd. Glasgow Church Building Soc. F.C.

COLLINS WILLIAM II (1817-95)

B. Glasgow. Partner family business 1843. 1862 appointed Queen's printer for Scotland. Leader of movement to reduce print-shop hours. Pioneer works' outings and recreational facilities. F.C. Lib., sympathetic to Factory Acts. Elected councillor 1869, policy municipal economy. Identified with provision of parks etc. Lord Provost 1877-80. Knighted 1880. Left £10,000 to public institutions.

COLQUHOUN Dr. JAMES

Prime partner J. and D.T. Colquhoun, Writers, Glasgow. Representative Blythswood Ward. Mbr. Glasgow University Court. Involved in bankruptcy and embezzling funds, entrusted to him for investment, in 1899. Detention in Gartnavel Asylum on special emergency certificate, subsequently arrested, faced Sheriff Court charges.

COLVILLE JOHN (1852-1900)

B. Glasgow S. David Colville who rejected family maratine/distilling business, became a Glasgow grocer, est. own iron and steel business after a brief partnership. Involved in est. the Dalziell Steel-works, but drawn increasingly to public life. Volunteer Officer, School Board mbr., Burgh Commissioner, County Councillor, and Provost 1888-95. Interests religion, temperance and social reform. Founder Pres. Christian Union, Motherwell. Lib. M.P., N.E. Lanarkshire 1895. 1897 Chairman of Colville's on fathers death. Bequeathed £1,000 Lanark Christian Union, £1,000 China Inland Mission, £1,000 evangelistic work Motherwell. T.A.. Supported temperance legislation.

CRAIG R. HUNTER M.P.

B. Partick 1839. Educ. Partick and Glasgow Academy. Founder R. Hunter Craig, Produce and Flour Importers, London Liverpool and Glasgow. U.P. Office bearer. Founder Partick Y.M.C.A. Dir. Glasgow Evangelistic Assoc., President Mizpah Band, Good Templar, Grand Worthy Treasurer 1871-1873. Chairman Glasgow Progressive Union since institution, Dir. Scottish Temperance Life Insurance, Dir. Glasgow Chamber of Commerce. Lib. M.P. Govan 1900-6. Sponsor Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) Bill. Parliamentary leader, Scottish Temperance Party J.P. for Ayrshire.

CRANSTON ARCHIBALD (1853-1908)

B. Glasgow. At 13 a North British Railway Co. employee studying at evening classes, promoted after 6 years, took up work in colliery office, 1890. Became partner, John Horn & Co. Coalmasters. Exponent short-hand. Elder in Langside Hill U.F. Church L.A. Identified U.F. Church Temperance Society, I.O.G.T. and colleague Bailie Steele of C.C.C.

CRANSTON, BAILIE ROBERT (1815-92)

B. East Calder. S. innkeeper/mason from Borders. Educ. Edinburgh. Apprentice University Printing Office. Amputation of leg after prank meant switch to tailoring. Interested in radical politics and temperance. L.A.. M. T.A. 1838. Opened teetotal coffeehouse and lodgings 1843. Moral force Chartist, editor North British Express. Arrested 3 times. 1848 sold coffeehouse, bought temperance hotel. Enlarged it 1876 and 1884. Acquired others London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, 1851-72. Associated with T. Cook. Elected to Edinburgh T. Council (Canongate Ward) 1868. "Progressive" town councillor 22 yrs. Bailie 13 yrs. Magistrate. Retired 1890. Massive public funeral 1892.

CRANSTON SIR ROBERT K.C. V.O. (1843-1923)

Councillor and Lord Provost. Con. Responsible for running hotel chain on death of father Bailie Cranston, formed his own limited company and built new temperance hotels in London area despite family friction. Successful in business, keen Volunteer and Territorial. Colonel battalion Royal Scots age 74 during Great Wat, 1917 camp commandant. Civic and military funeral 1923.

CRANSTON KATE (1849-1934)

B. Crown Hotel, George Square, Glasgow. Dt. of Cranston's cousin, sister of Stuart and cousin of Mary Mason. Perhaps originator tea-rooms idea. With family aid opened first tea-room 1884. M. 1892 John Cochrane of Barrhead. Childless. Expanded tea-room business in 1890's. Own farm for supplies. Ran tea-room 1911 Exhibition.



D. of husband, ten years her junior, prompted disposal of tea-rooms and her manor house. D. 1934 North British Station Hotel.

CRANSTON STUART

Tearoom chain pioneer. B. Glasgow. Educ. Old Collegiate School. Began business St. Enoch Square 1871. Reputation as dealer in fine teas. Recommended China teas for health. Largest known chain by 1889. Member Yeomanry. Interests music and maps. Deacon of recently est. F.C. Bearsden. Practical t.a., not T.A.S. member.

CUTHBERTSON SIR JOHN NIELSON (Kl.-1887) LL.D. F.E.I.S. J.P. D.L.  
B. Glasgow 1829. Educ. Glasgow High School, Glasgow University and College Royale de Versailles, Sunday School teacher 50 yrs. Chairman Glasgow School Board, 1885-1903. Mbr. of University Court, Governor Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College. Author "Secondary Education from the School Board point of view" Glasgow 1887.

DOUGAN DR. J.P. Dir. C.C.C.

B. Ballantrae. Educ. parish school. 1862 student of medicine Glasgow University under Allen Thomson Lister, Glaister, and Rainy. Graduated M.B. C.M.. 1872 took M.D. Appointed to Argyle Asylum 1868. Became doctor in Springburn 1874. Mbr. School Board. Gladstonian Lib. Succeeded Sir. Geo. Macleod as M.O. to General Post Office 1892 - prestigious political appointment. 1896 candidate with Main for Springburn. Re-elected at top poll 1898 without contest. Active C. of S. at Presbytery and General Assembly levels D. 1906.

DRANSFIELD ROBERT (1821-97)

B. Yorkshire. Educ. Wesleyan and Anglican schools. Child millworker. Boy soldier. Physical force Chartist and Owenite. Leeds Temperance Society Speaker. Reform lecturer 1865 on. Moved to Glasgow 1876.

DUNLOP JOHN, of Greenock (1789-1868)

S. Banker, and Edinburgh educ. lawyer. Established Savings Bank in Greenock. Visited Europe 1825. Influenced by Chalmers and Wilberforce in temperance work. Retired 1833. Interests statistics, sanitary reform, extension of suffrage, Anti-Corn Law League. Moral Suasionist.

DUNNACHIE ROBERT

B. Newlands Glasgow 1851. Apprenticed to Glasgow Shipping and Insurance Company, later accountant with Consett Iron Co. Associated Sunday Schools and Band of Hope Union, Glasgow. Joined I.O.R. when 24, tent official 1870 and district official 1880's. S. well known S.T.L. agent.

EASTON GEORGE

B. 1808 Midknock. Ambition ministry. Rose to road contractor, employer of 60-80 men. 1838 T.A. later, temperance lecturer. Promoted Sunday School work. Lib. voluntarist, supported the non-intrusionists in the hope that they would eventually swell the ranks of dissent. Pioneer non-alcoholic communion wine. Critic clergy's apathy on T.A. Edinburgh temperance missionary. S.T.L. agent.

