Drink and Society: Scotland 1870-1914

- thesis presented for the Degree of Ph.D.
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PART 1

This research was conducted in the Department of Modern History,
University of Glasgow, financed by a Scottish Education Department
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Abstract.

Chapter 1 gives a brief chronological outline of the emergence of a 'drink question', its origins and phases, and notes the main temperance pressure groups established over 1828-70.

Chapter 2 describes the fortunes of the Scottish Temperance League, Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association, and Independent Order of Good Templars in terms of organisational structure and personnel, with reference to social class, possible social mobility, class collaboration, philanthropy, and social reform interests. The importance of Glasgow as a focus of temperance pressure is stressed.

Chapter 3 describes moral suasionist ideologies, their inspiration, and implementation via strategies involving traditional temperance propaganda techniques, plus novel introduction of pressure on teachers, School Boards, and the Education Department for 'temperance lessons', and its effects. The remarkable range of moral suasionist counter attractions are described and evaluated under their various headings. The movement's creation of opportunities for social mobility are highlighted.

Chapter 4 describes the shared ideas (and/or assumptions) of the moral suasionist temperance movement and thrift reformers. The spectrum of thrift institutions in which temperance reformers were interested is discussed against the background of urbanisation, housing and environmental reform. The importance of moves away from static class categories featuring the rise of a new 'white collar' commercial class is discussed, as is the temperance/thrift movement's contribution to this process. The origins and progress, and organisation and personnel of the acme of the moral suasionist/thrift movement, the Independent Order of Rechabites, are described. Rechabites' idiosyncratic attitudes to National Insurance are delineated and explained, against the background of the temperance interest in health questions and the popularity of Friendly Societies like
Chapter 5 describes Prohibitionist ideology in terms of the social aspects of evangelicalism, the Nonconformist Conscience, links with social reform and radical politics. Prohibitionist tactics, utilising Anti Corn Law League and anti-slavery devices, pressure on the Liberal Party reminiscent of the Liberation Society, and organisation of an independent S.P.P. are studied.

Chapter 6 details briefly local temperance pressure group politics through the medium of licensing restriction, and against the backdrop of general trends in Victorian urban reform and the 'civic gospel'.

Chapter 7 concerns the licensed trade, or Trade, and its reaction to temperance pressure group politics. The origins, structure, and success of Trade defence are discussed with particular reference to the Glasgow area.

Chapter 8 attempts a very brief social pathology, focussing upon the medical profession and the clergy, women and children, and working men. Each of these sections of society could be the subject of a Ph.D. Within the confines of this thesis however it is only possible to describe the reception given to the 'drink question' by each of these groups, and the question's relevance for the professional status of doctors, the social Christianity of the late 19th century, the role of women and children in society, and the 'respectability' of the Labour Movement.

Chapter 9 concludes that the Scottish temperance movement's apparent strength was a source of weakness. Temperance societies proliferated, but the ideological differences between the two main groups, the moral suasionists and the prohibitionists, were never resolved. This was ironic given the similarities between their memberships. Temperance's great attraction was that it reinforced desire for social mobility, yet class assertiveness as well as class collaboration is evident in societies like the I.O.G.T. and especially the Rechabites. The pervasive influence of the 'drink question' over the years 1870-1914 was the work of the moral suasionists. Their work was a response to urban society, and also to the needs of the new white-collar commercial class. This accentuated the natural limitations of their work.
Reformers of this type were at worst rather Philistine, but they discovered that it was remarkably difficult to dictate popular taste - as did the Clarionites. Prohibitionists, champions of the 'drink question' in pressure group politics, also found that success had a bitter after-taste. They sought class-collaboration but found that the 'drink question' not only polarised politics for the Trade but was also a feature of the labour movement's shift to the Left. This was predictable given many reformers' keen sense of 'social justice'. The success of Local Veto in 1913 was therefore a Pyrrhic victory. Local Veto's effect on the Trade was limited, and pressure group politics, Nonconformist Crusades, and even individual charity was rendered passé by the Great War, 'class-politics', and the disintegration of the Liberal Party.
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Abbreviations used in this thesis

B.L.J.A.  British League of Juvenile Abstainers
B.M.A.  British Medical Association
B.M.T.A.  British Medical Temperance Association
B.T.L.  British Temperance League
B.W.T.A.  British Women's Temperance Association
B.W.T.L.  " " " " League
C.C.C.  City and County House Purchase Co.
C.O.S.  Charity Organisation Society
E.I.S.  Educational Institute of Scotland
E.U.  Evangelical Union
G.A.U.  Glasgow Abstainers' Union
G.E.S.  Glasgow Emancipation Society
G.F.B.R.S.  Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society
G.L.G.A.  Glasgow Licensed Grocers' Association and annual reports thereof
G.S.B.  Glasgow Savings Bank
G.T.C.  Glasgow Trades Council
G.U.W.T.A.S.  Glasgow United Working Men's Total Abstinence Society
G.W.S.B.T.A.  Glasgow Wine, Spirit, and Beer Trade Association and annual reports thereof
H.T.L.  Highland Temperance League
I.O.G.T.  International Order of Good Templars
I.O.R.  Independent Order of Rechabites
L.O.A.F.  Loyal Order Ancient Foresters
L.O.A.S.  " " " " Shepherds
N.T.L.  National Temperance League
P.S.A.  Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Society
R.C.  Roman Catholic
R.T.M.  Rechabite and Temperance Magazine
S.B.H.U.  Scottish Band of Hope Union
S.E.D.  Scottish Education Department
S.F.A.  Scottish Football Association
S.P.B.T.A.  Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association and annual reports thereof
S.P.C.C.  Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
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<td>U.F.</td>
<td>United Free</td>
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<td>U.P.</td>
<td>United Presbyterian</td>
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CHAPTER 1

A CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF THE "DRINK QUESTION" IN THE WEST OF
SCOTLAND 1828 - 1870.
A Chronological Outline of the "drink question" in the West of Scotland

By 1870 the "drink question" had been debated in Scottish society by various groups, Trade, temperance, clerical and more especially lay for nearly 40 years. The temperance movement had an accepted if not respectable role in the ranks of social reform, as highlighted by Shaftesbury's assertion that "without these societies we should be involved in such an ocean of intoxication, violence and sin as would make this country quite uninhabitable." The ideological basis of "temperance" in its successive phases of "moderation", known as the anti-spirits movement, total abstinence, and prohibition had long since been devised, developed and popularised. The points of policy and strategy in dispute between total abstainers and prohibitionists were deeply etched in the minds of all manner of temperance reformers, although distinctions between shades of temperance sentiment were far more roughly drawn in the popular mind.¹

Such was hardly the case at the beginning of the 19th century. Although from the early 18th century cheap, easily obtainable whisky replaced French wines and home-brewed beers as the Scottish national drink with quite disastrous results for drinking patterns, levels of consumption and drunkenness, 'temperance sentiment' was expressed only infrequently by odd individuals. Gentlemen like Boswell made resolutions to abstain but none were surprised let alone outraged when they failed to do so. If Cockburn is to be believed, gentry supper parties in the late 18th century were notoriously drunken. The trade dislocations and concomitant domestic distress of the Napoleonic War years however had the effect of fostering temperance sentiment in the sense of horror at the prevalence of drink abuse and especially misuse of the nation's grain resources in time of crisis by the Trade.
This theme, the forerunner of Chartist criticism of national expenditure, of Anti Corn Law League sentiment, and of later "national efficiency" arguments, was frequently traced in early penny tracts. An underlying theme of such criticism was that of popular drinking usages' threat to social order. This was evident in preoccupation with the rise of illicit distilling in the years after the excise reform of 1822. Indeed, this was one of the deep rooted nerves of the middle class conscience harshly jarred by the 'drink question' from the 1840's onwards.\(^2\)

Opportunities for Scots to indulge in extremely heavy drinking had long abounded. In 1832 Glasgow provided business for 1,360 spirit dealers - a ratio of one per 14 families. The ratios for smaller towns and rural areas of the West of Scotland were not markedly better. The alarming factor injected into this situation from the 1840's onwards was the way an aristocratic tradition of heavy drinking was increasingly being adopted and upheld by social inferiors and, most conspicuously, by the lower classes in urban areas. In this sense the 'drink question' was a side effect of industrialisation and the changes it wrought on social customs, especially where the drinking habits of Celts and rural Scots were moulded to fit a new urban environment, participation in an industrial workforce and, in the 1830's and 1840's especially, an often uncertain urban future. The temperance movement's strength in Glasgow and its environs was a commentary upon its "age of cotton" in the years 1776-1841 and development of a heavy producer-goods industrial economy featuring mutually confirming coal, iron and steel and shipbuilding specialisations 1841-1914. Although temperance sentiment was strong in Aberdeen and the fishing villages of the East coast and in Forbes MacKenzie's native Hawick, neighbouring tweed-towns, and farming communities, by the late 1850's it tended to
be concentrated in Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock and the small works
towns and mining villages of Lanarkshire and Ayrshire. Glasgow's
importance to the movement was reflected at the Temperance Congress
of 1862, the first of several national congresses to be held in Glasgow.

Critical observers of the early Victorian period, of whom
John Dunlop J.P. of Greenock was the foremost, felt that the occasions
on which it was socially acceptable, if not 'de rigeur', to become
drunk were escalating with each new generation. Comparisons with the
experiences of other nations, including the poor benighted masses of
Catholic France and Italy, were no longer favourable. This shocked
those like Dunlop who had assumed the innate moral superiority of
countries which had responded positively to Calvinism. Elsewhere the
connection between consumption, hospitality or conviviality and business
transactions seemed occasional. In Scotland it was "universal" - a
fad which threatened to become permanent. Reformers looked around
them with growing concern for the quality of fellow Scots' lives,
foctussing on high rates of drunkenness, poverty, crime, immorality and
ignorance as emblems of the nation's lack of moral and spiritual
purpose. Promotion of temperance societies reflected their desire to
attack the root of the problem as they conceived it, thereby reintro-
ducing the masses to Christian observances by personal and national
reformation.

It was in this milieu that temperance societies, modelled on
American self-help associations, sprang up in Maryhill (1829) Greenock
(1832) Dumfries (1837) Glasgow (Scottish Temperance Union, estd. 1838)
and Edinburgh (1839). Their ideology and membership often overlapped
with those of contemporary Chartist and radical groups with a strong
moral reform ethos. All were "anti-spirits" or "moderation" societies,
open to abstainers and non-abstainers alike as their dual membership
The movement's "total abstinence" phase was initiated in the formation of the Scottish Temperance League (S.T.L.) at Falkirk in 1844. League members pledged themselves to abstain from all intoxicating beverages, not simply ardent spirits, a pledge dubbed "the long pledge." Moderationism continued to coexist with total abstinence, as the formation of the Scottish Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness (1850) and the Glasgow Abstainers' Union (1854) attested. The prohibitionist dimension was added immediately after the passage of the American Maine Law. Maine Law societies were founded in parallel movement to the establishment in England of local auxiliaries of the United Kingdom Alliance. (U.K.A., estd. 1853). Prohibitionism was greatly encouraged by the formation of the Scottish Prohibition Society and the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association (S.P.B.T.A.) in 1856 and 1858, and the introduction of American Good Templary in 1869.6

By 1870 temperance societies for men, women and children existed all over Scotland from the Borders to the Northern Isles. Juvenile societies were amongst the earliest Scottish temperance societies and the Scottish Band of Hope Union was formed in 1870. The latter worked closely with the denominational temperance societies. In 1870 these were few in number and limited in scope, yet the basis for development of the "gospel-temperance" wing of the movement had been laid.7

Indeed by the time of the Reform Act of 1867 the organisational framework of a strong and organised temperance movement, in the shape of innumerable local societies and broad based national societies providing overall direction, had been created - as had the framework of Trade defence. The temperance movement benefit ed markedly from
the opening up of the parliamentary system to organised pressure groups prompted by the Reform Acts, yet the movement's rise and growth was neither immediate nor uniform. Waves of temperance fervour, with corresponding peaks in the numerical and financial strength of societies, were experienced—often as side effects of temperance initiatives, evangelistic revivals or exercise of the "Nonconformist Conscience" in various moral crusades spanning religious, social and political questions. Within this overall pattern individual societies experienced ebbs pertaining to economic circumstances and the organisation's characteristics. Some were already experiencing the apex of their vitality by the end of the 19th century. All showed some evidence of decline by the formation of the Scottish Temperance Alliance (1924), an amalgamation of the forces of the S.T.L., S.P.B.T.A., and the more recent National Citizens Council formed to agitate for "No Licence" in the 1920's Veto Polls. At the movement's Centenary Celebrations in 1932 reformers looked to many temperance victories, but all had passed and temperance as a mass or popular movement was dead.8

1870-1914 however saw the maturity of the movement and its most important landmarks. By 1900 the temperance movement claimed not only massive support but also to have formed a "strong popular opinion" in favour of its presentation of the "drink question"; as exemplified by successful infiltration of the Social Science Congresses, the British Medical Association, the teaching profession and the Churches. Moreover, success in influencing the composition of popularly elected bodies, (e.g. town councils, school and parochial boards etc.) together with institution of public inquiries into the "drink traffic" such as the 1878 House of Lords Commission on Intemperance and 1896 Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws, the return of a
Prohibition Party candidate, and passage of temperance legislation suggested the prowess of the "Temperance Party" as an effective pressure group in local and national politics. By 1914 legislative victories included the Forbes MacKenzie Act (1853) which gave Sunday Closing and an envied lead in agitation over the Irish and Welsh temperance movements and the Public Houses Amendments Act of 1862. Lesser triumphs were Dr. Cameron's Publicans' Certificates Act (1876) his Habitual Drunkards' Act (1879) and various acts on children and drink in 1872, 1886 and 1901. Finally, local veto on licences was achieved in the Temperance (Scotland) Act of 1913. It was however a flawed victory, and the "new chapter" which it appeared to herald included a saga of disappointments featuring the Great War, the Defence of the Realm Acts, formation of a wartime Liquor Control Board and state management experiments, failure of demands for wartime prohibition, division in the temperance ranks and the increasing respectability of the Trade. The 1920's Veto Polls, regarded by reformers as steps towards prohibition were really the last strong waves of the ebbing tide of Temperance. The vitality of the "drink question" in the West of Scotland had nevertheless been quite remarkable.
Footnotes


4. S. Mechie (op cit) Chapter VI, 'John Dunlop and the Scottish Temperance Reformation', pp. 81-99 and the "Autobiography of John Dunlop", pp. 88-32. Dunlop claimed that widespread emphasis on 'conviviality' had, ironically, increased the self-indulgence of the solitary drinker - see J. Dunlop "The Philosophy of Artificial and Compulsory Drinking Usages in Great Britain", London, 1839, pp. 76 and 289. See the Select Committee on Drunkenness, Minutes of Evidence, P.P. 1834, pp. 178 on ubiquity of drinking, p. 516 on the social categories of drinkers, observed by Dunlop, p. 183 on Swedish example, p. 222 on the French, and p. 500 on Spanish and Italian superiority in "general education" via greater sobriety.


7. On the Northern Isles see W. Logan "Sketch of the Life and Labours of R.G. Mason", Glasgow, 1864. See F. Smith (ed.) "The Band of Hope Jubilee Volume" London 1897. S.T.L. subscribers in the years before it experienced the total impact of competition from other national Temperance societies were concentrated in Glasgow (1,100) Edinburgh (330) and Hawick (104) - S.T.L.R. 1859. The majority of Scotland's national temperance organisations had Glasgow headquarters in this period. Source material for temperance and Trade history in this period abounds in Glasgow. Thus whilst this study aims to add a Scottish dimension to the work of Harrison, Dingle, and Lambert, historian of the Welsh movement, it is of necessity focussed on the West of Scotland.


CHAPTER 2

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN THE WEST OF SCOTLAND 1870 - 1914:

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE AND PERSONNEL.
The Temperance Movement in the West of Scotland 1870-1914: Organisational Structure and Personnel

For most of this period the movement was not the unified, centrally directed "army" reformers desired. Temperance societies, not to mention non-allied sympathisers, did not relate to each other as corps on the same battlefield but as separate branches of the armed forces. While capable of cooperation, each had its preferred theatre of war. Opportunities for friction were legion. In Glasgow alone national societies, temperance brotherhoods and friendly societies were all active, as were "gospel temperance" groups, the Unfermented Wine Association and denominational societies. Study of the social composition of the three largest societies however suggests overlap of personnel counteracted rivalry.

The Scottish Temperance League (S.T.L.)

The S.T.L. was the first national non-denominational society for total abstainers in Scotland. Born of schisms between total abstainers and "moderationists" who scorned "ardent spirits", but whose utilitarian "short pledge" sanctioned the use of wines, beer, and general expediency, its policy, or lack of policy, was long the subject of debate. Its moral suasionist policy was greatly misunderstood partly because it was a very broad policy designed to attract as many as possible. The architects of policy were overwhelmingly middle class. Given the organisation's hierarchical structure of Honorary Directors, Vice Presidents and Executive, such middle-class dominance was "in-built." League leaders were businessmen - hardly surprising given the importance of industry and commerce to this area, and the movement's
early links with men like Collins and Greenock's John Kerr of Allan Kerr & Co.⁵ Around ¼ of League officials were businessmen. From the humblest self-employed craftsman and shopkeeper to the merchant prince 'businessmen' provided leadership, membership, and subscriptions. Subscribers and high officials were often 'big-businessmen.' Some were burgher aristocrats — men of great wealth and high social position acquired over several generations of political rule. The Board, Honorary Directors and members however were drawn from the nouveau riche and lower echelons of commerce. All were brought together in a common drive for respect and 'respectability'. In contrast to the Scottish Society for the Suppression of Drunkenness' decorative Board of aristocrats whose commitment was purely financial, the League's leaders were evangelicals who were also businessmen, who devoted money and time to the cause.⁶

The League's impetus came not from "business ethics" but from evangelicals like Collins, Kettle and Connal who also happened to be businessmen whether they liked it or not — and men like Kettle and Connal evidently did not. The organisation was very much an instance of "evangelicals in action." Formed in the Christian Institute, established in the 1830's under the indirect influence of Chalmers, evangelicalism coloured the format of meetings and methods. The League demonstrated the way 'corporate evangelicalism' in the early 19th century spawned a proliferation of societies concerned with religious endeavour, philanthropy, and moral questions, many based at London's Exeter Hall, and evangelicalism's profound influence on Victorian attitudes. Ever a diffuse phenomenon, evangelicalism had religious, social and moral aspects. Emphasis on personal salvation, justification by faith, missionary endeavour and uncompromising Protestantism blended with desire for piety and righteousness in private
and public conduct and conditioned impulses towards philanthropic activity, sense of social duty, and obligation. Temperance, like the popular services commenced at Exeter Hall in 1857, reflected concern to reach the lapsed urban masses in years when the Churches seemed threatened by Neology, Tractarianism, Popery and the evolutionists.

This was evident in the presidents the League attracted. Kettle, a friend and admirer of Chalmers and an extremely devout Baptist, was a former weaver who became a wealthy cotton merchant. He never lost fear of Mammon and used his position to advance temperance and city mission work. Robert Smith J.P. (President 1852-73) was a successful shipping magnate of City Line. He also had teetotal forebears, in-laws (the Service family), and descendants, i.e. the Allans of highly successful Allan and State Line, who refused to employ drinkers, promoted Glasgow United Evangelistic Association and United Presbyterian Missions and were active in educational, suffragette, and socialist circles. William Collins II (1837-95) expanded the family publishing business and its work for temperance, which paralleled that of fellow publishers Cassel, Chambers, Coghill, and Tweedie. His father was a pioneer "moderationist", a close friend and supporter of Dr. Chalmers who organised the petition to bring him to the Tron Church and published his pamphlets. He encouraged Chalmers to preach on dissipation and perhaps influenced the latter's dilution of guests' whisky. His evangelicalism, reflected in Sunday School and Sabbath Observance work, was later diverted into the Glasgow Church Building Society, and acceptance of the use of light wines distanced him from his friend Dunlop. His son was a total abstainer who insisted on 'dry' civic functions during his Lord Provostship of Glasgow and who was associated with Good Templary, Rechabitisim, the Band of Hope, the Sabbatarian Sunday Closing Association and
the prohibitionist United Kingdom Alliance. Alexander Forrester Paton, the Alloa millowner associated with the National Commercial League (1891), whose family vied with the Hillcoat's brewery for water supplies for their works, was also an evangelical philanthropist.

Many lesser officials were millowners and managers, shipowners and shipbrokers, iron and steel merchants and works owners. More however were connected with consumer industries e.g. as coal merchants, soap and starch manufacturers, heating and sanitary engineers, confectioners, grocers, bakers and food wholesalers. Most had good business reputations and pedigrees as social reformers. Often identified with the public boards and philanthropy of their locale, they could be relied upon as experienced committee workers and organisers. The proportion of Directors active in local government increased markedly between 1896-1909 as a direct result of campaigns for licensing restriction and passage of local veto legislation.

The League was reliant on local firms for subscriptions. As with many philanthropic organisations its publication of annual subscription lists amounted to advertising, encouraging business to vie in demonstration of "lively sympathy" to win custom. Some regular subscriptions did however reflect genuine interest in S.T.L. work.

League evangelicalism was also evident in the large numbers of Presbyterian ministers associated with it. Ministers were more likely to join the League than any other non-denominational temperance society. Their proportion of the Honorary Directorate and Vice Presidency declined as that of J.P.s grew from the late 1890's on. Clerical influence on the Executive however belied numbers and remained important. They influenced structure, often being responsible for formation of district temperance unions, and strategy. They wished to internalise temperance values in the individual not to impose them
from without and so consistently advocated "moral suasion." The League's most dynamic chairman was the Revd. J.A. Johnston of Springburn's U.P. Church. Johnston and his successor as chairman, the Revd. George Gladstone, were present on all League committees and led its "Legislative Committee." This dominance, together with the moderate tendencies of many businessmen, partly explains the enigmatic nature of League policy.19

The directorate was always a combination of ministers and businessmen. Other groupings wielded less power and appeared after they were entrenched. Only in the 1890's did doctors, academics and women become League officials.20 The League was dominated by a relatively small clique of reformers even in 1914, in spite of retirement of leading figures in 1910.21 It was more markedly dominated by West of Scotland reformers in 1920 than in 1844, all attempts at breaking links with Glasgow having been resisted.22

The nature of the League leadership is interesting when one considers the great popularity of the S.T.L. It was perhaps the most successful temperance society 1844-1924 in terms of numerical and financial strength.23 Its membership expanded greatly in the 1840's and 1850's yet declined in the mid 1860's and revived after 1876 due to temperance society strife, economic dislocation or uncertainty in areas like Paisley caused by the American Civil War, diversion of attention from temperance by religious revivals, and S.T.L.'s structural flaws.24

Lack of "special means" to establish and maintain local societies was rectified in the 1870's. Other obstacles to recruitment remained, notably the subscription system, recognised as "a consideration to many families in times of widespread and protracted commercial depression."25 In membership and staffing the 1870's began an era of
"consolidation" but the League also faced challenges. Competition from other temperance societies was felt keenly. In 1875 S.T.L. could "not only hold ground but also increase membership and influence." This became increasingly difficult given many reformers' patronage not only of several temperance societies but also of philanthropic schemes, many of which reflected the 19th century switch in religious emphasis from theological orthodoxy to moral reform, Exeter Hall's "all-embracing, all-enduring charity", and philanthropy's increasingly efficient approach to the prevention of distress.26

The League and all the Churches and benevolent associations were adversely affected by the Glasgow Bank Crash and commercial depression of 1878, - "a year of wars and rumours of wars which kept the nation in a state of perpetual excitement" and heralded international tariff-hoisting.27 League fortunes fluctuated in direct relationship to the economic situation over 1880-1914 and this was compounded by competition with newer medical charities and loss of the League's "old guard" by death. The loss of male subscribers was dreaded as it often meant loss of an entire family's subscriptions. By 1900 600 new members p.a. were required merely to keep membership static. The League's personal pledge campaigns reflected growing financial difficulties. Successful "conversazione" work in the suburbs, great international conferences and faith that "the cause was God's and must prevail" bred optimism but after an era of relative solvency over 1904-6 the League was in deficit. As the S.T.L. had always utilised all available income for educational work it was perhaps remarkable that later parliamentary work did not create greater deficits as subscriptions were always much smaller than those of the U.K.A.28

League expenditure was kept down by belated introduction of
salaried agents. In the 1850's the work of gifted amateur agents was regularised but, professionalisation began only in the 1870's - much later than in medical charity work. Temperance reformers were suspicious of professional fund raisers' motives and aware of limited resources. At the centenary celebrations for the pioneer advocate James Stirling S.T.L. employed only 10 agents. Throughout the 1880's and 1890's they employed only 7 or 8, a status quo maintained in the 20th century.29

This was also symptomatic of the reserves of volunteer speakers available to the League in cities like Glasgow, as the array of speakers frequenting Glasgow Green and Jail Square revealed. Early "special agents", or volunteer speakers and organisers, were often ministers. Later they also included lay evangelists and missioners. Salaried agents were capable of delivering a total of 2,000 lectures p.a. yet increasingly demand outpaced platform supply. The emergence of Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Brotherhoods, or P.S.A. s, over 1900-14 encouraged reliance on volunteers to address meetings. There was little friction between volunteers and salaried staff because of dedication to the cause, shared interests in other social, moral, and religious movements, and the considerable local reputations of many volunteers. This explains why the number of temperance meetings addressed by League agents actually declined over 1870-1914 from over 2,000 p.a. to just over 1,500 when the movement enjoyed greatest popular support.30

Agents were nevertheless vital links between the Executive and the "constituency all over the country." They were the principal means of promoting and maintaining working class membership. Working class agents often liaised with Good Templar lodges and persuaded them to accept their services on the same terms as societies affiliated to
S.T.L. They rarely received extravagant financial reward for long and arduous service - a factor in the decline in interest in such posts after 1914 when increased expectations made salaries and pensions important considerations.31

Of English temperance agents it was said,

"...we cannot their self denial blame,
     For a hundred pounds a year
     Hundreds more would do the same!"32

The rates of pay for S.T.L. agents were probably not so high as those in England and agents were rarely mercenary. The motives of the League's first agent combined anxiety and faith. Stirling was a well brought-up, self-employed shoemaker who had fallen prey to drink whilst an apprentice. His "redemption" was secured by Beecher's "Six Sermons on Intemperance" passed to him by a Milngavie minister. Personal guilt at past misdeeds and disillusionment with membership of the "Friends of the Constitution", and with political reform without moral reform in general, influenced his later career. Disillusionment with political reform was a sentiment common to other agents, notably Lowery, Easton and Dransfield who was involved in the Yorkshire "Plug Riots" of 1842, and also Brewster, McFarlane and Cranston. Such men sought to create and preserve order in the life of the individual as a microcosm of society.33

Agents were devout Christians - temperance biographies' models of working class "witness" and strength of principle in adversity. Turn of the century temperance historians often verged on hagiography.34 Many were relatives of Presbyterian ministers, like Thomas Reid brother of the Revd. William Reid, or were themselves frustrated ministers, as was the working class agent George Easton. Later agents, men of greater education if not of greater social ambition, often
deserted the League for the home missionary work of Glasgow churches, and the Congregational Church. The rise of the Blue Ribbon movement of "gospel temperance" encouraged this. Many League agents combined gospel and temperance work, e.g. Robert Gow, and A. Allan Beveridge who, like many earlier agents, was associated with the Religious Tract and Colportage Society of Scotland.35

Some were undoubtedly interested in opportunities for social mobility facilitated by temperance work. Early agents' careers showed clear upward movement. The West of Scotland was an ideal location for combining temperance work with an entree into business. Some agents gravitated towards commercial aspects of the temperance movement, e.g. the poet and lecturer John Anderson became proprietor of the London Caledonia Temperance Hotel, others to local industries. Thomas Dunnachie left the League after 17 years to manage the Glenboig Union Fire Clay Co. He remained interested in the League's work, but his new status meant that he did so as a member of the Board of Directors.36

The League evidently brought agents into contact with employers of labour who could advance them, but many agents also possessed organisational and retailing skills which fitted them for business. Agents were notorious for aggressive sale of League literature. Similarities between their work and that of commercial travellers were noted by the S.T.L. itself in the 1880's, whilst the public likened them to commission agents. The contempt and criticism which financial agents faced from those who subscribed to the Dickensian image of the agent as a hypocrite or fool, from fun-loving medical students and from slum dwellers who associated them with religious bigotry, were clearly balanced by hopes of upward mobility.37

Those interested in agency work had before them precedents
Table 1 page 19

The Cottih Temperance League Officers.

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Source: TLR 1 59 1915

*REV VP = Vice President
*HD = Honorary Director

Note: The number of female officers is 7/10 of those shown here from the minutes.
of meteoric mobility over 1844-1870, of working class city missionaries turned entrepreneurs, and of "rough human diamonds...purified and polished" via the temperance movement. Self conscious temperance histories encouraged such aspirations. Yet in the League's case the gap between the image and the reality had widened by the 1890's and opportunities had narrowed. By the 1890's agents were no longer "rough diamonds." In contrast to pioneer advocates they preferred to be called 'lecturers' and frequently possessed the education to merit the title. By 1900 most of the early agents were dead. Their memory however lingered on and was a powerful motivating force within the temperance movement, more dynamic by far than any social control motives, conscious or otherwise, on the part of the "possessing classes" who so dominated the League's leadership.38

The Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association (S.P.B.T.A.)

The founding of the prohibitionist S.P.B.T.A. in 1858 was symptomatic of bitter policy disputes within the temperance movement and gave a foretaste of later division and debate. In structure and personnel however the League and the S.P.B.T.A. had ironically much in common.39

The leadership of the U.K. Alliance (U.K.A.) is usually described in terms of Nonconformists, businessmen, often with Northern textile interests, and philanthropists.40 S.P.B.T.A., originally virtually a U.K.A. auxiliary, differed little. The evangelical Lord Overtoun, "prominent alike in Church and State, mission work, temperance effort, politics and commerce", an industrial chemist associated with the United Free Church and the Livingstonia mission, was a Vice President from the 1890's onwards.41 The Coats of Paisley were also Vice Presidents. Unlike some English textile entrepreneurs, the
founders of J. & P. Coats' Threadworks were of relatively humble origins, James Coats having been a shawl weaver. In this period they were Baptists who financed African missionary work as well as the erection of the Coats' Memorial Church. Active in the movement from an early period, the family were concerned to dispel the 1830's image of the drunken cotton spinner and later to protect the virtue of their female employees by temperance work. The Clark family, with whom J. & P. Coats combined in 1896 to control a prime share of the world thread industry were also active in temperance, as indeed were many associated with the Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire cotton industry, prior to the Cotton Famine and subsequent inefficiency and undercapitalisation, and ancillary industries.\textsuperscript{42} In contrast to the League however ministers did not hold high office in the S.P.B.T.A. They were always a minority amongst the latter's lesser officials and this clerical component declined, as did the League's, in response to absorption of reformers by denominational societies.\textsuperscript{43}

Whilst the S.P.B.T.A.'s hierarchy always included a decorative element reminiscent of English societies, and ranging predictably from Lawson of the U.K.A. and Sir John Murray in the early 1870's to clusters of M.P.'s by 1914, its Executive Committee which defined and implemented policy was dominated by the second eleven of West of Scotland entrepreneurs.\textsuperscript{44} Their social origins were exactly those one would expect of evangelicals. \textfrac{1}{3} of the Executive retired annually but eligibility for re-election ensured the entrenchment of the Glasgow reformers J.L. Selkirk, Thomas Dick, James Torrens, and Samuel Chisholm.\textsuperscript{45} Presidents included the owner of a decorating business, a draper active in the Early Closing Movement, a Glasgow councillor and city treasurer who was an engineer in Barclay Curle and Co.'s Stobcross works, John Wilson the St. Rollox M.P., partner in a family
mercantile and shipping firm and a tube works, who made his name by aiding the City of Glasgow Bank crash creditors, a Glasgow accountant, and Archibald Cameron Corbett, M.P. for Tradeston and later Lord Rowallan of Kilmaurs. The latter was the son of the social reformer Thomas Corbett and married into the Poulson family - philanthropists interested in medical charities. Corbett had a breadth of interest typical of prohibitionists, e.g. parks, emigration schemes, and suburban housing developments or "green belts" around the metropolis at Forest Gate, Ilford, Seven Kings and Catford.46

Many S.P.B.T.A. officials conformed to the U.K.A. model, e.g. the aforementioned Coats and Clark families, the Forrester Paton family and a group of drapers and dyers like Sir Robert Pullar of Perth. Far more however were associated with Glasgow's shipping world. In addition to Wilson one might mention Sir Andrew Maclean of Partick, a Vice President from 1887, Alexander Buchanan and William Cairney, Vice Presidents from 1892 onwards, and support given the S.P.B.T.A. by William Ewing, William Denny, Mrs. John Elder, Sir Michael Connal and the Henderson and MacLay families. The importance of local heavy industries was evident also in the participation of David and John Colville and John King of Keppoch Iron Works, and receipt of subscriptions from Andrew Carnegie.47

S.P.B.T.A. figures were often associated with two areas prominent in Corbett's interests - the food industry and property development. The former group included A.B. Lamberton of Gray & Dunn, a Vice President in the 1880's and a member of the Executive after 1895, Chisholm, a wholesale grocer better known as a reforming Lord Provost of Glasgow who was on the Executive over 1893-1905, William Bilsland J.P., baker, J.P. Maclay, J.P., grocer, Malcolm Campbell, fruit merchant, and Bailie Hugh Brechin the Glasgow butcher
identified with the introduction of American produce refrigeration techniques. A.P. Brown of Kilmarnock, an Honorary Director for many years after 1874 had property interests in Ayrshire and Glasgow's South Side. Men active in the City and County House Purchase Co. of Glasgow, described later, were also S.P.B.T.A. supporters. Such businessmen were advocates of self-help, keen to help aspiring commercial white collar workers buy homes, and also environmentalists. They had a particularly highly developed vision of the future of Glasgow's suburbs, especially as they too were 'suburbanites'. It should come as no surprise that such prohibitionists denounced the licensing system yet later "found themselves operating it" given their experience in wielding feu restrictions to protect new environments which they had helped create. Indeed, they were painfully aware that without local veto powers their work could be jeopardised. Chisholm's activities were symptomatic of this angst.48

The S.P.B.T.A. inevitably had many supporters who were also local benefactors who gave freely to charities, provided amenities and sometimes supported numerous 'pensioners', as did the Coats family.49 Provost Dick of Kinning Park who "made his reputation in the management of properties" in that area was a member of Govan Parochial Board and a long serving director of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association For the Relief of Incurables. Bailie Bilsland, also of Kinning Park, was a Glasgow councillor and Lord Provost. His overweening desire for respect made him a difficult man to work for during his term as provost, yet he was nevertheless sincerely interested in slum clearance work, winter gardens for Glasgow's East End, working mens' institutes, and the provision of recreation in the city in general.50

Many were involved in juvenile work. Chisholm and Bailie
W.F. Anderson were associated with the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society. It aimed to remove working class children from the city streets and to equip them with religious knowledge and interests and skills which would prepare them for trades. Sir George Green of Partick, a well known Liberal and superintendent of the Prudential Insurance Co. was identified with the Band of Hope, as was Corbett. 51

The social composition of the temperance movement in the early 19th century, and the "capture" of what had been a middle and upper class movement by total abstaining working class radicals in the late 1830's and 1840's has been described elsewhere. 52 In this period the S.P.B.T.A. leaders, organised in a hierarchical structure reminiscent of the League and of later Liberal Associations, worked to expand its popular support and to appeal to the professions. The S.P.B.T.A. shared the U.K.A.'s ambition to recruit the medical profession in the late 19th century. Slightly more doctors were induced to become Vice Presidents of the S.P.B.T.A. than of the League. The medical voice on the Executives and Honorary Directorates of both societies however was extremely small even after the 1890's. This was partly symptomatic of doctors' growing awareness of professional status. The vociferous minority of prohibitionist doctors preferred to be associated with the pressure group within the B.M.A. - a pressure group within a pressure group - the British Medical Temperance Association. Success in recruitment of other professional groups is difficult to assess as the S.P.B.T.A., unlike the League, never attempted to tabulate membership by professions. By 1890 however the Association was evidently able to attract support from legal and accountancy circles in the West of Scotland. This was due to a concentrated effort by S.P.B.T.A. agents to recruit such subscribers from the late 1870's onwards. The S.P.B.T.A.'s political economy,
especially in its 'ratepayer temperance' vein, was attractive to the expanding and relatively new accountancy profession not to mention exponents of "actuarial science." Lawyers were amongst the earliest supporters of the temperance movement, and the S.P.B.T.A.'s perpetual emphasis on the legal rights as well as the fiscal burdens of ratepayers and electors encouraged sympathy from the legal profession. Lawyers were well aware of the chaotic state of the Scottish Licensing Laws in the years before the 1903 codification. Some were influenced not only by the apparent relationship between the lower orders' drunkenness and crime but also by awareness of the failings of even the educated and affluent through the confidences of the latter.53

The Association's officials and major subscribers therefore were drawn largely from the burgher aristocracy and commercial elite of the West of Scotland as were those of the League.54 There was a fair amount of cross-membership of these organisations, especially of leading figures, from 1880 onwards although even in the 1860's there were already sufficient links for the Revds. Gladstone, Johnston and Cairns of the League to grace the platform at Association annual meetings. The leaders of both organisations gravitated to the city councils of Glasgow and Edinburgh and cooperated therein. The trend towards cooperation was encouraged by "the frustration of a distant interminable Parliamentary struggle"55 for temperance legislation but also by much common support for Liberalism, radicalism, and the 'municipal ideal'. Civic pride drew strength from continued tension between the social mores of a romanticised rural past and an uncertain urban future. Tension was infused with a nostalgic search for order and stability, and mingled in the reformer's psyche with desire to serve the community, important to evangelicals in general and non-conformists in particular and symptomatic of a more general bourgeois
recognition angst, and enthusiasm for municipal enterprise. This
commonwealth of ideas was not peculiar to the municipal milieu and
was subscribed to by suburban and rural provosts, as active petitioning
for local veto legislation by the Conventions of Royal Burghs re-
lected.\textsuperscript{56} Furthermore prohibitionists like Bailies Torrens and
Kennedy came increasingly to see the despised licensing system as a
tool which could be wielded against the Trade in the interval whilst
they waited for parliamentary and popular opinion to warm to local
veto legislation and prohibition. They cooperated increasingly with
licensing restrictionists and precipitated in the process a licensing
crisis for the Glasgow licensed trade.\textsuperscript{57}

Such crossmembership highlights the way in which a small
group of burgher-aristocrats and businessmen, often related by marriage
and or business interests, directed the policies of the local soc-
ieties which formed the broad base of both structures, and which were
predominantly working class. Mutual reliance upon the same core
of enthusiasts presented problems for the S.P.B.T.A. as an organisation.
In its early years alienation of League supporters and dependence
upon U.K.A. stalwarts meant that in 1860 annual income was a mere £230
and not until 1867 did it exceed £1,000 p.a. Many Scots prohibition-
ists contributed to the U.K.A. and to various charities and were
overextended. The S.P.B.T.A. had to compete with the League for
subscriptions and to contend with a philanthropic mentality on the
part of reformers like Hope, who only gave to charities or societies
which they felt were neglected by others. Popularity therefore was
not necessarily the key to large subscriptions, and in general the
S.P.B.T.A. always received far smaller amounts per subscriber than
did the U.K.A. Dire necessity prompted an 1868 campaign to raise a
" Guarantee Fund" of £10,000. The Association took several years to
reach its target. In the 1870's Association income lagged behind that of the League at around £2,500 p.a. to the latter's £6,000-8,000 derived from society subscriptions and the subscriptions and legacies of individuals. The S.P.B.T.A. had to compete for philanthropists' interest with the prodigious number of philanthropic schemes described by Owen.58

Philanthropy, with its origins in the Tudor mercantile and gentry "ethic of social responsibility" conditioned by the Protestant social ethic and national consciousness, and in the Evangelical Revival which produced charity schools and hospitals and a charity which was middle class and 'puritan' in the ethical sense, was no longer the preserve of charitable individuals. Philanthropy, stimulated by evangelical renewal of the link between charity and religion, and the challenge of urban poverty over the years 1820-1860, was directed by competing societies keen to discourage indiscriminate charity—pace Colquhoun, William Allen, and Chalmers. Evangelicalism, humanitarianism, together with baser motives such as "Victorian snobbism with the comfortably off following the lead of the rich", substitution of philanthropy for religion or political verities, concern for social stability, and social pressure, increased the prestige, number and income of benevolent institutions greatly. Important national organisations like the R.N.L.I. and R.S.P.C.A. were established over 1820-60 and were aided by government protection of funds and establishment of a Charity Commission. The widespread and allegedly indiscriminate almsgiving which resulted, together with the chaos and looseness of Poor Law administration, had prompted establishment of the Charity Organisation Society (1869) designed to give philanthropy order, personal service, and involvement beyond mere almsgiving.59

The S.P.B.T.A. also faced competition for the meagre contrib-
utions of working class sympathisers from the prohibitionist 
International Order of Good Templars (I.O.G.T.). Competition, together 
with the effects of economic depression, meant that funds were static 
in the early 1880's although the organisations work was expanding. 
Consternation at Alliance reduction of financial subsidies betrayed 
the S.P.B.T.A.'s weaknesses. The Association, like the League, pared 
office and accommodation costs. Income however remained small. 
The exigencies of parliamentary and electoral work prompted several 
"very urgent appeals" after 1884. Commercial depression in the mid 
1880's which emphasised the extent and depth of social distress, 
together with the 1885 General Election, severely taxed its limited 
finances, necessitating a further guarantee fund in 1888. It was 
collected more easily than its predecessor due to increasing support 
for Local Veto, the Association's legislative panacea, in the 1890's. 
Ironically in years when the moral interpretation of poverty was 
increasingly criticised the S.P.B.T.A. enjoyed greatest financial sup-
port. 1890-1 was the Association's best year to date. Income 
continued to increase between 1892-4, and only declined to below 
£4,000 p.a. in the late 1890's. Increasingly deputations to the 
Commons expanded agency work and printing, advertising, postal and 
telegraph charges absorbed all funds raised by financial agents and 
the Ladies' Auxiliary volunteer collectors.