EWING WILLIAM (1788-1874)

B. Partick Glasgow. Shipping insurance broker. U.P. philanthropist. Supporter Sailors Homes. Founded Chair of Music in the Andersonian Institution. Collected books and music. Generous to Scottish libraries. Prohib. Bequeathed U.K.A. £200 1874.

FORTUNE DAVID, J.P. F.S.S. F.C.I.S.

B. East end Glasgow. Humble parentage took a prominent part in commercial social and political life of the city. Sec. to the Scottish Legal Soc. Devoted himself to social advancement of the working classes. One of the promoters of a successful industrial exhibition in Glasgow and with every movement of similar kind in the city e.g. East End Exhibitions 1890-91 and 1904-5 was Chairman of the Executive Committee. Frequently approached to stand for Town Council. He was J.P. for County and City of Glasgow, Fellow of the Royal Statistical Soc. Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries of Great Britain, a mbr. of Greenock Harbour Trust, mbr. of the Comm. on Old Age Pensions, mbr. of the Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Board, held honorary and active office in connection with political, social recreative, religious, and temperance institutions.

FRASER JOHN (1794-1879)

B. Johnstone. S. naval doctor's assistant with staunch Jacobite opinions. Apprentice weaver later school-teacher founder of Johnstone's model academy. Advanced educational opinions. Non church going Christian. Radical orator and leader, imprisoned for some months during the radical uprising of 1820. Gave up school mid 1830's moved to Edinburgh, became prominent Chartist and T.A. Founder Edinburgh Radical Assoc. 1836. Mbr. Edinburgh Technical Assoc. Reporter for "Northern Star" and a founder of Edinburgh T.A.S. Founded "True Scotsman" (1838-41) one of the earliest newspapers to counter the Whig "Scotsman's" notions on T.A. Calton Hill spokesman moral force Chartism with Brewster. Abandoned "True Scotsman" on Chartism's decline. Moved to London, worked as singer with fellow Chartist Duncan and his two daughters. Visited U.S.A. 1851. Prohib.

GALLIE GEORGE (1793-1876)

B. Glasgow. Parents evangelical. Trained J. Stevens & Co. booksellers and stationers. Own business 1822. Later one of Glasgow's foremost booksellers. M. 1828 Isabella Nasmith sister of David Nasmith founder of City Missions. M. 1842 Elizabeth R. McClymont, Girvan. 1812 Joined West Nile St. Independent/Cong. Church. Later became mbr. Ewing Place Cong. Church - Senior deacon 41 yrs. Interests Sabbath Schools, prison visiting, anti-slavery, plight boy chimney sweeps, gospel temperance.

GEMMIL ANDREW (1803-72)

B. Glasgow, one of 9 children. 1820 family emigrated Canada, leaving him behind because lame. Penniless, reduced to sleeping under grocers counter, studied law eventually able to attend University. 1838 defended striking Cotton Spinners. Later won controversial Masonic case. Supported construction of suspension bridge across Clyde and Gorbals Water Works. Provost Gorbals 1840's. Magistrate of Glasgow. Philanthropist.

GILCHRIST DR. JAMES (1813-88)

B. village of Collin, s. of mason, who d. of T.B. Farm labourer with widowed mother. Educ. Dumfries Acad. Apprentice draper. Studied night school, became T.A. Developed ulcers - became vegetarian non-smoker. Taught, to raise money to train for U.P. ministry. In 1846 at 33, switched to medicine. Grad. 1850. Worked Chrichton and Montrose Asylum 1857-79. Super. Chrichton Royal Institution. Interested science, estd. Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Soc. Mbr. British Assoc., 1878-9 Pres. Borders B.M.A.,

Hon. Pres. Band of Hope. U.P. "Puritan" Lib. Pro Disestablishment. M. twice.

GLADSTONE REVD. GEORGE (1843-1910) C.U.

B. Yetholm. Moved to Edinburgh influenced by Dr. John Kirk, trained ministry Edinburgh University and E.U. Hall. 1864 ordained pastor Sanquhar. 1870 moved to Govan, around 1876 succeeded father-in-law Principal Morison D.D. at Dundas Street. Mbr. first Govan School Board. Active extension work. Interest outside church, temperance, S.T.L., foreign missions. Visited U.S.A. several times. 1907 Chairman London Missionary Soc. Sec. E.U. (later C.U.) 1888-96 Dir. and Chairman National Bible Soc. of Scotland.

GREEN SIR GEORGE OF PARTICK (1834-1916)

B. Stockport. Worked in mill age 8. Made redundant by Cotton Famine caused by American Civil War. Started with Prudential Insurance Co. Appointments several districts but sent to Edinburgh, there successfully reorganised company's precarious affairs. Promoted Inspector of the Midlands. Later returned Scotland, Inspector "A." Division. Knighted 1911. Methodist lay preacher. Lib. Contested Tradeston 1895, Stockport 1900. 18 yrs. on Lanarkshire Cn. Council for Partick. V. Conven., Conven. Chairman Sc. Lib. Assoc. 1905-12.

GULLAND JOHN WILLIAM M.P.

B. Edinburgh 1864. S. of city councillor and elected bailie as was grandfather. Joined father's corn merchants business. 1900 mbr. School Board, pro compulsory teaching hygiene and temperance. Secured ten o'clock closing in all licensed premises. 1904 returned unopposed for Canongate Ward, Edinburgh. 1905 Lib. candidate Dumfries Burghs. 1906 returned large majority. 1909 Sec. Scottish Lib. 1909 Junior Lord of Treasury, Scottish Lib. Whip. Secured passage of Bill authorising School Board spending on physically and mentally defective children. Mbr. Parl. comm.'s on Sunday Trading, Children's Homes, Street Trading of Children. Introduced Bill banning children in public houses (inc. in Childrens Charter). Elder Queen St. U.F. Church Edinburgh. Interested in all Church affairs.

GUTHRIE REVD. JOHN D.D. (1814-78)

B. Milnathort. Educ. Edinburgh University. Joined U.S.C. Theological Hall. Grad. 1835. 1839 Minister at Kendal. Friend of Dr. Morrison, suspended over views on atonement. 1843 Helped est. Evangelical Union Kilmarnock. Pres. E.U. 1846 and 1854. Prof. E.U. Theological Hall till 1861. 1848 Pastor of the N. Dundas St. Church Glasgow. Post at Greenock, London, and Glasgow. Presented £1,000 testimonial 1874. Received D.D. and Chair of Apologetics and History 1875. Joined S.T.L. 1849. Editor "League Journal" till 1871. Author "Temperance Physiology" (1877). Emigrated New Zealand but died London en route.

GUTHRIE REVD. THOMAS D.D. (1803-73)

B. Brechin S. merchant and banker. Family Evangelical Sabbatarian. Educ. Edinburgh University. Licensed preacher 1825. 1825-30 worked family bank. First parish rural, nr. Arbroath - 1837 moved Greyfriars Edinburgh. T.A. to convert his slum dwelling parishioners to T.A. Admirer Wesleyans. Minister Free St. John's but willing to co-operate with C. of S. in philanthropy. Supported ragged schools, feminism. Defended counter-attractions yet prohib. Prominent F.C. Temperance Soc.

HANNAY REV. DR. ALEXANDER (1822-90)

B. Kircudbright. Trained Glasgow University. Cong. preacher. Popular Minister Dundee 1846. Moved to City Road, Cong. Church, London 1862. Pastor West Croyden Church. Sec. Colonial Mission Soc. 1866. Visited Canada, U.S.A., and Australia on denominational business. Sec. C.U. 1870-90.

HARDIE KEIR

B. 1856. Lanarkshire. Eldest 7 sons and 2 daughters. Mother farm servant, step-father ship's carpenter, sailor, ex-coller, non church-goer and heavy drinker. As child employed in printing office, brass finishing shop Anchor Shipping Line, rivet heater boatyard, and Glasgow baker. 1867 moved Newarthill, East Lanarkshire. Miner 10-23 yrs. Self educ. at night school. Christian convert 1877. Joined E.U. (Morisonian) Church. I.O.G.T. age 17. Lecturer and organiser I.O.G.T. Cumnock till 1884. District Deputy I.O.G.T. 1883 also mbr. I.O.G.T. Finance Comm.

HOLBURN JOHN G. J.P. M.P.

B. Westcoe, Co. Durham 1843. Edinburgh tinsmith and "popular working mens' mbr. for N.W. Lanarkshire". Lib. "advanced type". Mbr. I.O.G.T. 1870. Mbr. Grand Lodge 1871. District Chief Templar and District Deputy for Edinburgh 1875. Mbr. Grand Lodge Executive two yrs. Later led Leith Burghs I.O.G.T. work 1879-80. Chief Templar 12 yrs. Elected M.P. 1895. Midlothian J.P. Active Town Councillor.

HONEYMAN TOM

B. Dunfermline 1858. Apprentice engine fitter with N. British Railway Co. then driver of locomotives. Joined I.O.G.T. 1875. Active in subordinate lodge. District Deputy 1878-83 plus Grand Sec. 1883-91 I.O.G.T. agent. Succeeded W.W. Turnbull as Sec. West of England Temperance League. I.O.G.T. historian.

JOHN HOPE (1807-93)

B. Edinburgh. S. lawyer. Educ. Edinburgh High School and University. 1847 est. B.L.T.A.. Pro counter-attractions, Volunteer movement, Saturday half holiday movement, non-alcoholic wine. Anti-smoking and anti-papal. City Councillor 1857-89. Tory. C. of S. 1847-65 gave League £20,000. Employed large staff missionaries and agents. Bequeathed £200,000 for continuance of anti-Popery and temperance work.

HORN JAMES (1807-90)

B. Kilsyth. Evangelical parents. Village educ. At 12 employed Glasgow. Eventually opened butchers shop South Side. Retired 1870's. Started evangelistic and temperance meetings. Obtained support of John Henderson of Park, who bought Mumford's Booth, Saltmarket, for Christian/philanthropic use. Chairman and chief speakers at its juvenile Sabbath services. Involved 'ecumenical' evening evangelism, Bible classes, Band of Hope meetings, and Saturday socials. Frequent gospel temperance speaker Glasgow Green, Revd. Logan's Lanark Church, and Tradeston. U.P. Elder Wellington St. Estd. the Sunday School nucleus of Dale St. Mission, transferred in the 1880's to Dr. Corbett's Camphill Church. S.T.L.

JOHNSTON REVD. J.A. (1822-95)

B. Coldingham, Berwickshire. S. of farm grievie with 9 children. Field worker and apprentice baker. Educ. same village school as Dr. Cairns, and studied at night school. Edinburgh University student in 1840's. Frugal existence. Missionary Edinburgh T.A.S. and Glasgow City Mission. Licensed 1850. Received 6 calls. Preached West Linton 9 yrs. Took over new Springburn charge 1861. Mbr. U.P. Ministers' T.A.S. Active during cholera epidemics and City of Glasgow Bank Crash. Minister of new church built 1874. By 1894 congregation 1,000 plus. Dir. S.T.L. 1864-72, 1879-95. Chairman Board 13 yrs. Succeeded Collins as Pres. Strongly pro Local Option. "Temperance Jubilee" celebrated 1889.

JOHNSTON JOHN F.

B. Glasgow 1865. P.A. at 18. Joined I.O.R. 1888 Shettleston. Trained stationery trade. Sunday School, mission, and church worker. Founder mbr. Carntyne U.F. Church. Sec. Comm. of Management Shettleston Co-Op.

KAY REVD. DR. JOHN (1829-88)

B. Greenock. Educ. Greenock Grammar School, St. Andrews University, Reformed Presbyterian Theological Hall. Airdrie, Castle Douglas and Coatbridge charges prior to Argyle Place Edinburgh 1878. Prohib., I.O.G.T., Band of Hope.

KERR DR. NORMAN S. M.D. F.L.S.

B. Glasgow 1834. S. Shipowner. Educ. Western Acad. Glasgow High, Glasgow University. Medical and surgical degree 1861. Travelled U.S.A. 9 yrs. as surgeon. Superintendent Canadian Mail Trans-Atlantic Steamers. A founder G.A.U. and Glasgow University Abstinence Soc. Moved to London 1874. High Official U.K.A. Est. Soc. Study of Inebriety. Chairman B.M.A. Inebriates Legislation Comm. Chairman Church Sanitary Assoc. Pres. International Congress on Inebriety London 1887. Vice Pres. Inebriates' Homes Assoc. Senior Consultant Dalrymple Inebriates' Hospital. Vice Pres. International Congress Medical Jurisprudence. Prolific author on alcoholism 1882-96.

KETTLE ROBERT (1761-1852)

B. Perthshire. Parents small farmers. Educ. parish school. Became weaver at 12, wrote small volume on subject prayers. Moved to Glasgow 1815. 1829 Began own business, cotton yarn merchant. Puritanical, evangelical, Deacon of Tron Church later Baptist. Promoted local asylums and hospitals, Hon. Sec. Glasgow City Mission. 1830 Treas. Glasgow and West of Scotland Temperance Soc. 1836 T.A., later editor "Temperance Journal". 1848 Pres. of T.L.

KING SIR JAMES (1830-1911)

S. farmer. Chairman of Glasgow Chamber of Commerce 1878-9. Lord Dean of Guild. Lord Provost 1886-9. Tory but co-operated with radicals. C. of S. Interested crofters' plight. Chairman Clydesdale Bank 30 yrs. Dean of Faculties and Chancellors. City Assessor.

KINNAIRD G.G.F. BART (1807-78)

Rossie Priory, Perthshire. Privy Councillor and Lord Lieutenant of the County. Active in several social reform movements. Framer of the Forbes Mackenzie Act. Active in formation Prisoners' Aid. Soc., S.F.A., Missions etc.

KIRK REVD. JOHN D.D. (1813-86)

Apprentice blacksmith later Independent/Cong. minister. 25 yrs. editor "Christian News". Wrote theology and temperance. Supporter Band of Hope, U.K.A. I.O.G.T. First Grand Chaplain I.O.G.T. Scotland. M. Helen 1857, publican's daughter, assistant matron Paisley Gaol. She edited the monthly "Dewdrops" for 40 yrs., wrote tracts, and was associated with B.W.T.A.