The S.P.B.T.A. also lost its "old guard" in this era, but 
contrived to improve income steadily over 1900-4. A 3 day "Grand 
National Temperance Bazaar", a device reminiscent of anti-slavery 
fund raising, was held in Glasgow's St. Andrews Halls in 1901. It 
raised £5,580, the basis of a contingency fund prior to 1914. An all 
time peak in income was experienced in 1904 in the wake of the 1903 
codification of licensing legislation. Yet even in 1905-14 when the
S.P.B.T.A. was exerting most political pressure its funds were still limited, and were an effective brake on ambitious policies.\textsuperscript{60}

Significant factors in the S.P.B.T.A.'s effectiveness as a temperance organisation were its fairly solid core of support in Glasgow and its suburbs, which steadily increased from the mid 1890's on, and the competence of its agents.\textsuperscript{61} The Association's agency work was also an avenue to social mobility for a small number of working class men of "good character", temperance convictions, and requisite skills. It was said of S.P.B.T.A. agents that "as working men speaking to working men few were more impressive."\textsuperscript{62} Over the Association's lifespan (1858-1921) some agents, like Robert Dransfield, were obvious careerists.\textsuperscript{63} Others were craftsmen displaced by technological innovations, such as Paton the Barrhead shoemaker,\textsuperscript{64} or former Chartists like John Fraser,\textsuperscript{65} men from rural backgrounds appalled by urban conditions,\textsuperscript{66} whilst William Brodie, Robert Mackay, and James Browning White were spurred on by personal injustice suffered at the hands of the Trade.\textsuperscript{67} Such motives, together with the Salvationist zeal for fallen humanity, expressed by agents like W.S. Rosie, made these men extremely able speakers and organisers capable of arousing and retaining the interest of working class abstainers. The agents' crossmembership of several temperance organisations was a great advantage in this respect.\textsuperscript{68}

Agents' duties were not quite so narrowly focussed on fund-raising and parliamentary work as has been thought. Most were mainly involved in district supervision, especially as the S.P.B.T.A. increased its district divisions over 1870-1921 from 3 to 6 and periodically experimented with dividing up the work of large areas on different geographic units. District work consisted not only of "arduous work of general and by-elections" but also preaching, lecturing,
collecting and organising, the distribution of propaganda, relations with the press and a heavy load of office work. Although over 1884-1921 the Association usually employed two financial agents, or from 1901 on one financial agent and one financial and parliamentary agent, from 1889 on the S.P.B.T.A. devoted more energy to convince the nation in general of Local Veto's worth than ever before. Local organisational work intensified after 1903. A novel feature was utilisation of the Ladies' Auxiliary to a greater extent than ever before, not only in the traditional area of fundraising but also in bringing pressure to bear on School and Parochial Boards, and in electoral canvassing. This tapping of the hitherto unexploited energies of the wives and daughters of the burgher aristocracy and businessmen of Glasgow had important implications for the suffrage movement, especially after the S.P.B.T.A.'s appointment of a lady agent to emphasise the connection between their work and the 'woman question' in 1894.69

As with the League, the S.P.B.T.A.'s full-time salaried agents were never numerous, much reliance being placed upon volunteers - often agents for other temperance societies. The enthusiasm of such fanatics, who were undaunted by lack of funds or opposition, was largely responsible for this relatively small pressure group within a pressure group's ability to create an atmosphere in which local veto was not only accepted in principle as a worthwhile local government reform but also became an attainable goal.

The International Order of Good Templars (I.O.G.T.)

The origins of this "curiously neglected" yet once hugely popular organisation requires preliminary explanation. This corps of social crusaders and Christian protagonists originated in Oneida County
in New York State in 1851, and American fraternal temperance societies such as the New York Sons of Temperance and Knights of Jericho, and had mass support in America by the 1860's. The Americans sent an Englishman, Thomas Malins, and a Scot, Thomas Roberts to introduce Templary into Britain in the late 1860's. Templary was popular amongst Scots settlers. It was alleged that Fusilier Guards sent to Canada during the "Alabama" crisis had formed a lodge. Exiles gravitated to the Order as a source of fellowship, respectability and renown. The Montrose-born Roberts, a former teacher and bookseller in the Vale of Leven who rose to prominence by becoming a Delaware templar and professional organiser in the heavy industry orientated state of Pennsylvania, epitomised this process.70

Roberts introduced Good Templary to the West of Scotland via the Glasgow United Working Mens' Total Abstinence Society, a prosperous society affiliated to the League, in 1869 and with the help of its chairman Thomas Mackie and Jabez Walker of the S.P.B.T.A. It was an opportune time for a new society free from League and S.P.B.T.A. wranglings, yet prohibitionist, and novel in structure. Mackie became its first member and the ambitious Walker used its supreme office, (Grand Worthy Chief Templar) as a stepping stone in his career. Roberts approached the Glasgow United Working Men's Total Abstinence Society in order to recruit its "labour-aristocrat" supporters, and also the "gospel-temperance" workers like John Nicol who ran Glasgow Green meetings to forge links with working class temperance in general. The "Thomas Roberts" lodge, soon 600 strong, and the parent of Partick, Kelvinhaugh and city centre lodges, was formed with the latter group's aid. By 1870 there were 43 Scottish lodges, mainly in the West. This probably reflected Templary's links with the Glasgow businessman Thomas Corbett's Great Western Cooking Depot, a venture supported by
the S.T.L. and publicised by them at the National Temperance League
Congress of 1863 in London. It provided well cooked, nourishing
'penny lunches' for the city's workingmen to lure them from public
houses, and had "extraordinary success." 28 branches catered for
10-12,000 customers per day by 1872. The Grand Lodge of Scotland,
the I.O.G.T. supreme body, was formed in the Depot's Trongate Hall in
1876 and held early sessions there. Depot branches were ideal for
meetings and dissemination of literature. Scottish interest in the
American temperance movement, and Templary's overlap in aspirations
and membership with the Knights of Labour, active in the West of
Scotland were also factors in the success of this "kind of improved
Free Masonry with stronger proselytising tendencies."71

Templars took a comprehensive abstinence pledge. They
aimed at "teetotalism in earnest" yet conceded dual membership organ-
isations like the U.K.A. were useful in persuading citizens to "put
down the national disgrace." Their motto, predictably, was "Faith,
Hope and Charity". Their symbolism was extensive. The Order's
"Emblem" was an exquisite and elaborate allegory of temperance truths
and virtues used as a mnemonic for templar candidates.72

Membership was open to all except atheists or "infidels".
Candidates had to be proposed and approved by members. All in any
way connected with the Trade, either directly as distillery workers
or indirectly as members of cooperative societies which retailed drink,
were uncompromisingly rejected. Candidates had also to be able to
pay "dues", levied at 1d per week for males and ½d for females, which
excluded the unemployed and paupers. It was a brotherhood of the
upright, self-respecting employee and small employer, as fears that
members operated pro-templar discrimination in employment of men
reflected. Weekly collections rendered the order financially self-
sufficient. This encouraged working class self-respect and ensured internal democracy, contrasting with the League's tendency to reward cash-injections by high office - as in the case of the MácFíes.73

The Order's prohibitionist sentiments were well known but its organisation remained something of a mystery to those who were not initiates. It was among the first national societies to be organised in a branch system. Local lodges were its base and met weekly to initiate new members, have lectures on temperance, plan temperance work and socialise. District lodges, drawn from these, were appointed from 1870 on. They reviewed the progress of local lodges and took the initiative in forming or reviving lodges, work done by other societies' Executives. The Grand Lodge was modelled on the American legislature. It met annually to formulate policy and elect officials.74

The I.O.G.T. followed a code of laws or "Constitutions". Grand Lodges made national bye laws but the final court of appeal was a supra-national Grand Lodge. It made general laws at its biennial meetings. Officials were democratically elected. Quadrennial elections were designed to ensure continuity of leadership without entrenched cliques. Work-sharing was encouraged. The rule of law was a pervasive theme. Templars promised to "render cheerful obedience to all the laws, rules and usages" of the Order. Law and order was seen as the key to prohibition's success.75

The I.O.G.T.'s "fraternal interest", and chivalrous pledges to keep the Order's work secret and to work to protect brother members suggest that the I.O.G.T. was an expression of fundamentalists' response to awareness that their social mores, and status, were challenged by urbanisation, industrialisation, immigration of Catholic Irish, and religious apathy or scepticism. This awareness was most acute in urban areas where comparisons between rural ideals and urban realities
and between different classes, were odious in the extreme. "Templary was no mere society. It was a brotherhood under obligation to be of one spirit", an exclusive club designed to recreate and nurture the community and consensus threatened by prevailing socio-economic trends. This was the source of templary's strengths and weaknesses. Templars sought to initiate and reinforce the functions of the family circle. Templar meetings compensated for the "want of sociability" experienced in many areas and offered an alternative to the public house.76

Like masons, templars passed through "Degrees" of Fidelity, Charity, and Royal Virtue. These inculcated self-help, cooperation, and evangelical zeal - virtues central to temperance. Accompanying secret signs and passwords, justified in terms of Presbyterian communion cards and merchants' use of trademarks, and use of ritual and regalia to "heighten the sense of oneness of the brotherhood" laid the I.O.G.T. open to criticism even from fellow temperance reformers.77

Similarly, whilst aggressive reclamation work, featuring frequent visitation made the Order "the Temperance Missionary Association of the World" it also distanced middle and upper class reformers from their work. Many such reformers, e.g. Kettle and Connal, were interested in city missions but it was rarer for the middle and upper classes to be personally active in such work.78

Within months of its introduction however the I.O.G.T. had 96 lodges and 10,000 members. The 1870's were "stirring times" when lodges mushroomed spectacularly. Gladstone and Honeyman placed the 1871 membership at 50,000, Burns at nearer 64,000. An astonishing increase had taken place. By the end of 1871 there were 650 lodges and 70,000 members, and by 1872 850 and 80,000. Enthusiasm waned
however. By February 1873 37,000 members had quietly disappeared. Maintaining interest was a perennial problem. By 1874 membership rose to 58,973, while in 1875 there were 800 lodges and 60,000 members. This declined again in the late 1870's to 750 and 52,000 respectively. The Order's historian Honeyman tended to gloss over such early disappointments. Although in 1876 membership stood at 62,334 by 1888 it was only 37,086. Fluctuating strength reflected trade depression, competition from the Blue Ribbon movement and the Salvation Army, both cheap and in some ways less constricting working class organisations, personality clashes, backsliding, migration and emigration of the miners and factory workers the Order hoped to recruit, I.O.G.T. inefficiency in dealing with non-attendance and non-payment of dues outwith the Glasgow area, where attendance checks were made, and division over the amount of time best devoted to mere socialising.79

Decline in the 1870's and 1880's was also symptomatic of a schism created by the race question in American lodges. From 1876 to 1887 there were two rival Grand Lodges of the World. Templars in the West of Scotland were anti-racist. The Revd. Gladstone was associated with the Louisville demands for racial equality within the Order. The West's leading lodges refused to adhere to the racist Grand Lodge, unlike some in the East of Scotland.80 Abolitionism crystallised provincial middle class evangelical values and projected them into society as never before, and in a way which was to transform reform. Dunlop was influenced by early anti-slavery, and although relations between Scottish and American abolitionists were complicated by criticism of the Free Church's relations with the South, the question of the role of women in anti-slavery societies, and divisions within abolitionism which were unresolved throughout the Civil War, many of Glasgow's burgher-aristocracy supported abolitionism - a reform
combination typical of temperance reformers Garnett noted. Many were identified with the Garrisonian Glasgow Emancipation Society, (G.E.S.) whose interest in slavery was precocious and, according to Rice and Bolt, influential in British anti-slavery. Bingham notes that its members included Thomas Graham, the Revd. William Anderson, Alexander Hastie and the Quaker Smeal brothers, reformers who supported Catholic Emancipation, Voluntaryism, peace, abolition of capital punishment, repeal of the Corn Laws, national education, and especially temperance. Other sympathisers included Kettle, Gallie, and the Chartist Brewster. Temperance and abolitionism shared the same venues and collectors, (e.g. Reid, Rae, Rettie of S.T.L.) and meetings on the Fugitive Slave Circular attracted the same platform speakers - e.g. Dr. Cameron, Bailie Torrens, Robert Service, William Gray, William Melvin, and William Logan. The close community of the Atlantic middle classes here was not confined to the 1830's Society for the Suppression of Intemperance and Duncan MacLaren, but continued in the 1870's when the G.E.S. was active in a Freedman's Aid Society (1864) formed in response to the African and Turkish slave trade questions. 81

Significant numbers had also been encouraged by the I.O.G.T.'s success to "hive-off" as early as October 1870 to form the Free Templars of St. John under the Revd. J. Stewart. The St. Andrews Reformed Templars also left in 1872. Offshoots were short-lived but debilitating. 82

The Scottish I.O.G.T. nevertheless had four times as many lodges as the English - i.e. 1,067 lodges in 1894. In the 1880's adult membership grew slowly whilst juvenile membership thrived. In the 1890's decline of Free Templary and reinstatement of its lodges, the increasing support of the temperance movement in general and favourable economic circumstances facilitated acquisition of 11,000
new members, adult and juvenile, in 1896-8. 2,000 joined in early 1898 alone prompting a wave of new lodges. At the 1901 Jubilee the Scottish I.O.G.T. had 87,000 members and was expanding faster than all other English-speaking Grand Lodges. The revival peaked in 1903. There were then 100,000 templars, 13,634 more than in Templary's first heyday. Thousands of public meetings and hundreds of thousands of lodge meetings were held, encouraging a second wave of hall building. For a short time periodic resuscitations and lodge failures were masked by transfer of old lodge names to new lodges. 1903-30 however was a tale of stasis, interruption by war, and reversals although there was some regional variation.83

"Templar pageantry was particularly attractive to the fishing communities of the East Coast", but in the 1890's Templary was strongest in Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, and then Renfrewshire. Templary in the mining and mill villages of Ayrshire flourished and floundered relatively quickly. It was in decline by the 1920's, whereas Templary in Paisley and Greenock was still alive and solvent and did not falter till the 1930's. Expansion continued 1900-10 but 1910-14 saw virtual stasis with only 51 new lodges in all Scotland. Templary might have rallied had not the Great War accelerated this decline, halving meagre expansion. It was disrupted entirely by both World Wars. No international meetings could be held, and local work was affected by loss of halls and key workers.84

The I.O.G.T. ideology moreover was increasingly out of step with popular jingoism on the eve of, and during, the Great War. Hardie's internationalism was consistent with his Templar background. International cooperation rather than rivalry was symbolised by the Right Worthy Grand Lodge, a democratic forum for all nationalities. Templary, like Nonconformity from which it drew support, was also
Scottish templars had established links with German social reformers in 1871. Interest in Prussia as a focus for Protestant evangelicalism was supplemented by interest in late 19th century German social welfare provisions. Many were active in the Peace Society's campaign against the arms race and the cost of "the armed peace of Europe". Their heroes were Edward Wavrinsky, the Stockholm M.P. who had abandoned a promising army career to promote prohibition, Esperanto, and peace, and Sir. W.R. Cremer, a radical and former shipyards pitch-pot boy who in 1893 introduced and carried a resolution in favour of an Anglo-American arbitration treaty in the Commons. Their interests in this respect were similar to those of upper class reformers like Sir Daniel Stevenson and, as with Free Church Council delegates, the outbreak of war found many templars on the wrong side of the North Sea as delegates to the German I.O.G.T. The aim of "The World Our Field" was unrealistic in war. Work was disrupted, or totally suppressed by unsympathetic foreign powers. This credibility gap widened. In the post-war period the Order was suspect to pacifists and patriots alike because of the volte face members had been obliged to make in support of the war effort.  

Decline in the 1920's was compounded by the Churches' interest in social questions, which absorbed some of the I.O.G.T. 's support and best workers, the Brotherhood Movement's increasing popularity with working class Congregationalists as a men's club and forum for debate on social and political questions, rival "rational recreation" such as continuation classes, plus the rise of working men's clubs, sport, and trade unionism, and the relaxation of social and moral mores which followed war. Extant lodges were often in debt. Financial difficulties exacerbated internal divisions. Paisley templars and William Shanks of Barrhead fought the Grand Lodge over
property. In the 1930's the latter gathered in defunct lodge funds and property in a bid to strengthen the remainder. Templary remained strong in Glasgow and Airdrie but was no longer a mass movement. The Second World War extinguished Templary in the Highlands and Islands, the Borders and East Coast, and the focus of international Templary passed to Scandinavia.86

Surprisingly, ministers often led this esoteric sect. One might have expected hostility towards a secret organisation which demanded subservience to its laws almost above all other duties, whose "brotherliness" smacked of sectarian, economic and social discrimination, and whose ritualism rivalled that of the High and Roman Churches. There was evidently much in Templary's methods and aims to attract. All templars were Christians, their inspiration was evangelical, and the Order generated and maintained evangelical fervour. Meetings commenced and closed with prayer, the Bible was read to initiates, and Christ was ever cited as "the Great Teacher." The United Presbyterian Principal Cairns joined the I.O.G.T. at Berwick where lodge prayer meetings featured singing of revivalist hymns "with as great feeling and earnestness as at some prayer meetings." Ministers were keen to channel this enthusiasm especially as the I.O.G.T. appointed Lodge Chaplains who were often laymen. Templars boasted that initiates became churchgoers, and ministers believed that temperance and Christian conversions were linked, often citing the example of the Revd. Dryer of Airdrie, who on joining Beith I.O.G.T. was a journeyman printer. Templars also boasted membership of the Order had furthered the careers of three Past Grand Worthy Chief Templars - the Revds. John Mackay of Old Monkland, Airdrie, William Ross of Rothesay and George Gladstone of Sanquhar who had become well known Edinburgh and Glasgow ministers. They exaggerated the I.O.G.T.'s
social significance, and overlooked Ross and Gladstone's League roles, yet membership did give access to a mass movement and to national and international renown.87

Ministers like the Revd. John Duncan valued the I.O.G.T. as a rescue organisation for drunkards noted for its compassionate treatment and frequent visitation of these individuals. Its emphasis of personal involvement and "genuine love for the fallen man" was reminiscent of the Charity Organisation Society, and was an advance on the shallow or effete sympathy for alcoholics hitherto expressed by temperance societies. The ritual and "Degrees" also had some appeal. Both were devised by an American Methodist minister. They emphasised Gospel truths and, rather than rivalling the Gospel, were "to remove the great barriers which intercepted its progress." The "Degrees" especially stressed the need for awareness of man's debts of reverence and duty to God and with the Order's devotional ritual countered claims that the temperance movement lacked "religious spirit."88

Membership was not the preserve of any one Church. Ministers of forceful character, radical tendencies and temperance conviction from the Evangelical Union, Free Church and, to a lesser extent, the Established Church, joined. At the height of enthusiasm all the ministers of small towns like Stranraer joined. Templary, as with temperance encouraged cooperation without loosening denominational loyalties. The Revds. Ferguson Ferguson, John Kirk, James A. Johnston and T.D. McKinnon were noted templars. Gladstone, of the League, was leader of the Order in its formative years. In many areas ministers formed lodges and districts and became District Deputies, agents, speakers, organisers, Gaelic translators, "Good Templar" editors, and publicised the Order in Christian News.
Over 1870-1929 they perhaps amounted to as little as 29 of 293 officials. All but a few however attained the supreme office, Grand Chief Templar. Ministers held the latter 1876-83, 1893-7, and 1903-16. Grand Supervisors of Juvenile Templary were always ministers. They gave the Order respectability and facilitated its approval by the General Assemblies of the Established and Free Church. The scholarly Revd. John Beveridge of Ayr's association with the Order challenged critics' assumptions that it was a sect for the simple, superstitious, or uneducated.  

Exclusive identification with the presbyterian churches was also a negative factor, accentuating Templary's narrow membership and possibly reinforcing religious prejudice. Templary proclaimed its non-denominational, non-discriminatory basis and suggested Catholic objections could be silenced by avoidance of lodge prayers but given Templar, Orange lodge, and masonic cooperation on halls the inclination and necessity for such a decision probably never arose in the West of Scotland. Ironically, Templary was too "holy" to attract many lapsed workers and too heathen to appeal to all presbyterians let alone all ministers.  

Templary's emotional millenarian overtones appealed predictably to the poorly educated, agricultural labourers and miners, especially after evangelical revivals. Most however were "labour aristocrats", who by superior skills, greater independence, initiative and recompense formed a corps of "superior workers" which aspired to an equally superior lifestyle. Templar aims, organisation and personnel can be seen in terms of subtly negotiated versions of Liberal ideology and hegemony, class collaboration, and labour-aristocrat conscious or unconscious work for the embourgeois-ement of the working classes. In the 1870's Templary aimed at "distinct
"trades" - a moral judgement of the fitness of certain groups. Like Dunlop they focussed on the workshop not the factory, aware of the strength of peer group pressure there. They formed a shoemakers' lodge. Extremes of respectability and dissipation co-existed in shoemaking. Division of labour tasks meant lulls in the working week which, with seasonal fluctuations, created opportunities for drinking. Templars demanded recognition of "respectability, sobriety and erudition" in the face of damning stereotypes, trade depression and erosion of status through technological change in aggressive phrases reminiscent of 1840's radicalism. 91

Skill, respectability and independence were also balanced by precariousness and conditions which encouraged drinking in catering and haulage. 92 Templar lodges were formed for them and for shopkeepers and warehousemen. The latter met in the Kent Road United Presbyterian Church Hall - a church associated with Sir Samuel Chisholm and many eminent citizens who directed social reform. It was inspired by conviction that these occupations were being deliberately placed at risk by Trade eagerness to capitalise on the drinking customs of travellers etc., "a system of bribery to induce orders", by creating "free rooms" for buyers' usage in city spirit shops. Fear of mobility thwarted by "contact with old topers" was perhaps accompanied by fear of Trade perversion of the business vote. 93 There was also a lodge specifically for employees of the city's sanitary, lighting, and police departments, whose anti-social hours prevented them from attending lodges with evening meetings. Later another labour aristocrat group, daily newspaper compositors, were allowed to join it, although usually trade lodges were exclusive. 94 They were trade rather than 'class' conscious, individual trades being referred to as 'classes'. They envisaged not class struggle but a redress of
balance amongst traders whereby the publican would lose to "respectable traders - the shoemaker, tailor, grocer etc." Membership benefited the working class home and employers. "Reliable workmen" aided commerce and social harmony. Employer collaboration was evident in Templar recruitment at the Coltness Iron Works. Many lodges were identified with particular works - "Clydesdale" with the Clydesdale Cut Glass Works, Glasgow, "Cathcart" with nearby print-works, as were the Kilmarnock and Neilston lodges whilst in Catrine Darvel and Newmilns the link was with lace and textile mills and clipping works.

Good Templar acceptance of a negotiated version of Liberal ideology however was ambivalent. Self help, cooperation and evangelicalism were accompanied by assertions of class pride which, in isolation, were assertive rather than accommodative in spite of emphasis on the mutual interests of employers and employees. Templar oaths, secrecy and democratic procedures were imitative of early trades unions. A Methodist-tinged apocalyptic vision of a non-competitive cooperative society was attractive. Yet given stasis and eventual downturn in the very economic areas which had encouraged growth of a labour aristocracy in the mid 19th century it was difficult to reconcile with more immediate problems of temperance politics, let alone maintenance of status. The latter impinged on the former increasingly. Labour aristocrats absorbed the component parts of "respectability" yet retained liberty to move ideological pieces around to form an entirely different pattern from the 1890's on.

If the S.T.L.'s leadership was "the Kirks and the Works" the I.O.G.T.'s was the Kirks and employees of the works. 40% of the Grand Lodge Executive were ministers, exemplified by Kirk, James Strachan of the Independent Church Dumfries, the Free Church's John D. McKinnon, W.S. Todd of the Evangelical Union Motherwell, and
D.C. McKellar the Glasgow-born Denny United Presbyterian. The remainder were drawn from superior occupational groups, e.g. engineers, teachers, compositors, printers, journalists, shopkeepers, self-employed master craftsmen and mill managers, and 'socially aware' parochial board managers, registrars, public health officials, and court officials. John Stevenson, George Andrew (Airdrie registrar) Councillor Alexander Wright of Perth, ex-railwayman, Honeyman, and 20th century leaders all fit the labour aristocrat stereotype.99

Early district organisers however were often businessmen like the Glasgow merchant R. Hunter Craig, later an M.P., and Bailie Buchanan of Dumbarton. Trustees of a Kirkintilloch lodge included an iron-founder, a clothier, a grocer and a wholesale stationer. The land involved was the gift of a Glasgow yarn agent. The first Ayrshire leaders were William Findlay, Kilmarnock, biscuit manufacturer and Nicol Cameron, a devout Evangelical Unionist draper. Morton, owner of Newmilns Clipping Works circulated I.O.G.T. literature.100

In contrast, few 'gentlemen' were active in Templary. Their contribution was only an initial favourable response. Templars publicised support from A.B. Elliot, Sir William Elliott of Stobo Castle's brother, because upper class hostility or indifference was more usual, and because of the political power wielded by the Liberal Elliots and gentry families. This negative reaction was a factor in the declining numbers of professionals and businessmen associated with Templary by 1914. Labour aristocrats and labourist M.P.'s replaced them on the Executive after 1894. Thomas Berrie Secretary of the Scottish Clerks' Association's appearance on the Executive thereafter suggests popular conceptions of boundaries between labour aristocrat and middle class groups had become more heavily drawn in...
the region of the white collar commercial class. The presence of Honeynan, who had risen via agency work to Secretaryship of the Order (1908-34), on the Executive however perpetuated the ideal of temperance as a working class escape route from manual labour.101

In reality the I.O.G.T. never had many agents. In 1878 only the Secretary and Chief Templar were salaried, at £120 and £200 p.a. respectively. The first agent, Englishman Fred Powell, was appointed in 1872. Payment of the Chief Templar was thought inconsistent with "fraternity" by early templars. Geographic and social mobility was evident in the careers of the early agents Roberts, Walker, Braidwood, Thomas Clapperton an ex-weaver and George McKerracher a former Paisley mill worker, appointed from the 1880's. Publicisation of mobility by Templar historians was partly assertion of class pride, reflecting intertwined desire for 'respectability' and upward mobility, and class consciousness. Formation of an Advocates' Union, a professional association for temperance agents, reinforced however the twin ideas of mobility via agency work and temperance as the labour aristocracy hallmark.102
Footnotes

1. The Scottish Temperance League (S.T.L.) Temperance Spectator Jan. 1861 reveals Scottish Review had sparked off heated debate in these years on the connotations of the term "waterdrinker" whilst a "statistical controversy" was also being waged over the Forbes Mackenzie Acts' effects, in addition to hostilities in general between moral suasionists and prohibitionists.

2. See Chapter III Moral Suasionist Ideologies and Strategies.

3. See the Scottish Temperance League Register and Abstainers' Almanac (henceforth cited as S.T.L.R.) 1870-1914 lists of office holders.

4. See Biographical Appendix.


13. S.T.L.R. 1897 pp. 76 and 121. On the National Commercial League, see "No Licence: the New Campaign" Glasgow 1921. Open to all abstaining businessmen over 18 it operated via conferences and luncheons, did propaganda work for local veto and licensing restriction, and supplied speakers to Rotary clubs. Formed in Hull, it had branches in Glasgow and Edinburgh by the 1920's. I am grateful to Mrs. Nora Forrester Paton of the B.W.T.A. for information on her childhood.

14. See Biographical Appendix.

15. See Table 1, S.T.L. Officials, p. 19. ...


18. See Table 1, S.T.L. Officials, p. 19.


20. See Table 1, S.T.L. Officials, p. 70. Women became directors after 1896 - S.T.L.R. 1896 p. 15. "Medical and academic opinion
was represented by Dr. Ritchie, Provost of Pollockshaws and Professor R. Patrick Wright, Principal of the West of Scotland Agricultural College - S.T.L.R. 1890, p. 65 and S.T.L.R. 1898 p. 5.

21. S.T.L.R. 1910, p. 8. Only then did S.T.L. retire its elderly Chairman (Gladstone - see S.T.L.R. 1897 p. 77) and Treasurer (Alexander Lamberton, J.P.) The latter forestalled this 'easing out' process by a timely death after 20 years in office.

22. Adviser 1850 p. 120. Complaints about Glasgow meetings, voiced from Aberdeen by Fergus Ferguson in 1850, were echoed repeatedly to no avail. See Resolution of 29th April 1890, S.T.L.R. 1891, p. 9. Glasgow societies for example amounted to 20-25% of the total number of societies affiliated to the League, reflecting ease of access to meetings, proximity to League collectors, and city conditions.

23. Precise quantification of support is difficult. The S.T.L.R. e.g. is a flawed source giving details of subscribers not members. In economic depressions support was underestimated whilst good balance sheets do not equate with increase in support or fervour.


27. S.T.L.R. 1879, p. 54.


P.S.A.'s were begun in 1875 following D.L. Moody's work in England. Their slogan was "Brief, Bright and Brotherly". They met to offer rational recreation to working men usually in the form of instructive talks, access to reading rooms etc. They aimed to draw into "fellowship and service" working men inaccessible via the ordinary channels of church work. The earliest Glasgow P.S.A. was Wesleyan Methodist. Few bothered to affiliate formally to the S.T.L. In 1910 only 6 did so - St. Thomas' Wesleyan Methodist, West Scotland St. United Free (both Glasgow) and the Grangemouth, Leven, Airdrie, and Clydebank P.S.A.'s - S.T.L.R. 1910, pp. 108, 143, and the "Scottish Churches Handbook" 1933 p. 93. Female equivalents, Pleasant Monday Afternoon Societies did exist.

P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century" Vol. II, p. 207 gives details of typical social reform interests when describing Malcolm McFarlane, as does W. Logan "Early Heroes of the Temperance Reformation", Glasgow, 1873 pp. 199-205. See S.T.L.R. 1891, p. 74, where the list of "special agents" includes Councillor Chisholm, later Sir Samuel Chisholm.


33. Revd. A. Wallace "The Gloaming of Life: a Life of James Stirling", Glasgow, 1876, p. 80. Stirling felt, "self culture, self reliance, rational recreation, half holidays and other spare hours turned to good account would do more than all the frothy vapourings of

34. The arduousness of their labour was ideal for this treatment - see Wallace (supra) pp. 142-5, Temperance Spectator, March 1862, p. 39 and P. Winskill (supra) Vol. II p. 252 on James Mitchell's career. T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland its Work and Workers 1869-1894", Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1894, p. 25 in similar vein.


37. See Glasgow Argus Oct. 24, 1857 for an account of a Barrhead lecture by Beattie of the League - "...the exhibition of perseverance would have done credit to Dr. Greer of pill notoriety and would have put to the blush any of the London street empirics!" S.T.L.R. 1883, p. 71. The commercial travellers' society was the Glasgow Commercial Abstinence Society (1846) formed by John McGavin of S.T.L. Its work was continued by the Scottish Commercial Travellers Christian Union from 1888 on - see E. Morris "History of the Temperance and Teetotal Societies" (supra) p. 201 and "The Scottish Churches Handbook", 1933, p. 121. The aforementioned Beattie was able to become a councillor - Winskill (supra) Vol. I, p. 101 and 204. Lossock, a financial agent, became a respected figure and J.P. in Peebles by the late 1890's - Winskill (supra) Vol. II, p. 186.

38. Quote refers to Andrew Dick of Glasgow - Winskill (supra) Vol. I, p. 308. Such histories appeared even in the 1860's - see

The Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association (S.P.B.T.A.)


42. S.P.B.T.A. Annual Report (henceforth cited as S.P.B.T.A.) 1894-5, An analysis of 70 textile entrepreneurs' social origins by J. Fox for example appears in S. Bell (ed.) "Victorian Lancashire", London, 1974. On the Coats family see J. Coats "From Cottage to Castle" unpublished n.d., memoir. The weaving stock the Coats were descended from was humble but with great self respect and love of self culture. The Coats family experimented with shawl manufacturing and coal mining prior to establishing J. & P. Coats' Threadworks - p. 46. They utilised wealthier relatives e.g. James Watson of John Flemming & Co., and Dr. Henry Coats, to rise - p. 50 - and similarly utilised Paisley exiles like Auchincloss and fellow Nonconformists like Mellor, related by marriage to Bright, to gain control of the American thread business - pp. 19, 49. The sewing machine stimulated the firm's growth 1870-83, as did American tariffs - pp. 66, 75, 92, 100. On the Coats' link with America see, R.T. Berthoff "British Immigrants in Industrial America", Harvard University Press, 1953, p. 44. Also W.D. Rubinstein "Men of Property", London, 1981, pp. 84-6, 108, 186, 217 and 254-5. The Coats family produced 9 millionaires and 3 "½ millionaires" over 1883-1932. The firm was the third largest in Britain with a capital value of £11.2 million in 1905. On fellow "factory town patriarchs", the Clarks, see Rubinstein (supra) pp. 84-6 and 108. John Clark (1827-94) was a United Presbyterian and Liberal Unionist who left a fortune of £545,000 - spent on yachts by his heirs.

43. Rule X of the S.P.B.T.A. Constitution on the use of prayers at meetings, was typical of most temperance societies. The S.P.B.T.A.
had a small Quaker element, exemplified by Smeal - see S.P.B.T.A.
1895-6, p. 7. There were usually 100 Vice Presidents. In 1874
ministers amounted to 25, in 1883 20, in 1898 24, 1906-8 28,
1909 23, and only 19 in 1914. The great temperance orator Revd.
James Barr was only a Vice President.

44. "Enlisting the sympathy" of the aristocracy was a slow and limited
process - S.P.B.T.A. 1873-4, p. 11. On the Scottish Association
see W. Logan "Sketch of the Life of Robert Gray Mason", p. 16,
and Dawson Burns, "Temperance History" Vol. I, pp. 331,351, 357,
363. The Scottish Association's pressure for Sunday Closing
had been given weight by the support of men like Kinnaird. On
the latter's extensive philanthropy - K. Heasman "Evangelicals
in Action", pp. 21, 72, 75, 125, 129, 137, 140, 178, 209, and 220.

45. Its Constitution laid down that the business committee was to be
of 15 Glaswegians and 6 from "elsewhere". 5 were necessary for
a quorum. Rule VI however prevented rural members from claiming
expenses.

447-8, Dawson Burns "Temperance History" Vol. I, p. 444,
P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century"
Vol. II, p. 500. On Davie, a draper (President 1862-7) Dawson
Burns (supra) Vol. II p. 14, Winskill (supra) Vol. I, p. 293 and
II, p. 178, and Herald of Health Feb. 1876, Dec. 1880, May 1883,
and June 1889. (Davie's interests included vegetarianism,
vaccination, peace, savings banks and hydrophatic hotels).
The engineer was Bailie James Hamilton (President 1867-84). On
Wilson 1828-1905 (President 1885-1900) see "Glasgow and Lanarkshire
Illustrated" 1904, p. 21, S.P.B.T.A. 1889-90, p. 6, The Bailie,
'Men You Know', 385, 3 Mar. 1880, and M. Stenton (ed.)
SelKirk (President 1900-3) was a J.P. and Bailie associated with
On Cameron Corbett (1856-1933) see Lord Rowallan's "Rowallan",
Edinburgh, 1976. Cameron Corbett Papers, Glasgow University
Archives Scottish Reformer 25.1. 1908, and M. Stenton (supra)
Vol. II, p. 76.

47. J. Clark, mentioned earlier, was a member of the Executive after
1891, a Vice President 1892 on, and an Honorary Director after
1904. Local mill owners were traditionally sympathetic to the
movement. City missionaries could guarantee abstainers mill
Sir Robert Pullar and Peter Campbell of Perth Dyeworks' links are
detailed in S.P.B.T.A. 1895-6 p. 17 and Scottish Temperance Annual,
1905, pp. 23-4. McLean, Buchanan and Cairney appear in the
annual reports' lists of officials. On Ewing,Denny, Elder, and
Connal see S.P.B.T.A. 1873-4, p. 22, 1887-8, p. 13, 1892-3, p. 41,
and 1893-4, p. 20.

Carnegie was strongly against compensation for the Trade -
S.P.B.T.A. 1888-9, p. 32. See the biography, F.W. Wall "Andrew
Carnegie" New York, 1970. His father, a damask weaver of
Dunfermline, was a friend of John Fraser and part of the teetotal
Chartist milieu prior to emigration to Pennsylvania in 1848 -
R. Boston "British Chartists in America" Appendix A, p. 90.


50. Corbett and his in-laws, the Poulsons were interested in medical charities. Dick was very much involved in insurance - see Chapter IV, Part iii. D. Adam "Local and Municipal Souvenir of Glasgow", Glasgow, 1897, p. 81. Another Kinning Park reformer was Bailie Walter Paton, see "Glasgow and Lanarkshire Illustrated" pp. 33-4. On Bilsland, see "Who Was Who in Glasgow" 1909, p. 75, D. Adam "Local and Municipal Souvenir of Glasgow 1837-97", Glasgow 1897 p. 70, E. Gaskell "Lanarkshire Leaders" c. 1908, and "Corporation Libraries Handbook" Glasgow, 1907, p. 111.


53. See Table II, S.P.B.T.A. Officials, page 60. Dr. Murdoch Cameron appeared on the Executive of 1885-9. The total number of doctors in the Vice Presidency and Honorary Directorate amounted only to 8 in 1882, fell to 2 over 1892-5, and in 1914 was still only 6. On special efforts to recruit the professionals see S.P.B.T.A. 1887-8, p. 10.


56. Noted teetotal provosts included Collins, Bell, Bilsland and Chisholm of Glasgow, but in the 1890's the S.P.B.T.A. not only claimed support from men like Provost Ferguson of Partick and Dick of Kinning Park but also Hunter of Denny, Richmond of Darvel, Shankland of Ayr, Anderson of Wishaw, White of Leven, Cavan of Kirkcudbright and Gillies of Troon - S.P.B.T.A. 1892-3, p. 6.


60. S.P.B.T.A. 1880-1, p. 20 details the U.K.A. subsidy. S.P.B.T.A. moved from Hope St. to Bath St. Glasgow with economy in mind. Details of income are taken from S.P.B.T.A. Annual Reports 1882-3, p. 24, 1885-6, p. 22, 1887-8 p. 24, 1890-1 p. 27 (this was not a pattern shared by the League - it collected £6,330 in 1890-1 but had had better years e.g. 1860-1 £8,256, 1871-2 £6,786, and 1880-1 £8,018) 1898-9, p. 26, 1900-1, p. 6, and 1903-4, p. 8. Income then reached £6,159 a creditable amount given that donations were usually very small - invested in Paisley Parish Council and Burgh School and Perth Corporation.

61. From the 1890's onwards the S.P.B.T.A. had well over 1,000 subscribers in the central Glasgow area alone. Suburbs were listed separately.


64. Paton, "The Barrhead Shoemaker Philosopher", was a tactless enthusiast responsible for early hostilities between the S.P.B.T.A. and the I.O.G.T., as well as electoral canvassing, according to Good Templar 1870-71. See Winskill (supra) Vol. II, p. 306 (Although J.B. Paton's adversaries were also "publicans, papists and infidels" there appears to be no relationship between the two). See Chapter 5 on Paton's electoral canvassing.

65. J.R. Fraser "Memoir of John Fraser of Newfield", Paisley, 1897, pp. 103-6. Fraser worked as a temperance agent from 1866-May 1872 having spent the late 1840's on a farm experiment, and the 1850's in a singing career, tours of America and teaching. He was hostile to Johnstone's switch to burgh status but kept a low
profile out of dislike of "small municipal wire-pullers." He felt social and educational reform had far more to offer than politics in general, and was unroused by Disestablishment. See also S.P.B.T.A. 1872-3, p. 7, Paisley Express 7.3.1879, (Fraser's obituary). On Fraser's teetotal Chartism, see A. Wilson "The Chartist Movement in Scotland" Manchester, 1970. Chapter X 'Chartist Co-operation and Total Abstinence' pp. 126-137, especially p. 132, 134, and 136.

66. e.g. R. McFarlane, a life abstainer from Rothesay, who moved to Partick and became prominent in Whiteinch Free Church's Gospel Temperance Society and the well known parliamentary agent Alexander Black who came to the city from Kier in Dumfriesshire - see P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century" Vol. II, p. 207 and I p. 123.


The Independent Order of Good Templars (I.O.G.T.)


71. Mackie (1813-76) was a logical choice in terms of seniority - in 1869 he was 56. On Walker's career see Winskill (supra) Vol. II, p. 515. Temperance took him from Wiltshire to Ayrshire, Canada and California. Roberts' reasons for approaching the Glasgow United Workingmen's are mentioned in T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland from its Inception to its Diamond Jubilee 1869-1929" Glasgow, 1929, p. 14. On the distribution of 43 lodges in 1870 see T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland:


76. I.N. Pierce "I.O.G.T. - A History of the Order" p. 7, G. Gladstone "Good Templarism" pp. 125-6, (where fellowship was envisaged in terms of protecting the morals of the young arriving in the city) p. 112.


78. I.N. Pierce "I.O.G.T. - A History of the Order" p. 8 and G. Gladstone "Good Templarism" p. 147. There were many connections between temperance reform and city mission work e.g. via the Naismith family, Kettle, Logan, J.G. Paton and Sir William Connal. My point however is that patronage was not synonymous with participation in visitation work.


86. On the Brotherhood Movement, a meeting ground for Evangelicals and socialists like Henderson, Snowden etc. see K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action" pp. 65-7. Its Scottish Union had 120 branches and 14,000 members by the early 1920's. T. Honeyman "Good Templary: Diamond Jubilee Volume" p. 216. Templars were hampered in attempts to counter adverse recreational trends by inclination and by feu contracts which forbade them giving in to demands for "theatre, cinema or public dances" - see hall regulations in the Glasgow University Archive source P/Cn 49,19, No's 83 and 84. R. McKechnie "Good Templary in Scotland: its Work and Workers 1929-79", pp. 7-11.

was a striking case too but had long ceased to be a Templar when he achieved his fame).


89. The Revd. Hudson Teape, an Episcopalian active in West Lothian templary was an obvious but unique exception. Teape used templary to maintain the church connection of migrant families. The United Presbyterian Church was slower to join than might have expected - see references to Revd. R.M. Gibson of the East U.P. Church Partick and Dr. H. Sinclair Paterson's work amongst U.P. students in Good Templar 1871 pp. 117, 123, 354 and 1872, p. 259. On Stranraer, where the lodge organiser was the Baptist Revd. J.M. Henson, later travelling secretary of the Baptist Total Abstinence Society, see T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland: its Work and Workers" p. 17. For the Church of Scotland's interest in temperance in general see Revd. M.B. McGregor "Towards Scotland's Social Good" Church of Scotland, 1959 and Chapter 8, Part I. The group mentioned here were predominantly Evangelical Union and Free Church - one was United Presbyterian. See T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland its Work and Workers" pp 143-5 and his "Good Templary: Jubilee Volume" Appendix. See W. Adamson "Life of Fergus Ferguson DD", London, 1900. On Cairns see A. Drummond and J. Bulloch "The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-74", Edinburgh, 1975 pp. 51, 104, 249, 277, 279, 310, 313, 326, and on Kirk, H. Kirk "Professor John Kirk DD", Edinburgh, 1888. On Gladstone see Dawson Burns "Temperance History", Vol. II, p. 202, and S.T.L.R. 1908 pp. 75-77 and 1911 pp. 88-92. See Biographical Appendix. Gladstone was elected Grand Worthy Chief Templar in 1873, and was Grand Counsellor 1875-7 and 1881-3. Ministers were responsible for the lodges at Wishaw (E.U.) Stonehouse (Free Church) Carluke (E.U.) Campbeltown (Estd.) Ardrossan (E.U.) and Stranraer (Baptist) Argyle, Renfrewshire Ayrshire and Dumfries Districts had ministers as "District Deputies". T. Honeyman "Good Templary a Diamond Jubilee Volume", pp. 39-40, and Appendix "Officers of the Grand Lodge 1870-1929". On the Revd. Beveridge of Ayr, see P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearer of the 19th Century" Vol. 1, p. 117.

90. E.H. Welfare "The World Our Field: A History of the Good Templar Order" p. 53 for Malins' approaches to Cardinal Manning in 1905. On hall-cooperation see the Glasgow University Archive source cited earlier (i.e. P/CN 49.19). This use of religiosity by secular societies and parallel Church movement into secular spheres was a feature of philanthropy in general in this period - see B. Harrison 'Philanthropy and the Victorians' in Victorian Studies, ix, 4, June 1966, p. 356.
91. Much has been made of Free Church General Assembly comments that the I.O.G.T. was "embarked upon almost exclusively by workingmen" - yet G. Gladstone's "Good Templarism" (op cit) aimed at clarifying this point. The term "labour aristocracy" is used throughout this thesis in the sense used by R.Q. Gray in "The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh", Oxford, 1976 pp 41-2, and in his "The Aristocracy of Labour In 19th Century Britain 1850-1900", London, 1981, pace Antonio Gramsci's concept of labour aristocracy, and Hobsbawm's criteria of membership as stated in E.J. Hobsbawm "Labouring Men" 1964, p. 273. Crossick and Gray found that the formation of artisan elites invariably featured local institutions which drew together men from a range of trades yet still set them apart from less advantaged workers. Temperance societies highlight this process - especially in skilled trades where it was already pronounced. See G. Crossick "An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London 1840-80" London, 1978. Quoted here Good Templar, 1870, p. 83.

92. Poorly ventilated, badly lit, and insanitary conditions in which bakers worked were the subject of Fabian tracts. In the case of carters, long and exhausting work in poor weather not to mention work during recognised public holidays encouraged the stereotype of the drunken carter, so beloved of that section of the temperance movement which overlapped with membership of the S.P.C.A., and utilised by Cruikshank, "the Dundee Carter." Carters could develop fairly lucrative haulage businesses. This paralleled work done amongst cab drivers - see K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action", pp 274-5 - by the Church of England and London City Mission.

93. Good Templar 1870, p. 84 and 1871 p. 185 'Tippling Merchants'.

94. On the labour aristocratic status and lifestyle of Edinburgh compositors see R.Q. Gray "The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh" pp. 57-62. Some of the best known teetotalers were compositors - e.g. James Munro of Melbourne. Born in Sutherland in 1831 he was apprenticed in Edinburgh and became a teetotaler there. He was a Good Templar, important in Australian prohibitionism and the Australian temperance/thrift movement.

95. Good Templar 1871, p. 197.

96. Good Templar 1872, p. 356, where Bailie Buchanan's advocacy of the Sir Colin Campbell Lodge is principally in terms of benefits to employers, and Good Templar 1871, p. 138. The identification between lodges and the local works was of course common in a great many areas.

97. e.g. Good Templar 1871, p. 89 - "Let no man be too proud to work...afraid of a hard fist or a sunburnt face - let him be ashamed only of ignorance and sloth. Let no man be ashamed of poverty. Let him only be ashamed of dishonesty and idleness."

98. Trades unions during "the heroic days of illegality" (Thompson) had been secretive, needless to say, and had used oaths and initiation ceremonies. See E.P. Thompson "The Making of the
Templars were often trades unionists - as were Rechabites, see Chapter IV, Part iv - but the great dearth of Templar primary sources makes any judgement about the extent of overlap worthless. See however R. McKechnie "Good Templary in Scotland: Its Work and Workers 1929-79", p. 21 on Isaac Marks J.P., p. 34 on James Brown (Ayrshire miners' leader), and p. 36 on David Kirkwood (engineers' leader). Templary was in effect a "Liberal Organisation for Working Men" (pace Hanham's article) see Chapter 8, Part iii on this theme.


Buchanan was also associated with the League. Glasgow University Archive document on I.O.G.T. halls - P/CN 49.19. The Parkers of Dundee occupied a similar role within the I.O.G.T. there - see later section on Mrs. Parker (wife of tannery owner) Chapter VIII, Part ii. Nicol Cameron, (1815-90) was an elder of the Wilton Place Evangelical Union Church, Kilmarnock. He was well known for his sick visiting and evangelism even before his contact with Morison - see A. McNair "Personal Memorials with a Chapter Prefixed on the Atonement" Glasgow, 1904, p. 133.


On the Scottish Clerks see Journal for the Home About the Home Oct. 1907, pp. 244-6.

Good Templar 1870, p. 181, E.H. Welfare "The World Our Field" p. 33 also noted Henderson and Hardie's renown in this context. On Roberts, see Winskill (supra) Vol. II, p. 380, On Walker see
The International Order of Good Templars

Regional strength at the institution of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 7th May, 1870.*

Lodge number
1. Scotland's First, Glasgow 24. Jabez Walker, Glasgow
2. Albion, Glasgow 25. Rising Sun, Glasgow
4. Heart of Midlothian, Edinburgh 27. Excelsior, Glasgow
5. Star of Hope, Glasgow 28. John Dunlop, Paisley
7. Morning Light, Glasgow 30. Beacon Light, Glasgow
9. Benjamin Franklin, Glasgow 32. Excelsior, Kilmarnock
10. Victoria, Glasgow 33. Scotia, Glasgow
11. Thistle, Glasgow 34. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Glasgow
13. Thomas Mackie, Glasgow 36. Let Glasgow Flourish, Glasgow
15. Morning Star, Govan 38. Robert Tannahill, Paisley
16. Colombia, Glasgow 39. Anchor, Glasgow
17. St. Andrews, Glasgow 40. Star of Defence, Glasgow
18. Star of the East, Camlachie 41. Rose, Glasgow
19. Northern Star, Glasgow 42. Scotland's Hope, Glasgow
20. Guiding Star, Parkhead 43. Golden Rule, Dreghorn
21. General Carey, Glasgow
22. Caledonia, Edinburgh
23. Anchor of Hope, Edinburgh

Lodge numbers reflected the rate of the Order's progress, and justify Honeyman's comment that "the Order was not long in obtaining a footing in nearly all districts of Glasgow, and for a time new lodges were opened nearly every week." See "Good Templary in Scotland: its Work and Workers" p. 14. Of the above, 26 were in Glasgow, 4 in Glasgow 'suburbs', 4 in nearby Paisley, and 2 in North Ayrshire.

International Order of Good Templars.

Regional strength at 1894¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Lodges</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lanarkshire</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3647</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ayrshire</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fife and Kinross</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renfrewshire</td>
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<td>2002</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aberdeenshire</td>
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<td>1604</td>
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<tr>
<td>Midlothian</td>
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<td>1584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perthshire</td>
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<td>1339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argyll and the Western Isles</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumfries</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galloway</td>
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<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumbarton</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>853</td>
</tr>
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<td>Orkney</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berwickshire</td>
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<td>778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invernesshire</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross and Cromarty</td>
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<td>652</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peebles and Selkirk</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>839</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roxburgh</td>
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<td>573</td>
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<td>Clackmannan</td>
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<td>562</td>
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<td>Kincardine</td>
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<tr>
<td>West Lothian</td>
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<tr>
<td>East Lothian</td>
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<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caithness</td>
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</table>

International Order of Good Templars

Regional Strength at the Diamond Jubilee - 1929: the 30 strongest lodges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lodge</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>&quot;Airdrie&quot;</td>
<td>4,198</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;City&quot;, Glasgow</td>
<td>901</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Rescue&quot;, Peterhead</td>
<td>549</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Glasgow&quot;, Glasgow</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Motherwell&quot;</td>
<td>436</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Britannia's Hope&quot;, Hamilton</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Strathbogie&quot;, Huntly</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Faithlie&quot;, Fraserburgh</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Thomas Fairrie&quot;, Greenock</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;St. Kiaran&quot;, Campbeltown</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;True Blue&quot;, Greenock</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;George Stevenson&quot; Rothesay</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ravenscraig&quot;, Peterhead</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Wilberforce&quot;, Carluke</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Rossie&quot;, Ferryden</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Haven of Rest&quot;, Troon</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Pride of Esk&quot; Musselburgh</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Janet Hamilton&quot;, Coatbridge</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Union &amp; Crown&quot;, Glasgow</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;St. George&quot;, Thurso</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Commercial&quot;, Dundee</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Rolling Wave&quot;, Buckie</td>
<td>250</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Victoria&quot;, Aberdeen</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Temperance Home&quot;, Dundee</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Hope of Coatdyke&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Dawn of Freedom&quot;, Rutherglen</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Tweed&quot;, Peebles</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Lifeboat&quot;, Ardrossan</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Flower of Yarrow&quot; Selkirk</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Pharos&quot;, Stornaway</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
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</table>
CHAPTER 3

MORAL SUASIONIST IDEOLOGIES AND STRATEGIES.
Moral Suasionist Ideologies and Strategies.

I. Platform, Pulpit and Press

After successful defence of Sunday Closing and the Royal Commission of 1860 all reformers sought temperance legislation. Few agreed on its format. The League was attacked by prohibitionists for lukewarm support of the Permissive Bill, an underlying debate being moral suasionist reliance on existing licensing law versus prohibitionist solutions which encouraged electoral pressure and agitation for franchise extension. After the Second Reform Bill, and cooling of personal animosities, battle lines were less definite though visible. Whilst the S.P.B.T.A. was pledged to campaign for legislation, the League placed its faith in "moral suasion".1

The latter was no mere strategy but the emblem of a philosophy and lifestyle redolent of evangelical morality. The Calvinist concept of "eternal vigilance" was central. Via drink Satan could reach all sections of society - status and "religious earnestness" were no protection. God was watchful, and vengeful, whilst man struggled in moral flux. Chalmerian "moral restraint" was vital for the soul and social status. Morality not legislation manufactured the "armour within." Christians were also to abstain as acts of self denial in Christ's image, symbolic of true service, obedience and rejection of "shallow and selfish forms of religion." This complemented evangelical philanthropy, bourgeois obligation, (sometimes related more to social than moral status), and identification of the working classes with Christ's "hardships." True spiritual life was God-given, in return for service. Confidence in the innate nobility of the worker, a nobility of moral character not of wealth of artificial class categorisation amounted to an 'evangelical Arminianism'. Such
nobility could, if freed and channeled, transform society. Morality was an organic growth. Meaningful reform had to include individual moral reform. Moral suasion's power lay in association of evangelicalism with the images and self-images of social groupings attracted to temperance. Its connotations explain "old guard" hostility to developments which diverted emphasis from personal abstinence.²

As a standpoint on the drink question moral suasion also had appeal. Moral suasionists could combine support of licensing reform and legislation with individual moral reform. Prohibitionists regarded the League for example as pragmatic to the point of illogicality because of its broad aims. Popular opinion had to be 'educated' to accept abstinence and higher standards of conduct or temperance legislation, and the temperance movement, would be doomed in ensuing backlash. Redemption of the "unchurched" might also be achieved by extension to individuals of moral ropes, largely in the form of counter-attractions to the public house, to facilitate ascent of the social scale and binding to social superiors. Reformation of manners rather than radical reform or social revolution was prerequisite for working class comfort. It was assumed that working men with internalised 'survival kits' of 'respectable' values could not fail to emerge from metamorphosis as dutiful citizens, sensible and sober enough to be entrusted with votes. The said values were those of Smilesean self-help i.e. sobriety, industry, thrift and love of "domestic culture." They were naive perhaps, but reformation of working class manners was the social reformer's classic problem. They were nostalgic in this respect but also looked forward to a new society where the drink problem and related social ills would be absent and, by implication, dissenting voices would be absorbed in a "cultural imperialism" process, thus securing order and community. League hopes were placed in a
generation free from taste or taint of alcohol - a sound policy, attractive to a wide spectrum of religious, moral and social reformers whose work converged on the child.  

Strategy saw continuation and some innovation. The League's strategy involved propagandist use of the "platform, pulpit, and press" reminiscent of Methodism and Chartist and Anti Corn Law League agitation. The League built on the Chartist tradition of lecture tours, featuring Vincent etc., open air rallies at Glasgow Green, and the cult of the charismatic speaker, fostered by exposure to Reform Act, Anti Corn Law League, Garrisonian and anti Garrisonian oratory in general and the visits of Father Mathew, and charismatic Americans like Revd. Dresser of Ohio, Harriet Beecher Stowe and the legendary J.B. Gough who toured in 1853, 1854 and 1859-60. He was glamorous, entertaining and epitomised the theatricality which 'puritans' despised in temperance lectures. S.T.L. also utilised Sankey and Moody, Mother Stewart of Ohio, Henry Demorest, Dr. Crafts of Washington, Dalgetty of Chicago, celebrated reformed drunkards like J.G. Wooley, and speakers familiar with colonial local option schemes. British orators like Fred Charrington, the repentant brewer and the Revd. Arthur Mursell of London, famous for his "Roll Call of the Battle and the Bottle" lecture were engaged for short seasons in Scottish towns and Sir Victor Horsley, a leading medical spokesman, was induced to speak at Glasgow University. Local speakers were usually doctors or clerics - full of pedantry rather than showmanship, but valuable for lectures and "anniversary sermon" propaganda.

"In the campaign to radicalise the British electorate press and platform were mutually reinforcing." The Liberal press' suspicion of temperance as sedition hostile to agricultural interests, and too supportive of Father Mathew dwindled after settlement of the Corn Law
GRAPH 3
Estimated adult male literacy in France, Scotland, and England with Wales, 1600-1900

Reprinted from L. Stone 'Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900' pp. 69-139 - Past & Present, No. 42.
and Poor Law questions and the Disruption's encouragement of social reform. A temperance press originated in Glasgow aided by reduction of stamp duties, postal reforms, and William Collins. It rallied rural support, countered hostile press reports, as did anti-slavery organs, and contributed to the evolution of popular Liberalism. The League produced Scottish Review, a 1/- quarterly, Abstainers' Journal a 2d monthly, and an annual almanac, and improved them following removal of the "taxes on knowledge' in 1855 and 1861. Just as earlier puritans attacked ballads and chap-books, S.T.L. publications were alternatives to the new cheap popular press' sensationalism, atheism, and "false social and political economy." Like Knight, the Chambers, and Cassell they noted increasing working class literacy and the demand for self-education which had inspired Smiles. They worked to produce material suitable for children, with illustrations to "point a moral", for the moderate drinker who could still "understand a clear statement", and for temperance workers and those of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, aware that "periodical literature was exerting a mighty influence on all classes." Ambitious gratuitous distribution schemes never came to fruition. Moreover the League's ponderous prose style deterred all but the most fanatical from subscribership.7

The League, aided by J. Blackie and Sons, K. & R. Davidson, Collins, and the Congregationalist religious printer and bookseller Gallie, was famous for its tracts. Via sympathetic, and increasing prosperous, booksellers tracts circulated on an unprecedented scale. Ministers, missioners and, after an 1860 formal agreement, the colporteurs of the Religious Tract and Book Society disseminated tracts. "Monthly tracts" were popular with local societies and mechanics institutions. Production of these short wood-cut illustrated moral
tales, reminiscent of Hone's political pamphlets, was doubled by 1863. Cash prizes were offered for the best "temperance tales" for these. They were sent to areas with no local organisation, and were often aimed specifically at "professing Christians", women, labourers, the army. Sensational American tracts like "Ten Nights in a Bar-room" however were included in S.T.L.'s most popular tract series. Writers like the Revds. Ward Beecher of Brooklyn, John Hall of New York and Dr. Cuyler, though less sensational, sold well after Sankey and Moody's visit, given interest in American solutions and analysis of connections between the Trade and "dimensions and powers of evil in cities unknown in the country." In the 1870's the Monthly Pictorial Tracts' circulation was 50,000 per month or 600,000 p.a., and by 1885 500 titles were offered. By 1914 every angle of temperance had been covered, attractively packaged and marketed at nominal prices. Many were simply disseminated gratuitously by reformers and city missionaries. Much was also exported to the empire. Clerical authorship aided tracts of the 1860's. Later, proliferation of denominational societies, increasing popular secularism, and League oversaturation of the market with tracts neutralised this.8

League novels were a more attractive proposition. They replaced non-fiction by Dunlop, Reid, Guthrie, and Logan as temperance classics. Good 'tales' were attracted by £100 prizes e.g. "The Fortunes of Fairleigh" by Revd. D. Macrae and "The Burnish Family", by Clara Lucas Balfour. 37,000 copies of the latter were sold in a few months. It had descriptive power plus sufficient dramatic interest to encourage readers to persevere in the face of overwhelming sentimentality. Further competitions produced, "By the Trent", by an English lady, "Dunvarlich" by Macrae, and "Danesbury House" by Mrs. Henry Wood, the most successful temperance novel. It sold at
35,000 copies p.a. By 1885 250,000, and by 1892 304,000 copies had been sold in Britain alone. It ran to several editions in several nations and S.T.L. had its copyright. Probably selected by Collins himself its success lay in appeal to labour-aristocrats and lower middle class groups. Characters who drank were doomed but it was more than a mere moral tale. Others, like "Nelly's Dark Days", had also sold well by 1885. S.T.L. produced novel after novel "earnest in spirit, Christian in tone, to illustrate and recommend a life of Christian self-denial and self-sacrifice." The Publications Dept. had 60 titles, many household names, by the 1880's. Penetration of the middle and working class home by the temperance novel exemplified crucial assumptions about recreation, education, and popular taste in the era of the "new journalism", and reading as amusement for a new mass audience. Like the Chartist novel, the temperance novel was propaganda and 'class' literature, invariably being labour-aristocrat or middle class figures through whose trials social ills were exposed. Occasionally in Lallans, they reached beyond the fold of committed temperance reformers. With "temperance lessons" they were crucial to moral suasion.9

Temperance Lessons.

Education was a question which attracted the interest of utilitarians, evangelicals, Chartists, Dissenters, and Cobdenite radicals alike in the 19th century. Not surprisingly temperance lessons were attractive to many. They drew together several interconnected ideas and assumptions on social reform.

Temperance lessons were influenced by Chalmers' and Dunlop's Malthusian warnings that education, secular and religious was "the only solid basis on which either the political or economic wellbeing of the
Temperance Lessons

Diagram illustrating the influence of education and morality and of ignorance and vice on the human countenance.

N.B.—Temperance Lecturers, Managers of Temperance Societies, and others, are invited to apply to Messrs. Cassell & Company for enlarged copies of this diagram, which will be sent free of charge on application.

See

Cassell's Popular Educator,
of which an entirely new and revised edition has just been completed in 8 vols., price 5s. each, with new text, new illustrations, new coloured plates, and new maps in colours.


Example of posters produced by temperance publishers for use in the Board schools.
nation could be laid." They were linked to the radical "notion of education as a panacea for all ills, (as Commonwealth sympathy reflected), and the 1869 National Education League's Nonconformist powered crusade for a free national system of education, invariably supported by temperance sympathisers like Dr. Charles Cameron M.P., School Board "temperance candidates", and radicals in general. They were part of the drive for more efficient provision of education and attempts to place Scottish education on a more secure basis.10

In Scotland concern over educational provision, a constant in Victorian and Edwardian Britain due largely to the "Nonconformist Conscience", was acute because of education's image and implications for social mobility. Both involved notions of the limitlessness of mental faculties, the innate nobility of the working man and association of self advancement with political power. In contrast to the early 19th century when book knowledge and occupational skill were separate categories of information, education had become an important dimension to the differential opportunities within the working classes. Education was, as the temperance press constantly emphasised, the key to labour-aristocrat opportunities and aspirations, whether purveyed by cruel, drunken dominies or self-acquired. Concern for contemporary standards was highlighted by exaggerated notions of traditional superiority and democracy in education, as Scottish Review articles demonstrate. Concern focussed on the universities, under the direction of Disruption leaders who resented the Established Church's outmoded authority. Reform and extension, especially in curricula, were imperative to make universities relevant to commerce, and preserve the "Kirk and Works" alliance so important to reform movements. Pressure was rewarded by the 1858 Universities (Scotland) Act drafted by Liberals and passed by Conservatives, and an 1889 Act which laid
the basis of modern university administration.\textsuperscript{11}

League concern at gaps in elementary and secondary school provision was acute, due to research by Ferguson, the Gorbals temperance missionary. In Glasgow's slums poor attendance appeared directly related to possession of parents "given to intemperance." In the 1860's they published the possible, probable, and actual attendance figures for the inspected primary schools for shock effect. \textit{Good Templar} also quoted Mundella's Commons' comment that "in Glasgow out of a total of 98,767 children of school age 35,565 were attending school and 63,202 were not", i.e. a mere 2\% were enrolled in any school, and their suggestions were that only half of these were efficient.

Reports of the Children's Employment Commission (1862), 1871 Commons returns showing the numbers under 13 in factories and workshops, Report of the Committee of the Council on Education, and the work of the inspectorate and the Educational Institute of Scotland and especially truancy officers (estd. 1873) increased suspicion that educational destitution was great, boding ill for the nation and the movement.\textsuperscript{12}

The temperance lessons campaign also emphasised the "moral destitution" of current education. As with the charity and ragged and Sunday school movements so popular with 18th and 19th century philanthropists, temperance lessons were designed to counter Catholicism and religious scepticism, hence emphasis of education's "moral purpose", and the dangers of wide reading. Advocates of temperance lessons were keen to appear to be above party and sectarian rivalry to have children's physical and intellectual well-being at heart, and to favour 'progressive' approaches to old problems. Some like William Chambers looked to Dutch non-denominational education as a model. Far more however were preoccupied with the religious education
question. Education and religion were mutually reinforcing aspects of instruction towards moral purification. Maynooth, the restoration of the English, and later the Scottish, Catholic hierarchies and sectarian unrest made middle class evangelicals determined to counter church loss of control of education under the 1870 Education Act by taking control of the recently established school boards and, through them, conditioning society to an appreciation if not an acceptance of their values. Elsewhere Nonconformists launched a crusade for religious equality in which "the school rate became the successor to the Church rate", and secular Benthanite solutions and, after 1894, Evangelical demands for greater use of the Bible were wielded against Anglican privileges. Whilst there was sympathy for the Nonconformist 'reactions' of 1876 and 1888 and the passive-resistance movement, the Scottish debate revolved around the Catechism question and organisation of a Catholic bloc vote in school board elections. The Scottish National Education League's stance was supported for example in Glasgow School Board by Nonconformists, Evangelicals, "trades delegates" and Protestant bigots like H.A. Long, many of whom had temperance connections, against an alliance of Catholic and "ratepayer candidates". Lessons were a device to introduce religious instruction under another heading to compensate for the breakdown of \( \frac{1}{2} \) time education and later to reach the expanding school population.\(^{13}\)

Temperance lessons, like mechanics' institutes, the adult school movement, Y.M.C.A. and evangelical associations for the young often associated with teetotalers, were influenced by self-help and social obligations - especially those connected with citizenship, motherhood, moral purpose of the nation and the Empire. Its health dimension was obvious. It appealed to the pseudo-scientists of the health movement interested in hydropathy, homeopathy, vegetarianism,
"food reform", and also vaccination and sex education. Demarcation lines between them and medical science proper were not heavily drawn in the social reform milieu. Physiologists also supported temperance lessons. Given research findings on mental deficiency amongst school children and behavioural development many echoed Horsley and Sturge's conviction that research was of limited use till "creation of sound nerve structure at the very start of life" was examined. All those interested in child welfare, e.g. ragged schools, juvenile offenders, physical and technical education, orphanages, emigration schemes, and social purity, as well as educationists were interested in temperance lessons.14

The first calls for such lessons stemmed from 1850's awareness of contrast between national prosperity and the nation's "moral state", epitomised by brewers outstripping booksellers in sales, prisons expanding faster than churches, the ever-increasing need for police, and the problem of controlling the "moral natures" of those who had no fear of Divine wrath. The young's greatest temptation was drink. It brought quite inevitably a trail of poverty, crime, lunacy, immorality, "domestic unhappiness" and national inefficiency - which all added to the "respectable's" fiscal burden. As punishment was useless prevention, in the shape of social education, was thought overdue. A scheme of lessons was pioneered by the Edinburgh-based British League of Juvenile Abstainers, brainchild of the philanthropist and reformer Hope. Local schools and evening schools were involved in this short-lived effort. Another involved distribution of a "Frank Counsels on Health" tract to the poor via city missions. By 1870 Coonibe's notion of relevancy of education to the peculiarities of the child's environmental and moral circumstances was adapted by moral suasionists to suggest that provision of information on the
"true nature" of intoxicating drinks was ever a vital function of the teacher. Much energy however was channelled into the campaign for a new Education Act for Scotland, "long advocated as a remedy for intemperance" and prerequisite for franchise extension.15

After 1870 Temperance lessons appeared in Collins', Nelsons' and Chambers' textbooks, and were so well popularised by Knox, the Revd. Guthrie and the Social Science Associations by 1877 that even the Provincial Brewers' Association began to advocate "improved and more generally diffused education" as intemperance's solution. The Glasgow Trade were much less sympathetic to Lord Provost Collins and to the League's attempts to persuade Glasgow, the largest and most influential school board, to introduce Dr. Richardson's "Temperance Lesson Book." Richardson was thought unduly biased and resolutions to oppose return of hostile board members was denounced as "high handed tyranny."16 This did not prevent such at ensuing elections and organisation of Temperance teaching from 1880 on. Also from 1890 on Collins, a board member, and a colleague (possibly Ferguson, Mitchell or Dr. Kennedy) paid for a physiologist to teach such lessons in Glasgow schools. At the end of a pilot scheme a Christian Institute conference was held to promote this work.17 Collins' employee, Dr. Snodgrass, Muirhead demonstrator of Physiology at Glasgow University, was an eloquent spokesman for temperance lessons. A Free Kirker who had quit teaching after the Disruption, he was also an authority on American Temperance teaching. The American example, given existing ties between Scottish and American reformers (epitomised by Owen, Coombe and William Russel) together with the "national efficiency debate" of the 1890's, and increased female social reform and political activity by women encouraged this aspect of the drink question greatly. The popularity of physiology as a "Specific Subject" in Glasgow Board Schools increased
dramatically partly in response to this pressure and also in recognition of elementary schools' willingness to move beyond the "3Rs" to offer some relevant substitute (e.g. domestic science, literature, physiology) for High School academicism to pupils unlikely to reach secondary education.\textsuperscript{18}

Collins' scheme was continued but always with well qualified men - a reflection of the teaching profession's growing self-awareness. Significantly at a time when clerical school-visits were an explosive issue Collins' scheme was imitated by the Govan Board, noted for 'progressive' initiatives - cookery, woodwork, physical drill and sports, truancy and teacher-training. It introduced manuals by Richardson and Snodgrass in all schools, and required teachers to use these once a month with the 5th Standard and above. They were scheduled for Friday afternoons, when concentration and/or pupils were usually absent, yet the Board did earnestly demand headmasters submit precise details of what had been taught. Lesmahagow, Dundee, Cathcart, Cadder, and Stonehouse Boards followed suit after a fashion. The type, extent and earnestness of teaching varied from Board to Board. By 1893 however some of the largest Scottish Boards had introduced temperance lessons of some sort. The League sought further "rapid advance" by campaigning more vigorously for return of temperance candidates in school board elections. League directors Bow and Fulton were influential in formation of the Band of Hope Union and served on its Board. In 1892 it too employed its first full-time "day school lecturer", John Howat, whose debut was in the Public School, Newmains.\textsuperscript{19}

The League jubilee saw deputations to school boards urging definite and systematic teaching of temperance. In areas like Greenock the Board was still at the stage of giving each teacher a suitable textbook. Yet by 1894 Dr. Carslaw, Collins' employee, regularly
visited 52 Glasgow schools giving illustrated physiological lectures. During 1893-4 Pollockshaws, Cambuslang, New Monkland, Denny, Blantyre, and Leven introduced temperance lessons. At Collins' death his day-school work was regarded as the apex of "eminent services to the cause." Such lessons however were still dependent upon little more than gentlemen's agreements, hence Collins' attempt to shift responsibility for lessons to the Glasgow Board in his will.20

Whilst Nonconformist energies in England were directed towards Conservative withdrawal of the 1896 education bill Scottish promotion of temperance lessons gathered pace. 58 boards had introduced them by 1897, amongst them Paisley, Greenock, Edinburgh and "other populous areas" - areas outside the scope of Dr. Cameron's efforts to restrict public house hours. League access to over 200 schools was accompanied by Band of Hope penetration of schools previously hostile to their services.21 In Glasgow the campaign was associated with Fergus Ferguson and later with James Barr, Robert Smith Allan J.P., typical of the "eminent citizens" who dominated the League and School Board, and the most noticeable of several School Board Chairmen like Connal and Neilson Cuthbertson, not necessarily abstainers yet sympathetic to temperance and sharing William Mitchell's concern at links between drunken parents, working children, truancy, and juvenile offenders, and Mrs. Margaret Black. Black, better known for establishment of a Glasgow cookery school in 1878 and promotion of domestic science was a childless shawl-manufacturer's widow drawn into the movement by her connection with St. Matthew's Free Church, "where David Stow's influence still lingered", and with the Collinses. She had become secretary of the recently formed Women's Liberal Association in 1888 and in 1891 stood as a free-educationist and "temperance candidate". They pressed for League temperance books to be placed
on prize lists. Black organised school meetings whereby temperance societies could pressurise individual headmasters. They also worked to organise a temperance bloc vote in board elections, as the 1898 election demonstrated.22

Work to influence the teaching profession was spearheaded by "conversaziones" with the Free Church Normal Colleges' students. This was begun by Collins and continued by the Revd. J. Marshall Lang of Glasgow. Existing links with teaching were strengthened. The number of teachers connected with the League reached a peak of 221 in 1899, and the S.T.L. felt many more were also sympathetic abstainers. They overlooked the possibility that they would be more sympathetic to temperance novels as prizes than to temperance lessons. The League had always gauged support in terms of the teaching profession because teachers, as workers accountable to school boards, could not espouse views or habits deviant from 'respectable' norms. Formation of the Temperance Collegiate Association (1904), with the objective of training teachers in temperance education, precluded closer identification between the S.T.L. and the profession. Also gradual loss of an "old guard" of evangelicals from the Free Church training colleges, symbolised by the increasing numbers of the League's teacher-subscribers with the F.E.I.S. degree by 1914, accounted for a decline in numbers connected with the League by 1915 in spite of the temperance movement's concerted campaign to recruit teachers after the Anti-Alcoholic Conference in London in 1909.23

At the turn of the century moral suasionists' campaign for temperance lessons was a facet of local level pressure group politics. The West of Scotland was in the movement's vanguard. Efforts there had a ripple effect for other areas enabling Howat to work all over Scotland. Glasgow still relied on the Collins Trust but was a model
for other areas - especially in electoral organisation, all the temperance candidates having been returned at the 1900-1 election. This injected an element of urgency into elections in Paisley, Govan, Greenock, Perth, and Edinburgh.24

Over 1902-4 the Clyde coast towns were added to lists of cooperative boards. Voluntary organisation of temperance lessons had been taken as far as it could. Teaching was far from uniform. The Edinburgh Board had devised an instruction to teachers on the subject but most had not, amongst them the Glasgow Board which still relied on the Trust appointee to give uniformity to work with higher grade pupils although the lower standards' lessons were the preserve of ordinary teachers. In addition, large numbers of schools received visits from Band of Hope and League agents on an entirely ad hoc basis whilst others only had the minimum of instruction requisite for participation in the late Mrs. Thomas Dick's and Band of Hope essay competitions. This prompted a campaign for temperance lessons to be made a code subject.25

Playing on current fears of "serious physical degeneracy and disease prevalent in Britain" the League secured a consensus of medical opinion in favour of inclusion of temperance in the code in the form of a petition. It recommended a system of early elementary instruction on the nature and effects of alcohol. In particular S.E.D. was requested to ensure that teacher training included "adequate" instruction in the subject so that all children passing through state-aided schools could be reached. This was a lightly veiled attempt to impose and/or preserve the values of ratepayers via rate-aided schools, and Councillor G.D. Morton frequently justified temperance lessons in terms of Glasgow's "drink bill" and fiscal burdens. Heightened concern for child welfare, stimulated by reports of the C.O.S., S.P.C.C. and
Dundee Social Union, combined with frustration of local veto bills, and a spirit of "enlightened patriotism" conditioned by fears of "race suicide" and obsession with "national efficiency", contributed to the success of a four day conference on temperance lessons in 1905. Local petitioning was maintained and pressure was put on the Education Department for "special lessons" at prescribed intervals covering the nature and effects of liquor and also the benefits of self-restraint and the inter-relation of purity and fitness. In June 1905 the League headed a deputation to Dr. Struthers, Secretary of Education, at Glasgow Technical College. In spite of League faith that "the general community" was sympathetic their approach was rebuffed. The Education Dept. did not pronounce on the question until after the Liberal "landslide", and prior to the 1908 Education Act which "gave timely expression to the notion of the school as a welfare centre." In child health alone they were rivalled by campaigns to introduce physical drill, reminiscent of Smiles' "Physical Education or the Nurture and Management of Children" (1838), and eclipsed by medical inspection and provision of school meals. Also from the 1890's onwards trends in environmental health shifted public health specialists' focus from "Hygiene' in schools to the hygiene of schools. Moral suasionists had however persuaded even prohibitionists to press for temperance instruction. The S.P.B.T.A. was influenced here by its Ladies' Auxiliary, with whom Black and Mrs. Mason, Kate Cranston's cousin and a Glasgow School Board member from 1903 on, were associated. Prohibitionists had always been interested in school board elections - the Revd. William Adamson of Edinburgh, Councillor Lang of Greenock and Keir Hardie were board members - and the S.P.B.T.A. and I.O.G.T. now backed the candidatures of Black, Mason, Barr, and Alex Simpson,
and petitioned for inclusion in the code. Rechabites, like William Dodds of Springburn, D. Main of Kilmacolm and John Neilson of Cadder ran for local boards. By 1905 60 boards had introduced temperance instruction but the very fact that this could be given incidentally under every heading on the curriculum irritated the new graduate teacher and those concerned to promote subject specialism and delayed its inclusion in the code. More important in local level pressure was moral suasionist ability to call on wealthy patrons like Mrs. Ure, mother of Alexander Ure, Solicitor General for Scotland, and the Forrester-Patons, to hold conferences of school board members and teachers at their country seats in 1907-8. Using its middle class Liberal supporters the Band of Hope gained admission to 414 school boards, including all those in areas like Stirlingshire and also to some private and industrial schools by 1908.28

Partly due to the Nonconformist "education crusade" 1886-92 saw unprecedented government interest in education, even secondary education - hitherto the preserve of individual school boards. Although temperance lessons had made strides during the Conservative administration of the 1890's moral suasionists looked, as Nonconformists did, to the Liberals for satisfaction of their demands. At national level pressure for temperance's inclusion in the code found a champion in J.W. Gulland M.P. Gulland, a corn merchant, was of an Edinburgh family long active in local politics, and was author of an 1891 hand-book "How Edinburgh is Governed". He had been an Edinburgh School Board member since 1900, associated with its campaign for a compulsory system of hygiene and temperance instruction, and served briefly on the city council. He was also well placed in national Liberal party circles - as McLaren before him. He was returned for Dumfries Burghs in December 1905 and after receipt of "a large majority" in 1906 he
became secretary of the Scottish Liberals, a position foreshadowing appointment in July of 1909 as a Junior Lord of the Treasury and Scottish Liberal Whip. His reputed "deep interest in all social questions" was exhibited in sponsorship with Pirie of the Temperance (Scotland) Bill and membership of the Parliamentary Committees on Sunday Trading, Children's Homes and Juvenile Street Trading. As a result of the S.E.D.'s caution, the English Education Dept. had gained a lead in the sphere of temperance instruction and the proposed syllabus which it issued during 1909-10 was circulated by the S.T.L. to interested boards. This challenge to Scottish reformers, plus publication of the Report on the Physical Condition of Children in Glasgow (1907) and the 1909 Report of the Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance, together with pressure Gulland brought to bear on figures like Lord Pentland resulted in a February 1911 announcement that temperance lessons would be included. Important underlying factors in this victory however were the strength of Nonconformist and Anglican opposition to the 1906 Education Bill, the reduced majority suffered by the Liberals in 1910, and the divisions created in Liberal support by various impending questions - not least Home Rule, women's suffrage, and the implications of the Report on the Poor Law and Unemployment.

The Department placed temperance lessons firmly amidst "the laws of health". They envisaged instruction "more definite and more general" in a bid to play down the moral aspect and so pacify temperance's opponents. Instruction was however to be given in all schools, by ordinary staff, using an official syllabus. This tome covered the ideas of food reformers, home economists and the anti-adulteration lobby, biology and physiology, and a vast section on "Evil consequences to the Individual, the Home and the State". It aimed to inculcate,
responsibility, self-control, thrift, to trace the multifarious possible evil consequences of drinking with a final discussion of "How National Prosperity is Undermined." Understandably Section III was limited to the over 12's. Uniformity was still elusive however. Some boards were indifferent, others were working far in advance of the Syllabus. A further implication was that even boards genuinely dissatisfied with the amount of instruction recommended often were not prepared to pay the Band of Hope for supplementary work. Cursory treatment of temperance in the senior standards was especially galling. Extension of the Syllabus was debated but many concluded it was already too daunting for the average teacher. Success depended on the teacher's enthusiasm and also "the home influence", still the rock on which temperance lessons could perish. Moreover whilst such instruction had in a sense extended reforms begun by Stow into the sphere of curriculum development contemporaneous experiments featuring Dewey's American laboratory school and his seminal works "The School and Society" (1900) and "The School and the Child" (1907), Italian experiments with "Children's Houses", pioneer open-air schools, nursery schools, and the playground movement and later developments in educational psychology undermined the ideological roots of temperance lessons. Educationists' focus also shifted to the examination system and educational system in general although at local level individuals like D. Dewar Brough F.E.I.S., the Dennistoun Public School head, remained convinced of the need for such instruction.31

As a strategy, temperance lessons were highly successful. The temperance syllabus outlasted the American prohibition experiment. It was reprinted in 1916, expanded in 1922 and was endorsed by the 1929-31 Royal Commission on Licensing. It prompted the Education Department's "Handbook of Suggestions on Health Education", reprinted
in 1939, 1956 and 1968. From 1922 however the emphasis within such publications was a retreat from denunciation of alcohol as a drug - a view which the Central Control Board had supported in 1918. Although in 1932 some claimed that instruction was bearing fruit in "a more enlightened community" the Scottish Temperance Alliance felt that notwithstanding Education Dept. and Lord D'Abernon's Commission's favourable recommendations the crucial factor would be the attitude of the Education Committees - bodies in which the temperance voice was very weak.\textsuperscript{32}

The I.O.G.T. also did "educational work" tapping the rich vein of working class self culture encouraged by Brougham, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and the Adult School Movement. Dunlop regarded these as agents for "correcting and subduing taste for sensuality". Self culture was often financed however by more frivolous pursuits, as with Glasgow's pioneer Mechanics Institute (1823). Institutes were often associated with the movement e.g. Mechanics' Hall, Calton, those identified with Rodger of Rutherglen, the ship-owner Connal, Provost Bilsland, and Corbett, Chambers' Peebles Institute, the Collins Institute, St. Rollox, (1887) Coats' foundations, and later "welfare capitalism" such as Walter Wilson's model dining, reading and recreation rooms for Colosseum employees. Educative "popular lectures", the preserve of mutual improvement societies, Y.M.C.A. and similar evangelical associations, the Scottish Literary Institute and Glasgow Commercial College all had links with temperance.\textsuperscript{33} The I.O.G.T. equated education with "good citizenship" and attempted to be an educational institution setting temperance examinations. Templar institutes were part of new "offensives" 1886 on. A Scottish I.O.G.T. institute was established in 1890 and offered a three year diploma course on science, legislation and the I.O.G.T., examined annually by
movement's educationists and clerics.\textsuperscript{34} It trained public speakers, reflected reformers' awareness of subject specialists' threat to the volunteer speaker and created an alternative educational system, hinting parallels between Templary and religious brotherhoods, and highlighting the movement's distance from the intelligensia.\textsuperscript{35}

Counter-attractions.

Moral suasionists reasoned that "the man without education is on the brute's level; his appetites and tastes will be those of the brute", therefore working men with few interests were easy prey for drink. Formal education brought valuable opportunities and power but extension of "real education" meant also "substituting for the low taste which finds gratification in the pothouse a love of things more excellent" thereby drawing out the excellent qualities latent in the working class character.\textsuperscript{36}

The moral suasionist list of counter-attractions was vast, partly because so many different organisations and individuals, and reformers as different as the evangelical Shaftesbury, the atheist G.T. Holyoake, and Manning and the Catholic League of the Cross were all prepared to recognise the effectiveness of this eminently practical strategy.\textsuperscript{37} The consensus of condemnations of existing working class leisure reveals paternalism's social control elements and appears an ironic contrast to laissez faire shibboleths. Yet it was a logical extension of moral reform and Smilesean faith in self-culture, mooted as early as the 1834 Commission. Formation of a large and concentrated urban population subjected to "the feverish excitement, pestilential atmosphere and abounding temptations of cities" prompted temperance interest in reduction of working hours and in rational urban entertainment. Begg and Guthrie drew attention to the difficulty of
pursuing rational recreation when brief leisure meant time for only "a half ticket at the theatre, a pint at the pub, or some place worse than either." Working class radicals' depiction of the sordid monotony of work and of human nature which dictated that "young people will have amusement of some kind, and if they cannot get it of a pure and healthful character, will take it as they can get it", was solemnly noted by reformers.  

Notions of "unproductive benevolence", reminiscent of the C.O.S., blended with desire to reform manners, traceable to the Burgher Church and the late 18th century attempts to civilise manners, (over which the forces of tolerant Tory traditionalism clashed with Methodist and evangelical puritanism) and middle class utilitarian duty to set good behavioural examples and guilty awareness that fashionable balls and concerts were the model for unseemly music saloons and public-house dances. Evangelical "Christian sympathy" was accompanied by determination to "use every inducement" to lead their fellow men "into paths of peace" which led ultimately to the churches. The Free Church Home Mission for example regarded counter attractions as vital "Church equipment" in poor urban districts. Formation of a leisure culture appropriate to the new industrial city was considered seriously from the 1840's on. Traditional forms of 'brutal' popular culture, e.g. fairs, cock and prize-fighting, horse racing, gambling and betting, were under attack to an unprecedented degree. As Kirk emphasised, the need for recreation was not in doubt but its timing and nature required greater organisation and structure if the "high elements of the soul" were to be rescued from the "excitement of the moment" of recreation associated with the public house.  

Not all counter-attractionists were dismissive of public house culture. The Glasgow Abstainers Union (G.A.U.) thought it an important
social centre for a large part of the community, not simply the drunken and dissolute, a sensitive observation born of enthusiastic district visiting. Some exaggerated the attractions of pubs in terms of warmth, and brilliantly lit and gaudily decorated rooms. Others echoed Lovett's disapproval of public house monopoly of music licences and ability to evade the system by having professional musicians and singers pose as waiters or waitresses, and were aware of public house recreation of the atmosphere of the ceilidh. The 'song and the story' lived on as humorous recitations and community singing, for the price of one drink. The pub's "air of jollity and absence of restraint... attractive after confinement in the factory or shop" and claim to be the great "democratic social settlement" spurred counter-attractionists efforts.40

Their attitude was sharpened by awareness of the working class home's "deficiencies" - a theme which conditioned attitudes to housing and to women - and fear of social upheaval. Guthrie and Sherwell, though separated by many years, both emphasised that it was a great mistake to block working class recreation and that the community's responsibilities were not confined to preservation of individual liberty and protection of property. Such fears, plus decline of Sabbatarian sentiment following campaigns against Sunday trains and direction of their interests into other areas of the temperance question, meant that Sabbatarian disapproval of some counter-attractions was quickly overcome. Radical labour aristocrats who suspected that promotion of rational recreation would encourage neglect of the family and "family culture" were less easily reassured. The new "cultural apparatus" prompted by increased leisure after the 1847 Factory Act, greater affluence and developments in transport and the popular press often bore the moral suasionist imprimatur.41
Coffee and Tea-Rooms and Temperance Hotels etc.