KNOX THOMAS J.P. (1818-79)

B. Greenlaw. S. merchant. Apprentice draper Edinburgh and Dundee. Pres. Edinburgh T.A.S. Responsible for statistics Sunday drinking, prior Forbes Mackenzie Act. Edited "Temperance Advocate" during 1850's and started "Commonwealth". Advocate of temperance lessons.

LAMB THOMAS (1801-69)

Grocer and spirit dealer 1828 converted by Wm. Cruikshanks. 1867 Opened temperance hotel, business continued by wife till her d. 1889.

LAMBERTON HUGH EX-BAILIE (1818-88)

"Stanley House", Pollockshields. Senior partner John Gray & Co., wholesale confectioners. Mbr. Glasgow Council 1868-71 (4th Ward) re-elected, 5th Ward 1873-82 d. Lang. 1883 on d. Jamieson stood 16th Ward. Magistrate of the Burgh 1876. Social reformer, T.A.

LAMBERTON ALEXANDER J.P.

"Lylestone" Pollockshields. Energies channelled into social reform. Dir. of S.T.L. 20 yrs. 19 yrs. Treas. (Successor of James Shaw father of Provost McInnes Shaw). Promoter S.T.L. £5,000 Jubilee Fund. E.U. Officebearer Dundas St. Cong. Church. Mbr. C.U. Annual Assembly C.U. Trustee. Patron C.U. Ministers' Stipend Fund. Provident Fund Chairman. Treasurer Glasgow Auxilliary London Missionary Soc. D. 1909. Large public funeral.

LANG J. MARSHALL REVD. D.D.

B. Manse of Glassford 1834. Educ. Glasgow High School and University. Licensed 1855. Assistant Dr. Clark Dunoon, later, Aberdeen, Fyvie, Edinburgh and Glasgow. T.A. 1890 Moderator of F.C. Minister Barony Parish Church Glasgow. Prohib.

LAWSON J.G.

B. Dundee. Educ. Dundee's Board and High Schools. Trained as lawyer in Dundee and Edinburgh. Later had own business in Dundee. Sec. and Deputy Chairman Cherryfield Forenoon Children's Church in Blackness, Dundee. Mbr. I.O.G.T. and Dundas St. Temperance Soc. Mission Broughty Ferry. Deacon West U.F. Church Broughty Ferry. Free Mason, Forrester, Rechabite, Gardiner, Oddfellow, and housing via C.C.C.

LOGAN WILLIAM (1813-79)

B. Hamilton, s. of Relief Church weaver and Secession Church mother. Ambitions of medical missions. Weaver, licensed grocer's apprentice and lace warehouseman T.A. 1837. London missionary 1838 on. Worked for Bright as Rochdale missionary. Glasgow missionary and social investigator 1840's. S.T.L. agent. Latterly superintendent of Bradford Home Mission. Left for business world. Temperance author. Close friend of Livingstone, Dr. Wm. Anderson, and often visited by Bright. D. Glasgow.

LOWERY ROBERT (1809-63)

Child pit-worker, went to sea 14, later apprentice tailor. Chartist, avoided trouble during Frost rising lecturing in Scotland. 1846 T.T. During 1840's gradually left Chartism. Became Temperance lecturer S.T.L. and missionary. 1845 Temperance hotel keeper Aberdeen. D. in daughter's home Canada.

MCCULLOCH JAMES MURRAY M.D. (1804-88)

B. Creetown. Educ. Glasgow, London, Edinburgh, Paris. Graduated Edinburgh 1828. Champion temperance and prohibition Scotland. Defended U.K.A. in the 1850's. Wrote influential pamphlet "The Scientific Aspect of the Temperance Question" - translated into several languages. Attached to British regiment Calcutta prior to settling Dumfries 1831. Worked amongst cholera 1832 and 1842. Interested scientific, medical research. Lib. Political organiser S.B.T.A. Voted for temperance and Home Rule according conscience. Prominent sanitary reformer and town councillor. Vice Pres. U.K.A. Leading writer on medical aspect temperance. Gave evidence to Lords Comm. on Intemperance 1878.

MACDONALD ANDREW Deacon Convenor J.P.

B. Gorbals 1847. Head of J. Poynter and MacDonald manufacturing chemists and drysalts, Clyde St. Glasgow. Very old business with works at Port Eglinton, Greenock, Dumfries, and London. Interested Railway Shareholders Assoc. Mbr. Bonnetmakers and Dyers (Deacon 1900). Mbr. Hammermen Wrights and Gardeners. Collector for the Trades House 1904. Ex officio Councillor. Mbr. Merchants House, Chamber of Commerce. Dir. C.C.C. and many charities.

MCDONALD WILLIAM F.E.I.S.

B. Lochalsh. S. joiner. Pupil teacher. Trained Glasgow F.C. College. 1880 employed as teacher, City School, John St.. Taught in Townhead and Anderston. 1905 Head Alexander's School Dennistoun. 1907 Head Milton School. Ran visual aid classes for teachers, and evening classes in drawing for general public. F.E.I.S. 1900. Clerk to Deacon's Court F.C. Chryston in youth. Assoc. Dr. Wells' Pollockshields F.C. and Rutherford U.F., Dennistoun. L.A. interested Sunday Schools. Joined I.O.G.T. 1875. I.O.G.T. Instit. examiner.

McFARLANE MALCOLM (1810-62)

Humble origin, first class cabinet maker. Sunday School teacher and lay preacher, for Glasgow Christian Instruction Soc. Strongly opposed physical force Chartism when pastor of a Chartist Church. Supported complete suffrage, building societies, mechanics' institutes, peace, anti-slavery, Sabbath observance, trades unions, public baths etc. Opposed to capital punishment. T.A. 1836. Agent S.T.L. Spoke on behalf temperance to Social Science Congress Glasgow 1860.

McGAVIN JOHN (1814-81)

B. Kilwinning. When 15 came to work in Glasgow office of Anderston Grain Mills. Active in the early years temperance movement and S.T.L. Retired early 1886. Railway interests, North British, Caledonian, Glasgow & South Western, Forth & Clyde lines. Dir. Glasgow Chamber of Commerce. Dir. Andersonian College. Patron of the Arts and artists. Hon. Treasurer and Sec. Fine Arts Institute Sauchiehall St. Glasgow. T.A. 1846 on. Identified S.T.L. 35 yrs. Chairman of Exec. for 12 yrs. Founder of Glasgow Commercial T.A.S.

1847 on a Dir. of the latter, 1852-64 Chairman of Board Temperance advocate and writer. Originator of winter conversaziones. Promoter Collins Memorial Fountain. Pres. Glasgow Young Mens' T.A.S. and interested Dale St. T.A.S. Bequeathed £1,000 to S.T.L., £200 Kilwinning T.A.S., and £7,000 for creation of Kilwinning public park.

MACKAY ROBERT

B. 1827. Ex-liquor trade. T.A. 1854 on. Estd. Aberdeen Maine Law Soc. 1858. Sec. S.P.B.T.A. Mbr. I.O.R., I.O.G.T. Involved Sunday Schools, local politics.

MACKEAN WILLIAM J.P. (1815-94)

Paisley soap and starch manufacturer. Dedicated temperance reformer, mbr. S.T.L.. D. 79 yrs.