As elsewhere in Britain, bids to erode "drinking usages" featured temperance refreshment rooms, coffeehouses, temperance hotels and beverages. Reformers like Hope thought "men took whisky and ale from difficulty in getting anything else", gaucheness, and embarrassment at ordering "temperate" and cheap fare...held to be shabby", and set out to popularise teetotal alternatives. Cheap refreshment rooms for the working classes dated from the 1830's. They were often market town counter-attractions to fairs and markets' "riot and excess". Cheap city dining rooms were pioneered by Corbett and Katherine Sinclair of Glasgow. They reflected the work of various food reform societies, usually vegetarian, in British provincial towns from the 1860's and were avenues to social mobility for working class reformers like the missioner William Logan, and his friend and successor in the Logan Dining Rooms in Glasgow, Adam French, an ex-colliery engineer from Kirkconnel.42

Coffeehouses, advocated as a counter-attraction by Chadwick, flourished as the price of coffee gradually declined, with teetotal encouragement. Glasgow had 20 in the 1840's, catering for "temperance travellers, tourists etc.", 6 of which were established in the 1830's.43 Some, like Cranston's Teetotal Coffee House (1843) and the Aberdeen coffeehouse where Lowery was converted to teetotalism, were associated with Chartists. As in the 18th century coffeehouses providing newspapers for patrons became radical meeting places - a theme continued by I.L.P. choice of tea and coffeeerooms for rendezvous.44 Often these were connected to licensing restriction - as with the "reformed dram-shop" in Glasgow's Jail Square, established following magisterial action against "immoral" amusement stands. Unfortunately, "the world
COUNTER - ATTRACTIONS

COFFEE HOUSES

A WONDER, A WONDER, A WONDER FOR TO SEE!
A BRAVE COFFEE-HOUSE WHEN A DRAM-SHOP USED TO BE!

FREENS
AN' FELLOW-CIETIZENS
IN GENERAL!
AN' YOU FOKE ABOOT THE FUT O' THE SAUTMARKET IN PARTIK'LAR!
WILL YE SPEAK A WORD WI' ME?

I'm an auld WHISKY-SHOP; I'm an Interestin' reliek o' anshient times, and mainners. Maybe sum o' ye dinna ken what a Whisky-Shop is. I'll tell ye.

In anshient times—lang before puir Workin' Foke were see wise or weel daein' as they are noo-a-days—the Glaiska Foke, an' partik'larly the Foke about the fut o' the SAUTMARKET, were awfu' fond o' WHISKY. This WHISKY was a sort o' DEEVIL'S DRINK, made out o' GOD'S gude BARLEY.

It rabbit men o' their judgment; But they drank it.
It rabbit them o' their natural affeckshun; But they drank it.
It made them mean, unmannerly, Gitseckin' wretches; But they drank it.
It made them savage an' quarrelsome; But they drank it.
It made them live in low, filthy dens o' housses; But they drank it.
It sent them in scores to the Police Office; But they drank it.
It sent they to the Jail, the Hulks, an' the Gallows; But they drank it.

Bailies an' Shiriffs, Judges an' Justices, deplored its effecks; But they drank it themsel'.
Ministers preach'd aboot it; But they drank it themsel'.
It blottit out God's glorious image frae men's faces an' hearts; But they drank it.
It made them beggars; But they drank it.
It made them paupers; But they drank it.
It made them idiots; But they drank it.

This WHISKY, then, wuz selt in Shops, an' I wuz ane o' them—that'll let ye ken what a Whisky-Shop wuz in anshient times.

TIMES ARE CHANGED NOO. Every body's a member o' the Scottish Temperance League; naebody drinks onything but Coffee; so I've taken up the Coffee-House line mysel'.

Come and see mel! Yel'll get Rowsin' Cups o' Coffee! Thumpin' Cups o' Tea! Thund'rin' Dunts o' Bread! Whangs o' Cheese! Lots o' Ham an' Eggs, Staiks, Chops, an' a' ither kinds o' Substanshials!

FREENS AN' FELLOW-CIETIZENS.—I'm no the Shop I ance wuz.
I've a blythe heart an' a cheery face noo. Come an' see mel!

THE REFORMED
DRAM SHOP,
20 JAIL SQUARE.

OBSERVE.—Nae Connexion wi' the JAIL owre the way.

Source: A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow" p. 53.
was not ready for it, especially the world about the Saltmarket.\footnote{45} Later efforts were more successful, partly because operators had resolved the question of whether only temperance beverages should be sold, or whether the traditional image of an establishment where light wines would also be available should be retained, in favour of the former. Reformers' models were the London People's Cafe Co., a great commercial success which operated an employees' profit-sharing scheme, and Elizabeth Cotton's rural coffeerooms, designed to benefit the poorly paid agricultural labourer. By the 1890's there were coffeerooms not only in most Scottish cities but also in villages like Maybole and Mauchline, ranging in quality from "coffee palaces" to "little iron buildings in back streets." The strength of teetotal and prohibitionist opinion was such that the example of Yates Wine Lodges in Lancashire was not followed. An attempt to establish such a wine bar in Glasgow's Exchange Place, the "Bodega Licence Case", caused an uproar.\footnote{46}

Glasgow reformers were however pioneers of coffee stalls. In 1859 the G.A.U. ran stalls in prominent sites from 4-7 a.m. on weekdays to sell hot temperance beverages, soup, and packed lunches to workmen going to work. They soon ran 30, and were imitated by Belfast reformers, the Church of England Temperance Society and Burdett-Coutts. They were very profitable, much to the G.A.U.'s embarrassment. The G.A.U. quickly sold the stalls to their operators "on easy terms", relishing the opportunity to swell the ranks of the self employed. Clergymen and lady reformers who attempted to run similar stalls using reformed drunkards were far less successful than the astute businessmen of the G.A.U. Similarly advanced was Glasgow Corporation's erection of "utilitarian street lamps", with built in vending mechanisms for tea and coffee at 6 sites.\footnote{47}
Early "tea gardens" had been notoriously drunken. Later teetotal rooms and gardens were sometimes offshoots of coffee houses, as with Lamb's enterprise which produced also halls and a hotel. In spite of working class radicals' hostility to tea as a dutiable luxury there was steady increase in tea and coffee consumption from 1835. By 1861 tea was relatively cheap and 78 million pounds p.a. were consumed. Controversy raged over the relative merits of black and green tea among faddists. Its popularity increased with the 1890's introduction of Russian tea, fascination with Russian tea gardens' instrumental bands and with the "ingeniously constructed" domestic Samovar synonymous with Russian hospitality. By 1900 U.K. residents drank 6 pounds p.a., consumption having increased 300% 1850-90, and made Glasgow a centre of tea-blending. Tearooms did not need much persuasion to open on licensed trade holidays of obligation like New Year's Day, thus aiding restrictionists.48

The most famous were those connected with the family of ex-Chartist and radical Bailie Robert Cranston (1815-92) a long serving Edinburgh councillor. Cranston's Tearooms Ltd., managed by Stewart Cranston was famous for its six or so tearooms in Glasgow. They sold dry tea, had confectionery and "Japanese" departments, and "well-ventilated smoking rooms" for gentlemen, and were some eight years in advance of similar London enterprises. For many years this chain was the largest in Britain and in 1889 The Bailie alleged that Cranston had "done more to advance the cause of temperance than all the Permissive Bill agitators put together."49

Kate Cranston, who shocked friends by personally running tearoom businesses was the wife of the Barrhead ironworks owner Cochrane who, like the Shanks, Corbett and McKinlay families, had temperance sympathies. Her establishment in Argyll St., the Sauchiehall St.,
KATE CRANSTON

Willow Tea Rooms, and Ingram and Buchanan St. rooms were outgrowths from her initial venture, the Crown Luncheon Rooms in Glasgow. They attempted to provide the atmosphere and facilities of respectable clubs but without alcohol. Men could play dominoes or retire to billiard rooms to transact business. Reading and writing rooms were provided for ladies, a great advance, as previously unescorted ladies could dally only in confectioners. A new dimension was added to the social life of the middle class lady. Macintosh's high backed chairs recreated the screened privacy of "the box", the hallmark of public house decor, for such middle class patrons.50

The British Workman Public Houses Without the Drink were in contrast aimed at the working classes. Although the Hind-Smiths founded this movement in Leeds in 1867 Glasgow had had such schemes since 1845 and S.T.L.'s invitation to Mrs. Hind Smith to speak in Glasgow in 1876 simply resulted in a further 5 of these by 1878. The G.A.U. however found these the least successful of its counter-attractions. Their novelty value wore off and competition with real pubs was difficult. By the late 1870's they ran only 3. Many continued to be run by philanthropists and the British Workman operated 11 in Glasgow. They often consisted of cafes, reading rooms, rooms for draughts, chess and trade or friendly societies to meet in and sometimes had "scriptural and unsectarian services" on Sundays. Yet in spite of support from League figures like Allan, the G.A.U., B.W.T.A., Blue Ribboners and I.O.G.T.51 they were never as successful in Scotland as in England.

Later "bars without beer" were overshadowed by the "British Gothenburg Experiments", licensed trade management schemes ranging from "disinterested management", to municipalisation and nationalisation.

The League was hostile to these as mere perpetuation of the Trade, especially under William Collins and Forrester-Paton who were
moderate prohibitionists. They were Chamberlainites here only in support of Arthur Chamberlain's collaboration with George Cadbury and Chance, Chairman of Birmingham's Licensing Committee, in establishment of Redditch Temperance Social Club and Institute. They found Joseph Chamberlain's "beer and spirit socialism", in contrast to his "gas and water socialism", obnoxious but philanthropists on the fringes of the movement were not so rigid and often became associated with Public House Trusts.52

The popularity of non-perishable and, after reduction of duties, relatively cheap temperance beverages ideal for bulk buying techniques greatly stimulated the grocery and provisions trade, a sector which offered seemingly endless opportunities for the astute in this period.

Family firms of wholesale and retail tea merchants and grocers blossomed from the 1830's on, e.g. the Glasgow firms Campbell Blair & Co., Malcolm Currie and Co., Matthew Algie & Co., (c 1850), Cron Bros. (1866), a venture begun by temperance reformer John Latta, the 1870's firms Davidson Junior & Co., Johnstone and Honeyman, and J. & A. Ferguson (1879), a grocers which began to specialise in tea and coffee by 1890. Tea was evident in the initial success of Coopers Ltd., Walter Wilson of Trerons, a temperance candidate in municipal elections, and Lipton the grocer, although the latter was later more renowned for unsuccessful attempts to license his stores, and in the career of Sir John Muir, Glasgow's provost 1890-2. Many Italian warehouses continued to sell temperance beverages and wines. Algie, a J.P., County Councillor and member of Cathcart School Board, Robert Douglas, identified with the League, Band of Hope and Boys' Brigade, and Bailie Francis Spite, founder of "The Economic Supply Stores" (motto "small returns and quick profits" pace Wilson), who cashed in on the related demands for tea, health foods and pure drugs however were
identified with moral suasion.\textsuperscript{53}

Cassels' Coffees (a London and Leith firm) and the London "non-alcoholic wine" merchants Ingersoll and Melluish were simply examples of the many firms who offered abstainers posts as travellers. In addition each tea dealer above employed at least 6 travellers by 1890 in addition to clerks, book-keepers and warehousemen. Cocoa rooms were promoted by Robert Lockhart, an Edinburgh Baptist, and patron of the S.T.L., via the British Association Congresses, and cocoa was popularised as a health food by leading medical journals. Rowntree, Cadbury, Fry, Epps, Van Houten and "Dr. Tibbles" created opportunities for agents and travellers. Not surprisingly some suspected that much temperance agitation prior to and during the Great War was "engineered and financed" by cocoa manufacturers like Cadbury. Bournville, a "garden-city" run by abstaining directors, was often visited by teetotalers and was the subject of lantern slides gifted to temperance societies by Cadbury.\textsuperscript{54}

The movement also benefited manufacturers and retailers of all manner of "health drinks", from Oxo and Bovril to Robinson's Patent Barley from the makers of Keen's mustard, Japp's "saline health drinks" and malt preparations thought to aid digestion. The drive for pure, non-alcoholic beverages was above all "good news for the aerator."\textsuperscript{55} A. & G. Barr and G. & P. Barrie of Pollockshields were established in the 1830's, Hays of Aberdeen in 1844, but the origins of the "big 5" in the Scottish soft drinks industry lay in this period.

Some sprang from existing health ventures. M.F. Thomson (1876), the Glasgow chemist who popularised homoeopathy in a "Concise Guide to Health", also manufactured Prize Medal Cola in a South Side works, the Kola nut having a great mystique as a health food. Frazer and Green (1836), "Pharmaceutical Chemist to the Queen", was renowned for
Our Portrait Gallery.

XXXV.—MR. R. F. BARR, AERATED WATER MANUFACTURER, GREAT EASTERN ROAD, GLASGOW.

In the keen competition which is encountered in every branch of business, the chances of success are greatly in favour of the practical man, and this Mr. R. F. Barr, aerated water manufacturer, of 184 Great Eastern Road (whose portrait we have the pleasure of submitting to our readers), may justly claim to be. Bred to the business, the “Man You Know” gained his first experience under the eye of his father, Mr Robert Barr, of Falkirk, so well-known as one of the oldest and largest aerated water manufacturers in the trade in Scotland. A little over two years ago Mr. R. F. Barr migrated to the city and opened the extensive premises in Great Eastern Road. They are admirably adapted for the large business carried on, having been specially fitted up for its requirements, and being particularly well-favoured by having—that scarce commodity in town—abundance of room. The machinery is all of the latest and most approved patterns, and the entire modus operandi is most systematically carried out. From the laboratory, where the essences and various ingredients are found, following the process of manufacture, including bottling, corking, casing, labelling, and packing, the different machinery and appliances brought into requisition show that this line of business has not been overlooked by the busy brain of the inventor and skilled mechanic. It is worthy of note, as showing how skilfully the machinery is adapted to the work, that the hand of the worker in no instance comes in contact with the waters during the entire process of manufacture—an important desideratum in regard to cleanliness which is duly appreciated by the consumers. Some of the machines we were shown can turn out as many dozens per day as six bottlers could accomplish, besides corking the bottles at the same time. The success which has attended the “Man You Know” has been quite phenomenal, and if it does nothing else, it speaks volumes for the rapidly-increasing taste for “lighter drinks” in the community, and consequently more rational enjoyment of holiday times, such as the present. But while we congratulate ourselves on this fact, it is only fair to acknowledge the source from which the improvement proceeds. It is a comparatively short time ago since “Ginger Beer”—mostly home-brewed—was about the only “tipple” the teetotaller could command; now a glance at the list of different drinks manufactured by this firm should put him,
supplying liners and the wealthy and for training eminent missionaries, also produced aerated water, boosting family wealth and status in the process. Relatively few manufacturers were directly connected with the movement. R.F. Barr (1888) did supply hospitals with "Terrugine", but other local firms like G. & C. Moore (1887) Forresters, Dave & Sons and Armstrong of Dumfries and McCall of Oban combined lemonade production with beer bottling. The late 1880's offered great opportunities for men like Barr to make modest fortunes, catering for the Trade and temperance alike, for engineers and essence makers, although labour in this trade was subject to seasonal demand.56

The most obvious avenue for enterprise was temperance hotels. Some dated from the anti-spirits era but more were from the Forbes MacKenzie Act era - counter-attractions to dubious "commercial hotels" connected like brothels with after-hours drinking, spurred by expansion of the temperance press. They were regarded as "practical protests" against drinking and "safe places" for the eternally vigilant. Their numbers rose sharply in mid Victorian Britain. Comparisons with England are difficult, but Scottish ventures were numerous, well known, and often long-lived, as in the case of Whyte's of Candleriggs (1837) and Buchanan's, Edinburgh (1848).57

Like coffee houses, they often provided reading rooms and "stock rooms" for businessmen. They were used by itinerant dental surgeons, and as community facilities, as temperance halls were. By the late 1870's 400 bed luxury temperance hotels existed. Disassociation with "discomfort and overcharging with civility" was evident in Lamb's Dundee chain, and in the hydropathic movement. Temperance reformers were associated with Rothesay 'hydros', "Glenburn Hydropathic", run by Dr. Philp of the Cockburn temperance hotel chain, a massive recreational complex with all sorts of baths, that at Port Bannatyne
run by Dr. A.T. Hall, the reformer Archibald Menzies and the Glaswegian accountant D. Hill Jack, Dr. Stewart's Deeside Hydro, and the Strathearn Hydro, Crieff run by the homoeopath Meikle. The baths and bracing air offered the middle classes by these colossal family hotels were counter attractions to the Italian and French Rivieras, Switzerland and Bavaria. Such ventures introduced foreign fads and reinforced popularisation of the Scottish Grand Tour and middle class parochialism. Temperance hotels were often near railway stations reflecting Victorian insatiability, and insecurity, where travel was concerned. They ensured that wherever one went one could take the atmosphere of the temperate domestic circle too, without fear of embarrassment by socially superior yet morally inferior social mores. They were rejections of "select and essentially first class hotels" renowned for their cellars, but never their rivals even on the grand tour circuit because their appeal was to clergymen and the 'middling' classes: the rich were unimpressed and humble teetotallers might only visit seaside convalescent homes.58

Temperance hotels were however a source of social mobility - especially for the generation born around 1820, often ex-Chartists like Robert Cranston, founder of the hugely successful Waverley chain, and Lowery. Duncan MacLaren also opened one in the 1860's in St. Andrews for "commercial gentlemen" like the former agent Lossocks' Peebles venture. They required little capital, had guaranteed business from local societies, and often mushroomed into huge establishments like Mather's of Dundee and the Cranston hotels.59

Temperance Excursions.

Moral suasionists promoted excursions as counter-attractions to pubs, local holidays, and the works outings of the 1850's. Chambers
TEMPERANCE GRAND EXCURSION.

The Orbital Temperance Society have recently given their members and friends an excursion, which, for economy and enjoyment, we think, scarcely had a parallel in the record of such festivals. The tour consisted of a journey on the 19th ult., from Glasgow to Dumfries and back, a distance of 214 miles, at the unprecedentedly low fare of 6s. Id. each. The party consisted of about 900 individuals, left Glasgow by the South Western Railway at a quarter to nine o'clock; there were additions made to the number at Pollok, Kilmaurs, and Sanquhar; and the train reached Dumfries at about nine o'clock. Great preparations had been made by the promoters, and the beautifiers of the streets, to give them a hearty and enthusiastic reception. The whole town turned out to meet them, while several hundreds of inoculations from Sanquhar, Kilwinning, Loudon, etc., were in waiting with temperance banners flying, and bands of music playing. On the platform of the Dumfries station, Mr. Livingstone and the directors of the trip were kindly greeted by a deputation from the committee of the Dumfries Temperance Society, headed by the Rev. Mr. Good, vice-president of the society; the Rev. Mr. Clark, the Rev. Mr. Scott, the Rev. Mr. Pallor, Messrs. Sharp, Milliken, etc.

The whole party having been marshalled within the station gates, marched out with their banners flying, and proceeded by the Orbital Society's free hand, amid the cheers of the assembled multitude. The Sanquhar, Kilwinning, and other parties, followed the Glasgow detachment; while the entire procession was preceded by the above-named clergyman, Messrs. Livingstone, Sharp, Milliken, and the committees of the various societies represented. The town bells rang out a merry peal in honour of the visit, and the bands played martial airs. By previous arrangements prepared by the principal at the town's academy for the reception of the party, and refreshments were spread out for them in the various class rooms of that large institution. Here the company assembled on the lawn, where they were entertained in the apartments, where they partook of light fare, tea, and clear cold water.

In each of the various class rooms one of the clergyman were seated, and delivered the message. The multitude having been received, was formed in procession to visit the objects of public interest in Dumfries, proceeding along the principal streets, through the market-place, where the beautiful fountain, placed there in full play, to view the grave of Robert Burns. On entering the romantic graveyard, the bands ceased to play and the banners were folded, in respect to the resting-place of the poet's dead. The company, entering the gate, turned round the west gable of the church, along the path and past the graves and monuments of the pious bard. The gates of the churchyard were kindly thrown open, and the interior, with its fine sculpture, inspected.

The visitors then returned to the street, and proceeded to the docks, and along the banks of the Nith, turning across the ancient bridge and on towards the observatory on the Maxwell's side of the river. After passing the observatory, the procession advanced to the top of Orbital Hill, and enjoyed the picturesque view of the town, and the splendid panorama bounded by the mountain-ranges of Cumberland and Galloway, and the holy Criffel, with its cloud-capped summit.

The visitors, having given three hearty cheers to the proprietor, for his permission to climb the hill, returned to the academy to the town amidst the loud cheers of the spectators. On their reaching it, Mr. Livingstone proposed a vote of thanks to the Provost and Magistrates for the arrangements they had made for the reception of their visitors, to the clergyman who had been present with them, and the accompanies; also to the committees of the Dumfries Temperance Society, and specially to Mr. Wood, the secretary, for his indefatigable exertions in preparing for their reception. The vote was acknowledged by three hearty cheers, and the procession having re-formed, walked back through the town to the railway station, to the music of the bands.

A carriage, with a printing-press upon it, fully decorated with emblems, followed the procession, and several speakers were kindly engaged, singing a song of welcome to the total abstainers of the West of Scotland, on their visit to Dumfries. AAddress by the Dumfries and Mabscott Total Abstinence Society, on the Day of the Grand Temperance Demonstration, held on the 13th July, 1852.

The excursionists, after a pleasant journey, reached Glasgow safely about half-past nine o'clock.

In the evening a municipal open-air meeting was held, when the Rev. Mr. Good presided, and the assembly was addressed on the subject of Temperance, by Messrs. Ferguson and Adamson, of that city.
Rounding the point, we enter the bay of Gourock, two and a half miles from Greenock, a finely sheltered piece of water, and a favourite anchorage of Clyde yachts. Here in the season may be seen some of the finest yachts afloat, tiny prize-winners from the yard of Fife of Fairlie, and gigantic cutters which, with a fair wind, could run an equal race with a steamer. The bay, too, is alive with small craft, in which the youngsters are disporting themselves, and the pier is crowded with folks of a larger growth waiting for friends from Glasgow, or looking out for “kent faces” in the passing steamers. Gourock is the first real watering-place which a steamer direct from Glasgow reaches, and as such is much frequented by those to whom rapid and easy and cheap access is of importance. It is popular with the working classes, who for the most part put up in the east quarter of the town. On the west side of the bay is Ashton, the fashionable quarter, consisting principally of cottages and villas built along the shore and on the hill above. There are few finer spots than this on the Frith. The view of sea and mountain which it commands is magnificent, embracing the Dunoon shore, the Holy Loch, and the Alps of Arrochar towering over the recesses of Loch Long. The walks about Gourock, both inland and by the shore, its open hills, with its boating facilities, and, as we have said, its easy access, will always make it a popular resort.

and working class radicals criticised the latter for disorganisation, lack of fun for wives and children, and encouraging men who did not normally drink to render themselves "worse than useless." Local evening excursion trains were too often dubbed "The Drunkard's Return." The G.A.U. organised trips with proper programmes, tour guides, and meals, from 1858, continuing pioneer excursions by the Glasgow United Total Abstainers, on which no drink was allowed and drunkards were abandoned en route - a threat which did not deter 800,000 labour aristocrats from going on each. Trains and trams offered more dignified escapism than that of drink.

Democratisation of travel was linked to hostility to the Glasgow Fair, its encouragement of show grounds, crowds, and threats to order, especially as "dramshops flared up at every corner." The G.A.U. encouraged social dispersal via "Cheap Fair Holidays" to London, and later holidays to Paris and Switzerland in conjunction with Thomas Cook. Cook, a Leicester wood turner, temperance hotelier and like Lunn, a pioneer of English excursions, was a member of the S.T.L. who organised teetotal trips to the Highlands. Trips brought escape from the city environment, symbolised by Tennant's factory chimney, exposure to watering-places' higher moral tone, and awareness of God's creative powers. By the late 1870's the G.A.U.'s role had been taken over by railway companies but temperance continued to produce travel agents like Frame of Preston whose work, like that of the Non-conformist Henry Lunn, developed from organisation of temperance and football excursions. Frame, like the British Temperance Emigration Society, and philanthropists like Angela Burdett-Coutts, diversified into emigration work. Similarly the "Union Transit Co." of Glasgow not only offered abstainers cheap 3-week cruises but also arranged emigration and employment abroad, recognising that for many this form
of self-help was the only solution.62

Annual excursions were also used to rally the faithful from the 1840's onwards. Good Templars journeyed to Peter McLagan's country seat at Ratho, Rechabites followed the Revd. Dawson Burn's advice and had ramblers' excursions, and united excursions of the S.T.L., B.W.T.A. and I.O.G.T. commenced using the teetotal steamer "Ivanhoe" in the 1890's, the model for Glasgow Corporation's Sir Walter Scott" (1900) on Loch Katrine, and a counter-attraction to those Clyde steamers whose reputations were made by ability to retail drink during Sunday sailings - contrary to the spirit of the Forbes Mackenzie Act and Sabbatarian sentiment. Counter-attractionists accelerated the Clyde travel boom prompted by rail and later tram transportation, in which many were deeply interested if not involved. Philanthropic businessmen like Walter Wilson were also encouraged to organise working-men's and childrens' outings to the Clyde Coast, and a "Glasgow Fresh Air Fortnight." The assumption that the Trade and travel were competing businesses was a factor in hostility to the licensing of railway carriages, together with safety and the abstemious image of railwaymen.63

Parks and Gardens.

Moral suasionists' environmentalism led to interest in parks and gardens as city "lungs" complementary to urban renewal and garden suburbs. Although the lack of respectable private and public gardens was thought philanthropy's preserve, urban growth forced town councils to assume responsibility in this sphere in the 1850's, exemplified by negotiations on the "West End Park" in Glasgow.64

Counter-attractionists were part of a wider environmental lobby that attracted many philanthropists, keen to define local government's
role here in terms of the 1859 Recreation Grounds Act, 1860 Public Improvements Act, 1863 Gardens and Towns Protection Act, and 1872 Parks Regulation Act. By 1876 Glasgow Corporation had 4 public parks. Teetotallers were amongst those who ensured that Glasgow was committed from 1878 on to maintain these and future parks from assessments, not special grants. Men like Collins, Bilsland, Torrens, Burt, Lamberton and Colquhoun increasingly were involved in direction of "decongestion" policy, and dominated municipal provision of parks. Use of the Parks Committee was a feature of Collins' and Bilslands' careers.65

Queen's Park, acquired by the city in 1857 to encourage migration to the suburbs was run by and extended by such reformers in 1893. In the 1890's the Corporation took responsibility for a number of small suburban parks sometimes with provision of employment in mind, as with Alexandra Park's extension in 1891. Elsewhere parks were the work of philanthropists like the Elders of Govan, James Dick, who gifted Cathkin Park for the use of Cathcart, Rutherglen and Burnside residents, of the Unionist M.P. and patron of the arts Sir John Stirling Maxwell, who gifted Maxwell Park, later associated with masonic and temperance meetings, and of the Liberal Unionist Cameron Corbett. The latter attracted attention in the years before the 1906 by his gifts of Rouken Glen (1904) and Ardgoil (1905) to the City of Glasgow, and was also noted for gifts of recreation grounds, libraries and parks to his Essex housing developments. The gift of Ardgoil especially enabled him to speak positively to municipal voters of "the moral possibilities of this great city...", and of vote catching environmental and municipal enterprise questions. He was however essentially a land developer, as his introduction of a 1892 Building Lands Rating and Purchase Bill and Times correspondence in 1909 on taxation of under-developed land reflected.66
Self conscious or not, such efforts greatly increased the Corporation's Parks and Galleries Committees' responsibilities. Numerous open spaces and recreation grounds were acquired in the 1890's. Many corporation parks carried the moral suasionist hallmark in memorial drinking fountains, a public benefaction beloved of temperance reformers from the 1850's on. Often these commemorated temperance reformers' pioneer efforts in provision of pure water supplies - the basis of later reviews of environmental questions and the corporation's role.67

A feature of many parks was the "winter-garden" which aimed at giving city dwellers the chance of enjoying plant life denied them by pollution and the short summer season enjoyed by parks. Typical examples were the People's Palace's opened by Rosebery in 1898, that at Springburn Park, gifted by Messrs Reid of the Hydepark Locomotive Works (identified with the I.O.R. and I.O.G.T.). The Botanical Gardens had been acquired by Glasgow Corporation in 1891.68 Moral suasionists hoped to foster working class enthusiasm for botany, traceable to attempts to teach science to working men via mechanics' institutes and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and Chartist promotion of allotments. Botany and horticulture were inexpensive refining influences - a rationale reminiscent of Miller's recommendation of geology as a specific for Chartism. Allotments, like the Hutcheson Gardens, were a popular working class pastime which landowners like Stirling Maxwell encouraged as a force for social harmony, allied to "domestic culture" rather than opposed to it. It was no coincidence that the allotments movement paralleled that of temperance with a peak of 1.5 million cultivators in 1920.69

The Botanic Gardens and, from the 1880's on, municipal parks had instrumental bands in the summer months - yet another counter
Music.

The G.A.U. was famous for Saturday Evening Concerts in Glasgow City Hall. Established in 1854 these were alternatives to drinking and singing saloons, or "free and easys". Hope also attempted to bring music to the people at the Edinburgh Music Hall but with less success. Working people loved music but it was difficult to dictate to them what constituted good music. The G.A.U. nevertheless attempted to re-educate taste rather than offer a negotiated version of working class culture. They hoped to elevate tastes to conformity with middle class norms by employing respected entertainers and keeping prices low, influenced doubtless by the existence of various societies like the Glasgow Musical Association (1843) and Harmonic Association (1850). The notion of music as a force for order was evident in their concerts for Gartnavel Asylum patients.

A dearth of respectable working class entertainment enabled most temperance societies of any size to hold Saturday evening concerts as counter-attractions and ways of promoting attendance during the winter months. In some areas Saturday Evening Concert Committees were set up, and the Glasgow I.O.G.T. "Harmonic Association" organised seasons of concerts and soirees. As early as 1850 some appear consciously to have regarded working class cultivation of a love of music and municipal reform, on the German model, as mutually reinforcing.70

In response to sabbatarian criticism of these efforts as too frivolous to be useful Guthrie and the S.T.L. defended them in terms of God given talent "the dangers of the dancing saloon, and the dissipation of drinking shops" and the need to compensate for the working classes' hard lot. League sabbatarians were overshadowed in any case
"I Sing the Sol-fa."

My curse on the Sol-fa Notation—
My curse from the depth of my heart!
It is nought but a fool's innovation,
And not worth the name of an art.

What are its thick-headed professors—
String-pullers in music affairs?
Incompetent—puffed-up aggressors.
With nothing of music but air.

If forwardness, bankum, and bluster,
With some stock expressions, by note,
Are all that musicians can muster,
Sol-fa has got many of note.

They need not go in for much knowledge—
May even sing the third out of tune,
For the world-noted S.P.A. College
Rose under a midsummer moon.

If only their tongues can go wagging—
In season and out of it, then—
They'll be licensed; off about bragging,
And saying, they're musical men.

Why should they be troubled with learning
The ramblings, even of song;
So long as the power of discerning
Is left them to know they're wrong.

While, as to the trade of playing,
To learn that alone they are free,
They're only to go about saying—
"They know how to teach Do-re-mi."

The organ! "Confound it! Who cares for't?
Let those who were bred to it play.
Give us time, and we'll Sol-fa some airs for't;
Of course, with the chords thrown away."

Piano! "Leave that to the ladje—
For Tonic Sol-fa it won't suit;
To the voice it is a very poor art,
But we'll tootle a scale on the flute."

"Just look what we've done for the masses—
We don't mean those Catholic things
That were written for asses by asses—
But see, every message boy sing.

You may talk about Hamlet and Haydn,
And Bach, and the rest of that lot;
But what difficult stuff 'tis to wade in,
And what nice simple music we've got.

We ne'er could get through the music
Those obsolete writers composed:
We know it has made a good few sick;
But, thank goodness! their era is closed.

So, we'll stick to what's easy and pays well.
Our fairy godmother, Sol-fa:
And to each one who sings well or play well,
We'll bid a flat seventh adieu.

O! Vocalists, full of pretension.
If I had my will, I would call
For a hempen di-com, by suspension,
To put round the necks of you all.

O. N.

The Bailie for Wednesday, January 22nd, 1873.
Words for the Workers.

C.C.C.—THE MUSICAL COMPANY.

To the Representatives of the C.C.C.

In July Journal I opened with "The Alphabet of Tune" and closed with "A Tune and its Key-Tone."

My theme now is to combine "The Alphabet of Tune" in such a harmonious manner as to create a Tune with its Key-Tone in C, or the First Pillar of the Scale.

It will be noticed that each of the four-voice parts or "workers" in my tune have a special part to sing, in order to create harmony or good workmanship, and then it becomes pleasing to the ear and senses of measured relationship one to the other.

You will further notice how the Key-Tone is heard STRIKINGLY at the BEGINNING and the END of this simple tune. Even in the "Amen," which is equivalent to saying, "so mote it be," or "so let it be," which means (according to the Dictionary) "Firm or true." So with a good workman in any capacity, he sets his Key-Tone at the beginning, and it is heard throughout his work. Week by week, or period by period, until he comes to a successful finish at Xmas. Firm he begins, Firm and true he ends. Hence Pitch, Length, Loudness and Quality have been characterised throughout his career, as these four are the elements of a Musical tone.

THE STANDARD OF PITCH.

For convenience of reference a certain tone is chosen by musicians as the STANDARD of PITCH.

It is produced by 256 vibrations in a Second of time.

It is named after the C, and called the middle C. It is in the higher part of men's voices, and the lower part of women's voices.

The Standard of 256 vibrations is for the middle or unmarked C.

The Standard of 512 is for the upper C, and is called the "Philosophical Standard."

In Handel's day, 1740, the Standard Pitch was slightly lower.

Italian Opera in London in the year 1849 raised the Standard to 546 vibrations a second. Solo singers made a great complaint of this Standard being too high, and in consequence of which learned Societies in Germany and England proposed as a compromise 528, and in France 522, but now the sympathy is with our present Standard, and it is mostly adhered to, viz., 512 as the higher C, and 256 as the middle C.

THE REGION OF TONES.

There may be as many different tones as there can be different numbers of vibrations in a second.

The number of possible tones is therefore practically uncountable. But the PHENOMENON of the OCTAVE, in connection with the STANDARD of PITCH, enables us to fix LANDMARKS in this vast region of possible sounds.

The PITCH of a TONE arises from the number of vibrations in a second by which the tone is produced. A tone caused by many vibrations in a second is said to be high. One caused by few vibrations in a second is said to be low. Thus the sound produced by a 32-foot organ pipe, giving only 16 vibrations in a second, is very low—almost too low to be recognised as CONTINUOUS, and the sound produced by the shortest string of a Harp or Piano, giving about 4,000 vibrations in a second, are very high—almost too high for the ear to distinguish them one from the other. The sounds of human voices lie between these two extremes.

The LENGTH of a TONE is perceived by means of our constant sense of time. The
by links with the G.A.U., personified by Neil McNeill, and support of rational amusement by the British Association and the Social Science Congresses.\textsuperscript{71}

Promotion of music went far beyond concerts. Flute Bands, soccer's musical counterpart, were early hallmarks of temperance. Hope used them to bridge the gap between the Established Church and the masses, and in the West they evolved from juvenile societies, as in Greenock. While in the 1830's instrumental bands were loaned by local regiments for rallies, by 1870 most societies had their own, often connected with works like the Monkland Iron and Steel Works. A great local veto rally of 1893 for example was headed by 13 bands and, not surprisingly "the procession's route was lined with crowds." Bands attracted attention and gave working people the opportunity to learn an instrument, enjoy its use all year round and have companionship, often gratis or for a small annual subscription. Many still exist, a reflection of their popularity, though without their temperance connection.\textsuperscript{72}

Just as Good Templary in the East was associated with choirs, moral suasion in the West was connected with promotion of the Tonic Sol Fa system and choirs. The Nonconformist Curwen's Tonic Sol Fa was promoted by Gallie, and his successors Morrison Bros. of Glasgow, as an easy method of inspiring love for music amongst those with little or no access to pianos. They were a leading source of cheap sheet music for schools and choirs even in the late 1890's. Temperance overlapped with the work of the Tonic Sol Fa Choral Union (estd. 1863), a 270 strong male voice choir with an annual subscription of 5/-, and Robert Stewart S.S.C., director and legal adviser of the League was editor of "Gospel Choir" and President of the West of Scotland Tonic Sol Fa College. From the 1860's onwards the temperance press
The Drunkard's Raggit Wean.

Words by J.P. CRAWFORD.

With expression.

Reprinted courtesy of the Mitchell Library music collection.
drunkards' raggit wean
He stan's at ill-kadoor, an' he keeks wi' twistfu' e'e
To see the crowd a-round the fire a' laughin' loud wi' glee,
But he daur na venture ben, tho' his heart be o'er sae fain,
For he maunna play wi' ither bairns, the Drunkards' raggit wean.

1. Oh! see the wee bit bairnie, his heart is unco' fou,
The sleet is blawin' cauld, an' he's drookit through and through.
He's speakin' for his mither, and he wunners what she's gane
But Oh! his mither she forgets her purr wee raggit wean.
He kens nae father's love, an' he kens nae mither's care
To soothe his wee bit sorrows, or kame his tantit hair,
To kiss him when he waukens or smooth his bed at e'en,
An' oh! he fears his father's face, The drunkards' raggit wean.

2. Oh! pity the wee laddie, sae guileless an' sae young,
The oath that leaves his father's lips, will settle in his tongue
An' sinfu' words his mither speaks, his infant lips'll ill stain,
For oh! there's none to guide the bairn, The drunkard's raggit wean.
Then surely we might try an' turn that sinfu' mither's heart,
An' try to get his father to act a father's part,
An' mak' them leave the drunkard's cup, an' never taste again,
An' cherish wi' a parents care, their purr wee raggit wean.
produced vast quantities of music similar to Tweedie's "Temperance Minstrel". Individual societies had their own collections e.g. the League's Knox Collection and Hymnbook, and the "Rechabite Harmonist" (1902). Many had choirs, Kinderspiels and Saturday night "amateur singing competitions". Govan's J.P. Crawford was the author of "The Drunkard's Ragged Wean", made famous by the former builder Adam Gibson, "the Scotch temperance songster" in the 1870's. Scottish temperance ballads also became part of the American diva Antoinette Sterling's repertoire, just as the Bostonian Revd. Pierpoint's "Inebriate's Lament", and the American "Sacred Songster" were popular in Scotland. Availability of material was complemented by provision of popular classes in music theory, an area of education hitherto the preserve of church "pracisings".  

Moral suasion gave music, often associated with the street or low music hall a new respectability, encouraging efficient music teaching, and creating the milieu in which singing could be introduced into the Board Schools and the Atheneum established in 1890, within seven years of the Royal College of Music. Short term success was reflected in a proliferation of choral societies keen to sing Handel, Haydn, and Mendelssohn in Glasgow, Greenock, Edinburgh and St. Andrews, and the many choirs formed in the wake of Murphy's Blue Ribbon Army and Sankey and Moody's Mizpah Bands. Later temperance overlapped with socialism in creation of a "counter-culture." Glasgow, an I.L.P. stronghold, produced further stratification of working class leisure in the shape of the Socialist Choristers, the William Morris Choir, the A.E.U.W. choir and the "more elite" Orpheus Choir (1903) founded by the socialist Roberton, a local veto sympathiser, who used it to raise funds for the Glasgow Domestic Science College - a cause also supported by many temperance reformers. The latter was a model
for numerous local choirs' intent on preserving Scotland's musical heritage, and was typical of the way this "counter culture" could develop an independent existence which overshadowed its original purpose. Temperance choirs enjoyed great longevity, while temperance operettas paralleled the rise of Gilbert and Sullivan and gave pleasure and opportunities for singers.

"Domestic culture" was also revitalised by encouragement of musical evenings of temperance solos and duets, accompanied by melodeons (endorsed by Keir Hardie) and the American organs which were the epitome of 'respectability' in Ayrshire valleys. The advent of hire purchase greatly accelerated this by the 1890's, and stimulated the growth of music shops and music teachers — many of whom subscribed to the S.T.L.

Music Hall and Theatre.

Criticism of music hall and theatres was implicit in counter-attractions, and "houses of entertainment on temperance principles" were launched from the early 1840's, e.g. Parry's Theatre and the Jupiter Temperance Hall in Glasgow, designed as counterbalances to the temptations of urban street corners and licensed music halls, which were free on the assumption that each customer would spend at least 6d on drink during the evening. The Jupiter aimed to attract "respectable factory lads and lasses" between the ages of 12 and 20, charged a 3d admission, and sold only fruit and temperance beverages at the box office. Its audience also had a slightly less respectable element composed of poor people sent there by city and temperance missionaries. It was not "fashionable" yet attracted some mechanics, clerks, and shopkeepers. The Shadow's comments however suggest that it found it difficult to lure businessmen and more affluent clerks on the fringes
of the labour aristocracy away from music halls which at the end of performances were littered with "two or three thousand pewter pots, tumblers and glasses on the boards of the seats." 76

Counter-attractions involving theatre tended to lack moral suasionists' wholehearted support. Like Kettle they judged "all experience was against the play-house for virtue, piety or spirituality of mind." Logan's connection of theatre with prostitution in 1843 damned it for ever in the eyes of reformers like James Scrymgeour and the phrenologist James Coates. Hardly a decade passed without a theatre fire in Glasgow but men like Coates stressed that they were "not safe places" in moral terms. They did not pass the social etiquette ready-reckoner of fitness for the presence of mothers, sisters or future wives, and until the Temperance (Scotland) Act of 1913 could sell drink outside the hours set for public houses by the local licensing court. Although the socialist Philip Snowden suggested that cheap, "two turns a night" music halls had reduced public house patronage evangelicals would not countenance it, and refuted claims that drama could "evoke the noblest faculties of the mind" in such a setting. As with Londoners described by Henry Morley, their boycott of the theatre perhaps accelerated declining taste. Temperance reformers were prominent in campaigns to reform theatre promenades after the Pall Mall and Sentinel "London scandals" of 1884-5, convinced them of its threat to purity. They took firm stands on theatre employment of children, and use of theatres for later Sunday "cinematographic shows" - intervention which reflected middle class evangelical notions of need for "proper public control" of popular amusement, although invariably justified in terms of "conditions of labour." 77

They encouraged drama in domestic or temperance society settings via temperance melodramas for small casts based upon "Danesbury House"
"The Drunkard" and T.S. Arthur tales. This was sometimes a reinforcement of the home against destructive employment and leisure trends. Magic lantern shows also served dual functions of propaganda and of entertainment and were extremely popular in the days before cinema.

Recitations were also popular, and reflected temperance encouragement of elocution via local classes and national competitions sponsored by the American Henry Demorest as entertainment and as training in public speaking. Not surprisingly some reformers became involved in the Glasgow Parliamentary Debating Society and similar societies from the 1880's on.78

Writing was also encouraged - e.g. Glasgow Good Templars had a literary society which published temperance poetry, whilst the temperance press attempted to add another dimension to the average working man's negotiated version of 'literature' i.e. "The Scottish Chiefs" and the Waverley novels. As with earlier philanthropists reformers like the Coats were interested in libraries. Ewart, promoter of the 1850 Public Libraries Act, was a Permissive Bill supporter, and Thomas Murray, the publisher and temperance sympathiser, established the Glasgow Reading Club (1872). Many free, and later corporation, libraries were associated with sympathisers.79

Some were also interested in art galleries and museums as counter attractions, as were Overtoun, Collins and colleagues on Glasgow corporation, and socialists like Haddow. Their interest reflected the pursuit of "high chivalry", often related to nationalism as in endowment of Glasgow's Chair of Scottish History (1911). Meetings were sometimes held in art galleries, as at Kilmarnock. The work of Cruikshank, Doré and Tenniel was further popularised by temperance propaganda and the makers of temperance beverages. In
general however the movement's attitude to art was rather philistine as the bizarre suggestion that every town should imitate Newcastle's "temperance picture gallery", solely for temperance veterans' portraits, illustrates.¹⁰ The younger Honeyman's interest in art reflected sophistication born of two lifetimes' social mobility.⁸¹

Games and Sport.

Interest in health prompted a focus on athleticism rather than aestheticism. The "physical puritanism" of temperance tracts built on early 19th century puritan attempts to direct popular pastimes away from brutal sports. Radicals also extended this hostility to the game laws. They anticipated fin-de-siècle social Darwinism's emphasis on the prevalence of "physical deterioration" and need for a "New Athleticism" to improve the physical and moral quality of the human race. In temperance circles this theme merely received full expression from the 1890's on, in parallel movement to the promotion of "muscular Christianity" by the public school system.⁸²

The League promoted athletics and abstinence using testimonies from well known athletes in their Almanac. "Athletics and Alcohol" became a favourite topic with abstaining ministers involved in running Glasgow boys' clubs. This association was limited however because of the identification of 'pedestrianism' with betting highlighted by the House of Lords Select Committee on Betting and Gaming of 1902. Moral suasionists were in fact horrified by the increase in organised betting prompted by the telegraph and increased prosperity especially as the problem of street touts was publicised as a social problem by contributors to Christian World, Contemporary Review and Monthly Review. Nonconformity was hostile to gambling as gain without effort or skill, which fostered immoral attitudes productive of anti-social
and anti-Christian consequences, and established church evangelicals also supported the National Anti-Gambling League organised by Rowntree in the 1890's. A vehicle for criticising the conduct of parish clergy, royalty and racehorse owning politicians alike, it conditioned the upper classes to disapproval of gambling but found the working classes quite incorrigible in this respect. In addition, athletics' attraction of the highly individualistic meant that the movement could not be certain of athletes' example. Strode-Jackson, winner of an Olympic medal in 1912, for example boasted of training on cigars and brandy. 83

Many reformers had, like Walter Wilson associations with the city swimming clubs formed from the 1850's onwards and promoted these. This was predictable given the movement's eulogy of water as a beverage and health cure, and the interest of Glasgow reformers in the municipal provision of swimming baths paralleling that of public baths and washhouses - an aspect of public health with distinct evangelical overtones. Such was the backdrop to the rise of the Scottish Amateur Swimming Association, its support in the West of Scotland, and the way abstainers like John Lamont, superintendent of the Govan baths entered municipal service. Professional swimmers like Webb, Hanlan, and Davis Dalton in turn provided counter-atractionists with glowing testimonies to abstinence. 84

The movement also publicised the abstainers champion marksmen produced by the Annual National Rifle Association Championships at Wimbledon from the 1890's onwards mainly because some reformers were, like Hope, interested in the Volunteer Movement, a legacy of the invasion scare of 1859. 85

Many however were interested in more 'peaceful' fresh air pursuits - like rambling, valued as exercise and an encouragement to botany,
history, and photography. (The social investigatory photographers Annan Ltd. of Glasgow were of course League subscribers). "Cycling Corps" were formed in the late 1890's, the relatively high cost of cycles prior to mass production and sabbatarian disapproval of Sunday cycling having prevented local labour aristocrats from following the Glasgow Merchants' Cycling Club (1890) earlier.86

Football however was a major counter-attraction. Football combined healthy exercise, team spirit and self discipline. Derby Temperance Society may have been hostile to it but Scottish reformers were enthusiastic about this "manly" game, seeing it as a specific for "the bloated emaciated and ragged race" of urban Scotland. Reformers like Hope helped provide playing fields for "young tradesmen." Later efforts were associated with individual churches, often in alliance with businessmen. Football, like philanthropy attracted gentlemen of leisure like Kinnaird (1867-1923: baron 1887) prominent in the Football Association. Amateur football clubs for boys were formed by the Presbyterian and Catholic Churches of Scotland, and the English Nonconformist chapels, in parallel movements. These were counter-attractions to "low street culture", designed to ensure gainful leisure and successful transition to tradesman status, and to attract the masses to the churches. This was the rationale behind the formation of Hibernian (1875) an offshoot of an Edinburgh Catholic Young Mens' Society, and the many Crusader football teams attached to Presbyterian youth groups, as the formation of the Scottish Churches' Football Association (1927) reflected. Working class football culture, a product of urbanisation, greater leisure, the introduction of physical education in schools and greater literacy, had a distinct temperance component. The Scottish Football Association (1873) was founded in a Glasgow temperance hotel, and in the 1870's and 1880's teams like
ABSTAINERS HAVE THE BEST OF IT

ABSTAIN AND KEEP FIT!

You cannot get fit on alcohol.

United Abstainers (Crosshill) organised by William Shanks the S.T.L.'s organising agent and collector, and Glasgow Temperance Athletic (Saracen Park) played in the Scottish Cup, their personnel probably mirroring the League's social hierarchy. Professionalisation, together with puritanical misgivings about encouragement of Saturday drinking, sabbath-breaking, and gambling weakened this connection and led to prohibitionist claims that counter-attractions were a failure.87

This was not quite so. Municipal authorities and firms like Bairds had been persuaded to provide football fields, and a select few rose from villages like Gleribuck to national renown via football. As with other counter-attractions football conferred self esteem and local acclaim denied working men in other spheres e.g. politics, higher education and commerce. It brought colour and excitement to otherwise dull existences, as membership of ritualistic societies like the I.O.G.T. did, with similar implications for group identity and the "culture of consolation" studied by Steadman Jones and Meacham.88

With other forces, notably changes in employment trends, moral reform in general helped transform this sport and popularise it most successfully. Glasgow and the West of Scotland became the acknowledged hub of S.F.A. football. The Glasgow Charities Cup was able to raise nearly £20,000 over 1875-1900. Although the ex-footballer-publican phenomenon soon emerged standards of conduct for players were set which were adhered to in the inter-war years, as the internationalist George Brown's career exemplified.

Football however epitomises the way attempts to direct rational recreation, to channel the rise of a fairly new recreational nexus, was fraught with problems. Football, to quote Kynaston, became a "working class opiate", and a new secular 'religion'. The terraces and sports pages rivalled churches, temperance and 'improving literature'. 
In areas like catering, travel or music ventures which led on from teetotal pioneer efforts still complemented temperance to some extent. Yet in effect all rational recreation, designed like 'Clarion' efforts to be a "counter-culture", could be assimilated with older, less 'respectable' forms of popular culture. Counter culture was reduced to the level of mere recreational alternatives in a triumph of mass entertainment which overshadowed the humanitarian and evangelical impulse exemplified by temperance, sabbatarianism, and the R.S.P.C.A. Counter-attractions often flourished on mutual interests of evangelicals and working men keen to avoid exploitation and to cultivate a 'respectable' image - as sabbatarianism did. This alliance was increasingly tenuous as class consciousness heightened in the late 19th century and as culture became increasingly secular - a trend ironically encouraged by pressure for Sunday opening of galleries and gardens. Existing evangelical fervour too was diverted via recreation into more and more sectarian channels, exemplified by the 'Old Firm' divide.

Further there was nothing to stop the masses from frequenting coffeerooms and institutes, enjoying the parks, musical entertainments and trips spawned by the movement and making use of bowling greens funded by public house trusts, playing snooker or billiards in pubs or licensed clubs, or betting on quoits - a game hugely popular in the West of Scotland. As Bailey noted, 'respectable' behaviour could still be interpreted by the masses as a function of a particular occasion, entirely dependent on time and place. Counter-attractions' success was directly related to the extent to which they were perceived as "cloaks for religious proselytism" or evidence of class bias - as with cocoa-rooms and the R.S.P.C.A. Unintentionally such reformers paved the way for Clarionite counter-culture, and also propelled hostile working men into alliance with groups like the Liberty and
Property Defence League, defender of the Trade, exacerbating cultural conflict between the 'respectable' and the rest, and helping to make laissez faire "a genuinely popular cause." 93

'Works-town patriarchs' of the West of Scotland therefore erected cultural frameworks very similar to those of counterparts in Reading, Birmingham, and York. They were more successful in replying to the "felt wants" of lower middle class groups, "equally out of place in the middle class hotel and the working class public house", than the masses - a theme also evident in attempts to inculcate prudent habits via the thrift movement. 94
Footnotes

Moral Suasionist Ideologies and Strategies.


3. Concern with the lapsed masses was strong - see the Revd. J.A. Johnston's authorship of "Religious Destitution in Glasgow", Glasgow, 1870. It was also frequently complemented by concern with rate-burdens. Evangelicals were concerned to capture youth for the churches in this period as in the days of the charity schools - see K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action", London, 1962, Chapters V-VII, especially pp 89-90. See Smiles' "Self Help: With Illustrations of Character and Conduct", London 1859 - in its 20th thousand by 1860 and reprinted in 1866, 1871, 1891 and 1905.

Hassocks, 1977. Chapter V, pp. 58-90 describes the Anti-Corn Law League. His ideas on prohibitionist pressure are synthesised in Chapter V of this thesis.


7. Earlier publications included Scottish Temperance Herald and Abstainers' Advocate (Glasgow, Johnstone 1837) Teetotal Mirror, (Glasgow, Dr. Foreman, 1838) and, West of Scotland Temperance Standard, (Paisley 1838) - J. MacNair "The Birthdays of the


Temperance Lessons


11. See Scottish Review 1858 p. 53 on the alleged superiority of Scottish parish schools, high levels of literacy,
and the "lad o' pairts" supposed ease of access to further education. R.Q. Gray "The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh" pp. 130-1. Adviser constantly stressed the utility of education e.g. the 1856 issue p. 134.


1907, p. 14, and Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, July 1911, p. 159. Moral suasionists were quick to support ragged schools. Guthrie's name was the first to be utilised by the League in its campaign for temperance lessons - Scottish Review, 1858, p. 163. On Guthrie see Chapter 8, Part II. For English parallels - B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians" pp 174 and 351. Temperance reformers were prominent amongst those interested in juvenile delinquency - Proceedings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1862, also Roxburgh "The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919", pp. 190-1. Quarrier, Barnardo, Annie McPherson, Miss White, Mrs Bright of Liverpool and Father Nugent all had connections with the movement too - see Chapter 8, and the League subscription lists suggest links with several "industrial orphan institutions". See later sections on theatre and women for the "purity" connection. The E.I.S. had, from its origins in the 1840's, common personnel e.g. the Bryce family, the Polish radical Wolski and the astronomer Nichol, its evangelical component in general, and chairmen of the Glasgow School Board in particular - A.J. Balfour "A Centenary Handbook of the E.I.S.", Edinburgh, 1946.


18. S.T.L.R. 1890 p. 72, and 77. The U.S.A. had had such legislation since 1883. See the article by Cora Francis Stoddart 'Temperance Education in the U.S.A.' in Scottish Temperance Annual 1907 pp. 104-9. She alleged that Mary Hunt was connected with British moves for compulsory temperance instruction, but I have been unable to substantiate this. Hunt wrote "Epoch of the 19th Century - Outline of work for Scientific Temperance Education in the Public Schools of Boston", Boston, 1897. This "cultural lend-lease" worked both ways. Dr. McCosh of Princeton who promoted temperance instruction in America in the 1860's and 1870's was originally a Church of Scotland minister in Ayrshire. A disciple and admirer of Chalmers, his outlook was conditioned by the lascivious Ayrshire peasantry and home mission work


J. Roxburgh "The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919" pp. 13-14 on female voters, and pp. 113-4 on "Specific Subjects".


21. S.T.L.R. 1898, p. 84.


23. Teachers Connected with the League

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<th>Year</th>
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On work amongst the Normal School Students see S.T.L.R. 1877, p. 54, Resolution VI, May, 1876. Assumptions that temperance "prepared the ground" for education (noted by B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians" p. 351)
gained ground belatedly. S.T.L.R. 1889 p. 93 and 1900, p. 99. Scottish Temperance Annual, 1905, p. 314. In 1879 League teachers with the F.E.I.S. degree amounted to 1%, by 1893 5%, 1901 6%, 1906 10.6% and 1914 10.4%. 10% was high given that the F.E.I.S., according to the 1851 Constitution, required nomination by 30 colleagues and a minimum of 12 years teaching experience or 8 for graduates. The 1877 Constitution reduced the number of nominees and introduced a ballot and that of 1903 widened it to those who had given "signal service" to E.I.S. and to educational theorists. Yet the emphasis was still on restricting the F.E.I.S. to a select group, vastly superior in status to 'associates', junior and senior, not to mention ordinary members. Scottish Temperance Annual 1910-11.


Good Templar Educational Work.

1909, pp. 76-7 for strong League connections with Glasgow Commercial College, estd. in Steel's Coffee House.


35. The Commercial College had also taught elocution - Glasgow Argus Sept. 19, 1857 and Oct. 24 1857. Sometimes Gaelic was fostered - MacLaren, the Revd. William Ross, and Professor Calderwood were of course prominent in the Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools - see its Annual Report, 1878. Shorthand was more common. See T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland: its Work and Workers", p. 22. Hardie for example was caught up in this drive - F. Reid 'Keir Hardie's Conversion to Socialism' in A. Briggs and J. Saville "Essays in Labour History 1882-1923", London 1971, pp. 17-47, especially pp 21, 23. Shorthand was a feature of Hope's societies, as a calculated counter more to the rise of the Catholic press, of the Rechabites, and even of organisations on the fringes of the movement like the City and County House Purchase Co. - such was the appeal of temperance to certain 'commercial' classes. See Chapter IV, Parts ii and iv.

Counter-attractions.


39. D. McIure "Commonsense" 1852, preface iv, D. and C. Guthrie "Memoir of Thomas Guthrie" p. 24, Duchess of Rutland "How Intemperance has been Successfully Comb- at ed" London, 1893 p. 18, S.P.B.T.A. 1895-6, p. 24, quote from the Free Church Home Mission Extension Report', 'Recreation, What and When?' and 'Recreation' by Professor Kirk in Good Templar July 1871, p. 41, and June 1871. Kirk felt that "the soul when it is entire


Coffee and Tea rooms etc.


"Selections from My Correspondence", Glasgow, 1877, p. 91. Coffee had long been thought good for "the vapours of the head".

44. E. Mein "Through Four Reigns", Edinburgh p.p. 1948. See Biographical Appendix. B. Harrison and P. Hollis 'Chartism, Liberalism and the Life of Robert Lowery' English Historical Review, July, 1967, p. 519 - this incident was "the third force", (together with franchise extension, and links with the Urquhart circle), which brought Lowery into cooperation with the middle class 1839-42. On the I.L.P. see R.K. Middlemass "The Clydesiders a left-wing struggle for Parliamentary Power", London, 1965, p. 65. Mr. Alex Fielding of Maybole, an early I.L.P. organiser also remembers Maxton meeting local workers in Ayr cafes to discuss strategy.

45. A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow" pp.52-3.


47. Glasgow Abstainers' Union "Sixty Years Work 1854-1914" p. 59. Local engineers produced patented fold-away stoves etc. for this. On Angela Burdett Coutts, noted for East End philanthropy and a mock Gothic settlement at Holly Village, Highgate London, and the first woman to be raised to the peerage in her own right D. Orton "Made of Gold: A biography of Angela Burdett-Coutts" London, 1980, K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action" pp 85, 150, 222, 279, and F.K. Prochaska "Women and


49. See S.I.L.R. 1894 obituary of Cranston. See Biographical Appendix. On Stuart Cranston - The Bailie 2.10.1889, 'Men You Know' 885.


54. See advertisements S.T.L.R. 1862 and S.P.B.T.A. 1906, Scottish Reformer Oct. 3, 1903, S.T.L.R. 1877 p. 44 on Lockhart's paper. Lockhart (1821-80) was associated with the British Workman Public House Co. and opened a number of good cocoa houses and restaurants in Newcastle and London - see P. Winskill (supra) Vol. II, p. 181. Debate raged as to whether these should "shut out the Gospel" - see Dumfries and Galloway Standard 10.3.1880, where Gregan promoted comfort, Christianity and coffee. This boom was encouraged by a plethora of books like W.N. Edwards' "The Beverages We Drink", London, 1898. The Fairfaxes, temperance evangelists, were of the Cadbury family - E. Stewart "The Crusader in Great Britain", Rechabite and Temperance Magazine Aug. 4, 1909 and April 1898 p. 96, and B. Harrison

55. S.T.L.R. 1914 p. 187. R.G. Hervey the assistant advertising manager for Oxo in London was originally a Whiteinch temperance reformer. Japp were originally a family run chemists (estd. 1842) before they capitalised on health fads. At the turn of the century fierce competition between Oxo, Liebig and Bovril led to sales gimmickry - Scottish Reformer 1903. Many of these new beverages were powders, "portable water beverages", for use on trips - see advertisements, S.P.B.T.A. 1874, p. 9. Lancet, Health and Medical Annual all supported cocoa's claims to be a health food. Cocoa was a relatively new breakfast treat in the 1830's - E. Burton "The Early Victorians at Home 1837-61", p. 139. N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers" p. 248.


59. See Biographical Appendix on the Cranstons. A descendant, Dr. Mackinlay of Kilbarchan informs me that
Robert Cranston died an enormously wealthy man. He devised a trust whereby his grandchildren would inherit his fortune - if they were abstainers. Although his family was huge by the Trust's division the benefits of abstinence were substantial. See S.T.L.R. 1883, p. 78, Rechabite and Temperance Magazine Apr. 1887, p. 79, advertisements S.T.L.R. 1861 p. 2. On MacLaren, J.B. Mackie "The Life and Work of Duncan MacLaren", 2 Vols., London, 1888. On Lossocks' - S.T.L.R. 1890 Hotel List.

Temperance Excursions.


on railwaymen.

Parks and Gardens.

64. J. Begg "Drunkenness and Pauperism", p. 15, on Kelvingrove bought in 1852 see Glasgow Argus, Sept. 19, 1857.


66. A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow" p. 169, Town Council Committee Lists - Sub Committee on Parks and Galleries. The Elders combined the gift of a park with that of an institute. James Dick (-1902) also gifted Cathkin Park and the Institute at Kilmarnock, and made donations to the Technical College and Cathedral organ fund. Like Colville and Chisholm he was associated with the Foundry Boys. He was a councillor and bailie and bequeathed Glasgow charities £82,000 - The Bailie, 1902, and D. Adam, "Local and Municipal Souvenir of Glasgow 1837-1897", Glasgow, 1897, p. 81. (Bailie Thomas Dick was also resident in Pollockshields but a family connection cannot be established). Sir John Stirling Maxwell, born London 1866, educated Eton and Cambridge, had estates in Pollock and Roxburghshire. M.P. for the College Division of Glasgow 1895-1906 and President of Glasgow Atheneum, his family were associated with the arts. He gifted a recreation ground in 1888 and a 10 year lease of the Pollock estates in 1911 - "Glasgow and Lanarkshire Illustrated" p. 20 and Who's Who in Glasgow 1909. He regarded Local veto as "a crude and violent measure" although his interests met moral suasionists' here - Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, April, 1896, p. 121. On Corbett - Glasgow Corporation "Municipal Glasgow" pp 179-180, Scottish Reformer 25.1.1908 (his speech on receipt of freedom of the city of Glasgow) Corbett Papers University Archives.

67. On fountains - J.K. M'Dowall "The People's History of Glasgow" with introduction by J. Gilfillan, 1899 reprinted Glasgow, 1970, p. 82. At the turn of the century Glasgow had 104 drinking fountains and 27 water troughs. Some were associated with Francis Smith, Bailie McLennan, James Crum, Walter McFarlane and local Free Churches. A Collins Memorial fountain was erected to Water Wullie at Jail Square in 1881 by public subscription - an area associated with the excesses of the Glasgow Fair - see A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow" p. 54. The Collins Fountain complemented John Henderson's efforts to raise the popular Glasgow Green's tone by purchase of "Mummford's Theatre" for evangelistic services there - J. Hammerton "Sketches from Glasgow", Glasgow, 1893, p. 65. Fountains in cities...


Music

70. Brass bands were first introduced in parks and Glasgow Green in 1873, and a police band from 1881 - J.K. M'Dowall "The People's History of Glasgow", Glasgow 1893. On music in the Kibble Palace - S.T.L.R. 1885, p. 235. These musical promenades were expensive (1/-) and a middle class preserve. By the late 1890's however
"instrumental music" was provided in parks like Queen's Park twice a week in summer months. D. Jamie "John Hope, philanthropist and Reformer", p. 304, Glasgow Abstainers Union "Sixty Years Work 1854-1914" p. 55. Some concession was made to love of singing. Penny programmes with the words of the songs were available - Glasgow Argus, Sept. 12, 1857. The latter was sympathetic and advocated frequent attendance - Oct. 31, 1857. Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, Jan. 1886, pp 19-20, S.P.B.T.A. 1896-7, p. 41, Scottish Temperance Annual 1898, T. Honeyman "Good Templary: its Work and Workers" p. 54, and Adviser, 1850, p. 7.

71. D. & C. Guthrie "Memoir of Thomas Guthrie", p. 280, S.T.L.R. 1859 preface. Thomas Steel Govan, a founder and past president of the G.A.U. was typical of many also active in the League - S.T.L.R. 1883, p. 81. See Francis Fullar's paper on rational recreation to the British Association in Glasgow in 1876 - S.T.L.R. 1877, p. 44.


75. On Victorian musical evenings - E. Burton "The Early Victorians at Home 1837-61" pp 213, 219-20. They were not new but were increasingly popular. 1900-8 was perhaps the greatest era for teetotal ballads - M. Turner & A. Mile "Drawingroom Ballads 1900-14", London, 1982. A typical operetta was "Nancy Nathan's Nosegay" - hardly a classic but popular - S.P.B.T.A. 1886 adverts. Fraser's career suggests mid Victorian opportunities for temperance soloists. These opportunities increased. By the turn of the century City Hall meetings always had several soloists - S.T.L.R. 1908, p. 103. Lauder also claimed to have been given his first opportunity by the Band of Hope. By 1899 all 'respectable' homes strove to have either a piano, harmonium, or organ - A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow", p. 193. Bayley Ferguson, Alexander Findlay, the Pollockshields music seller, William Thomson of Beethoven House Govan, and the singing teachers Fred Harvey of Whiteinch and William Yuill of Crosshill were all associated with the League.

Music Hall, Theatre etc.

i.e. Alex Brown, a letterpress printer and Liberal. They later formed part of his 1858 social investigation "Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs being Sketches of life in the streets, wynds, and dens of the city". Music hall, often with trade backing, emerged in the 1850's partly in "response to the increased respectability of the theatre". Hostility was no mere Calvinist foible - British teetotalers were fairly unanimous in their hostility - B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians" pp. 324, 333-4. Glasgow hostility had erupted previously following a mid 18th century "revival" - J.K. M'Dowall "The People's History of Glasgow", p. 29.


79. e.g. Anon. "A Temperance Library for Public and Family Readings", Glasgow, n.d., Special Collections, Glasgow University Library, was the type of work promoted as a recreational complement to family prayers. The workingman's literary diet was discussed in 'The Place of Fiction', Scottish Temperance Annual, 1906, pp 128-9. Reformers were dismayed that critics damned popular tastes and reformers' propaganda fiction alike. Libraries - D. Owen "English Philanthropy 1660-1960"


82. D. Maclure "Commonsense", 1852, p. 25, J.A. Mangan "Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School", Cambridge U.P., 1980. Mr. Reginald Lurcott, a Harrow pupil prior to the Great War, assured me that this emphasis was a Godsend to less gifted children: the "Charity Tails" system enabled boys who excelled at sports to pass into Vth and VIth forms regardless of academic record—oral interview July 1983.

83. e.g. S.T.L.R. 1895, p. 62 'What the Athletes Say', and speech given by Revd. W.W. Beveridge of Port Glasgow to the United Presbyterian Church Total Abstinence Society referred to in S.P.B.T.A. 1899-1900, p. 19.


87. See e.g. Hely Hutchison Almond (of Loretto) "Football as a Moral Agent" 1893.
   Football and Home Rule are linked in Scotsman 12.2.1887, and Scottish News 15.2.1887 comments on Hibernian according to Docherty. On the S.F.A. - F. Johnston (ed.) "The Football Encyclopedia", London, 1934. Many Rechabites played football but demands for higher insurance for players, was not so much recognition of this (or of the possibility of tradesmen "moonlighting" by playing football semi professionally), as a veiled attack on the high sickness rates of mining districts - Rechabite and Temperance Magazine Nov. 1889, p. 312. On William Shanks (temperance agent 1877-94, born 1844) see S.T.L.R. 1885-6, pp 59-60.
   Glasgow Temperance Athletic's secretary was A. McLauchlan of 11 Tillie St. and match secretary Peter Paul of 408 Parliamentary Rd. - I am indebted to Bernard Aspinwall for this reference. Few teetotal teams were spectacularly successful - e.g. United Abstainers were beaten 3-0 by Rangers in 1889, whilst Temperance Athletic went down to Cowlairs 18-2 in the previous season! A Stenhousemuir team which won the Scottish Qualifying Cup in 1900 was however teetotal - League Journal 22.12.1900. Docherty (op cit) p. 20 n 2. On hostile commentary from the Committee on Christian Life and Work and the Temperance and Public Morals Committee - S.P.B.T.A. 1890-1, p. 17 and 1893-4, p. 22.


91. Harrison (supra) pp. 112 and 124-5. Sabbatarianism's opponents, the National Sunday League, for example embarked on 'Sunday Evenings for the People', Sunday lectures and excursions from 1869 too, on the counter-attractionist model but in "radical contempt for religious observances".


COUNTER - ATTRACTIONS
TEMPERANCE HOTELS

THE DINING ROOM.

Express Trains between Edinburgh and Glasgow perform the Journey in 70 Minutes.

THE CALEDONIAN RAILWAY COMPANY

RUN A FULL SERVICE OF TRAINS BY THEIR NEW DIRECT ROUTE BETWEEN

EDINBURGH AND GLASGOW,
(West Princes Street) (Buchanan Street)

ALSO TO AND FROM

PAISLEY, GREENOCK, AND WEYMOUTH BAS.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE

"IONA" and other Steamers,

TO AND FROM THE

WATERING PLACES ON THE FIRTH OF CLYDE.

WEST HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND,

AND BELFAST AND DUBLIN.

RETURN TICKETS between EDINBURGH, GREENOCK, WEYMOUTH and the COAST are available for going or returning any day, and Passengers have the option of travelling either by the Through Trains or via Glasgow (but in the latter case the Company does not provide conveyance through Glasgow.)

NEW DIRECT ROUTE BETWEEN

GLASGOW (Buchanan Street) STIRLING AND THE NORTH.

A full Service of Trains is being run to and from GLASGOW (Buchanan Street) and STIRLING, CALLANDER, PERTH, DUNDEE, ABERDEEN, INVERNESS, and the NORTH HIGHLANDS of SCOTLAND.

ROYAL MAIL ROUTE BETWEEN

SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND,

Via Carlisle and the West Coast.

To and from EDINBURGH (West Princes Street), GLASGOW (Buchanan Street), GREENOCK, STIRLING, PERTH, DUNDEE, ABERDEEN, and all Stations in the NORTH OF SCOTLAND, CARLISLE, PRESTON, BRADFORD, LEEDS, MANCHESTER, LIVERPOOL, BIRMINGHAM, LONDON (Euston) and all other Stations in ENGLAND and WALES.

Tourist Tickets are issued to the North and West Highlands, Oban, Isle of Skye, &c., &c.

For particulars, see Company's Time Tables and Programme of Tours.

Glasgow, 1872.

JAMES SMITH, General Manager.

THIRD CLASS BY ALL TRAINS.

The fountain - emblem of the temperance movement's interest in fresh water and fresh-air pursuits.

WAVERLEY HOTEL SOUTH UNION STREET

Courtesy of Dundee Public Libraries.
MATHER'S HOTEL, 1900

Courtesy of Dundee Public Libraries.
MONTGOMERIE'S

RAILWAY TEMPERANCE HOTEL,
LANARK.

SEE OBSERVE SECOND HOTEL FROM THE RAILWAY STATION.

TICKETS GRANTED AND GUIDES FURNISHED TO FALLS OF CLYDE.

From Mr James Fergus, Glasgow. April, 1st, 1872.
From personal experience I have much pleasure in recommending the above Hotel to Tourists, Commercial Gentlemen, and others, where they will find all the comforts of a Home, combined with cleanliness and moderation in charges. Guides &c. can also be had for parties visiting the beautiful scenery in connection with the Falls of Clyde.

From Mr William Charles, Edinburgh. April, 1872.
During my repeated visits to Lanark, Mr Montgomerie's Hotel gave me entire satisfaction, and I have no hesitation in recommending it to other Commercial Travellers and Tourists for comfort and attention, as well as being reasonable as regards charges.

From A. C. M. Kyle, Surgeon-Dentist, Glasgow.
From several years' experience I have very great pleasure in recommending to the notice of Tourists and Commercial Travellers, Mr Montgomerie's Hotel, as regards comfort, cleanliness, and moderate charges.

From Mr J. F. Wallace, Glasgow. June, 1871.
To Tourists and Travellers visiting Lanark, permit me to recommend Montgomerie's Temperance Hotel. It has all the comforts of a Home, and the charges are nearly 50 per cent. under what one generally accustomed paying.

LAMB'S TEMPERANCE HOTEL
AND DINING ROOMS.
REFORM ST.
DUNDEE.

DUNDEE DIRECTORY ADVERTISEMENTS.

LAMB'S TEMPERANCE HOTEL,
DINING AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS.
REFORM ST.
DUNDEE.

Courtesy of Dundee Public Libraries.
HINTS ON TEA MAKING

BY

STUART CRANSTON & CO.

Tea is one of the most sensitive of vegetable products, and possesses, to an extraordinary degree, a wonderful facility for giving off its own delicate aroma and taking on the flavour of anything and everything that comes near it. Such articles as Coffee, Fruit, Cheese, Vegetables, Meat, Tobacco, &c., will affect Tea within ten minutes, and render it useless for drinking. Tea also absorbs moisture from the atmosphere; therefore the first hint is to empty the Tea (from the paper bag as soon as it arrives home) into the caddy, which ought to be air tight, and be kept in a warm dry place.

Now, as to the water, there is one rule which should be printed and hung up in every kitchen and still-room, viz:—

"To make a really good cup of Tea the water must always be used at its boiling point—neither before nor after will do."

Here is the explanation. Water which has not come to the boiling point is not hot enough to act upon the leaf and cause it to yield up its essence and aromatic flavour, and water which has been over-boiled—no matter how hot it may be—has lost all its virtue, because all the air which it contained has been expelled, and the water rendered flat and brackish, and its solvent power destroyed. Opinions vary as to length of time for infusion; but we recommend what we ourselves have arrived at after many experiments. Use a china or delf ware pot; let it be made very hot with boiling water, and rubbed dry, then let the dry Tea be put in and the pot set near the fire for several minutes while waiting for the fresh cold water in the kettle to come to the boiling point—by this time the Tea in the pot has become warm and crisp, and the pot itself is warm; now pour in the boiling, bubbling stream.

Next, the heat must be maintained for not less than ten or more than fifteen minutes by means of a cosie, a hot oven, or placing the pot near the fire; but it must not now be allowed to boil. Judged by the taste and flavour, we prefer fifteen minutes' infusion for our own Teas, and it needs this period to bring out that delightful flavour for which Darjeeling Tea is noted. Assam (Indian) Tea is undrinkable at ten minutes on account of its bitterness, and is even more so at twenty minutes.

Before serving, the Tea should be stirred briskly for a second, and allowed to settle, then poured off the leaves into the pot for the breakfast table; by this means the process of infusing is arrested just at the proper moment, and the last cup is the same as the first, and not, as is too often the case, a black bitter decoction which is the result of stewing or long infusion.

It is of equal importance that the water for the hot-water jug be freshly boiled and not overboiled.

CHAPTER 4

MORAL SUASION AND THE THRIFT MOVEMENT.
Moral Suasion and Thrift

Close identification of these, motivated by simplistic popular economics, desire to expand the domestic market for consumer goods, and "gigantic division" between the rough and 'respectable', also reflected class collaboration in attempts to direct workers' life and leisure. Again the seminal influence was Malthus. Poverty's threat to independence was also a crotchet of Burns (1759-96) Benjamin Franklin (1706-90) and Cobbett (1762-1835). The ideologies of thrift and Temperance met in the self-help manuals of Smiles (1812-1904) and the work of the popular educator Chambers and pervaded improving literature.¹

Self-help, like free trade, was vague despite enormous influence. Its medium, biographical tales, parables, short stories, aphorisms and proverbs, encouraged this. Yet, like the Gospel, it did provide the blueprint for an ideal lifestyle.² Smilesean self-help perpetuated Malthusian themes of Nature's niggardliness and Chalmerian overlays of need for moral restraint and horror of moral sloth and pauperism. Middle class radicals' rugged individualism blended with Cobdenite notions of free trade in knowledge and citizenship central to moral suasion. Rural Presbyterian virtues - industry, independence, prudence, domestic duty, social aspiration, free will - were set in contrast to "moral coma". Intemperance headed Smiles' list of 'indulgences' jeopardising status and thwarting social mobility.³ This "gospel of success" reduced noted labour aristocrat achievements to a formula
of moral qualities, reflecting middle class optimism born of mid Victorian peace and prosperity. Self-help shared evangelical awareness of mutability of all things and unease over the moral consequences of 'culture-lag' - a reflection of a general middle class angst and the influence of temperance in Smiles' and Tweedie's native Haddington alongside other self-improvement agencies.

Smiles and Chambers lamented masses "as uncivilised and un-Christianised as the Trinobates at Caesar's landing" gentry abdication from moral leadership, drinking and "habitual improvidence" aiding artisan social degradation. They shared temperance's nativistic awareness that emblems of national progress, railways, had been constructed by workmen "in a state...scarcely differing from the Middle Ages' mental decrepitude", and represented £10,000,000 drunk by the workforce. They preached material success. This did not mean covetousness, promotion of the vulgar, or morally empty, rather self reformation producing an ideal working man, "whose whole physical system was under the influence of his higher faculties." Household suffrage, vote by ballot and repeal of the corn laws had availed little. Rational recreation, personal example, and emphasis on individual thrift rather than paternalism seemed solutions. They consciously sought an embourgeoisement "conservative of strictest harmony between employers and employed" to preserve social order against economic and moral uncertainty. They were appalled that philanthropy and Poor Law provision had not prevented a polarised society of "the haves and have nots."
Chalmerian political economy's focus was on individual or household economy not vexed questions of capital distribution, property accumulation, and rates of taxation. Emphasis on morality permitted championing the independence of the worker as God's creation whilst imparting acceptance of the economic system, criticism of some trade union activities and rejection of the "manufacturing buccaneer" stereotype in favour of that of the welfare capitalist. Thrift's exponents admired the "spirit of order" of ancient empires and sought to foster 'progress' by identifying common species of improvidence and making basic rules for home and personal economy. They advocated Journals of Expenses, material twins of diaries recording evangelical spiritual profit and loss, restriction on spending as on other impulses and use only of "ready money". Support for the co-operative movement's attacks on credit exemplified evangelical hostility to "appearances", speculation, gambling, and the unstable small loan societies, 'club-ticket' systems, and regular pawnbroking which they encouraged. It was to a lesser extent class assertive. This explains why the identification between temperance and co-operation was hardly automatic despite common aims and personnel - evident in McFarlane and Morris' careers, and co-op leaders' explanation of rapid membership and turnover growth in terms of Revd. Kirton's famous thrift/temperance tract. Temperance reformers were however often connected with savings banks, building societies, insurance companies, and friendly societies.
Savings Banks.

These were promoted by Defoe, Bentham and Duncan (1774-1846). The Glasgow Savings Bank (1836) was by 1870 the largest of its kind in Britain. It was unusually successful in appealing to a relatively broad spectrum of working and middle class depositors ignored by large banking institutions. Elsewhere they preferred Post Office Savings Banks, created out of the money order department and formed in 1861 with strong backing from the Liberal press. In Glasgow popularisation was the Board of Management's "deliberate policy." Drawn from the mercantile elite it included temperance reformers like Collins and Connal.

John Dunlop had promoted savings banks. Temperance societies were often connected with penny banks. Sometimes this reflected leadership of local societies by 'bankers', local bank managers or agents. Aberdeenshire's and Yorkshire's were direct society offshoots, others were absorbed. From the 1850's on the juvenile "Adviser" missed few opportunities to stress "not earnings but savings make us rich", to contrast the Savings Bank and the "Savings Bar", and to publicise savings deposit facilities available at the close of juvenile meetings. League penny banks operated at the Nelson St. Chapel and Murdoch's School in Blackfriar St. on Mondays and Saturdays, foreshadowing later School Board promotion of banks to improve "the character and prospects of the young." Most were formed in the "degraded and necessitous old wynds" where
misexpenditure ironically was thought rife. There were 36 in Glasgow alone by 1860.

From the establishment of Duncan's Ruthwell bank in 1810 till the 1860's they were associated with clerics.\textsuperscript{18} Thereafter impetus came from the Penny Bank Association (1865) established in Glasgow and by 1870 identified with the Connal, Ure, Baird and Smith families.\textsuperscript{19} Many of Glasgow's 103 banks, serving 39,000 depositors in 1870, were on familiar temperance ground. e.g. St. Rollox Ironworks, Grove St. Institute, Partick Mission and the Milton and Motherwell Ironworks. Greenock efforts were associated with the shipowning philanthropists of Greenock's Society.\textsuperscript{20} Their numbers rose steadily from 213 in 1881 to 226 in 1892 and 279 in 1914. By 1892 there were 80,000 depositors. Latterly numbers were static. The penny bank's strength lay rather in reinforcement of evangelical, indeed puritanical, identification of thriftlessness with street corner idling. (The Band of Hope illustration makes precisely this point). This was evident in the large proportion of the "labouring classes' offspring who opened small G.S.B. accounts by direct transfer from penny banks.\textsuperscript{21}

G.S.B. success also reflected employers' dissemination of tracts like "Good Times: or the Savings Bank and the Fireside", thrift advertising, and Glasgow Abstainers' Union's work to teach the masses "how best to use their slender means" via savings banks, home visitation and home economics tuition - long advocated by Smiles and the radical press.\textsuperscript{22}

This interacted positively with improved labour
"SMOKE NOT."

BY A WORKING MAN.

Ten schoolfellows, of equal age,
Were 'prenticed in one day;
The one was studiously inclined,
'The other boy was gay.
The pocket-money each received,
Was just the same amount;
And how they both expended it,
I briefly shall recount.

Whilst George was smoking his cigars,
And sauntering about,
With youths as idle as himself,
Shutting all knowledge out;
At the Mechanics' Institute,
And with his books at home,
Tom wisely spent his leisure hours,
Nor cared the streets to roam.

One eve, when their apprenticeship
Had nearly passed away,
George at his friend Tom's lodgings called,
An hour or two to stay.

He entered smoking his cigar
Ill-mannerly enough,
And staring round the room, he blew
A most portentous puff.

"Why, Tom!" he cried with much surprise,
Is your old uncle dead?
And left you cash to buy those books
That round the walls are spread?"

"O, no," said Tom, "I bought those books
With what my friends allowed,
Had you not smoked away your cash,
You might the same have showed!"

"Why, my Havannah only cost
Me threepence every day!"

"Just so," said Tom, "you've only smok'd
A library away!

"Now reckon up threepence a day
For seven long years to come!
And you will find that it will count
A very handsome sum!"

"Why that," said George, with humbl'd look,
"FullTwenty Pounds would be;
How foolishly I've smoked away
A handsome library."

[ The above will shortly be issued as one of
our series of "Illustrated Hand-bills," and
sold in packets, containing fifty copies each,
prior Suspence. We hope that many will be scat-
ttered amongst the boys of our land.]
aristocrat living standards, legal protection of funds, Scottish banking's generous interest rates, and Glasgow's association with major banks like the Clydesdale and Union in spite of a mid century shift of influence in banking from the West to the East Coast. Bank failures of the 1850's and the City of Glasgow Bank crash did not dent the small depositor's confidence. Crashes were attributed to unscrupulous speculation rather than banking per se.²³

Radical support of thrift, evident in "Franklin's" 'Lay Lectures' in *Glasgow Argus* substantiates Young's claims that self-help and thrift were by 1865 "hallmarks of the ideology of the urban labour movement."²⁴ Franklin's thrift was protection against social and psychological evils attendant on Malthus' check on early marriage, "open-air workmen's " physical and financial burdens, cholera and typhus, and trade and domestic crises in general. Thrift as promoted via workingmen's clubs by radicals and reformers like Cranston epitomised collective self-help. This positive permutation of an essentially puritan ideal was adopted by Monteith, lay benefactor of the Catholic Church, to improve the Catholic population's status and was part of the strategy of miners' leader Alexander Macdonald, the Sons of Labour, and older Lib-Lab. union leaders - often in conjunction with emigration schemes.²⁵

Consequently Smelser and Fishlow's conclusion that savings banks failed to attract wage earners in the early 19th century is contrary to the G.S.B.'s experience. It attracted female and child depositors and increasingly factory workers, clerks and warehousemen, travellers,
The temperance movement's use of savings bank statistics as proof of 'progress' in the 19th century.

### NATIONAL DEBT at the end of each FINANCIAL YEAR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years Ended</th>
<th>Funded</th>
<th>Unfunded</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 January, 1819</td>
<td>£774,622,638</td>
<td>£771,704,700</td>
<td>£1,546,333,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 1859</td>
<td>£750,327,526</td>
<td>£771,704,700</td>
<td>£1,522,032,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 1861</td>
<td>£741,327,526</td>
<td>£771,704,700</td>
<td>£1,513,032,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 1862</td>
<td>£733,327,526</td>
<td>£771,704,700</td>
<td>£1,491,032,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 March, 1863</td>
<td>£725,327,526</td>
<td>£771,704,700</td>
<td>£1,491,032,226</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **SAVINGS BANKS.**

  Total Amount Received from, and paid to, Depositors in the Post Office Savings Banks, and of the Capital of those Savings Banks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>England and Wales</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>United Kingdom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From (Received (including Int.)</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Sept.</td>
<td>1,976,333</td>
<td>60,469</td>
<td>97,831</td>
<td>2,136,869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30th June</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10,759</td>
<td>79,594</td>
<td>90,353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital at the end of</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the period</td>
<td>1,520,003</td>
<td>48,469</td>
<td>78,435</td>
<td>1,65,307</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Amount Received and Paid by Trustees of Savings Banks from and to Depositors, and of the Capital of Savings Banks.