MACKELLAR REVD. D.C.

B. Glasgow 1860. Joined I.O.G.T. 14 yrs, progressing in movement till District Chief Templar of Glasgow. 1894 Superintendent of Juvenile Templars. 1887 U.P. Minister Denny, Mbr. local School Board.

McKENDRICK GEORGE M.D.

B. 1841. Educ. Aberdeen and Edinburgh University. Graduated 1864. M.O. Chester Infirmary, Eastern Dispensary, Whitechapel. Later surgeon Bedford Hospital and assistant physiological dept. of the University. 1876 Appointed to Chair of Physiology Glasgow. 1882 T.A. 1889 Pres. Glasgow Philosophical Soc. 1885 Pres. Scottish B.M.T.A.

McKERRACHER GEORGE

B. Paisley. Child worker, humble origin. T.A. Charter mbr. first I.O.G.T. lodge in Paisley. Became I.O.G.T. official and G.L.S.'s first Grand Sentinel. Later District Deputy of I.O.G.T. East End of Glasgow. Agent G.L.S. 1880's.

McKINNON J.D. REVD.

B. Glasgow 1846. S. of the manse. Trained F.C. Theological Hall. 1873-5 first charge Liverpool. Moved to Dumfries. Sec. Dumfries Industrial School. Mbr. Landward School Board 20 yrs. Joined I.O.G.T. 1886. Became Grand Chaplain, Grand Counsellor, Grand Chief Templar and representative to the Grand Lodge at Chicago 1889.

McKINNON MRS. JOHN

B. Rothesay. Father, Captain George Millar S.T.L. Active in I.O.G.T., District Band of Hope Union, B.W.T.A., F.C. Manse Ladies Temperance Soc., Free Tea Mission, and Girls' Orphanage. Talented lady speaker.

MACLAY JOSEPH PATON 1st BARON P.C. D.L.

B. 1857. Partner Maclay and McIntyre, shipowners, Glasgow. Fettes and Trinity College Cambridge. Pres. B.B. Evangelical. Leader Glasgow Citizens' Vigilance Assoc. Mbr. Glasgow Town Council and Clyde Trust. J.P. of Glasgow and Renfrewshire. Baronet 1914. Peerage and freedom of the City of Glasgow 1922. Minister for Shipping 1916-21. Privy Councillor 1916. Mbr. War Cabinet, mbr. Comm. National Expenditure 1921. M.P. Paisley 1931-45.



MACLEAN ALLAN

I.O.G.T. Juvenile Chief Templar. Adult financial Sec. 1880-83. Chief of "Loch Lomond" Lodge 1884-5. District Deputy Dumbartonshire I.O.G.T. 1906. 1891 Representative at "international conference". Pioneer Vale of Leven Temperance Federation. Among founders Vale of Leven Friendly Societies' Federation - its 1908 president. Mbr. Board of Management local Co-Ops. Sec. Co-op Educational Comm. Chairman local L.O.A.S. 1905 Sec. Vale of Leven Lib. Assoc. V.P. Leven F.C. S.F.A. Comm. mbr. Pres. first Scottish Referees Assoc. 5 yrs. Founder and official Dumbartonshire Football Assoc. Joined I.O.R. 1885, Alexandria.

MACLEAN A.H.

Office boy R. Kettle & Co. later head of firm. T.A. and editor "Scottish Temperance Review". Helped found S.T.L.

McLELLAND ARCHIBALD, PROVOST (1831-1901)

B. Kilmarnock. S. blacksmith. Early youth worked as drayboy, later apprenticed to Kilmarnock provision merchant. Sent to Greenock to work from 14-18 yrs. 1850 Opened own provision shop, Kilmarnock and joined E.U. Elected to Police Comm. Ward II 1868. and Council 1871. Sat for Kilmarnocks 4th Ward 1871-95. Twice elected one of Kilmarnock's 6 magistrates. Early advocate of water-works purchase in 1871. Handled bequest of Dick's Park, and Anderson's gift of Bellfield to Kilmarnock. Provost 1886-95. Gladstonian Lib.. President Kilmarnock and Joint Burghs Lib. Assoc. Twice elected School Board, Pres. Fever Hospital. Chairman of Comm. on Reformers monument, unveiled by Lord Rosebery - Hon. Sheriff Substitute for Ayrshire. Parochial Board, C.U., Church Aid Fund.

MACNAIR JAMES (1807-83)

B. Glasgow. S. Social reformer. Temperance work with Dr. J.B. Kirk, Daniel Richmond etc. Migrated New Zealand "engaged in extensive building operations" prior to returning Glasgow.

McNEIL NEIL (1806-82)

Rothsay resident, connected with publishing industry. Temperance pioneer. Associated S.T.L. 40 yrs, Director 1854, Vice-Chairman 1856-62, Chairman 1865-79. Also G.A.U. Assoc. Kent Road U.P. Glasgow.

MACRAE REVD. DAVID (1796-1881)

S. Revd. James Macrae Sauchieburn D.-1813. Taught to support study at Marischall College Aberdeen. Won bursary. 1825 Licensed for Secession Church. Ran temperance excursions Staffa and Glencoe. Founder and President Oban Scientific Assoc. Invited to Old Gorbals' parish 1852. Temperance Soc. and Christian Visiting Soc. work. New church built 1854, and membership expanded with Sunday School, Bible Class, mutual improvement, and thrift classes. Celebrated 50 yrs. ministry 1876. Temperance author. Son minister Gourock.

MANNING CARDINAL, Archbishop of Westminster

B. 1808. S. London merchant. Educ. Harrow and Oxford. Vicar Lavington and Graffham (Suffolk) 6 yrs. Archdeacon Chichester. 1851 Joined Church of Rome. T.A. Active leader League of the Cross, supporter U.K.A., contributed temperance articles to the press.

MARR J.S. (1823-70)

B. Leith. U.P. Employed Bank of Scotland Edinburgh. Pres. T.A.S. Edinburgh 1850's. Maine Law agitator. Sec. S.T.L. 1854-63. Later Dir. S.T.L.

MAIN DONALD MACLEAN

B. Port Glasgow 1851. L.A. Joined Band of Hope, later mbr. S.T.L., S.P.B.T.A., I.O.G.T. and I.O.R. Past District Chief Ruler, and District Superintendent of Juveniles of I.O.R. Oddfellow lodge official. Helped found U.P. Church at Port Glasgow.

MASON, MRS. MARY (1846-1932)

Elder d. Baillie Cranston. Educ. Edinburgh, England, and Germany. M. 1872 to George Mason, photographer. Sister m. same year to W.G. Parkin, t.a. china merchant, Sheffield. Cranston's wedding gift to them was the Waverley Hotel, Glasgow. After d. husband 1901 mbr. School Board, Glasgow-platform 3Rs plus vocational skills. Food controller 1914-18 War. Socialite. Friend of Dean Inge, the Lloyd Georges, Sir Tyrone Guthrie (Scottish National Players). 5 children, educ. at public schools and European finishing schools, e.g. Elliot M. actress, Mabel M., artist. Unostentatious philanthropist. Ran a Glasgow Royal Infirmary canteen in later years. T.A. C. of S.