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>England</th>
<th>Wales</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>United Kingdom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1854 (Received)</td>
<td>£54,424,172</td>
<td>£40,943</td>
<td>£7,602,502</td>
<td>£5,118,925</td>
<td>£74,198,520</td>
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<tr>
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*Source: Scottish Temperance League Register and Abstainers' Almanac, 1864, p. 24.*
### SAVINGS BANKS UNDER TRUSTEES.

#### Total Amount Received and Paid by Trustees of Savings Banks from and to Depositors in each Year, and of the Computed Capital of Savings Banks at the end of each Year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>England (Received)</th>
<th>Wales (Received)</th>
<th>Scotland (Received)</th>
<th>Ireland (Received)</th>
<th>England (Capital)</th>
<th>Wales (Capital)</th>
<th>Scotland (Capital)</th>
<th>Ireland (Capital)</th>
<th>Total Received</th>
<th>Total Paid</th>
<th>Total Transferred or Commuted</th>
<th>Total Balance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>£2,070,181</td>
<td>£1,006,885</td>
<td>£1,006,885</td>
<td>£1,006,885</td>
<td>£2,070,181</td>
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### SAVINGS BANKS UNDER THE POST OFFICE.

#### Total Amount Received from, and Paid to, Depositors in the Post Office Savings Banks, and of the Computed Capital of those Savings Banks at the end of each Year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>England (Received)</th>
<th>Scotland (Received)</th>
<th>Ireland (Received)</th>
<th>United Kingdom (Received)</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Prior to the year 1877 the amount of Interest Credit was not separately distinguished, although it was included in the Capital.

Source: Scottish Temperance League Register and Abstainers' Almanac, 1881, Almanac Section.
A 20th century example of this strategy.

**TRUSTEES' SAVINGS BANKS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Capital on deposit at year end (£1,000)</th>
<th>Government Stock held for depositors (£1,000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>24,475</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>30,278</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>41,546</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>38,820</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>44,140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>42,876</td>
<td>1,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>51,966</td>
<td>1,665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>53,033</td>
<td>2,658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>73,083</td>
<td>29,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>77,911</td>
<td>40,736</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Capital on deposit at year end (£1,000)</th>
<th>Government Stock (£1,000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>17,025</td>
<td>739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>36,194</td>
<td>5,088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>71,608</td>
<td>12,786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>140,393</td>
<td>24,818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>176,519</td>
<td>209,731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>264,157</td>
<td>191,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>289,441</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These tables were both the work of the temperance historian G.B. Wilson of the United Kingdom Alliance.

salesmen, shop assistants, and even labourers, carters, painters and a few miners over 1870-1914. "Purposeful saving" declined post 1897. A fair proportion of balance increases were more compound interest. Yet even this was helpful to a significant few, here 3,000 "exemplary depositors", and reinforced the thrifty mentality. The social composition of depositors, and trustee management exemplified the moral stewardship many reformers sought. Its investment in school boards, local authorities and municipal utilities also echoed their faith in municipal progressivism, a creed which countered class tension with civic patriotism and idealism to create in miniature worlds wherein relationships were governed by immutable laws of Christian Socialist sympathies.

Narrower in aim but parallel in objectives were company banks. Scottish railway banks were established in the 1860's on the English model. By 1910 G.S.W.R. employees had £286,119 on deposit, the G.S.W.R. being an interest of the stockbroker philanthropist Watson, Provost of Glasgow 1871-4, and James White. U.K. railway depositors stood at 69,455 with £65,834,706 saved - quite an achievement. Employer pressure however overshadowed 'workers' banks'. Reformers nevertheless supported them and adopted uncritically Gladstone's observation of "marked extension of the saving habits of the people", ignoring his less welcome remarks on revenue p.a. raised by spirit duties. They saw in savings bank statistics "the tide of progress, softening of manners, spread of education, humanising of sport and pastimes and awakening of natural
A summary of the well-known 'Drink Bills'

Porter in an article in the *Journal of the Statistical Society* began this device in 1850. His estimate was £49 million. Dudley Baxter's appeared in 1867. He was eclipsed as an authority by Hoyle. Following the success of his "Our National Resources and How they are Wasted" (1871) Hoyle produced annual estimates for The Times, summarised here.

Hoyle's critics however used the *Journal of the Statistical Soc.* to make qualifications to these statistics, while Smiles compared expenditure on drink to national spending on the purchase of land and the setting up of cotton mills, amongst other things, in an article in *Quarterly Review* in 1875. The Revd. J. Dawson Burns produced Bills for the temperance press from 1886-1909. (Summarised right.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total (£m)</th>
<th>P.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>£3.18.4d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>3.17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>3.17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>4.1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>4.5.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>4.5.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>4.4.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>4.2.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>4.1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>4.3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>4.6.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>4.7.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total (£m)</th>
<th>P.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>£3.18.4d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>£4.08.1d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>4.2.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>4.5.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>4.5.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>4.4.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>4.2.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>4.1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>4.3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>4.6.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>4.7.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Drink Bills 1890-1935**

**Total PER-Capita**

**United Kingdom (1890-1922)**

**Gt Britain (1923-1935)**

Total shown thus

---

Per Capita

( in shillings per head )
dignity and self-reliance of the people". Their optimism influenced the Charity Organisation Society and Salvation Army thrift work amongst urban poor, and contributed to middle class support of the National Savings Certificates Scheme (1915).  

Thrift could not fail to be puritanical. It was hostile to frivolity, extravagance, and the public house as a "trading centre", although workers' need to resort to publicans to obtain change was almost as much a myth as alleged prevalence of payment in pubs. It was parsimonious, as in its anti-funeral celebrations phase, and negative in obsession with rates and national 'Drink Bills'. (Summarised opposite). Porter the temperance statistician created the term "self-inflicted poverty", and with Fawcett's political economy conditioned the movement's nativistic interpretation of classical economy and defence of Ricardian economics against laissez faire's moral shortcomings. Thrift pace Chambers and Newman was also hostile to trades unions. Many were blinkered to trade fluctuations and technological change's effects on the lower orders.  

At worst thrift deluded the middle classes into thinking it a cure for bankruptcy and exaggerated saving's benefits to working class people who might not live long enough to see self-denial's fruits. Respec-
tability could create vicious circles of want reminiscent of "jam tomorrow and jam yesterday but never jam today", especially as it carried the additional cross of exclusion from poor relief.  

Yet, like counter-attractions thrift had constructive
elements. English reformers' interest in the freehold land movement and building societies is well known. They aimed to bridge social divisions by self-help rather than permitting levelling processes featuring attacks on property. "Democracy of property ownership was decidedly a teetotal policy."34

Building Societies.

These originated in South West Scotland in 1815 amidst distress and passage of the Corn Laws. They reached London in 1842 during an upturn in Chartist fortunes. Their clientele was narrower than that of friendly societies. Popularisation did not occur until well after the 1836 Benefit Building Societies Act assimilated them to the friendly society movement in legislative protection and controls. A seminal influence was the Chartist Co-operative Land Society (1845) designed to create Lovett's ideal society free from wage-slavery by giving workers economic security in the shape of houses with gardens, paving the way for adherence to temperance principles by excluding all drinksellers from estates. Owenite community experiments were less influential. There were several "controversies" between Chartists and Owenites in which teetotalers tended to side with Chartists.35 In addition reformers like the Revd. W.G. Blaikie promoted interest in working class housing to divert attention from the vexed political issues of the 'People's Charter' back to 'practical measures' and moral regeneration of the urban masses.36

With the exception of Yorkshire and Lancashire
"There is no doubt that the temptations of drunkenness and crime are increased among the lower classes by the sordid conditions under which they are forced to live.

Their surroundings are dismal and unnatural not only lacking everything that would tend to stimulate and inspire their better nature towards right living, but presenting every inducement to take advantage of any brightness and cheer within their reach, however questionable.

Will those who are more favourably situated blame such unfortunates if they are fascinated with the brightness and allurements of the public house? They are tempted to forget their misery for a time by imbibing alcoholic liquors.

Man is essentially a social being, and craves for social pleasure and relaxation, as it is part of his nature, and so we have this very legitimate desire prostituted by unrighteous inducements, and the mental and moral nature becomes debased in consequence."

Journal for the Home, about the Home

Source: (the quarterly journal of the City and County House Purchase Company of Glasgow), March 1910, p. 180 from an article entitled 'The Tragedy of Intemperance'.
MORAL SUASION AND THE THRIFT MOVEMENT -
the promotion of building society work and homeownership.

ILLUSTRATED HAND-BILLS, No. 30.

The Illustrated Hand-bills (issued by the Editor of the "Band of Hope Review") are sold in Sixpenny packets. Each packet contains fifty assorted Hand-bills.

SWALLOWING A YARD OF LAND!

"Dick, let's have a pint of beer," said a railway navvie to his mate.
"Nay, Jack, I can't afford to drink a square yard of good land, worth sixty pounds ten shillings an acre."
"What's that you're saying, Dick?"
"Why, every time you spend threepence in beer, you spend what would buy a square yard of good green land. Look here---
Dick takes a piece of chalk out of his pocket and begins to make figures on his spade.
"There are 4840 square yards in an acre: threepence is one-fourth of a shilling: divide 4840 yards by 4, that gives 1210 shillings. Now divide that by 20 (there being 20 shillings to £1), and there you have £60 10s., which is the cost of an acre of good land, at threepence a square yard!"

From the "British Workman."

"* The above article and engraving have been printed on one side of the "House-to-house Canvassing Bills" for promoting the Circulation of the "British Workman," and we shall be glad to forward a supply to any District Visitor, Sunday School Teacher, Tract Distributor, or other friend who may be willing to canvas a district for new subscribers, or otherwise promote the extended circulation of the publication. Pupil Teachers can render important help. Applications to be addressed to the Editor, 13, Barnsbury Square, London. N.

societies few literally built houses. Most arranged mortgages. *Edinburgh Review* noted increased middle and working class interest in the 1850's. This was related to the drive to extend the franchise towards "complete suffrage", supported by many temperance reformers. Comparison between yards of beer, yards of land and new votes were similes which fast became temperance rhetoric cliches. (See the *British Workman* illustration).

Such societies gradually eclipsed older, unstable working class menage, tontine, and terminating/dividing societies. Cash injections from mortgage repayments and attractive interest rates made building societies more stable than savings banks.

Reformers assumed, pace Cobden, that temperance truths would civilise the masses liberating their financial potential and enabling investment in freehold land. Men like Chambers felt house rental was only excusable if one's occupation demanded geographic mobility. Like Blaikie he was influenced by deterioration of Edinburgh suburbs and emergence of "Mushroom Rows" which made the rudest rural hovels seem wholesome. Investigation of operation of the Poor Law and condition of the poor, unofficial comments on slum life from Cleland, Pagan and "Shadow", a Liberal letterpress printer and correspondent of the rationalist Coombe, and annual Social Science Congress debates left reformers in no doubt as to the "huddling propensities" of urban Scots. To philanthropists aware of prison reform progress it was astonishing that in some city closes population density might grant only 175 cu.
ft. per person whilst the average English jailbird was to be guaranteed 1,000.\textsuperscript{42}

In Glasgow overcrowding was predictable given five fold population expansion over 1801-61. Elsewhere philanthropists had built numerous cottage developments by the 1850's. Here supply was outpaced by demand and Bridgegate 'cottage-property' was squalid.\textsuperscript{43} The high proportion of houses with annual rents less than £5 also suggested that the problem was probably greater than any had estimated. Costs in "health, decency, and comfort," and conditions more conducive to corruption than prayer, were alarming. Possible vice was a significant element in social concern. Bebbington suggests there was nothing like hints of incest to alert the "Nonconformist Conscience" to interest in housing reform.\textsuperscript{44} The conclusion that poor environment led to progressive decline in moral standards, fostering and perpetuating a sub-culture of urban savages as different to and as divorced from respectability as heaven from hell, was frequently made by urban reformers like Logan, Guthrie, Begg, and Bell.\textsuperscript{45}

While Gairdner and J.B. Russell drew attention to the environment's physical dangers evangelists like Begg embarked on "strenuous campaigns" to rouse the Churches and nation to the seriousness of the housing problem and its implications for morality. Much of this social concern had its roots in attempts to increase the number and efficiency of Free Church congregations in poor city districts backed by \textit{The Witness}.\textsuperscript{46} Drink was judged to
be "the only available solacement" of slum dwellers too poor to take advantage of respectable secular leisure pursuits and distanced by poverty, apathy and bigotry from church organisations. Chambers, in letters to Chadwick expressed the view that slum dwellers became "familiarised with the spectacle of filth, thus habits of uncleanliness and debased ideas of propriety and decency were ingrafted." McKerrow, Jabez Burns and many others focussed on the daily struggle of the respectable poor to remain above this sub-culture and aimed to extricate the "toiling masses" from "the polluting semi-pauperised population". The deserving poor might yet be receptive to the benefits and duties of Christian life but these could only survive in a decent home environment - here was no mere 'educational' problem.47

For much of this period social reform looked to voluntary effort to solve the housing problem, as Begg had. This was true of provision for the homeless whose numbers swelled after the Irish potato famines. Night asylums to provide temporary shelter, food and later work, responses to overcrowding and the unsavoury lodgings houses immortalised by Cruikshank, were charitable ventures. The rules of a Glasgow Association operating 3 establishments by 1860 reflected teetotal influence. Corporation interest in this sphere was only secured from the late 1860's following the 1867 Public Health Act. Police and philanthropic managers worked "closely and harmoniously", symptomatic of awareness that vagrancy remained one of the most intractable problems facing Poor Law administrators. Undeserving poor were the bane of 'individualists' and 'collectivists' alike.
Poor Law authorities housed on short and long term bases an entire spectrum of "the residuum". The undeserving's role as a "permanent foci of moral infection" was central to criticism of the Poor Law. The continuing need to house them was a source of anxiety fuelled partly by "inter-class misunderstanding" of 'transiency'. Interest in the "shifting and shiftless fringe of the population", 30-40,000 in prosperity or 70-80,000 in trade depressions, reinforced preoccupation with the deserving and encouraged support of labour colonies as "moral infirmaries" to cure vagrancy and alcoholism by hard work and moral reform. Model lodgings houses continued however to interest teetotal municipal socialists in 1914.48

Much was also expected of philanthropy in the sphere of urban residents of rented flats and portioned houses. This housing problem was, despite shared water outlets and the prevalence of middens, less one of inadequate water supplies and sanitation than a question of scarcity and cost of land and overcrowding, especially given mid-Victorian rural depopulation, movement between towns and movement to nascent suburbs.49 Even before cheap transportation cities were the symbol of not only economic opportunities but also social advantages, such as marriage, career or entertainments opportunities for the respectable and freedom from past misdeeds or easy detection in the case of the criminal element.50 The 1850's were an important phase in this process. In the wake of evangelical and philanthropic awakening and influx of Irish immigrants in search of work, Scotland became an urban
Temperance intersected with housing reform's response to this challenge. Reformers were often sympathetic to the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Masses, model dwellings companies, Octavia Hill's work, the Peabody Trust, creation of model company villages like Bourneville, Saltaire and Bessbrook. The G.S.W.R.'s Corkerhill development and provision of "temperance cottages" by the Houldsworths for Coltness Ironworks' employees were notable spin offs.

Until the 1890's however reformers favoured schemes with stronger self-help motifs. There were exceptions, e.g. Blaikie's 1849-62 Pilrig Model Buildings scheme which built cottages for rental by respectable workers. Many however distrusted "5% philanthropy" as sapping independence and encouraging housing scarcity via non-competitiveness. The Scottish Freehold Building Society (1857) was more thoroughly approved. Semi-detached villas or terraced houses with gardens, like those envisaged in Chambers' "Building Societies", could be acquired by direct investment in £25 shares, payable on easy terms, obviating dependence on promoters' ability to raise capital funds at low interest rates. It was influenced by Begg's Bible-centred housing policy and goal of social harmony via promotion of patriarchal family structure. It built Edinburgh terraces but its trustees included Glasgow manufacturer Govan, McGavin, and Nichol, Glasgow University's Quaker Professor of Astronomy who corresponded with J.S. Mill. Its Glasgow manager was a member of the Reid family. As
with savings banks middle class trustees had vital roles. Prior to the mid-1870's such institutions lacked full corporate powers to deal directly with property. Alliance of ex Chartists like McFarlane and middle class reformers like Guthrie in this as in other social reform spheres was eminently practical. 54

A Temperance Permanent Land and Building Society (1854) was associated with Cruikshank, Revd. James McCurrey, a Wesleyan active in London temperance circles and son of a drunken Glasgow builder, the Nonconformist Balfour, Tweedie, Phillips Hon. Sec. of the N.T.L., John Mann and London solicitor Shaen. Its directorate was middle class and teetotal. This inspired abstainers' trust and although initially the turnover and staff were small it weathered the Crimean War's pressure on the bank rate, rising income tax and bad harvests. By 1862 income totalled £77,000. Property assets reached £0.5 million in 1868. 55 Between its 5th and 10th annual reports assets multiplied fourfold, a performance approaching that of the Liberator Co. often involved in Nonconformist ventures prior to its crash and exposure of mismanagement. 56 It aimed to provide an alternative to dividing societies. An initial building experiment in East London was not repeated. It offered a higher rate of interest than the 4% customary in the 1860's and 1870's. This had later to be reduced because it "had more money than it could employ profitably" given economic trends. 57

It attempted to soothe frustration of labouring men prevented from becoming landowners and later, more
realistically, encouraged artisans to have a stake in society and 'progress' through home ownership, and acquire "business habits".\textsuperscript{58} Intended to ease housing pressure, none claimed to make vast improvement in the quality of housing on offer.\textsuperscript{59} Temperance Permanent and societies like North British Heritable Investment (1854) identified with Gemmill, the Gorbals provost who defended the cotton-spinners in 1838, John McFarlane and other reformers, were symptoms of social change.\textsuperscript{60}

Rapid population increase, redistribution, shifts in the relative import of regions, and the balance between urban and rural areas, had engendered a 'culture shock', reverberations of which outlived initial migration to cities described by the New Statistical Account, Somerville and Miller.\textsuperscript{61} Conjunction of a new, unplanned urban population in cultural flux, overcrowding, and limited housing expectations of migrant Highlanders and Irish, strained housing, health, order, and poor relief. Building societies reflected awareness that poor housing conditions, like urbanisation, threatened to become norms.\textsuperscript{62} Also, although earlier artisan homeowners built entire districts, as with Paisley's weavers, within a lifetime this pattern was overturned.\textsuperscript{63}

Census returns, pressed for by Begg, suggested 34% of Scots dwelt in 1 room, and 36% in 2. Reformers, often avid statisticians, were soon aware of published data on population density, greatest in south western counties, on rural depopulation, and average numbers per room in Scottish cities. (See the tables overleaf).
### Eight Principal Towns of Scotland, and Eight Rural Counties, arranged in order of greatest number of Persons to each Room, giving the number of Persons to each Room

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Persons per Room</th>
<th>Persons to each Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paisley</td>
<td>Ross and Cromarty</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Stirling</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>Kincardine</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenock</td>
<td>Argyll</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 51 per cent of the families in Scotland lived in houses of three rooms, only 12 in houses of four rooms, and 16 per cent in houses of five rooms. 23½ families lived each in one room; 41, 34 per cent of the families in Scotland lived in one room each, which room had one or more windows — often a mere aperture for a window.

### Increase and Proportion of the Sexes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Enquiry</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Male Population</th>
<th>Female Population</th>
<th>Proportion of Males to Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 1, 1861</td>
<td>89,233</td>
<td>47,095</td>
<td>42,138</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1, 1861</td>
<td>89,921</td>
<td>47,687</td>
<td>42,234</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1861</td>
<td>90,574</td>
<td>48,436</td>
<td>42,138</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1, 1861</td>
<td>91,625</td>
<td>48,538</td>
<td>43,087</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1, 1861</td>
<td>92,513</td>
<td>49,167</td>
<td>43,346</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proportion of females to males in Scotland varies in the different divisions. In the north, it is 111 to the 100 in the north-western, 114; in the north-eastern, 110; in the east-central, 111; in the west-central, 105; in the south-western, 107; in the south-eastern, 109; and in the southern, 111.

The variations in the counties is even more marked, Scotland being as high as 110, and Northumberland as low as 91.

The distribution of the sexes in Scotland is materially prevelant, and only to be accounted for by so many of the males having left the country to gain a livelihood in other countries, or in the army, navy, and merchant shipping.

In proportion to her population, Scotland sends out nearly twice as many emigrants as England, and 2½ times as many merchant seamen.

The proportion of females to males in a few of the kingdoms of Europe is as follows:—In Prussia, in 1852, there were 97,718 males for every 100 females. In Denmark, in 1852, there were 109 females for every 100 males. In Spain, in 1852, there were 105 females for every 100 males. In Holland, in 1852, there were 104 females for every 100 males. In France, in 1856, there were 109 females. In the united States of the German Union, in 1856, there were 112 females for every 100 males. In Norway, in 1856, there were 107 females for every 100 males. In Sweden, in 1853, there were 106 females for every 100 males, while in England and Wales, in 1851, there were 105 females for every 100 males; the proportion in Scotland being 111 to every 100 males.

### Area of Scotland in Miles, Statute Acres, and Square Yards, with the Number of Persons to each Mile, and the Number of Acres and of Square Yards to each Person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Persons per Mile</th>
<th>Miles per Person</th>
<th>Acres per Person</th>
<th>Yards per Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>8,061,201</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Distribution of Population on the Mainland and in Islands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Scotland | 7,584,259 | 3,352,404 | 3,219,920 | 6,438,000 | 6,438,000 |

### Sources

- Scottish Temperance League Register and Abstainers' Almanac, 1862, pp. 38-9.
POPULATION OF SCOTLAND—Continued.

Increase of Population in Decennial Periods, and Percentage Increase of each Sex during these Periods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periods</th>
<th>Total Dec.</th>
<th>Inc. of Male</th>
<th>Inc. of Female</th>
<th>Percentage Increase of Male</th>
<th>Percentage Increase of Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1701-1811</td>
<td>177,444</td>
<td>87,266</td>
<td>90,178</td>
<td>12.77</td>
<td>11.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811-1821</td>
<td>208,587</td>
<td>106,377</td>
<td>102,210</td>
<td>15.03</td>
<td>14.70</td>
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<tr>
<td>1821-1831</td>
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<td>124,523</td>
<td>109,540</td>
<td>15.04</td>
<td>15.24</td>
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<tr>
<td>1831-1841</td>
<td>257,708</td>
<td>132,492</td>
<td>124,120</td>
<td>16.30</td>
<td>15.45</td>
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<tr>
<td>1841-1851</td>
<td>280,536</td>
<td>143,617</td>
<td>136,969</td>
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<td>17.87</td>
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</table>

In 50 years 1,462,874 710,157 742,717 97.32 88.16 8.39

EXTENT AND POPULATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Extent in Hundred Square Miles</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England and Wales</td>
<td>85,192</td>
<td>26,802,294</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
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<td>4,578,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>21,465</td>
<td>3,047,534</td>
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<tr>
<td>Islands in the British Seas</td>
<td>310,000</td>
<td>1,445,000</td>
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Totals of the United Kingdom in 1871: 3,145,767,267

Countries and Foreign Settlements in Europe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent</th>
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<th>Population</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
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<td>Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Americas &amp; West Indies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Australia, etc.</td>
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<td>24,900,000</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Totals of the British Empire: 293,616,927

India: under British protection—Extent in square miles, 1841; population, 232,756.
### POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES OF SCOTLAND.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
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<td>25,500</td>
<td>25,500</td>
<td>25,500</td>
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<td>16,500</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>44,700</td>
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</table>

### POPULATION OF THE CITIES, BURGHS, TOWNS, &c., IN SCOTLAND.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
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<tr>
<td>Forfar</td>
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<td>10,000</td>
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<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inverness</td>
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<td>17,500</td>
<td>17,500</td>
<td>17,500</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Scottish Temperance League Register and Abstainers' Almanac, 1900, p. 43.
Emphasis did not yet fall on 20% of the population's occupation of 80% of accommodation, rather on the irony that there were 28.8 acres of land per family in 1861. The grim reality that 226,723 families lived in 1 room was appalling. Only 6% had conditions conducive to family life – further threatened by females outnumbering males 108.1 in the South West. The situation was fraught with moral and physical peril, as Alison's statistical correlation of housing and health stressed. Connections between temperance and those who pressed for City Improvement Acts to facilitate slum-clearance work were close. Both groups awaited an administrative framework for public health. Also, despite building, deaths and emigration the number of uninhabited houses had risen by 29.4%. This backed claims that the masses spent higher proportions of their meagre resources on drink than other classes. Were they temperate, building and related trades would benefit.

Reformers also responded to new patterns of social mobility. Mid-Victorian prosperity was less great than England's, yet marked. Wage levels improved from the 1820's and 1830's and, in contrast to 1815-1840's when upward trends were offset by unemployment, the 1850's appear an era of falling prices and increased real wages for many groups. Prosperity's inequitable distribution, anonymity and possible status loss of many urban dwellers, and the hardships of urban life in spite of protective legislation encouraged radicals' interest in suburbanisation, as well as reformers' attempts to channel labour aristocrat aspirations thereto. Housing ventures, like counter-
attractions, met "felt wants" - revealing limitations and the pervasiveness of reformers' ideas. Reformers were not confined to Presbyterian exponents of the Protestant work ethic - as Fr. Forbes' temperance building society in Glasgow's East End, contemporary to Temperance Permanent, shows.\textsuperscript{69}

Such reformers participated in successful pressure, led by the Building Societies Protection Association, for legislative protection of borrowing power and continued supervision by the Friendly Societies' Registrar. Horror at the Liberator Co.'s crash with liabilities of three times alleged assets and extradition of its founder from Argentina was reflected in the 1894 Building Societies Act. It tightened the system against mismanagement, accelerated concentration of business in well established societies, many begun in the 1870's, heralded fierce competition and dealt small philanthropic societies quick deaths.\textsuperscript{70}

Temperance Permanent survived and thrived, aided by pegging of income tax at 4d-6d per £ and cheap postal rates. By 1898 it claimed to be the building society of the small man: 3,373 of 3,700 securities were for under £500, i.e. 1,500 more small properties than any other U.K. society. Assets were £1 million in 1898, £2 million in 1906 and peaked at £2,358,688 in 1909. By 1914 it had advanced over £12 million. With another 1,560 societies it was part of an industry with 628,885 members, thousands of employees and funds of £51,105,750. Over 1836-96 this helped 250,000 become homeowners, and business boomed from 1903 on.\textsuperscript{71} In Scotland however the prevalence of renting
continued. Many working people regarded this as a form of thrift given a poor law penalising homeowners. A wide range of considerations, e.g. the nature of rural leases, provision of company housing, builders' limited aspirations, building industry disorganisation, patchy economic development, wage levels, Scots' custom and lack of demand for better standards all perpetuated it.72

Some reformers attempted to mitigate the worst abuses of renting. Some, like Burt, led the Glasgow Landlords and Homefactors Association (1862) pledged to fight "unequal or unjust" property tax. Their pressure for reform of feuing, which contributed to inhibition of property development and encouraged construction of tall, narrow tenement buildings, was a fruitless reaction to class tension created by the urban 'land question', and overlapped with 'ratepayer temperance'. This grouping diverged from temperance's alliance with municipal progressivism on rating and municipal expenditure, further straining this relationship for those who, like Temperance Permanent's Directors, opposed bills to empower local authorities to lend on working class housing throughout 1899-1908.73 In spite of such fears however public provision of housing remained anathema to progressives and voluntaryists alike.74

Through John Mann Jnr.'s work, many were interested in the Glasgow Workmens' Dwellings Co. It built tenements for respectable families and also repaired 'ticketed' property. (Ticketing was the corporation's lame response to overcrowding, expressed via public health officials). Its work was influenced by Octavia Hill and counter-
attractionists, evident in provision of recreation rooms on each site, and encouraged later corporation housing experiments. The latter were sometimes combined with street level shop premises, reflecting rack renting's prevalence in established areas and exacerbation by slum clearance, railway expansion, and the ring and core pattern of middle class suburbanisation. Reformers were interested in post-war corporation housing. Prohibitionism rather than moral suasionism influenced this however.

Many factors encouraged them to focus on lower middle class suburbanisation. Housing of the poor was problematic. Constants appeared to be overcrowding and need to reside in close proximity to work, quickly producing rookeries and run down areas with the vices of non-respectable working class sub-culture. Reformers in physical proximity to such districts remained distanced by inhabitants' rejection of middle class mores and their agents e.g. policemen, inspectors and city missionaries.

Also Bright was not alone in fear of the "sunken sixth" - as the movement's martalling of crime statistics 1870-1914 shows. Defensive measures against the rough poor, e.g. aggressively private gardens marked off by walls and gates, barred basement windows, and police vigilance against loitering were increasing.

Even the best intentioned faced problems of interpretation. Reduced hours and greater opportunity for rational recreation suggested progress and improvement in workers' lives. Optimism was unchallenged by Victorian Scottish literature. It shunned industrialisation and
urbanisation in favour of the Covenanting and idealised 'tartan' past, and small-town life. Russel's "Life in One Room", originally an 1888 Park Parish Literary Institute lecture, exposed squalor. Yet pride over position in the European public health league neutralised fears to some extent. Public health had curbed some of the environment's most vicious aspects. 79

Housing philanthropy's failure and causes of poverty were complex. Skilled artisans could be encouraged to save and to linking saving with better accommodation yet often this extended only to renting better accommodation. Many were never sufficiently secure to buy, others who did did not necessarily retain houses. Homeowning, with implications of moving to areas associated with a higher social grouping, remained an alien concept to the masses. Model housing was invariably a commercial failure. Investigations of the poor's conditions by the Church of Scotland's Glasgow Presbytery and a Glasgow Municipal Commission added to information on the question but clarified little. 80

For many it remained simply a moral question. John Burns encouraged the idea that overcrowded tenants ought to cease betting, "think more and drink less, of their own will help reformers to help them, to be persistent in rising upwards not vigilant in sliding down." 81 It was difficult to locate causes and authorities responsible for solutions. There was much division, even between the socialists Glasier and Burgess, on the extent of Corporation duty here. Many made moral rescue work the priority.
Former city treasurer Alex Murray saw even the Gorbals' problem as "to the extent of ½ a drink problem", and alleged that if the latter were tackled "the Corporation in 2 years would settle all the housing problem there was so far as the decent poor were concerned." Even in 1904 many still thought "the publican held the slums in the hollow of his hands", although some had moved to more sophisticated analyses. The theme of publican greed and temperance and thrift as lifelines of the deserving poor were strengthened in socialism's early years by cults of respectability and national efficiency. Philanthropy therefore was one of many factors which delayed subsidised municipal housing. In 1914 the S.T.L. quoted Glasgow's public health chief on the "filth productiveness per acre" of Cowcaddens, the Royal Commission on Housing, Shaftesbury, the Committee on Physical Deterioration, Booth and Snowden to stress that where poverty caused intemperance that poverty was moral i.e. "lack of knowledge, absence of self-respect, lowness of aim, fewness of wants, and sordid levels of appetites." It demanded "not only better houses for the people but also better people for the houses."

The striking growth of lower middle class groups was very important. Social class categories were no longer static. Although wage earners en mass did not benefit from the mid-Victorian boom, groupings immediately above them on the social ladder did. Blurred lines between classes make generalisations about non-manual occupations difficult. A feature of prosperity was probably a more than proportionate increase in the number and incomes of
middling groups. These, moreover, grew more rapidly than others and experienced the fastest escalation of income. Most were urban based and were employed in industry, commerce, or the service industries which reflected increased expectation of higher living standards. Booth found that although the largest occupied group 1851-81 was "Trade, Retail and Wholesale", relative strengths of other middle class groups were altering. "Commerce" eclipsed teaching as the second highest % of English occupied, although other occupations'relative numerical strength was little altered. Significantly the rising "commerce" category included a wide spread of income brackets, ranging from bankers and accountants down through a hierarchy of clerks who, in 1871 for example, might earn between £20-600.86 Similarly in the Scottish Census of 1871 "Class III Commercial" comprised 114, 694 or 7.8% of the total occupied and 8.2% in 1881. It expanded most 1881-91, rising as a % of the total population from 3.54-4.49% whilst "Agriculture and Fishing" declined. By 1901 the latter and "Class II Domestic" had further declined whilst "Commerce" continued to rise.87 The years after 1875 saw setbacks, retardation of economic growth, falling prices and wages yet this grouping was cushioned against the trends which aided protectionism's revival and socialism's rise. They benefited most from the slow economic recovery of the 1890's and revolutions in transport and communications.

Such was the backdrop of the City and County House Purchase Co. (1904). Its slogan "Houseownership is the signboard of Independence and unmistakable stamp of fore-
The City and County's Links with the I.O.G.T.

A Bazaar and Sale of Work

Will be held by the GRAND LODGE OF SCOTLAND,
International Order of Good Templars,
IN THE
CHARING CROSS HALLS, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow,
on 14th, 15th, and 16th APRIL, 1910, for the purpose of
raising — £2000,—
for Aggressive Work, and the Celebration of the Fortieth Anni-
versary of the introduction of Good Templary into Scotland.

ALL WILLING TO ASSIST SHOULD COMMUNICATE
WITH GRAND SECRETARY AT ONCE. . . .

Contributions in GOODS or MONEY will be gratefully received at
GRAND LODGE OFFICES, 204 St. Vincent Street, GLASGOW;
Or, by R. MURRAY M'INTYRE, Craignell, Bellahouston.

Source: Journal for the Home about the Home,
thought and thrift" echoed mid-century radicals and reformers. House purchase was simplified to a Smilesean 6d per week saving plan. Certificates qualified one for a loan after 4 years. Subscriptions were allowed to lapse in illness or unemployment without financial penalty and, in contrast to modern societies, without costly insurance. The C.C.C. stressed "protection" of the home from "the landlord's missive" as well as from environmental threats. 88

Its directors and trustees were all abstainers, drawn from the commercial elite, e.g. the shipbuilder Councillor Archibald Campbell, shipowners Lang of Greenock and William Mann, Archibald Cranston the coalmaster and D.M. Stevenson the coal exporter, Deacon Convener Andrew Macdonald of Poynter & MacDonald, Thomas Robinson, senior partner of Robinson and Hunter's Tradeston Chemical Works, an evangelical Ulsterman associated with Glasgow mission work, and environmentalists like Dr. Dougan, Steele Convener of the Improvement Trust, and William Dewar of Glasgow Health Dept., lecturer in 'Sanitary Science' at Glasgow Technical College. They were a mixture of moral suasionists and prohibitionists and most were Liberals. 89 They aided the Good Templars and Sons of Rechab and managing director Murray McIntyre was active in the 1920's Scottish Temperance Alliance. 90 They publicised temperance via advertisements in the local press, Christian World, Football Standbook and Land Values - a favourite heading being, "What to do with Your Drink Money?...Buy a House!" 91 They supported counter-attractions and promoted sight-reading and shorthand via a house magazine.
THINK it over; TALK it over; TELL to others THAT

These are a few of the MANY HOUSES purchased by Certificate Holders of the CITY AND COUNTY HOUSE PURCHASE COMPANY, Limited, 166 Buchanan Street, Glasgow.

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE'S RENT.

The Official Blue-Book, just issued, states that during the Year 1906-1907 in ENGLAND AND WALES alone

THE GROSS ESTIMATED RENTAL
(Including the Gross Value of Ratable Hereditaments in London)

ROSE FROM

£254,887,521 to £258,905,070.

The above is the Answer to the following:—

WHY PAY RENT? WHY NOT? "MY DWELLING MY OWN."

(SEENEXT PAGE.)
WHAT would your WIFE and FAMILY APPEAR LIKE IN THE GREAT ARMY OF THE HUSBANDLESS AND FATHERLESS RENT-PAYERS?

THINK WHAT THIS MEANS. THE C.C.C. SYSTEM WILL OBVIATE—WHAT?

C. C. HOUSE PURCHASE C. HUNDREDS HAVE PURCHASED by coming to C.

Our HEAD OFFICE is C.C.C.,
One Six Six BUCHANAN STREET, C.

Or DROP us a POST CARD For PAMPHLET "C. C.," and

We'll POST it to YOU by RETURN.

"THOROUGH."

Comfortable homes were regarded as the supreme counter-attraction.

It was small. Initial share capital was £25,000. Only £7,540 was raised by public issue by 1909. As with savings banks, officials supplied capital. It paid 5% dividends, surplus being diverted into reserve funds. £164,000 was advanced 1904-9 yet surplus was possible. 1906 profits were £879,905 and 1907's £768,525. Like co-operative building it was cautious.\textsuperscript{92} Initially it made on average only 87 advances p.a. - an outlay of £34,916 p.a. or £401 per client. Its default rate was 1%, reflecting caution plus natural preselection through economic fluctuations and renting's prevalence. Many probably did not survive the enrolment period. The C.C.C. was proud of the custom of engine driver/inventor John Stuart because working class custom was exceptional.

Like the "Hillington Park Garden City", also promoted by the movement, it aimed at the lower middle classes. While the Hillington villas required annual payments it took only £1 per month to secure £600 houses. They appealed to the emerging white collar commercial class' aspirations, a group distinct from blue collar workers in terms of the workplace's demands and lifestyle. The C.C.C. had close links with Berrie of the Scottish Clerks' Association, Grand Treasurer of the I.O.G.T. and director of the Scottish Provident Bank or "People's Bank."\textsuperscript{93}

In encouraging suburbanisation they contributed to trends eventually detrimental to class collaboration which
MORAL SUASION AND THRIFT

The cottage-type dwellings favoured by the City and County House Purchase Company.

HOUSE OWNERSHIP

Is the shieldboard of

INDEPENDENCE

and the unmistakable stamp of

FORETHOUGHT AND THRIFT

PROSPECTUS FREE

HOUSE-BUYING MADE AS EASY AS RENT-PAYING

Thousands

of People now living in Houses
PURCHASED THROUGH THE C.C.C. SYSTEM

Why Not You?

LOWEST PRICES of any Company in the Kingdom

CITY AND COUNTY HOUSE PURCHASE CO., LTD.

366 Buchanan Street, GLASGOW

Source: S.P.B.T.A. Annual Reports, 1922, adverts section.
temperance sought. They did so only on a small scale, and such thoughts did not occur to reformers. They were concerned to respond to this new social group's immediate needs and employ abstainers as salesmen and clerks in the process. Poorer wage earners did not benefit but it was assumed that they had first to participate in other areas of thrift like savings banks. The unemployed's lot was hard yet via temperance pledges and temperance labour bureaux they too could eventually be assisted to participate.94 Small suburban semi-detached houses, reminiscent of cottages of an earlier era, were C.C.C. favourites. (See illustration opposite). They were essentially assertions of the democratic ideal by middle class suburbanites keen to claim the city hinterland for respectability.

Chartist influenced idealised notions of homeownership were perpetuated in Britain by middle class labourism as they were in the colonies by emigrant labour leaders like James Munro.95 In both settings building society promotion was rather conservative reformers' response to social change, particularly upward mobility and a "felt want" for homeownership in the face of a vicious environment. Whilst housing philanthropy was virtually moribund by the turn of the century some of its ideas and assumptions endured in companies like the C.C.C.96 This housing's architectural standards were not very high given escalation of building costs in this period, yet it is in many ways more interesting than the high class building instituted by landowners which produced Glasgow's West End,97 highlighting relationships between building proc-
esses, social structure and cultural forms and hinting at inequalities and injustices inherent in the city building process. Idealism mingled with the self interest of sanitary engineers like Shanks and D. & R. Fulton, acetylene lighting and heating specialists like William Moyes & Son, a spectrum of furnishers advertising in the temperance press - not to mention builders and architects who supported temperance.98

Building societies were not unqualified successes. They made no impact on the numbers who applied for parochial aid, or who made possible formation of a Glasgow Pawnbrokers' Association.99 Membership was limited and declined 1890-1900. Yet by 1920 there were 747, 589 members in 1,271 U.K. societies. Scots were probably under-represented in these figures yet the movement was a significant factor in steady suburbanisation over 1870-91. The latter had important implications for local politics and for the cult of respectability instrumental in fostering an insurance industry.100

Insurance.

Concurrent to growth of building societies was the phenomenal rise of insurance companies, many operating on proprietary basis of allocation of shares to the public. "By the end of the 19th century the market for life assurance contained millions of private and business customers."101

Life assurance, differentiated from other types by insurance of a fixed sum on the certainty of death of
the insured or at the end of an agreed term, had 3 categories. 'Term' for the payment of a sum in the event of death during a fixed term, 'whole life' paid out after the insured's death and endowments yielding a sum at the end of an agreed period or earlier if the insured had died. In addition companies also sold annuities which paid out regularly in return for instalment or lump sum investment.

It was not new. It was used by the 16th century commercial elite and was exclusive till the Huguenot mathematician Moivre and Dodson evolved more scientific life assurance. Statistical tables of mortality and premiums facilitated acceptance of broader risks and emergence of nationwide businesses. It thrived in the Napoleonic era and joint stock booms of 1824-44. Its market remained small until the 1850's when industrial insurance, involving small sums collected frequently, commenced. Popularisation was aided by allowance of premiums as deductions against income tax after 1853 and by company competition, an indicator of mid-Victorian prosperity.

Out of haphazard marketing, providing rich pickings for agents/brokers, greater professionalisation emerged. Companies developed branch structures in the 1860's and 1870's. The subsequent take off of the joint stock, mutual, mixed and proprietary companies of the industry reflected in endowment assurances's popularity. This was pioneered in 1837 but became prominent only in the late 19th century and produced ½ of all
policies issued by 1900. It represented a different type of insurance investment from 'whole life', which epitomised domestic duty and horror of hard times. Endowments were investments, suggesting growing confidence of second generation commercial elites, in financial terms at least, and an element of calculated risk in some ways parallel to working class gambling.104

Connections between insurance and temperance were, as one would expect of a movement powered by the commercial elite, numerous. This was encouraged by shifts in insurance's geographical location from London to the provinces as provincial firms built up regional markets, much as brewing did. By the end of the 19th century provincial companies outnumbered metropolitan ones. Glasgow and Edinburgh were the headquarters of many.105

The temperance press advertised insurance companies. In spite of reformers like Richardson Campbell's talk of insurance the movement's real interest was in assurance.106 Most advertisers did ordinary life and annuities e.g. Life Association of Scotland, formerly the Edinburgh and Glasgow Assurance (1838)107 Equitable Life (1859) and Caledonian Insurance (1805)108 active in Britain and America, the London based British Protector (1835)109 and Standard Life, originally Life Assurance of Scotland, linked to several other well known firms.110

The Lancashire Insurance Co. was Manchester based yet had West of Scotland and Dundee "Boards" of M.R. Shaw Stewart of Greenock and Blackhall M.P., shipbuilder Robert Barclay, Henry Watson, John Strang, Glasgow City Chamberlain and
author of "Glasgow and Its Clubs" (1856), a social commentary on 1795-1855, Dundee merchants and the builder Charles Smith. Its amalgamation with Scottish Commercial added to its appeal to the movement. Sovereign Life (1845) was London based but similarly associated with Phillips of the N.T.L., Glasgow physician Charles Ritchie and Archibald Livingston.

North British and Mercantile (1809) was attractive because of the reassuring presence of well known figures on a Glasgow Board of Management and its amalgamation with Volunteer Service Life (1861-5). Scottish Amicable was a local with "minimum premium" policies, while firms like Liverpool and London Globe (1836) and Scottish Imperial (1865) were favoured for strength acquired through amalgamations.

Several regular advertisers were 'mutuals', e.g. Equitable, Friend in Need, Scottish Widows (1815) which by 1860 had a board headed by Rosebery and equally impressive funds, and Scottish Provident (1837). The mutual system, championed by Chambers' Journal, had no entry fees or stamp duty charges. Members shared profits and paid small premiums. It offered greatest incentive to thrift - company surplus was reserved for those who made most payments. Proprietary companies represented self-help for the affluent whilst these reached a broader spectrum of lower middle/working class groups.

Scottish Provident offered £100 assurance on death for premiums of 9d-1/10½ p.w. depending on age in the 1870's. For the 34.7% of the population lucky enough to be employed
in manufacturing in 1870, wage levels were good. Skilled ironworkers, furnacemen, miners, shipwrights and the building trades earned £1-4 p.w. and, with continuity of employment, could easily afford this. Scottish Provident, founded by a master printer interested in friendly societies and Cleghorn of Edinburgh Monthly Magazine, a savings bank promoter, made steady progress in the 1870's. By 1880 £624,400 surplus was distributed to members. As with savings banks, holders of large policies bolstered the firm, as large reassurances in 1895 in response to recently evolved death duties reflected. Middle class investment, spurred by the 1909 Assurance Companies Act discouraging mismanagement, contributed to accumulation of funds of £15,700,000, a surplus of £1,158,000 and new business worth £2,078,000 by 1915.

Among several such provident institutions of the 1830's and 1840's was the U.K. Temperance General Provident Institution, specialising in mutual life and annuities, and with a "temperance section" with special abstainers' rates. By 1870 it had £1 million capital, and annual income of £200,000.

Prior to 1850 its clientele was middle class. Thereafter it used industrial insurance techniques to appeal to the masses, stressing ability to cushion them against life's contingencies e.g. births, marriage, bereavement, housing and employment problems, and especially old age poverty. For 1/- a man of 21 could secure at 60 £50 paid half yearly for the rest of his life. The firm countered the need to graduate premiums by age by promoting
life assurance via the juvenile temperance press.\textsuperscript{122}

In Scotland Robert Greville LLD, and Edward Woodward LLD an inspector of schools, W.P. Alison Edinburgh University's former Professor of Medicine, Andrew Buchanan Glasgow's Professor of Medicine, Dr. William Young, Revd. Thomas McCrie, Robert Shaw Director of National Bank of Scotland, and John Wigham Jr., the Quaker merchant, were associated with its work.\textsuperscript{123} It interested abstainers keen to promote temperance and to demand special recognition for the teetotal 'elect' by thrift institutions and also health specialists. Its mortality data was interesting as confirmation of tentative research in pathology and as an indication of patchy working class medical cover.

It had regional offices in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen, staffed by abstainers. By 1875 it had trebled its income, capital reached £1,700,000, over £100,000,000 had been disbursed and "profits realised" amounted to £434,400.\textsuperscript{124} This was due to Templary's impact on Britain, and a new wave of interest in temperance. Increased Scottish interest reflected expansion of the firm's "Council of Reference for Scotland" to include respected figures like Bailies Collins and Hamilton, Revd. Henry Calderwood, Edinburgh University's Professor of Moral Philosophy, Councillor Mackenzie of Glasgow, Stephen Mason, later Liberal M.P. for Mid Lanark, the Revds. Brown, Wallace, Reid of the S.T.L., Hill the publisher, Robert Knox of Rainy Knox & Co., Kirk of the I.O.G.T., businessman Henry Herbertson and shipowner William Lindsay. The local district superintendent and the Scottish manager were associated
with Templary, S.T.L. and S.P.B.T.A. Familiar faces and promise of profits 20% above those paid to the general section sold over 60,000 policies by the end of the 1870's. Expansion ensued. The temperance section's bonus for 1876-81 amounted to 41-135% of premiums paid - an excellent incentive if not to become "T.T." at least to take out more insurance. By 1898 the firm's income was 8.5 times that of 1859. Although income increased by £11,222 p.a. over 1861-75 over 1891-6 it rose £17,400 p.a. on average.\textsuperscript{125}

Success in turn stimulated interest. Alexander Allan, A.H. McLean, Hugh Lamberton, James Anderson the Glasgow starch and gum manufacturer, the Revs. Ferguson, Johnston and Kay, Councillor Dickson, and the Uddingston merchant James Lusk became associated with it in the 1880's. While the London board, men like Bowly, the Quaker s Barret and Smithies, John Taylor the Sheffield Temperance reformer and Benjamin Whitworth M.P. the textile magnate, were probably paid attendance fees for their work, willingness of Scottish reformers to endorse the institution was less straightforward.\textsuperscript{126} The Scottish Council was a far more mixed group in religious and temperance applications than the Quaker dominated metropolitan Board, although it had a Glasgow bias.\textsuperscript{127}

Some of those attracted wished to control patronage. It advertised for "active temperance men" as agents. For others it was another cause in which social acquaintances and business colleagues came together. There was also a local recognition factor. Eminent citizens were utilised by insurance to gain confidence and capital. Such men
regarded this as a status accolade and possible stepping stone to coveted positions as bank figureheads. Prior to 1900 insurance shares were also extremely profitable. Thereafter competition reduced dividends from 20-10% of profits. Mobility was a theme at all levels of the insurance hierarchy, Dick, John Finlayson the temperance agent, David Fortune a poor boy who became Secretary of Scottish Legal Insurance and a Liberal 'wire-puller', and Selkirk, Marr and Mann rose via agency work. Insurance was also a useful stop-gap, as journalism was, for early Labour leaders like Shinwell, who worked for Scottish Legal. Opportunities were legion. In 1870 there were 165 insurance entries in the Glasgow P.O. Directories, by 1880 230, and by 1890 they required division into 192 agents, 140 brokers and 251 companies. In 1900 there were 159 brokers and 254 companies at work in Glasgow, although later insurance contracted slightly.

Expansion, fostered by life work and Employers' Liability Assurance after 1888, created opportunities for the commercial elite's sons. R. Smeal Jnr. became manager of the National Guarantee and Suretyship Association and the iron-founder Bailie Borland's second son became Glasgow manager of Law Union & Crown Insurance. Robert Blyth, son of a partner in a muslin merchant's business, became an accountant, Scottish Amicable's manager, and in turn promoted working class thrift and city charities.

Accountants emerged as a distinct profession in this period, hardening demarcation lines between clerks and accountants. A British Institute of Actuaries (1848)
had only reflected 'City' developments. By 1870 a
Glasgow Institute of Accountants and Actuaries had 65
members, already more than the local writers' society. By
1880 it had 103 and owned a hall for social activities.
Men like Selkirk rose from it to prominence in the Scottish
Institute of Accountants, the profession's regulating body.
By 1890 it had 238 members, and a hierarchical structure
of members, honorary members and associates indicating
professional status.

Marr and Rodger of the S.T.L. were also prominent
in the Insurance and Actuarial Society of Glasgow (1880).
They encouraged its lectures to become additional temper-
ance platforms for Dr. Neil Carmichael, those like
Finlayson, President of the Faculty of Physicians and
Surgeons interested in T.B., and public health experts like
Russel, creating an additional pressure group on questions
like the health and fire hazards of the central districts
of the city.130 This was unsurprising. Brokers like
Mann were not only apprised of all available data on health
and mortality but also mixed socially with Glasgow's 'civic
church enthusiasts", e.g. Glasgow University's Professor
Caird, and espoused a wide range of reform interests.131
By 1914 however some relegated parochial interests in
pursuit of careers as Lloyds underwriters.

As many of the largest companies had Scottish
head offices, opportunities were available at the apex of
insurance. William Connal, Provost James Morton the
Greenock ironmaster and William Wotherspoon of Castlehead,
all teetotalers, were directors of Queen Insurance alongside
RECHABITE MORTALITY PROPAGANDA

ABSTINENCE AND LONGEVITY.

The following diagram tells its own tale. It gives the mortality per 1,000 per annum, at the ages stated, of:

1. The Rechabites, represented by a white bar.
2. Twenty representative Assurance companies, represented by a shaded bar.
3. The Foresters, represented by a black bar.

Source: Scottish Temperance Annual 1901, page 53.
MORTALITY FIGURES AS PROPAGANDA (2)

THE RELATIVE MORTALITY OF OCCUPIED AND RETIRED MALES, 25 TO 65 YEARS OF AGE, FROM ALL CAUSES AND FROM VARIOUS CAUSES.

Registrar General's 65th Annual Report, Table IV., England and Wales.

CAUSES OF DEATH.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference No.</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>All Causes</th>
<th>Alcoholism</th>
<th>Cancer</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Diseases of the Nervous System</th>
<th>Lung Diseases</th>
<th>Bright's Disease</th>
<th>Suicide</th>
<th>Total of Column 8 &amp; 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Average of all Males, 1004</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(The Standard)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Medical Profession</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Commercial Travelers</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Farm Labourers</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Brewers</td>
<td>1393</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Publicans</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Publicans' Servants</td>
<td>1383</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Stationers</td>
<td>931</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Grocers</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Drapers</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Engine, Machine, Boiler Makers, File Workers</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Tool, Scissors and File Workers</td>
<td>1315</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-66</td>
<td>Building Trades</td>
<td>934</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Wool, Worsted Manufacture</td>
<td>954</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Cotton Manufacture</td>
<td>1114</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Coal Miners</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I.—Of these sixteen lines of occupation, the three classes associated with the sale of alcohol—a deleterious though alluring drug—have the highest mortality.

II.—And the measure of their close association with alcohol is the measure of their mortality. Publicans' servants—with the longest hours of labour—have the highest rate; publicans themselves come second, and brewers, whose close association with alcohol is mainly during the business hours of the day—with Sundays off—come third.

These are the facts of experience, gathered from the lives of millions—the liquor trade—with its seven days labour per week—is the most deadly, the most diseased, and the most drunken of the trades enumerated. And these are fathers! What is the legacy they are handing on to the next generation?

*British Temperance Advocate.*

Source: S.T.L.R. 1915, p. 84.
MORAL SUASION AND THRIFT

Temperance Insurance Propaganda Work 1866-96

Abstinence and Longevity

"Evidence is accumulating year by year showing the advantages accruing to the abstainer compared with the moderate drinker. The following tables published by Insurance Societies are most interesting and instructive, and clearly demonstrate that abstinence is conducive to long life".

United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Temperance Expected Claims</th>
<th>Section Actual Claims</th>
<th>General Expected Claims</th>
<th>Section Actual Claims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866-70</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>1008</td>
<td>944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-75</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>1268</td>
<td>1330</td>
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<td>1876-80</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>651</td>
<td>1485</td>
<td>1480</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881-85</td>
<td>1179</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>1530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-90</td>
<td>1472</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>1750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-95</td>
<td>1686</td>
<td>1203</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6542</td>
<td>4626</td>
<td>9235</td>
<td>8987</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scottish Temperance Life Assurance Company.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Temperance Expected Claims</th>
<th>Section Actual Claims</th>
<th>General Expected Claims</th>
<th>Section Actual Claims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1883-7</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15 or 35%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7 or 62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-92</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>79 50%</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>33 68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-97</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>138 48%</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>67 70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>232 47%</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>107 69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sceptre Life Association

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Temperance Expected Claims</th>
<th>Section Actual Claims</th>
<th>General Expected Claims</th>
<th>Section Actual Claims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1884-8</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>110 or 56.41%</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>368 or 79.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>184 58.97%</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>466 82.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-6</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>138 58.23%</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>297 80.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>432 58.06%</td>
<td>1399</td>
<td>1131 80.84%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Scottish Temperance Annual 1899-1900, page 52.
MORAL SUASION AND THRIFT

Temperance Insurance Propaganda Work 1866-96

Abstinence and Longevity

"Evidence is accumulating year by year showing the advantages accruing to the abstainer compared with the moderate drinker. The following tables published by Insurance Societies are most interesting and instructive, and clearly demonstrate that abstinence is conducive to long life."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution</th>
<th>Temperance</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Temperance</td>
<td>Section</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>Section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claims</td>
<td>Expected</td>
<td>Actual</td>
<td>Claims</td>
<td>Expected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-70</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>1008</td>
<td>944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-75</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>1268</td>
<td>1330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-80</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>651</td>
<td>1485</td>
<td>1480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-85</td>
<td>1179</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>1530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-90</td>
<td>1472</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>1750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-95</td>
<td>1686</td>
<td>1203</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6542</td>
<td>4626</td>
<td>9235</td>
<td>8987</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scottish Temperance Life Assurance Company.

| Years | Temperance | Section | General | Section |
| Claims | Expected | Actual | Claims | Expected | Actual |
| 1883-7 | 43 | 15 or 35% | 11 | 7 or 62% |
| 1888-92 | 159 | 79 | 50% | 49 | 33 | 68% |
| 1893-97 | 200 | 138 | 48% | 95 | 67 | 70% |
| Total | 492 | 232 | 47% | 155 | 107 | 69% |

Sceptre Life Association.

| Years | Temperance | Section | General | Section |
| Claims | Expected | Actual | Claims | Expected | Actual |
| 1884-8 | 195 | 110 or 56.41% | 466 | 368 or 79.00% |
| 1889- | 1893 | 312 | 184 | 58.97% | 564 | 466 | 82.62% |
| 1894-6 | 237 | 138 | 58.23% | 359 | 297 | 80.49% |
| Total | 744 | 432 | 58.06% | 1399 | 1131 | 80.84% |

Source: Scottish Temperance Annual 1899-1900, page 52.
MORAL SUASION AND THRIFT

The Progress of Scottish Temperance Life over the years 1883-1914

Table A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1887</th>
<th>1892</th>
<th>1897</th>
<th>1902</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Policies</td>
<td>3,483</td>
<td>4,749</td>
<td>5,774</td>
<td>6,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Sums Assured</td>
<td>671,455</td>
<td>964,102</td>
<td>1,344,520</td>
<td>1,875,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average amount of each policy</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Premiums received</td>
<td>51,392</td>
<td>170,769</td>
<td>316,988</td>
<td>498,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total funds</td>
<td>25,501</td>
<td>142,908</td>
<td>376,066</td>
<td>767,922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonus paid to policy holders</td>
<td>20/-</td>
<td>25/-</td>
<td>27/-</td>
<td>27/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Policies in force</td>
<td>545,860</td>
<td>1,250,387</td>
<td>2,213,745</td>
<td>3,354,347</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B.

The Value of New Policies (£s) 1883-1914.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>69,425</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>375,885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>150,355</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>412,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>172,210</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>412,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>175,753</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>451,969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>176,509</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>461,754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>201,475</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>551,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>206,725</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>551,638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>235,709</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>582,690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>355,375</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>563,365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>359,183</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>550,235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>362,075</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>605,890</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Scottish Temperance Life Annual Reports 1883-1914. I am indebted to Mr David Anderson of the Public Relations Department of Scottish Mutual for access to these.
Collins, James Hamilton, George MacFarlane, biscuit manufacturer and Y.M.C.A. President with interests similar to leading merchants, J.R. Miller and ex-Provost Campbell of Greenock backed this venture. Its manager and moving spirit was A.K. Rodger J.P., evangelist, Rutherglen provost and Liberal M.P., an S.T.L. director and 1900 President of the Insurance and Actuarial Society. In contrast to the C.C.C., its Board was allegedly "representative of all shades of politics." Interest reflected shift of focus from housing philanthropy to more profitable self-help. It was an alternative too to industrial insurance, in which 47% of weekly premiums paid collection costs. It undercut industrials in both sections and offered yearly or quarterly premiums.

It also won an "Insurance Banking and Financial Review" prize for its house policy and brochure "Why Pay Rent?" in 1903. Rechabites believed that this work rapidly made it a success. It ran "an attractive scheme whereby a house is purchased and a life insured for little more than the usual cost of rent." Insurance here was a useful auxiliary of the building society movement, and attempted to reduce class tension as symbolised by rent problems. Prudential, with which Sir George Green was associated, also pioneered loans for this purpose on life assurance policy security, a practice common in 1830-50 and later widespread. Loans however, like savings bank withdrawal facilities were not a feature overly publicised. In 1904 Scottish Temperance loaned only £3,030 thus, yet had £74,522 invested in "heritable property". They were
### SCOTTISH TEMPERANCE LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED

#### THIRTY-ONE YEARS' PROGRESS.

**LIFE DEPARTMENT.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>New Policies Issued</th>
<th>Premiums</th>
<th>Interest, &amp;c.</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Life Assurance Fund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>412,650</td>
<td>126,412</td>
<td>32,699</td>
<td>57,131</td>
<td>2,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>717,375</td>
<td>219,318</td>
<td>79,559</td>
<td>299,478</td>
<td>2,073,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>212,650</td>
<td>95,796</td>
<td>32,699</td>
<td>275,488</td>
<td>1,745,676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>412,650</td>
<td>126,412</td>
<td>32,699</td>
<td>57,131</td>
<td>2,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>717,375</td>
<td>219,318</td>
<td>79,559</td>
<td>299,478</td>
<td>2,073,776</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### MORTALITY EXPERIENCE.

**Thirty Years (1883-1912).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Temperance Section</th>
<th>General Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Claims Expected.</td>
<td>Actual Claims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883-1887</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-1892</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-1897</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>1388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-1902</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-1907</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908-1912</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,315</td>
<td>1,074</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*According to Tables compiled by the Institute of Actuaries from the experience of twenty leading Life Assurance Companies.*

Source: Scottish Temperance League Register and Abstainers' Almanac, 1915, page 83.
sympathetic to some forms of credit as part of the respectable lifestyle than some reformers yet the possibility of non-constructive use of loans, e.g. to finance a non-productive lifestyle or feed personal vices, was not something they desired to delve too deeply into.

Its investment pattern paralleled that of the G.S.B. As increased actuarial skill obviated need for "liquid funds", government securities lost appeal. Other companies moved away from investment bolstering municipal socialism and local industries towards more profitable overseas investments by 1914. Scottish Temperance continued to invest in railways, school boards, and local sympathisers like J. & P. Coats.\textsuperscript{137} This was significant, as insurance companies' investment in stocks and shares trebled over 1880-1914 before the Great War re-directed investment to government securities, and as Scottish Temperance transacted over £1 million p.a. by 1914. Indeed "life funds" alone had reached £3 million.

The work of Scottish Temperance continues as Scottish Mutual Life. Financially, temperance assurance like that of the Wesleyan chapels, co-op movement and Salvation Army was relatively successful. Assessment of how far this type of thrift was well 'received' by the masses however lies outside this thesis' scope.

It was "a form of thrift which exceeded all others". By 1910 total U.K. life funds amounted to £348,545,470. Campbell regarded the number and strength of companies as evidence that the "doctrine of duty" did not go unheard.\textsuperscript{138} 'Industrials' represented working class investment of
**MORAL SUASION AND THRIFT**

The Success of Life Insurance Promotion by 31.12.1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>£s.</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>£s.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstainers &amp; General</td>
<td>528,501</td>
<td>London &amp; Lancs. Life</td>
<td>2,561,262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance Ltd.</td>
<td>6,529,376</td>
<td>London Life Ltd.</td>
<td>5,166,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperial Life Fund</td>
<td>2,654,083</td>
<td>London &amp; Manchester</td>
<td>86,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provident &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>3,679,906</td>
<td>London &amp; Provincial</td>
<td>86,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlas Ltd.</td>
<td>2,085,791</td>
<td>Marine &amp; General</td>
<td>1,786,166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britannic Ltd.</td>
<td>1,110,201</td>
<td>Metropolitan</td>
<td>2,254,005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Equitable</td>
<td>1,680,124</td>
<td>National Mutual</td>
<td>2,901,903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Life</td>
<td>22,466</td>
<td>National Provident</td>
<td>6,920,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Union &amp; National</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>North British &amp;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Widows</td>
<td>7,352</td>
<td>Mercantile</td>
<td>15,645,126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caledonian</td>
<td>2,893,137</td>
<td>Northern Ltd.</td>
<td>5,040,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Century Ltd.</td>
<td>414,027</td>
<td>Norwich Union Life</td>
<td>8,970,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Glasgow</td>
<td>3,119,328</td>
<td>Scottish Imperial</td>
<td>690,189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Life Ltd.</td>
<td>95,571</td>
<td>Omnia Ltd.</td>
<td>2,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy Mutual</td>
<td>4,662,050</td>
<td>Pearl Ltd.</td>
<td>2,573,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy Pensions</td>
<td>759,314</td>
<td>Phoenix Ltd.</td>
<td>10,039,764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical, Medical &amp; General</td>
<td>5,488,071</td>
<td>Profits and Income</td>
<td>73,431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Union</td>
<td>4,394,572</td>
<td>Provident Free Home</td>
<td>169,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West of England Fund</td>
<td>578,941</td>
<td>Provident Clerks &amp;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand in Hand &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>3,697,278</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>2,679,416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Life &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>3,938,113</td>
<td>Prudential Ltd.</td>
<td>41,425,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consolidated Ltd.</td>
<td>30,319</td>
<td>Refuge &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>5,261,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative Ltd.</td>
<td>128,834</td>
<td>Royal &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>10,306,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs Fund</td>
<td>509,221</td>
<td>Royal Exchange</td>
<td>3,987,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>2,117,705</td>
<td>Royal London</td>
<td>90,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>4,449,114</td>
<td>Royal National Nurses</td>
<td>1,404,517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>4,456,863</td>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>413,691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh Chartered Accountants</td>
<td>64,078</td>
<td>Sceptre Ltd.</td>
<td>1,177,151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English &amp; Scottish Law</td>
<td>2,851,296</td>
<td>Scottish Accident</td>
<td>184,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equitable</td>
<td>4,592,246</td>
<td>Scottish Amicable</td>
<td>5,540,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enquiry &amp; Law</td>
<td>4,627,477</td>
<td>Scottish Equitable</td>
<td>5,877,935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends Provident</td>
<td>3,418,756</td>
<td>Scottish Life Ltd.</td>
<td>1,616,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>2,132,033</td>
<td>Scottish Metropolitan</td>
<td>813,344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Accident Fire &amp; Life</td>
<td>65,632</td>
<td>Scottish Provident</td>
<td>14,760,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gresham Ltd.</td>
<td>10,216,844</td>
<td>Scottish Temperance</td>
<td>1,680,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian Ltd.</td>
<td>3,362,015</td>
<td>Scottish Union &amp;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>757,875</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>4,859,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearts of Oak Ltd.</td>
<td>14,668</td>
<td>Scottish Widows</td>
<td>20,240,396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law, Union &amp; Rock</td>
<td>7,611,359</td>
<td>Standard</td>
<td>12,668,288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal &amp; General</td>
<td>7,134,075</td>
<td>Star</td>
<td>6,752,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Association of Scotland</td>
<td>5,807,793</td>
<td>Sun Life</td>
<td>8,601,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liverpool &amp; London Globe</td>
<td>5,109,211</td>
<td>U.K.Temperance</td>
<td>9,182,354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liverpool Victoria</td>
<td>23,425</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>886,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London Assurance</td>
<td>2,494,655</td>
<td>Wesleyan &amp; General</td>
<td>810,784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorkshire Ltd.</td>
<td>2,040,285</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Industrial Insurance specifically

Totals for the main 17 companies (including Abstainers' & General, Co-op, and Salvation Army) equalled.................. 46,497,835

Foreign Companies Totals for 11 of these were ................ 407,919,200

Source: Richardson Campbell "Provident and Industrial Institutions", pp.200-3.
£46,497,835. Moreover the market was sufficiently large to absorb firms like Sun Life of Canada, yet another supported by the movement because of its positive bias towards abstainers. 139

The Scottish Temperance Annual of 1910 claimed that the movement's mortality statistics were irrefutable by drinkers, doctors and the Trade, an exaggeration yet insurance had been forced to see abstinence as beneficial - in contrast to the pioneer Warner's payment of extra premiums. 140 By 1899 institutions like Scottish Provident were induced to allow for "neurotic disease" in calculations 141 and by 1904 18 refused to risk insuring the Trade, 2 weighted Trade premiums' age factor, and 53 charged this 'dangerous trade' extra. 142 This was largely the result of propaganda from the teetotal companies, and sympathisers like Sceptre. Such statistics were publicised by Sir Robert Giffen in The Statist and by the 1902 Board of Trade Blue Book, enhancing insurance's efficiency as a science of probabilities, and providing precedents for the insurance work of A.S.H. 143

Insurance was popularised however only within a limited radius of respectable lower middle class groups. There were 21 non-policy holders for each holder in the U.K. in 1901. Regional ratios may have been less favourable. 144 Rodger made clear in 1909 that it was only a viable proposition for those with more than the 21/7d p.w. requisite to sustain the thriftiest family. 145 Yet the faith in laissez faire which thrift agencies created in a small but articulate and socially aware if not socially
critical group active in pressure group politics explains their mixed reception of Liberal insurance schemes. This was true of the Rechabites, a form of working class thrift as important as great industrials like Prudential.

The Independent Order of Rechabites (I.O.R.)

Origins of Friendly Societies.

Among the earliest was a mutual aid society formed by Scots resident in London in 1613 in the wake of migration encouraged by James VI's accession to the English throne. They were humanitarian yet designed to "secure the country against beggars, parish poor, almshouses and hospitals." They were humanitarian yet designed to "secure the country against beggars, parish poor, almshouses and hospitals."¹⁴⁶ In the years before this response was given an intellectual framework by Malthus and Chalmers, friendly societies were already a reaction to and commentary upon provision for the poor.¹⁴⁷

They multiplied rapidly in Scotland and England from the 18th century on. The Weavers' Society of Anderston (1738) exemplified a tendency to be "virtually trade unions"¹⁴⁸ modelled on early incorporations. Like freemasonry they outgrew their exclusive "operative" phase. Later societies catered for burgesses and their widows, city deacons, preses of charitable societies, clans and migrants from particular areas. The latter overlapped with wealthy philanthropists' benevolent societies for needy rural migrants.¹⁴⁹ 24 such societies were established in Glasgow over 1725-1856.¹⁵⁰ The Western Friendly Society (1832)¹⁵¹ and City of Glasgow (1862)¹⁵² both catered for the working
classes, were associated with Presbyterian churches, and the temperance,\textsuperscript{153} health and housing reform movements. Like co-operation they were class assertive.\textsuperscript{154}

19th century historians traced the movement to quasi-religious fraternities of ancient Greece. Oddfellows and Foresters traced their lineage to the Romans and Adam respectively,\textsuperscript{155} to identify with 'progress' and 'civilisation'. Fraternal societies often had overtones of paganism, pantheism, and patriotism e.g. the Sons of Scotland.\textsuperscript{156} All claimed descent from medieval guildry for their permutations of chivalric codes.\textsuperscript{157}

More immediate forebears were the Industrial Revolution's "box clubs", encouraged by 1793 legislation recognising right to sue and therefore protect their property and exemption from the 1799 ban on combinations.\textsuperscript{158} These met to levy for relief of members in public houses. A direct response to social and economic change, many were formed in the Black Country. In addition to financial raison d'êtres they also had pronounced social functions. They were notoriously unstable and by the 1840's had been eclipsed by affiliated orders, national fraternal societies with branch structures on the Oddfellows' model.

\textbf{The Rechabites.}

"Wine? I drink none being in that particular of the persuasion of Jonadah, the Son of Rechab."

\cite{Bentham}

By 1835 a teetotal friendly society free from association
THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF RECHABITES

The Emblem of the Order.

Reproduced by permission of the I.O.R., Bath St.,
Glasgow.
INDEPENDENT ORDER OF RECHABITES
(Salford Unity)

THE EMBLEM

The key to the Emblem's symbolism is as follows -

the figures are Peace and her sister Plenty, the Sword and the Olive Branch represent Justice and Peace. Other symbols include the Wheatsheaf (Prosperity), the Beehive (Industry), the Rope (the Strength of Unity), the watching eye of God, the Lamb (Meekness and Self-sacrifice), the Sun (Life's goodness), the Moon and Stars (Perfection), the Serpent (Wisdom), Doves (Gentleness), Tents (the Order), Rainbow (Promise), the Rose, Thistle, Leek, and Shamrock (the national and international strength of the Order), Cornucopia, the Ark (Refuge), St. George and the Dragon (victory over Strong Drink), and the Lifeboat (Security).
with pub-culture and pagan ritual was thought overdue.\(^{159}\)
Abstainers judged subsidy of the Trade, by purchase of 'lodge liquor' in lieu of rent for function rooms, perpetuation of thriftlessness, and of friendly societies' identification with subversive elements.\(^{160}\) They sought to emphasise the movement's evangelical influences, and financial reliability.\(^{161}\)

The Rechabites, like the earlier Shepherds, were a product of industrial Lancashire. Salford, their headquarters, was associated with ironfounding and mining, corn stores and an unsightly cattle wharf. Its rapid urbanisation fuelled reform impulses of local Primitive Methodists, Congregationalists, Church of England 'tin-missions' and the S.D.F. It became "the classic slum", due partly to obstructive localism and ratepayer opposition to necessary expenditure, while class and cultural conflict made it "as closed an urban society as any in Europe."\(^{162}\)

I.O.R. origins lay in burial work.\(^{163}\) It admitted only abstainers, its name being a reference to the abstaining tribe of Chronicles 2: V.55.\(^{164}\) Originally moral suasionist, it later moved towards prohibition.\(^{165}\) Its thrift work encompassed adult and juvenile insurance for sickness, funeral and endowment benefits.

It came to Scotland in 1837, contemporary to the Glasgow cottonspinners' strike, via the Edinburgh-Liverpool stage's guard. He founded Dumfries and Edinburgh tents in 1838. The Edinburgh area was its first District.\(^{166}\) Conjunction of this work with Glasgow publication of the People's Charter and Manchester's formation of the Anti-
Corn Law League reflects the way radical sentiment in the 1830's and 1840's was no mere response to dire economic conditions and related factors, e.g. technological redundancies, the factories Ten Hours Movement, Poor Law provision, the collapse of trades unions and co-operative enterprise, but also represented a range of moral crusades, exemplified by teetotal Chartism, Christian Chartism, Lovett's preoccupation with education, and internationalist and pacifist sentiment. Rapid Rechabite progress from 1839-41 provides interesting commentary on rejection of the "Six Points" and activities of physical force Chartists. It would be simplistic to see Chartist decline and disillusionment with political reform as automatic aids to recruitment. Rechabitism did recruit in areas of Glasgow where skilled artisans were no strangers to political reform agitation, yet the success of its combination of evangelicalism, Benthamism and individualism into an ethos intended to guide the every action of its working class members points to the latent potential of moral reform in Dicey's "period of Benthamism or Individualism." By 1841 there were 47 Scottish tents and 4,000 Rechabites.

In structure it resembled the I.O.G.T. and Masonry. The hierarchy comprised local tents, Districts, and a Board elected by ballot and retired in rotation. It was governed by lengthy rules. Orderly meetings were encouraged on pain of fines. Reading and "singing of indecent songs" during lodge meetings was expressly prohibited. Amidst much pedantry representation rulings prevented the brotherhood being strained by over-represen-
tation of any one area, or by implication occupational grouping.

It was wary of paid officials. Volunteers were used to promote the I.O.R. Introduction of paid staff was associated with competition and money-grubbing materialism which would emphasise numbers at the expense of individual commitment to temperance. The burden of accounting and paperwork fell on unpaid tent officials. The High Secretary was paid a small salary but the Order borrowed agents. Some larger Districts employed Secretaries. All had salaried medical advisers.170

Imperfect centralisation long discouraged professionalisation. Friendly society democracy, lauded by the Webbs, maintained strong local interests, epitomised by local financial control.171 Centralisation commenced in the early 19th century, but conformity was difficult to achieve given threats of schism, as at the Oddfellows' 1845 Glasgow conference. Secession was a frequent and ironic consequence of mass support, especially in areas with "local traditions of working class self-help or self-defence."172

Rechabite evangelicalism was thoroughly predictable given interconnection of friendly societies, the Sunday School movement and the Baptist and Independent Methodist Churches, and teetotal parentage. Scottish Rechabites were often associated with the Free Church. Chalmers' favourable comments on the Order in "Scripture Readings" were prized.173

Secrecy and Protestant zeal aroused the suspicions
of many, notably O'Connell after 1844 attempts to recruit in Ireland. His allegations that Rechabites were "guilty of a transportable offence....introduced a bad spirit among the working classes" and lacked Father Mathew's support were countered vigorously in the few newspapers willing to publish a reply to his tirade. The Order's ecumenical image was destroyed.\textsuperscript{174} In the West of Scotland this was heightened by membership overlap with masonry and its 1840 scandal. Use of some tents by Chartists was also divisive.\textsuperscript{175}

Strains surfaced in debates on an Endowment Bill to increase centralisation, protect funds and gain access to investment in savings banks of government securities at the expense of local freedom in establishing contribution scales. Their bill was withdrawn following opposition from Shaftesbury, then Chairman of Committees on Private Bills, and the Home Secretary Graham.\textsuperscript{176} The Executive continued to push for revision of rules to prepare for enrolment of tents under the Order, and new mortality tables were commissioned from the celebrated actuary J.P. Neison. Earlier tables by the Highland Society (1824) and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1835) were known to be flawed yet most Districts repudiated Neison's as too expensive. Acrimony produced secession and dissolution of the Glasgow and Greenock Districts. Many followed suit. Few Districts remained by mid-century. In many areas thoughts of gaining as much as £14 per head by dissolution were too great a temptation in prevailing economic circumstances. U.K.
### I.O.R. STRENGTH

Table showing the Rechabites Adult and Juvenile membership and the total funds of the Voluntary Section at each year-end from 1835-1934.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Adult Membership</th>
<th>Juvenile Membership</th>
<th>Total Funds £</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>3,200</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>1,236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>10,320</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>3,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>21,542</td>
<td>1,046</td>
<td>10,501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>22,684</td>
<td>1,323</td>
<td>15,277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>18,268</td>
<td>1,360</td>
<td>11,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>12,500</td>
<td>1,420</td>
<td>11,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>9,080</td>
<td>1,082</td>
<td>13,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>6,733</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>13,285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>6,005</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>18,232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>5,940</td>
<td>972</td>
<td>19,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>6,009</td>
<td>934</td>
<td>23,341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>6,115</td>
<td>974</td>
<td>29,754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>6,670</td>
<td>1,020</td>
<td>38,586</td>
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<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>6,974</td>
<td>1,403</td>
<td>42,984</td>
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<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>10,342</td>
<td>2,409</td>
<td>49,883</td>
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<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>12,931</td>
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<td>63,496</td>
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<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>15,402</td>
<td>4,389</td>
<td>90,824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>21,310</td>
<td>5,672</td>
<td>98,997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>28,932</td>
<td>6,415</td>
<td>120,290</td>
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<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>32,086</td>
<td>9,488</td>
<td>159,100</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>33,452</td>
<td>12,952</td>
<td>217,441</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>34,641</td>
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<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>40,822</td>
<td>20,904</td>
<td>288,321</td>
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<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>51,473</td>
<td>24,731</td>
<td>331,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>67,722</td>
<td>28,298</td>
<td>434,477</td>
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<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>70,057</td>
<td>35,545</td>
<td>455,490</td>
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<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>95,074</td>
<td>47,795</td>
<td>531,973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>113,097</td>
<td>61,667</td>
<td>639,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>127,291</td>
<td>72,292</td>
<td>730,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>142,078</td>
<td>81,678</td>
<td>859,061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>153,048</td>
<td>87,430</td>
<td>1,012,591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>168,293</td>
<td>100,896</td>
<td>1,130,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>186,831</td>
<td>117,239</td>
<td>1,315,027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>204,514</td>
<td>141,941</td>
<td>1,516,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>224,301</td>
<td>168,246</td>
<td>1,742,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>241,949</td>
<td>187,839</td>
<td>2,000,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>259,508</td>
<td>209,164</td>
<td>2,254,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>313,461</td>
<td>224,147</td>
<td>2,586,735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>319,755</td>
<td>253,275</td>
<td>2,811,056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>335,294</td>
<td>280,555</td>
<td>3,001,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>358,937</td>
<td>305,519</td>
<td>3,291,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>377,525</td>
<td>425,523</td>
<td>3,721,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>374,686</td>
<td>416,854</td>
<td>4,136,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>379,534</td>
<td>402,749</td>
<td>4,402,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>385,797</td>
<td>368,436</td>
<td>4,862,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>386,814</td>
<td>349,955</td>
<td>5,232,061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>390,470</td>
<td>329,535</td>
<td>5,554,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>390,534</td>
<td>318,147</td>
<td>6,115,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>397,204</td>
<td>310,870</td>
<td>6,485,346</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List of Tents which existed in the present Glasgow District area prior to the enrolment crisis—from about 1837 to 1850:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Hope,</td>
<td>Glasgow.</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>Tower Hill,</td>
<td>Clarkmanna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>Charity,</td>
<td>Greenock.</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>Rose,</td>
<td>Old Kilpatrick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>Nazarene,</td>
<td>Port-Glasgow.</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>Thistle,</td>
<td>Coatbridge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Paisley,</td>
<td>Paisley.</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>Kelvingrove,</td>
<td>Maryhill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314</td>
<td>John Dunlop,</td>
<td>Greenock.</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>Triumphant,</td>
<td>Pollokshaws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263</td>
<td>Balcutha,</td>
<td>Dumbarton.</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>William Hamilton,</td>
<td>Strathblane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>Thistle,</td>
<td>Glasgow.</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>Argyle,</td>
<td>Dunoon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>Franklin,</td>
<td>Glasgow.</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>Ruby,</td>
<td>Stonehouse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285</td>
<td>Rising Sun,</td>
<td>Glasgow.</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>Hope of Loch Kicran,</td>
<td>Campbeltown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>Sons of the Rock,</td>
<td>Stirling.</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>Hope of Butts,</td>
<td>Rutherglen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>Lily of the Valley,</td>
<td>Rotton.</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>Falls of Clyde,</td>
<td>Lanark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361</td>
<td>Dollar,</td>
<td>Dollar.</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>Williams,</td>
<td>Hamilton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>373</td>
<td>Concordia,</td>
<td>Greenock.</td>
<td>766</td>
<td>Mescrup,</td>
<td>Carlisle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>386</td>
<td>Mars Hill,</td>
<td>Airdrie.</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>Abbey,</td>
<td>Lastabagow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>420</td>
<td>Jonadab,</td>
<td>Denny.</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>Dewdrop,</td>
<td>Larkhall.</td>
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<tr>
<td>428</td>
<td>Banks of Carron,</td>
<td>Barrhead.</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>Egle,</td>
<td>England.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>472</td>
<td>Banks of Levern,</td>
<td>Rutherglen.</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>St. Mungo,</td>
<td>Glasgow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501</td>
<td>Bruce,</td>
<td>Bannockburn.</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td>Banks of Clyde,</td>
<td>Greenock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>527</td>
<td>St. Paul's,</td>
<td>Glasgow.</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td>Almwell,</td>
<td>Helensburgh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>539</td>
<td>Phoenix,</td>
<td>Alloa.</td>
<td>1033</td>
<td>Sons of the Ochils,</td>
<td>Tullibody.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>543</td>
<td>Sir John de Grahame,</td>
<td>Falkirk.</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>United Perseverance,</td>
<td>Falkirk.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FEMALE TENTS.

| 51     | True Sisters, | Greenock. | 150     | Daughters of Rechab, | Airdrie. |
| 77     | Sisters of Charity, | Greenock. | 157     | Elizabeth, | Glasgow. |
| 81     | Deborah, | Port-Glasgow. | 152     | Queen of the West, | Glasgow. |
| 83     | Rose of the Vale, | Rotton. | 159     | Rose of Sharon, | Alloa. |
| 85     | Thistle, | Glasgow. | 169     | Love and Unity, | Dumbarton. |
| 89     | Rose, | Glasgow. | 218     | Maryhill, | Maryhill. |
| 91     | Snowdrop, | Alexandria. | 243     | Star of the East, | Glasgow. |
| 111    | Spreading Myrtle, | Glasgow. | 286     | Road to Plenty, | Hamilton. |
| 147    | Path of Peace, | Kirkintilloch. | | | |

At December, 1887, the list of Tents and membership was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1415</td>
<td>Union,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1593</td>
<td>Victoria,</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1618</td>
<td>General Gordon,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>Hope of Glasgow,</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>1238</td>
<td>Pride of the West,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1453</td>
<td>Lily of the Clyde,</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1241</td>
<td>Anchor of Unity,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1765</td>
<td>James Shaw,</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1274</td>
<td>Eastern Pioneer,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1516</td>
<td>Hope of Port-Glasgow,</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1607</td>
<td>Vale of Irvine,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1744</td>
<td>Loudoun,</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>1431</td>
<td>Ark of Safety,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1703</td>
<td>Star of the Forth,</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Hope of Bethany,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1565</td>
<td>Gospel Rescue,</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Thistle,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1486</td>
<td>Guard of Honour,</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1541</td>
<td>Banner of Reform,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1693</td>
<td>Pride of Leven,</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1552</td>
<td>Star of Carrick,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1764</td>
<td>Granite,</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>1399</td>
<td>William Collins,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1779</td>
<td>John Wilson,</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>321</td>
<td>Good Samaritan,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1334</td>
<td>Banks of Ayr,</td>
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<tr>
<td>1628</td>
<td>Gem of the North,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1517</td>
<td>Guiding Star,</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1608</td>
<td>Loudounhill,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>George A. Clark,</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>1436</td>
<td>Lord Wolseley,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1251</td>
<td>Helensburgh,</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>Progress,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1788</td>
<td>Glazert Bank,</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>David Livingstone,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1777</td>
<td>Arthurlie,</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1063</td>
<td>Guardian Eagle,</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1704</td>
<td>James Montgomery,</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL - 2059.
adult membership dropped from 22,684 in 1844 to 5,940 in 1856 (see Table A).177

The 1850's and 1860's were dismal. Remaining Districts could not agree to register under the 1846 and 1850 Friendly Societies Acts till 1854. The Executive did not gain full legal control of branch affairs until the 1875 Friendly Societies Act.178 They faced competition from thrift institutions and also from another fraternal 'temperance friendly'. The Sons of Temperance (1842) established in New York formed U.K. branches in 1855. This heralded rivalry in 'moral suasion/thrift' between Rechabites, Sons of Temperance, Sons of Phoenix and respective female and juvenile wings.179

Dawson Burns thought Rechabite revival miraculous.180 Yet even in the 1850's funds increased and adult membership decline was not mirrored in juvenile figures. (See Table A). Following successful pressure for the Second Reform Act, increased trade union activity at local and national level, extension of Factory Act hours legislation to workshops and resurgence of interest in co-operation, it regained former strength, progress halting only 1874-80 through trade depression. Adult recruitment was most successful over 1884-6 and 1888-92, following the 1887 Friendly Societies Act, and in the early years of the new century.