MASON REVD. R.G. (1797-1867)

B. Cambridgeshire. Former carpenter and builder apprenticed to pious Wesleyan Methodist. Converted to Methodism. Itinerant anti-spirits lecturer. Estd. T.A.S. Borders to Orkney 1837-40. B.T.L. agent of 1850's-60's.

MEARNS REVD. PETER

B. 1816. Educ. Joppa, Ayrshire. Brought to temperance William Reid U.P. Conven. U.P. Synod's Comm. on Temperance and Morals several yrs. Author many temperance works. Minister Coldstream, Berwickshire.

MILLER J. PROFESSOR M.D. (1812-64)

B. Eassie Manse, Forfarshire. Privately educ. St. Andrews, Edinburgh University. Assistant Lister later successor Sir Charles Bell, Professor of Surgery 22 yrs. F.C. Author "Alcohol, its Place and Power" and "Nephalism". Influential medical circles, branded alcohol a poison - a medicine - a narcotic not a food. Popularised scientific aspects of temperance. Earnest Christian - as was Sir Jas. Y. Simpson.

MITCHELL E. ROSSLYN (1879-1965)

Educ. Hillhead School, Glasgow University. M.A. 1900. LL.B. 1904. Notary public 1905. Partner in law firm with Tullis Cochran. Glasgow Town Councillor 1909-25 and 32 on. J.P. Pres. Students' Representative Council 1902. Gov. Glasgow Art School and West of Scotland Commer. College. Stood as Lib. Bute 1910. Glasgow Central Lab. 1922-23. Paisley M.P. 1924-9.

MITCHELL JAMES (1796-1862)

Excise officer Glasgow. T.T. 1835. Vice Pres. West of Scotland T.U.. Helped found S.T.L. Superintendent City of Glasgow, Temperance Mission. Resigned from League on refusal to push prohib. 1850's. Became agent U.K.A. 1858-62. Sec. S.P.B.T.A.

MITCHELL WILLIAM

Educ. Glasgow High School. Self-made man, calico printing business. Mbr. F.C. Self help and thrift. Elected to Glasgow School Board at first election, served 27 yrs. Social work among poor and disabled. Conven. School Board Attendance Comm., vice-chairman School Board 1888-1900. J.P. L.L.D. Glasgow University, Dir. Juvenile Delinquency Board, Dir. N.S.P.C.C. Founder East Park Children's Home for

handicapped children. Promoter Day Industrial Schools for practical and moral training of truants.

MONAGHAN WILLIAM (1860-1910)

B. Paisley. L.A. Former Juvenile Charter mbr. I.O.R. Nitshill 1895. Primitive Methodist later U.F. Evangelistic Assoc.. Parish Councillor. Rabidly anti-smoking.

MORRIS EDWARD (1787-1860)

B. England. Joined Temperance movement 1827. Active part formation Glasgow T.A.S. when John Finch of Liverpool visited Glasgow. Visited Preston, Wigan, Warrington, Liverpool and Manchester, meeting temperance pioneers. Zealous Temperance worker 30 yrs.

MURRAY ALEXANDER C.A. J.P. D.L.

B. Sutherlandshire. Partner in firm Carswell, Murray & Lander. C.A. Mbr. first County Council Renfrewshire 1888-91. Councillor 1891 on, East Pollockshields. Magistrate 1894-8 later Senior Magistrate. Conv. Finance Comm. Police Dept., City Treas. Published papers on Municipal Finance. Conv. Loans Comm. of the Corporation, sub-conv. of its comm. on Finance. Conv. of Libraries Comm. Planned the Mitchell Library. J.P. Delegate from the Free Assembly to Pan Pres. Council Washington 1889. Interested religious and temperance work amongst young. Assessor University Court. Dir. Stirlings Library. Mbr. Clyde Trust, Old Age Pensions Comm. Renfrew District Lunacy Board, Housing of the Poor. Mbr. Glasgow Licensing Appeal Court. Un-married. Associated with City of Glasgow Bank and Glasgow Savings Bank. Gave up public life 1910. D. 1915.

NICHOL JOHN PRINGLE (1804-59)

B. Brechin. S. Gentleman farmer. Educ. Grammar School, King's College Aberdeen. Highest honours mathematics and physical science. Trained teacher and preacher. Headmaster Hawick Grammar School. Editor Lib. newspaper, Cupar. Headmaster Cupar Acad. and Montrose Acad. 1834 Resigned - ill health. Lectured extensively 1834-6, e.g. Philosoph. Instit. Edinburgh. Later Prof. Astronomy Glasgow Univ. Eminent scientist. Gave free lectures. Author works on social reform. Corresponded with J.S. Mill. Visited U.S.A. 1848-9. Pro national, unsectarian educ. Pro European nationalism. Moved from Radicalism to Liberal-Conservatism. Refused Knighthood. 1837 L.L.D.

NICHOL MRS. ELIZABETH PEASE (1806-97)

Wife of Prof. Nichol astronomer. Dt. of Joseph Pease Quaker philanthropist. Active interest philanthropy. M. 1853 moved to Glasgow. Widowed 1859, moved to Edinburgh. Large circle friends, many advocates of anti-slavery and temperance.

NUGENT REVD. MONSIGNOR J.

S. Influential tradesman. Collegiate educ. Chaplain Walton House of Correction. 1872 instrumental in Father Mathew T.A. Soc., later merged with League of the Cross.

OVERTOUN LORD (1843-1908)

B. Rutherglen. S. Jas. White, mother Fanny Campbell, dt. Sheriff of Renfrewshire. J. Campbell White J.P., senior partner Whites Chemical Works 1884 on. Enobled 1892. Interests Y.M.C.A. Bible

Training Institute, Art Galleries, U.F., overseas mission work and temperance comm. work. Lib. Mbr. all leading Lib. Clubs, Glasgow and Edinburgh.

PATERSON ALEXANDER (1839-94 )

B. Glasgow. Family identified S.T.L. 3 generations. Educ. Douglas. Trained Laird and Thomson's weaving factory, became mill manager. Treas. Sydney Place U.P. Church. Pres. its T.A.S. Dir. Glasgow Co-operative Building Soc. Chairman Dennistoun Baths Company. Chairman of Third Ward Municipal Comm.

(FORRESTER) PATON ALEXANDER (Sen.)

B. Alloa M. M. Paton, dt. John Paton, Alloa Yarn Co. and took that surname. Joined Alloa T.A.S. 1854. Pres. Alloa T.A.S. on death Rev. Peter McDowall U.P. 1869 Illness led to less active role. Hon. Dir. S.T.L.'s Consultative Board. Mbr. Session local U.P. Church. D. 1883.

PARKER EDWARD

Dundee T.T.. Settled Penketh, Lancashire. Tanner, supported Band of Hope, Blue Ribbon Missions, B.W.T.A. M. Margaret E. Parker (1829-96) temperance worker from Gough's visit 1853. Both early members and officials I.O.G.T. Mrs. Parker G.V.T. of Scotland. 1875 Scotland's representative to the World G.L. Source of her "Six Happy Weeks Among the Americans". First Pres. B.W.T.A. Visited U.S.A. late 1880's. Attended World Temperance Convention, Chicago, 1893. D. Dundee.

RAE ROBERT (1823-1900)

B. Hamilton Lanarkshire. Baptist. Family identified Temperance. Helped est. Glasgow Commercial College 1845, later its Sec. Became T.T. 1839. Sec. Hamilton T. Soc. Sec. West of Scotland T.U. Sec. S.T.L. 1846-53. Owned and edited "Commonwealth", promoted education, temperance, social reform, moral suasion - hostile to U.K.A. 1861 on, Sec. N.T.L. Organised with brother, doctor, meetings producing British Medical Temperance Soc. and 1871 "Medical Manifesto". Successful in organising meetings with city dignitaries, N.C. Church leaders, N.U. Teachers, abstaining mayors, and organised the 1886 British and Colonial Temperance Congress. Son John, Ass. Sec. N.T.L. Daughter-in-law founded Girls Guild of Good Life. Sons Robt. and William prominent in Canadian and Australian temperance.

RAINY PRINCIPAL ROBERT

B. Glasgow 1826. S. of doctor, who in 1872 was Glasgow's Professor of Forensic Medicine. Educ. Glasgow University and New College Edinburgh. Minister F.C. Huntly 1851. Transferred Edinburgh 1854. Professor Theology and Church History New College Edinburgh 1862. Principal 1874. D.D. Edinburgh University 1884. Moderator F.C. Assembly 1887.

RODGER ADAM KEIR

B. 1855. Greenock. Father in brewery management. Educ. Glasgow High School. Partner Glasgow accountant. Formed Scottish Temperance Life, 1883, and Rutherglen Evangelical Institute 1885. Mbr. Rutherglen School Board Councillor 1891-1902. Provost 1902 and 1912. Lib. M.P. 1919-22, Sunday School and B.B. work, associated with Victoria Infirmary Glasgow. J.P.

REID ROBERT

B. 1817. One of 3R's founded S.T.L. (Reid, Rettie and Rae). Started as office boy with W. Fyffe and Co., manager age 21. Became manager with firm building large clothing factory Hamilton. 1864 Went to Chicago U.S.A. Fortunate at first but financial disaster sent him to Canada 1867 where he bought a woollen mill and returned Glasgow 1871. Connected various city businesses. 1880 moved to London, in partnership with son opened vegetarian restaurant Jervin St.. Highly successful, expanding to three large restaurants by 1909.

REID REVD. WILLIAM (1814-96)

B. Paisley. S. doctor. Educ. Glasgow University. U.P. Sec. U.P. Church Abstinence Soc. Ordained 1843. First Pres. S.T.L. 1845-8. Prohib. Compiled "Temperance Cyclopedia", various temperance books. Minister Lothian Rd. U.P. Church Glasgow 53 yrs. His wife edited "Dewdrops".

RICHMOND DANIEL M.R.C.S. (1811-85)

Early pioneer Scottish Temperance. Founder Paisley Youths T.A.S. 1830. Intelligent exponent temperance 56 yrs.

ROBINSON THOMAS

B. Larne 1839. Boy seaman, coaster captain, shipyard worker later rose to managing dir. Hurlet Chemical Co. and partner Robinson and Hunter, Tar Distillers. Joined Primitive Meth. during Irish Revival 1850. Lay preacher, identified Meth. Literary Institute Edinburgh and Church extension. First Scottish layman to be Meth. vice pres. 1894. Exec. mbr. Glasgow and West of Scotland Lib. Assoc. 1885 on. Organising Comm. Chairman 1889. Pres. Tradeston Assoc. Glasgow Lib. Council. T.A. 1858. Identified all leading Temperance Soc.. School Board Mbr. and J.P.

ROBERTS THOMAS

B. Montreal Scotland. S. Pres. elder. Brother Pres. minister. Teacher and storekeeper in Vale of Leven. Emigrated to Delaware 1846. Joined I.O.G.T. 1867 Became Grand Lodge lecturer and organiser. 1869 Missionary visit to Scotland. Worked for I.O.G.T. Philadelphia till death.

ROSS REVD. WILLIAM

B. 1837. Mission worker, organiser evangelist, helped est. Highland Temperance League. Active F.C. Temperance Soc. S.T.L. and Sons of Temperance. Joined I.O.G.T. when minister Chapel Hill F.C. Rothesay. I.O.G.T. Chief for Bute. Grand Chaplain 1876. Chief Templar for Scotland and World 1877. Temperance worker Glasgow 1883 on.

ROWE GEORGE

B. 1843 Cornwall. Moved to Devonport. Became apprentice compositor prominent local temperance. Moved to Newton Abbot where identified with I.O.G.T. 1876 Joined Greenock T.A.S., Trustee Greenock Temperance Institute. District Sec. and Chief Greenock I.O.G.T. Bible Christian joined the E.U. Greenock.

SCRYMGEOUR EDWIN J.P. (1866-1947)

B. Dundee. S. James Scrymgeour pioneer temperance. M. 1892, childless. Educ. West End Acad. Dundee. Commercial career, later Parish Council, Town Council. Prohib. Party 1901, M.P. (Prohib.) Dundee 1922-31 devoted to S.P.P. 30 yrs.. Many temperance publications, "Parish

Council Experiences", "The Unanswered Case for Prohibition", "The Temperance Runaways or Britains Greatest Retreat"; "The Temperance Scotland Act; An insult to Democracy and National Disgrace"; "Our National Wastage and its Stoppage".

JAMES SCRYMGEOUR (1821-87)

Father, of Edwin J.P.. Abstainer 50 yrs. earnest S.P.B.T.A. supporter. Brother William co-worker in Temperance.

SELKIRK JAMES LANDELS

B. 1837. T.A. at 17 yrs. Co-founder S.P.B.T.A. Hon. Sec. 26 yrs. Elected Bailie 1879 later J.P.

SERVICE WILLIAM

B. Culcreuch Stirlingshire 1781. Father-in-law Robt. Smith Pres. S.T.L. Wm. Service Jnr. (1822-69) Hon. Treas. S.T.L. 18 yrs.

SMITH ROBERT (1801-73)

B. Saltcoats Ayrshire. Glasgow Shipowner and merchant. U.P. Town Councillor 1845-8. Magistrate 1846. The Smith family became T.T. 1843, generous subscribers S.T.L. Chaired meetings in favour prohib. Upheld moral suasion. Pres. S.T.L. 1852-73.

STEELE BAILIE JAMES

B. Currie. Moved to Glasgow. Educ. St. James Parish School, Buchanans Acad., Harrisons Commercial Acad.. Apprentice joiner. Gained journeymans' certificate Edinburgh. Mbr. Edinburgh T.U. Elder Greyfriars Edinburgh (U.P.). Own business Glasgow at 28. 1888 Elected Pollockshields, East Renfrewshire County Council. 1891 Town Councillor, 1896 on magistrate - twice elected Licensing Confirmation Court. J.P. Police Court, Conv. and Sub Conv. of several comm.'s, e.g. Religious Purposes, Master of Works 1906. Superintendent Mission Schools 17 yrs. Sub Conv. City Improvement Trust under Chisholm later Conv. Chairman Hospital Comm. Mbr. Health, Care of Inebriates, Parks, Tramways, Electricity, Building Regulations and Valuations Comm.'s. Special Comm. on Unemployment and Local Port Authority. Dir. Western Infirmary, Hutchesons Educational Trust, Glasgow Technical College, Bellfield Sanatorium for Consumptives. Chairman G.A.U. and Kilmun Seaside Homes. Active in C.C.C., S.P.B.T.A., Band of Hope. Interested Foundry Boys Religious Soc.. Superintendent Kinning Park mission school. Elder of Pollockshields East U.F.. Mbr. I.O.G.T. M. M. Shearer (Caithness) - 10 children. Married son Ilford, identified C.C.C. Residence "Davaar" Pollockshields later gifted to Salvation Army.

STEVENSON JOHN (1829-96)

B. Dunfermline. S.P.B.T.A. Managing partner Townhill Coal Company. Chairman Fife and Clackmannan Coalmasters Assoc.. Mbr. Burntisland Dock Commission. Mbr. Dunfermline School Board 22 yrs. and sometime Chairman.

STEELE COUNCILLOR JAMES (1819-91)

Partner Steele Coulson & Co. Brewers. 1870 entered Town Council 2nd Ward. Served 3 yrs.. Mechanical engineer, invented Steel McInes brake. Known for "trenchant pen".

STIRLING JAMES (1774-1856)

B. Strathblane. Brief parish school educ. Herdsman and apprentice shoemaker Paisley 1788. Reclaimed drunk, active in the anti-spirits movement 1830 on. Joined Milngavie Temperance Soc. Became T.A. agent of S.T.L.

STRACHAN REVD. JAMES M.A.

B. 1838. Pastor Waterloo Ind. Church 30 yrs. Introduced non-intoxicating wine. Gospel temperance work 1882. Joined I.O.G.T. 1885, in 1886 D.D. and D.S.J.T.. Presentation by I.O.G.T. 1890. Grand Chaplain I.O.G.T. Scotland 3 or 4 times late 1890's.

TICKLE, H. ELLIOT (1851-1921)

B. 1851 Liverpool. Cashier John Nimmo & Sons Coalmasters. Resided Shawlands. S.P.B.T.A. History of ill health prompted him to spend several years abroad prior to coming to Scotland. Mbr. Church of Christ, Mossie Rd. Shawlands. Brother Gilbert J.P., Liverpool, former Chairman of Exec. Liverpool Temperance. Band of Hope, and U.K.A.

TODD REVD. W.S.

B. Dunfermline 1857 of an E.U. family. Apprentice blacksmith but by 20 able to attend the E.U. College for 5 sessions and Glasgow University for 4. 1884-96 Motherwell Charge. 1896 on New City Road Cong. Church, Glasgow. Closely identified I.O.G.T.. Dir. C.C.C..

TORRENS JAMES (1808-84)

B. Edinburgh. Apprentice painter and decorator in Glasgow, later in Greenock. Set up in business in Greenock but emigrated briefly to U.S.A., on return set up in Glasgow. Temperance advocate. Pres. S.P.B.T.A. for 20 yrs. Mbr. S.T.L. 1869 Joined Town Council. 1872 dep. river bailie and 1874 on city magistrate. Later J.P. for Lanarkshire. Pioneer of legislation sympathetic to first offenders. Elder Free St. George's Church. Evangelistic work.

URE EX BAILIE WILLIAM (1830-95)

Ironfounder, Crownpaint St. Glasgow. T.A. Mbr. S.T.L. 34 yrs. Dir. S.T.L. 16 yrs.

WIGHAM MISS ELIZA (1819-99)

Quaker, family manufacturers. Leading figure "Women Friends" 1861-96. Identified with Edinburgh League of Brotherhood, Anti-Corn Law League, Dublin Olive Leaf Soc., anti-slavery, peace, social purity. Friend of Eliz. Fry. Visitor to St. Cuthbert's Poorhouse. Present at inauguration Glasgow Ladies' Temperance Prayer Union. Vice Pres. B.W.T.A. till left Edinburgh for Dublin 1898.

WALKER JABEZ (1829-77)

B. Trowbridge, Wilts. L.A. Agent Ayrshire Temp. Union. First Grand Chief Templar, Scotland. Suspected T.B. - emigrated Canada thence California, where Grand Chief Templar 2½ yrs.

WALLACE REVD. ALEXANDER (1816-93)

T.A. from youth, laborious temperance worker and advocate till death. Active supporter Forbes Mackenzie Act. Author Stirling's biography, numerous popular writings, tracts. Assoc. with East Campbell St. U.P. Church, Glasgow.

WALSH REVD. WALTER M.A.

B. Dundee 1857. In business locally, then qualified as minister Glasgow University. After temporary occupancy Lerwick Baptist Church, became pastor of Pitlochry, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne churches. Well known popular preacher, lecturer and organiser. 1897 Gilfillan Memorial Church. Dedicated temperance reformer.

WILSON DR. JAMES HOOD (1829-1903)

B. Duns Berwickshire. S. successful merchant. 1843 Edinburgh University. M.A. Hons. 1848 Attended New College, Edinburgh 1848-52. Mission work as minister Fountainbridge Territorial Church, Edinburgh 1853-64. Ordained 1854. Active 1859 religious revival. Co-operated later with Sankey and Moody. T.A. Counter-attractionist. Visited U.S.A. and Canada 1874. Active in work to educate poor children. Valued music in evangelism (edited "Songs of Zion" 1861). Pastor of Barclay Church 1864-97. Senior colleague 1897-1903.

WILSON JOHN M.P.

B. Ferguslie. S. of grocer. Educ. Paisley. Clerk to Chrichton & Eadie Tube manufacturers Glasgow. Became traveller, later own business. Rose to prominence as result of work on City of Glasgow Bank Shareholders' Comm. Dept. Lieut. and J.P. Lanarkshire. Radical. Supporter Home Rule for Ireland and Scotland, religious equality, taxation feu duties and ground rents, free education, compulsorily administered if necessary. Govan M.P. 1889-1900. D. 1905.

WILSON JOHN (C.C.C. architect)

B. Lanarkshire 1851. S. Blacksmith. By 1906 had erected property in Motherwell valued £90,000. Built in the Glasgow suburbs. Treas. Sabbath School Union, Dir. Scottish National Sabbath School Union. Dir. Y.M.C.A. Institute Motherwell, mbr. Scottish National Council Y.M.C.A. Dir. Scottish Band of Hope Union, District Super. Juveniles Upper Ward of Lanarkshire I.O.G.T. Pres. Cong. Church Motherwell. Treas. District Union Cong. Churches. Mbr. Debt and Manse Building Fund Comm.

WHITE JAMES ALEXANDER

B. Millhouse Bute 1862. I.O.G.T. 1877 on. Moved to Glasgow, converted 1882 by Revd. Andrew Cunningham. F.C. Gorbals. Sunday School, Gospel Temperance, and mission worker. Founder and captain 36 B.B. Gorbals. Super. Band of Hope. Opened an I.O.R. tent 1869. Active Stirling and Bonnybridge I.O.R. U.F. M. Bonnybridge Temperance reformer.

WOOD MRS. ELLEN (1815-87)

Authoress of "East Lynne" "The Channings"

B. Worcester, dt. glue manufacturer. Spent most of married life Europe. When widowed, settled Norwood near London.