A striking feature was the strength of Rechabitism in Glasgow and the West. Prior to the mid-century crisis there were 63 tents in the Glasgow District alone. (See 'List of Tents'). It also grew over 1893-1903 from
10,809 to 33,543 adult members. Resuscitation dated from the early 1880's, spreading from tents meeting in Glasgow temperance hotels, the Calton and Paisley Temperance Institutes, the Dumbarton Burgh Buildings, Coatbridge Y.M.C.A., and the Gourock Dairy School, and aided by English Rechabites. By 1877 U.K. strength had rallied to 33,000 but insecurity was evident in rumoured amalgamation with the Sons of Temperance. Local progress was slow. Holidays and elections were blamed for defections. Officials made criticisms of commitment and meetings reminiscent of Templar self-scrutiny. Irish "Catch-my-Pal" tactics and American poster campaigns were adopted. Deputations in regalia were dispatched to recruit temperance societies and lodges. Gospel-temperance choirs were formed to enliven meetings and stage promotional 'evenings'. Greater emphasis was placed on the young's transfer to adult tents and administrative efficiency. By 1886 Glasgow membership was 6 times greater than that of Edinburgh, and this was only partly due to inclusion of Ayrshire. By the 1880's too Rechabites no longer faced competition from the City of Glasgow Templar Friendly Society (1871) and had Templar cooperation.

Competition stemmed rather from "cheap friendly societies" like the Foresters and Shepherds, hugely popular as the Quiz cartoon overleaf suggests. The Foresters (1826) had a Glasgow District by 1870. By 1883 there were 36 Glasgow courts, in all areas of the city. They capitalised on interest in friendly societies amongst the Evangelical Union, Congregational, Methodist and Free
Reproduced by kind permission of the Glasgow Room of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
Churches and United Presbyterian missions, (See the L.O.A.F. Directory) and membership overlapped with masonry, meetings of officials frequently being held in masonic halls. Its 1883 annual conference was in Glasgow, prompting acquisition of 100 honorary members in that year, among them Collins, Connal, J.N. Cuthbertson, William Mitchell of Glasgow School Board and many eminent citizens. Structural inefficiency, exemplified by overlapping districts, annual rotation of office holding and of the very office building, and consequent inferior finances had improved by then. Like the Oddfellows they had their own press. They became one of the strongest affiliated orders. Their appeal was originally to agricultural labourers. Here it attracted a wide range of occupations in the city and peri-urban areas where like masonry it had long been 'speculative' not 'operative'. The Foresters and Gardeners were both strong in areas like Cambuslang, associated with heavy industry, and whose ties to the city were hardening due to increased housing development. Central registration of affiliated orders after 1874, together with legislation encouraging centralisation, prompted a striking friendly society growth 1877-1908. Forester funds increased 15% 1884-9. By 1890 they had 279 U.K. Districts, 4748 courts and 693,505 benefit members. In 1900 Glasgow had 10,802 benefit and 593 honorary members, serious competition given readiness to meet teetotal pressure for severance of links with pubs, by ensuring juvenile branches met in temperance halls or
The Loyal Order of Ancient Foresters' strength in Glasgow circa 1883.

DIRECTORY to the various Courts constituting the District, with dates when Meetings will be held during Four Months ending August, 1883.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. and Name of Court</th>
<th>Night of Meeting and where held</th>
<th>Date of Meetings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>460 Royal Oak</td>
<td>Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>May, June, July, August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>571 Lord Clyde</td>
<td>Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>6, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>539 Royal Albert</td>
<td>Alternate Sundays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>9, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>561 Caledonia</td>
<td>Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>3, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>563 Blythswood</td>
<td>Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>1, 15, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>513 Royal Ash</td>
<td>Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>4, 16, 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>551 Royal Elm</td>
<td>Alternate Tuesdays, 6 p.m.</td>
<td>1, 15, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>556 Royal Thistle</td>
<td>Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>1, 15, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>559 Marquis of Lorne</td>
<td>Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>1, 15, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>539 Heatherbell</td>
<td>Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>1, 15, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>574 Sir Robert Bruce</td>
<td>Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>1, 15, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>579 Haworth</td>
<td>Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>1, 15, 27</td>
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<tr>
<td>578 Robin Hood</td>
<td>Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>1, 15, 27</td>
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<tr>
<td>576 Hutcheson</td>
<td>Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>1, 15, 27</td>
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<tr>
<td>572 Top o' the Hill</td>
<td>Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>573 Brandon</td>
<td>Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>953 Royal Archer</td>
<td>Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m.</td>
<td>1, 15, 27</td>
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hotels.\textsuperscript{186} The Shepherds (L.O.A.S.), originally a Forester inner order for additional benefits, were fellow competitors.\textsuperscript{187} Associated with Yorkshire and Lancashire, it spread to Scotland by 1870, via a Scot who had worked in Birkenhead. The first lodge was formed in a Dumbarton shipyard and the L.O.A.S. probably spread via the yards. Lodges were quickly formed on the Clyde, at Leith, and at Dundee.\textsuperscript{188} U.K. membership\textsuperscript{\textcopyright 1975} 58,811 in 1876. Thereafter adoption of graduated contributions accelerated membership. By 1888 their Glasgow District had 14,000 members and over £32,000. Individual adult savings were close to Gosden's estimate of the 1887 average (£5.11/-). Greater solvency, associated with a former Glasgow official's work, turn of the century amalgamation of two rival Shepherd sects, and attainment of high office by several Scots, made it attractive to the thrifty.\textsuperscript{189} Evangelicalism, reflected in its motto "Christus Noster Pastor", and increasing respectability, sealed by receipt of a Glasgow civic reception in 1901 made it a competitor for teetotal savings.\textsuperscript{190} It too possessed impressive lists of honorary members by 1901, among them M.P.s keen to keep a finger on the pulse of the friendly societies as essentially working class phenomena, and possible cogs in the wheel of local political organisation. Their ratio of 1 honorary member per 18 benefit members, or less, is therefore most interesting.\textsuperscript{191}

Attention has focussed on friendly societies' ability to attract mass membership far in advance historic-
THE SONS OF TEMPERANCE FRIENDLY SOCIETY

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE ORDER OF THE
SONS OF TEMPERANCE
FRIENDLY SOCIETY
GRAND DIVISION OF SCOTLAND
(REGISTERED UNDER THE FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACT)
APPROVED UNDER THE STATE INSURANCE ACT.

THE objects of this Society are to shield its Members from the temptations to and the evils resulting from intemperance, and to afford mutual assistance in time of sickness, accident, or death.

ORDINARY INSURANCE.
Sick Benefits provided from 2/6 to 20/- Weekly, with Funeral Benefit £10. Moderate Contributions from 4d. per fortnight. Assurance Fund, under which Males and Females (who do not wish to insure for Sick Benefit) may insure for sums varying from £5 to £100, according to the Scales—Contributions from 3/2d. per week.

JUVENILES.
Entrance Fee, One Penny—Contributions, One Half-penny per Week.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount Payable at Death After Having Been a Member for</th>
<th>1 Year</th>
<th>2 Years</th>
<th>3 Years</th>
<th>4 Years</th>
<th>5 Years</th>
<th>6 Years</th>
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<td>27.80</td>
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<td>77.20</td>
<td>89.60</td>
<td>102.90</td>
<td>116.30</td>
<td>129.70</td>
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</table>

Children under sixteen years of age insured for Funeral Benefits in other Societies may, if in good health, be transferred to this Society, and shall be in Full Benefit from date of entrance.

THE BEST FRIENDLY SOCIETY FOR ORDINARY AND STATE INSURANCE.
SPECIAL—Seven persons in any town, village, or district in Scotland can obtain a Charter to open a new Division of the Order. The Sick and Funeral payments are met from the Central Fund, and are thus absolutely guaranteed to every Member.

Full particulars may be had from JAMES BOLTON, Grand Secretary, 12 Waterloo Street, Glasgow, or from Local Secretaries.

Source: "No Licence, the New Campaign", (cited earlier).
ally and numerically of the trades union movement. No less remarkable was ability to withstand competition from multitudes of deposit, dividing and collecting societies. Centralised societies like Scottish Friendly (regd. 1886) and English collecting societies like the Liverpool Victoria extended their Scottish business greatly by 1914. Rechabites weathered this competition and also direct rivalry with the Sons of Temperance. The latter never eclipsed Rechabitism. In 1895 the Sons had 50,000 members and £138,903 in funds against the I.O.R.'s 127,291 adult members and £730,261. Rechabites outnumbered Sons 2.1 in 1870, nearly 3.1 in 1880 and more so in 1890. This lead was eroded after 1910, but Rechabites still outnumbered them 3.1. After reorganisation of Scottish Districts in the 1880's the Glasgow, Lanarkshire, Ayrshire and Dumfries Districts made greater progress than any others in the world, even with competition from the Sons in these areas. By the early 1890's Glasgow was the largest U.K. District and did much Highland extension work. Glasgow and Ayrshire thrived even in the late 1890's e.g. Ayrshire reduced levies by 1D per member, a pattern not shared by other Districts although the Order continued to register more tents than any other in these years.

Upon which groups was Rechabitism's success dependent? Commentators were often content to type membership as "almost entirely working class" pace thrift promoters like Glasgow's Revd. Alexander Craib who aimed expressly to interest all workers in thrift. Yet clearly
it aimed at labour aristocrats as did insurance companies and the centralised friendly societies. Hearts of Oak and Royal Standard. Rechabitism was, to quote Gilbert "the badge of the skilled".197

As in Templary entrance fees precluded the poor's participation even if they could raise contributions. In 1840 initiation charges ranged between 5/- - 10/- depending on age. Not surprisingly processions were "highly respectable" in appearance. After the 1860's the Order made the artisan class' salvation a priority.198 This involved skilled workers, tradesmen and merchants like Templary. Rechabitism was associated with shipyards, engineering, ironworks, collieries as in Durham where Thomas Burt's father was a Rechabite, ropeworks, cottonworks, bakeries, printworks, stonemasonry, carpentry, tailoring, and railways.199 It recruited from the skilled occupations most likely to join unions, and whose unions also offered friendly society benefits by 1911.200 Sickness claims also suggest that the most steady and conscientious from such groups joined.201 As Rechabite financial benefits were relatively small members were equally likely to be those in positions of trust with means to cross insure in industrial assurance or trade union benefits or young men with only modest sums available for thrift.

A glance at their leadership is revealing.202 Glasgow leaders 1873-1914 included professional temperance agents, e.g. White, Rosie, Allan and Stevenson of S.P.B.T.A., a tramways manager, an engineer with Bank of Scotland
experience, a compositor active in the Evangelical Union, Consett Iron Co.'s accountant, insurance agents, Band of Hope directors, a stationery merchant involved in the co-op movement, a former Foundry Boy, a United Free Church Parish Councillor, a master-joiner active in Congregationalism, a Liberal football fanatic and a Free Church Deacon. Most came from teetotal families or were life abstainers with experience of Templar office. In contrast to the League, high officials were relatively young. At the 1891 Conference only 1 delegate was over 65. Of 6 Scots present the eldest was 45. The average age of Scots on the Board was 40. It was also possible to attain high office after short service. Donald Main, an 1891 director had 7 years membership and the Glasgow delegate that year had only 4. Most were committed Christians, some associated with missions and home mission boards.

Rechabite Executives and High Chief Rulers were also drawn from the labour aristocracy, unlike Masonry which appointed Grand Masters from the aristocracy and even societies like the Glasgow Sons of the Rock led by the mercantile elite.203 The I.O.R. bore more resemblance to Oddfellowship.204 3 Glasgow officials became Chiefs, i.e. Robert Dunnachie (1895-7), son of Dunnachie of the League, Andrew Bennet (1899-1901) secretary of the United Free Church Temperance Union, and Main, Port Glasgow Chairman of the Working Boys and Girls Band of Hope. Their historian/Secretary Richardson Campbell was also a Glasgow leader. By the time of their appointments Dunnachie was a comfortably off suburbanite, Bennet had risen via Dumfries agency work for S.P.B.T.A. and Main was
a pillar of commerce resident in Kilmalcolm, prominent in the Oddfellows, Port Glasgow, Town Council and Parochial Board and Kilmalcolm School Board. Humble beginnings however were still fairly recent. Dunnachie became a J.P. along with Moodie, Grand Master of the Sons of Temperance and Fargie of the Foresters but like Rodger moved in social circles lower than those of the Collins, Bilslands, and Chisholms.205

Rechabitism differed from Templary in that Chiefs were invariably laymen.206 Clergy held only District office. With the exception of honorary members like Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury (1821-1902) they were Presbyterians of humble origins and or previous Templar attachment, e.g. Revd. David Macrae of the Gilfillan Memorial Church Dundee, Revd. William Arnot Professor Blaikie and the young active Liberal Revd. James Hamilton of Catrine Evangelical Union. No allegiance was given to any one church. Services during Rechabite ritual were kept brief to prevent sectarian comment although by the turn of the century Rechabites adopted the League's practice of church parades and annual sermons.207

Democracy of office was emphasised as in Templary. The prominence of Campbell and later of Robert Highet as long serving Secretaries however ensured Scottish delegates' views carried weight.208 Moves to prevent more than 10 years' membership of the Board suggests that other areas had used this loophole to influence the Boards. Rechabites also initiated honorary members from the burgher elite and aristocracy. Very early initiates included an
Edinburgh Provost, City Treasurer Sir William Drysdale and the Marquis Forrigiani, according to Torrens. In the late 19th century aristocratic ladies, doctors and solicitors acting for the Order, teetotal provosts like Collins and McLelland of Kilmarnock and evangelical businessmen like Gilbert Beith (Beith Stevenson & Co., East India Merchants) were initiated and persuaded to give names and moral support to tents, reinforcing existing cross membership of organisations. They exerted no direct influence on I.O.R. policy however. Benefit members took keen interest in management as lengthy ballots for office reflected. District office was onerous yet invariably held by tradesmen.

This rather exclusive band of workers' political allegiance was not clear cut. While many officials were also official Liberals and looked to Liberals for acceptable temperance legislation, there were also Conservative and Unionist Rechabites. The Order was pledged to abstain from all divisive questions yet the Salford based Rechabite and Temperance Magazine was clearly Liberal. Its views on Disestablishment and Home Rule were criticised principally by Irish and Glasgow officials. Home Rule was especially sensitive given Glasgow's links with Ulster Rechabitisn via Belfast and Clyde shipyards and engineering works, Presbyterianism and the Orange Order, the latter association being behind the 1891 government ban on R.I.C. membership of the I.O.R. Reverence for Gladstone's statesmanship and concern for public order led many to move towards support for Home Rule in the
1880's. Tory Rechabitism was identified with Orange elements in areas like Maryhill and Motherwell. Rechabites there met in Conservative Party Rooms and were sympathetic to Liberal-Unionist teetotalers like Caine and Corbett. Yet at national level the dominant allegiance was to Liberalism. Over 1900-6 especially Liberal candidates like Adam, the Edinburgh advocate, and Dr. Rainy, Kilmarnock Burghs' candidate, found Rechabite audiences responsive. Candidates frequently underwent initiation in order to canvass. Rechabites only resented this when abused by Unionist candidates who, in determination to secure the friendly society vote, had joined all the local societies!

Over this period "traditional radicalism" was superseded by second generation Rechabites' support for the "social radicalism" of the Young Scots. 'Old Rechabites' were active in the Early Closing Movement. In the 20th century the Order's focus, often blurred by sentimentalism and innate conservation born of Christian apologia shifted to hours, sweating, minimum wages, housing, unemployment and pensions. This was encouraged by Rechabite Young Scots, members like Flockhart, the Fife Miners' Secretary and an I.O.R. official who shared MacDonald's criticism of miners brutal habits, William Adamson M.P. (1863-1936) of the Miners' Federation and Labour organisers like Dollan and Rosslyn Mitchell.

The I.O.R. resembled the National Council of the Free Churches in desire to remain above 'party' and alacrity in supporting Liberal adoption of "righteous causes."
By 1889 it joined in temperance pressure group politics. Some Districts developed electoral associations in the 1890's. The 1894 Local Government Act drew attention to parish and district council and board elections as never before. 17 Scottish Rechabites were Parish Councillors by 1895. Prohibitionist infiltration, and fear of being damned by faint praise by the Trade, spurred Rechabite prohibitionism.\textsuperscript{219}

As with Nonconformity, they were moralists, pacifist and internationalist except where the "Nonconformist Conscience" or party allegiance clashed, as in the Turkish atrocities and the Boer War. Dunnachie claimed drink was "the only enemy Britain had to fear." Most supported free education and social purity and were 'anti-sin'. They were passionately interested in health, especially T.B., infant mortality, and occupational hazards. British and American research findings were avidly reported. Much space was devoted to the "dangerous trades" theme, into which they slotted the Trade, and "physical deterioration". They too were interested in town planning, and garden cities.\textsuperscript{220}

As befitted a publication which quoted liberally and eclectically from a spectrum of writers (e.g. Huxley, Spencer, Ruskin, Carlyle, George, J.S. Mill, Adam Smith, Longfellow, Burns, American utopians, evangelicals and the Bible, a hotch potch reminiscent of Labour Church publications,\textsuperscript{221}) their Magazine's stance on labour questions was ambivalent. Early comment was tinged with Chalmerian "passive obedience", tacit "exhibition of character"
heightening "resemblance of the Godhead". They looked to employers to take the initiative on sweating as on provision of temperance beverages. Enlightened management and responsible workforces were vital for social harmony. Model employers' example would, through 'progress', be imitated by 'practical men of affairs'. They retained faith in arbitration in the 1880's. 

Coyness reflected labourism and desire to avoid friction with unions. They too competed for labour aristocrat savings. Friendly societies, under different supervisory legislation from unions after 1871, regarded this warily. In the trades union movement's bid for respectability after the Sheffield outrages and prior to the Second Reform Act unions' benefit role became a sensitive issue. It was linked with the question of whether strike and benefit funds should be separated, and union recruitment. The 1867 Royal Commission did not resolve this. Some Rechabite reactions to the Osborne decision, i.e. that thrift should not be subverted by politics and that the individual's right to dispose of money as he chose brooked no interference, were conditioned by this. The Order was nevertheless wholehearted in support of unions' general role. Pressure on wages, hours and sweating was seen as their legitimate preserve, obviating their discussion by Rechabite Conferences although the I.O.R. initiated Labour Representation Committee members like Hudson, Henderson and Shackleton. The National Committee of Friendly Societies' attitude was similar. Rechabites made plain desire not to impinge on union insurance of
tools etc. Later union extension of benefit work, without adequate correlation of obligations and solvency, was thought reckless breach of tacit demarcation lines.²²⁷

In the 1890's Rechabite homely homilies acquired a keener edge of social criticism. Christian socialists like Revd. David Macrae were influential. Via articles on Burns he described "the man of self-respect and independent judgement who was not to be imposed upon", the I.O.R. prototype.²²⁸ Intelligence and conscience were to be his guides to "true worth" and social harmony. Emphasis on social responsibility reflected 1890's social and economic change, consequent industrial unrest, and a pervasive mood of "Cui Bono" inquiry. Early attitudes to strikes were influenced by static 'wage-fund' concepts and resembled "Bailie" articles cautioning workers against inadvertently raising prices.²²⁹ Later, strikes were thought useful but desperately protracted affairs, e.g. "the disastrous Scottish coal strike" of late 1894, inimical to domestic and friendly society interests were excepted.²³⁰ Arbitration, involving "men of character and sense" was preferable. Emphasis on the innate working class nobility and natural preoccupation with domestic budgets and wages led them to assert that all workers were "worthy of their hire", and to denounce sweating's futility thus "Dirt cheap is generally dear dirt. We pay less and get less. Modern cheap things are often mere rubbish 'made to sell' or stained with the blood of the poor worker."²³¹ They synthesised early Victorian radicals' home economics and prohibitionist
popular economics. The minimum wage benefited all as stimulation of the home market and aid to thrift, a stabilising factor in a "conflicting, competing society."232 They opposed wage reductions, especially of the skilled, unemployment, materialism, immoral business practices and the emerging consumer-society which encouraged these.233 Their duty to "use all influence to secure a livelihood for the unfortunate brother or maintain him until such time as work is found",234 was made sensitive by rising unemployment. By 1911 they quoted passages from Carlyle on the Protestant work ethic theme which also backed demands for the right to work.235

Broad interpretation of social responsibility was encouraged by Rechabite work. It offered some financial security for payment of a few pence p.w.236 It also ran a cottage mortgage scheme, although the latter had failed by 1896. Few could save enough to mortgage cottages. Even the labour aristocrat's position was vulnerable. Economic insecurities had been added to existing psychological and social insecurities besetting working class housepurchase. Plans to build workmen's dwellings for rental were shelved.237 The Order however pioneered "houses for rent" for convalescent members, e.g. Ashgrove at Kirn (1903), financed by Glasgow members at 1/- per head over 5 years, and influenced by G.A.U. and Templar use of the Kilmun and Dunoon Seaside Homes. All Rechabites could go. Expense and difficulty of acquiring 'a line' were obviated. Similar provision for post-natal convalescence, Cameron Corbett Cottages, were
A NEW DEPARTURE IN RECHABITISM.

THE "RECHABITE HOUSE," ASHGROVE, KIRN.

Pictured here is the first Rechabite convalescent home in Scotland, and the headlines which announced its opening.

RECHABITE POST-NATAL HEALTH CARE.

Source: The Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, from the 1905 leader 'Cameron Corbett Cottages'.
opened in its grounds in 1905. These were extremely positive and progressive moves and did not blind the Order to the voluntary hospital system's inadequacies. Municipal hospitals were advocated as specifics for T.B., mismanagement and philanthropic self-advertisement.238

Rechabitism provided a network of aid for emigrants. Skilled Rechabites were still interested in emigration, in decline in the 1890's. I.O.R. was strong in Australia, New Zealand and India. There were also branches in Malta, Columbia and Canada. Rechabitism's function resembled Scots societies'.239

At home Rechabites stressed social benefits of membership if only to silence charges of mercenary ness.240 It held social evenings, had musical associations, band choirs, and a dramatic club. Special occasions merited employment of famous entertainers e.g. Glasgow's W.F. Frame. Its socials attracted thousands. There was also I.O.R. bowling, cycling, rambling and excursions, permutations of mission hall recreation. The ideal Rechabite was cast in the Hugh Miller mould. Rechabitism, like Templary, gave ordinary people opportunities to don regalia and take to the streets, e.g. as nomadic tribesmen astride Arab stallions, and to enjoy parading beautiful allegorical banners which won medals at international exhibitions.241

Rechabitism offered family entertainment - this was evident in their Magazine's 'Women's World' and 'Children's Hours' sections. A United Order of Female Rechabites (1836) merged with the I.O.R. in 1856, district
THE UNITED ORDER OF FEMALE RECHABITES

Bro. the Revd. John M. Holt, Vicar of Fulstow, Lincolnshire and first High Chief Ruler of the United Order of Female Rechabites.

Medals struck to commemorate the institution of the United Order of Female Rechabites in 1836.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Tent Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow 20</td>
<td>85 Thistle</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>89 Rose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>111 Spreading Myrtle</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>147 Path of Peace</td>
<td>Kirkintillock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>150 Daughters of Rechab</td>
<td>Airdrie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>151 Elizabeth</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>152 Queen of the West</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>196 Ayrshire Lassie</td>
<td>Kilmarnock</td>
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<td></td>
<td>218 Maryhill</td>
<td>Maryhill</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>243 Star of the East</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>286 Road to Plenty</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>294 Flower of Stranraer</td>
<td>Stranraer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheviot and Tweed 24</td>
<td>30 Bud of Hope</td>
<td>Berwick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>129 Lily of the valley</td>
<td>Kelso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>131 Primrose</td>
<td>Wooler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen 25</td>
<td>47 Love and Unity</td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90 Concordia</td>
<td>Old Aberdeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>178 Strathisla</td>
<td>Keith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>198 Olive Branch</td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>206 Laurel of Morayshire</td>
<td>Elgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>212 Flower of the Dee</td>
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<td>82 Palm Tree</td>
<td>Arbroath</td>
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<td>165 St. Johnston's Hope</td>
<td>Perth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greenock 28</td>
<td>51 True Sisters</td>
<td>Greenock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>77 Sisters of Charity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81 Deborah</td>
<td>Port Glasgow</td>
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<td>83 Rose of the Vale</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>270 Duchess of Argyle</td>
<td>Campeltown</td>
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<td>Edinburgh 10</td>
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<td></td>
<td>158 Scottish Blue Bell</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>159 Rose of Sharon</td>
<td>Alloa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>160 Good Design</td>
<td>Falkirk</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>248 Queen Margaret</td>
<td>Dunfermline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>301 Provident</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>343 Star of the Border</td>
<td>Hawick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

level organisation was scrapped. Women never entered Rechabite Boards, were barred from certain mixed-tent meetings and certain levels of sickness benefit.\textsuperscript{242} Although the Glasgow and Ayrshire districts were quite feminist others were wary of female demands on sick funds, hence decisions to open female tents for funeral benefit only.\textsuperscript{243} 'Merry widows' who broke pledges were made to forfeit all claims or pay fines, a mentality reminiscent of the C.O.S.\textsuperscript{244} In 1893 however women regained maternity benefit options and payment of sick pay during pregnancy and confinement was at District discretion.\textsuperscript{245} Competition to insure working women and tradesmen's wives prompted admittance of women to District office, an advance on Oddfellow exclusions on the pretext that this necessitated contact with pubs.\textsuperscript{246} By 1903 lady officials were few. Rechabites were reliant on lady speakers from other societies, e.g. Mrs. Henderson, Black and Blair.\textsuperscript{247}

Female Rechabites organised juveniles rather than adults. Some were already interested in child welfare like Syrie Barnardo of Stepney I.O.R.\textsuperscript{248} Juvenile temperance benefit societies dated from 1841, their object to "train and retain."\textsuperscript{249} Need for parental discipline and inculcation of good habits were stressed. Rechabitism was a more effective training ground for teetotalers than the Band of Hope. Those who did not transfer to adult tents lost all benefits accumulated.\textsuperscript{250} Innocent entertainment was also offered as inducement.\textsuperscript{251} By 1886 there were 30,000 U.K. juveniles. In the 1890's juvenile
This is to certify that Mary Harvey is a member of the above society having signed the following pledge.

Promised by Divine Assistance to abstain from all intoxicating liquors and beverages and to disapprove all of the causes and practices of intemperance.

Signed 24th Aug 1876

Secretary.
Independent Order of Rechabites.

TEMPERANCE FRIENDLY SOCIETY. GLASGOW DISTRICT No. 40.
159 BATH STREET, Glasgow.

JUVENILE SECTION.

We desire to draw the attention of Parents and Guardians to the advantages to be derived by
their children known as Members of this Order.

Juvenile Rechabites are established all over the country, and the meetings are conducted in
profitable, instructive and healthy lines. The chief objects of the Juvenile Section are to inculcate
habits of Temperance, Industry, and Kindness: to encourage the gifts of reading and song: to prevent
vice and true views of Life: and especially to instil a hatred of Strong Drink and all its attendant
ills of misery, degradation and premature death, so that the result may be in the highest sense
of the term.

True men and good women, moral and financial gain, side by side.

THE BEST FRIENDLY SOCIETY EXTANT.

Young persons of both sexes from birth and under 15 years of age, who are abstainers, and
who are in good health, may become Members. The Entrance Fee for all ages is 2s., and the
Contribution, 6d. per Week. The following sums are payable in case of Death of Members of the
15 weeks in arrear of Contributions), on production of a Registrar's Certificate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of age at date of joining</th>
<th>Amount payable in case of death when contributions have been paid in full, and the person has been a Member for the period herein stated.贡献s, One Halfpenny per Week.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 day.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>15</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

All Juvenile must be transferred to Adult Section on reaching age of 15 years, but if so death, can be transferred at age of 14. Juvenile Funeral Benefits will be upheld to them until they become full members of an Adult Test.

Scale of Bonus payable on Transfer or Death.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 completed years' membership in Juvenile Section</th>
<th>10 completed years' membership in Juvenile Section</th>
<th>£1 5 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>£1 5 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>£1 5 4</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>£1 5 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>£1 5 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>£1 5 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This Endowment can only be applied in either of the following methods:

To be paid to Adult Section, and be expended in payment of the contributions due by
the self transferred member. In the event of death any unexpended balance of his
credit shall be paid to his relatives, or

To purchase a Dying Funeral Benefit Insurance at the following rates—25 for £1 5 4; $2 0 0 0.

The form of the policy only to remain in force so long as he remains a
member of the Adult Section.

In the event of a member's death before reaching the age for transfer to Adult Section, the
amount of Bonus due, less the first year's contribution of 2s., shall be paid to the Funeral Benefit.
recruitment grew rapidly in Glasgow, Gwent and Glamorgan and S. Australia aided by formation of competitive Happy Brigades. Juvenile insurance was surrounded by fears of infanticide or creation of malingerers.

Opinion became more favourable following founding of the N.S.P.C.C., the 1889 Act to prevent child cruelty and legislative regulation of infant insurance. After 1895 the I.O.R. competed with collecting societies in infant insurance. By 1910 there were 25,283 Scottish juveniles, Glasgow having 19,492 in contrast to London's 910. They were vital new blood. Over 1885-1906 62,237 transferred to U.K. adult tents. Many areas made transfer at 14 instead of 15 to retain working boys and girls. National insurance accelerated this although 1913 attempts to lower the national pledge age as a counter move to union recruiting were resoundingly defeated.

The Order's social role was strained by its financial functions, often a vehicle for parochialism and self-interest. The 1875 Friendly Societies Act's alteration of contributions to sick and management funds brought friction and financial problems. The pros and cons of registering tents and increasing bureaucracy rent the 1880's. Many had still to be coerced into making timely financial returns by prosecution or suspension.

Clearance certificates, Rechabite equivalents of Church disjunctions, granted only to those under 45. These had to be presented by migrants to new tents within a time limit or benefits were forfeit. Originally to aid 'tramping', they were later a device to exclude older men
and could compound the effect of the employer's blacklist. They also highlighted chaos caused by lack of uniformity in payment of benefits at tent level.\textsuperscript{257}

In the late 1890's attempts to amalgamate the adult and juvenile hierarchies also exposed a host of petty personal jealousies. Many put status, and suspicion of long-serving members of the adult Board, before self-help idealism.\textsuperscript{258}

The great continuing debate prior to 1911 centred on solvency. Introduction of Neison's 'life tables' escalated hostility to centralisation. Expanding districts were amongst critics as the new tables exposed instability encouraged by rapid growth. Pressure on tents to exercise more caution and suspension of those with solvency below 19/6d per £ was resented. Some tents formed District Consolidated Funds. These eased clearance problems and claims burdens, and raised benevolent funds for tents in arrears. Interregional and interoccupational if not class tensions persisted as friction over the national Relief Fund exemplified. 'Rich' districts failed to appreciate the problems of others. The poorer agricultural Districts and groups like the miners were targets for criticism.\textsuperscript{259}

A partly spurious nationalism, combining parochialism and genuine nationalism roused by the 1883-4 Crofters' Commission, land reform associations, violent exchanges of 1884-8, the Colonisation Commission, new holding bill, Irish example and support for land reform, increased strain. After 1885 Celtic Rechabites gained
Board status and used the solvency debate to question office-holding, District representation, and centralisation. Welsh Districts demanded "Home Rule" in I.O.R., symptomatic of I.O.R. abandonment of Welsh and industrial unrest. Scots blended internationalism with parochialism. Desire for economy of effort and funds, numerical superiority, idealisation of Scott and Burns, (after whom so many tents were named), and desire to recruit in poor areas of the Highlands and Islands, and hostility to increased sickness contributions contributed to formation of the Sons of Rechab (Glasgow) in the winter of 1898, reminiscent of Glasgow Sons of Temperance 1891 split. Thereafter devolution demands were made more soberly. Scots in high office steered debates back to the original issue of tables, and pressed successfully for Provincial Councils (1900) and increased representation. Such wrangles were debilitating and obscured Rechabitism's moral idealism. The type of national separation effected after 1911 was never, ironically, sought or envisaged.260

National Health Insurance, the most ambitious of all the Liberal welfare reforms and the most costly and controversial, evoking hostility from insurance, the medical profession, the Labour Party, trades unions and socialist societies alike, eventually rendered the friendly society movement redundant. Most friendly societies were utterly hostile to this scheme in principle and practice, championing individualism against intervention. Rechabite defence of self-help was idiosyncratic. Growing demand for state promotion of welfare is accepted
as symptomatic of economic depression's erosion of faith in economic individualism. Yet Rechabitism, apex of the moral suasion/thrift movement, favoured intervention in principle to further self-help, just as reformers of the Francis Place era justified intervention as one of "two roads to social reform." Limited control of the market mechanism was permissible to encourage growth of Smilesean virtues.

The Rechabite view evolved through the pensions debate. The 1850's Adviser suggested working teetotallers secure pensions via the U.K. Temperance Provident. By the late 19th century reformers were more interested in German state welfare provision. This intervention was justified in terms of workers' hard lives and the dire straits of those unable to work through old age or infirmity, sentiments reinforced by Booth's findings. Injustice was evident as the population's elderly increased and the pace of life quickened, prompting adverts for hair dye for men "Too Old at 40". Experience, Biblical vagueness on the aged, concern for dignity in old age (rationale of clubs from which friendly societies evolved) and actuarial awareness of intervention's advancement of society solvency, were also important conditioning factors. The aged strained friendly societies and promotion of pension packages had failed.

Rechabite superannuation masqueraded as sick alment. Where surpluses permitted, older members' premiums were subsidised. Yet they were also sympathetic to Blackley's scheme, recognising that here was an
irremediable gap in friendly society provision symptomatic also of Poor Law inadequacies. They covered the various pension schemes in the Magazine, waiting for a definitive scheme which would not discriminate against thrift. J.J. Colman's example in pensioning all former employees by a bequest was praised but New Zealand state pensions were preferred as the basis for the elderly's participation in the thrift movement.²⁶⁶

Rechabites did not merely react to the 1899 campaign for pensions. Their concept of social justice, paralleling trades union criticism of Gladstonian "retrenchment and reform" and subjection of the received values of political economy to the "Cui Bono" litmus test, dictated sympathy for universal pensions, tempered by suspicion of compulsion and nationalisation. The secretary of the National Committee for Promotion of Pensions was also a moral suasionist. Even prior to clashes with the C.O.S. over the Outdoor Relief Bill of 1899, friction exacerbated by the number of friendly society members keen to become Guardians, Rechabite ideas diverged from the arch-exponents of individualism who campaigned against state pensions despite shared commitment to self-help.²⁶⁷ Only after the Pensions Act did Rechabites focus on pensions' demoralising effects, seen only as a "post office peril", i.e. post offices sharing premises with licensed grocers, which the Postmaster General reassured them was rare. Thus the Revd. J. Frome Wilkinson, leader of the Sons of Temperance could equate Blackley's scheme with "an autocratic form of socialism" yet support Booth's for
a non-contributory 5/- p.w. pension payable to all without discrimination. Reformers saw pensions as a corollary of the Workmens' Compensation Act, counteracting older men's employment difficulties. They emphasised the solvency problem, and pressed for friendly society support of a more flexible Poor Law system and of Booth's scheme.\textsuperscript{268} Ironically the government moved towards schemes involving income and character tests. The Order therefore were aware pensions were counter to self-help in the short term but regarded the Act as "admirable" but too cautious.\textsuperscript{269}

National Health Insurance was also regarded as the logical eventual 'progress' in assurance. Compulsory unemployment insurance was welcomed as preventing unemployed Rechabites from leaving. Health insurance was viewed more cautiously. Greater cooperation within the friendly society movement, exemplified by Friendly Societies' Federation coordination of responses to legislation, joint deputations and use of Oddfellow and Forester parliamentary agents, joint social events and pressure for thrift education in schools, the emergence of a Scottish Friendly Societies Journal and a special Glasgow Evening News column, encouraged this.\textsuperscript{270}

Common cause was made against undue bureaucracy, unscrupulous insurance giants, and "slate clubs" and "shop clubs".\textsuperscript{271} The latter were especially suspect given increasingly defensive employer, and employer association, attitudes given increasing industrial unrest featuring strikes to protect skilled status, to shorten hours or attain a minimum wage, in overtime or piecework disputes,
agitation for repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, controversy over Employers' Liability and wage and demarcation disputes. This was true of the Clyde Iron Trades Employers' Association, product of concern for efficiency and hostility to strikes and Workmens' Compensation. Rechabites resented its claims upon the labour aristocracy. Compulsory clubs in transport and docks especially were campaigned against. J.W. Benn of the L.C.C. championed the Rechabite view that these were contrary to the Truck Acts and freedom of contract, encouraged old age pauperism and eroded self-help and teetotalism.272

By 1911 friendly societies were therefore highly organised and well supported but were aware of self-help's vulnerability.273 Most societies, influenced by wage-fund interpretations of thrift patterns feared state competition and denounced "this latest 'Made in Germany' wheeze" before it was unveiled. Rechabites shared New Liberalism's belief that satisfaction of basic material needs was an essential precondition for self-help and moral improvement. They thought that it posed no threat to sound societies and was vital given overextension of the Poor Law system and philanthropy and inability to reach the 70-80% of the poor below the poverty line.274

Delay in introduction of the bill, together with the tendency of all prior friendly society legislation to a vague paternalism personified by Registrars Pratt and the Christian Socialist Ludlow, and doubts about the relative power of the societies' parliamentary lobby,
prompted some qualms and activity in the 1910 elections to secure return of sympathetic M.P.s. Lloyd George's reassurances were met with relief.\textsuperscript{275} In terms of T.B. and maternity benefits the Bill was welcomed as alleviation of class inequalities, complementary to self-help. Rechabites soon however predicted trouble over remuneration of medical officers - a sub-theme of friendly society history and motive behind societies' medical associations.

Rechabites loathed medical profession pretensions and had recently successfully defended its associations from B.M.A. and \textit{lancet} attacks aimed at wringing higher fees from the societies. They were dismayed at Lloyd George's readiness to appease the medical interest, offering 6/- per patient p.a. when a norm of 4/5d was sufficient to allow retiring society medical officers to sell 'good-wills' just as public house landlords could. They were horrified at concession on most of the six points at issue between the government and the B.M.A., especially on Local Health Committees' composition, and felt Lloyd George and the Commons had let the friendly societies down - disillusionment intensified by concessions to the insurance interest.\textsuperscript{276} The I.O.R., in 1909 at odds with the Oddfellows' critical stance, joined in denunciation of insulting bureaucracy, the rising spectre of a "State Insurance Co.", and meagre provision, penalising the young, aged, women and poorly paid casual workers.\textsuperscript{277} Some feared the scheme would discourage migration, use of funds for mortgage work, and expulsion of unsatisfactory
members - all undermining self-help. Old administrative sores, notably opposition to centralisation, were reopened, provoking denunciations of bureaucracy, big business and conspiring interests in terms reminiscent of American progressives.278

Rechabites supported pressure for amendments but launched an independent campaign for suppression of "wet friendly societies" under the new system symptomatic of cultural diversity within self-help.279 These were virtually extinct in Scotland and Ireland but lingered on in connection with English Oddfellowship.280 The 1903 Scottish Licensing Act's regulation of drinking clubs did not affect Scottish societies' operation. It did however encourage the I.O.R. to press for all societies to quit pubs and use meeting places more conducive to lofty thrift idealism if not reformation work. Directors of many other orders were sympathetic. Over 1885-1910 English and Welsh "wets" declined from 70-51% of societies there. Peeved at the Chancellor's perfidy and friendly society lethargy, they pressured M.P.s via brother Rechabites Toulmin, Horne, and Roberts, a whip and a deputation, and drafted their own amendments to the National Insurance Bill. Approved societies were duly banned from licensed premises, an attempt to pacify the Nonconformist Conscience which infuriated the National Conference of Friendly Societies.281

In anticipation of a three-cornered fight between the Rechabites, unions, friendly societies and industrial assurance, also worked to "get into touch with the government scheme", 
popularising it by stressing its extension of standard benefit schedules given the government's generously calculated contributions margin. Extension of convalescent home provision was among boons thought eminently possible given such calculation and teetotal efficiency. Concern for self-help, resentment of need to compete with the 'industrials' and creation of loyalty conflicts for teetotal trades unionists were overshadowed by teetotal determination to secure a share of the 10 million expected to take advantage of national insurance. Nonconformist churches, social purity and women's organisations, and the temperance societies were all utilised in this crusade. Indeed it was thought such a good opportunity to introduce the masses to self-help that by 1913 20 temperance friendly societies acted as approved societies, among them new ventures like the Templar Friendly Society.282

While the Sons of Temperance compromised on ritual in order to attract optimum numbers of 'State Members' the Rechabites refused to change and emphasised its teetotalism in the slogan "We Are Out to Make a Nation Sober - We Want Your Assistance".283 Their work had always overlapped with trade and white collar professional schemes, so the Order aimed to recruit women, and to extend its juvenile work to secure future support - spurred by rumours that Lloyd George and Masterman expected friendly societies to be ousted by the insurance companies.284 In contrast to the Oddfellows, they remained optimistic although resentful of the 1913 Amending Act's appeasement of yet another interest at the expense of
friendly societies, here farmers and employers of domestic servants who ignored the Act, and flawed administration of medical benefits and its erosion of national efficiency. They supported National Conference Committee pressure for further amendments.

Criticism of intervention was blunted by admiration for the New Liberalism and "striking figures of progress" under the new regime which mitigated uneasy transition. Over 1911-13 U.K. Voluntary membership rose by 43,448 adults and 4,442 juveniles. In areas like Ayr, scene of the 1913 conference, the State Section outnumbered the Voluntary. By 1913 the I.O.R. had gained 344,149 U.K. State members, 66.6% male and 33.4% female. There were 1,492,000 State insured with the I.O.R. in Scotland almost 11% of the Rechabite total. 78.8% of the Rechabite State Insured were in England, a reflection of greater competition between thrift agencies in Scotland. To retain and gain members and discover that the latter also took additional benefits was far more than most had hoped for. This contributed to a 35% increase in adult membership in Glasgow over 1903-13. (See "Progress of the District" overleaf). Badly run societies' decline was accelerated, and solvency increased over 1912-22. Even where members elected to reduce benefits the ensuing release of funds was beneficial. Rechabite self-help thrived until the 1940's.

Rechabite success is difficult to quantify. They were part of a movement which appeared to have popularised thrift to a significant extent and occupied a front
INDEPENDENT ORDER OF RECHABITES

PROGRESS OF THE DISTRICT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Adult</th>
<th>Juvenile</th>
<th>Funds</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>26</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>£441</td>
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<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>6,168</td>
<td>4,641</td>
<td>£10,606</td>
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<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>19,870</td>
<td>13,673</td>
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<td>1913</td>
<td>30,647</td>
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<td>1923</td>
<td>35,313</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>43,294</td>
<td>24,982</td>
<td>£520,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>28,360</td>
<td>7,944</td>
<td>£582,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>25,884</td>
<td>6,122</td>
<td>£602,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>24,621</td>
<td>4,969</td>
<td>£614,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>23,440</td>
<td>4,423</td>
<td>£623,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>22,508</td>
<td>3,949</td>
<td>£631,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>21,622</td>
<td>3,529</td>
<td>£611,551</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

rank position therein as the 3rd largest friendly society.\textsuperscript{288} By their 75th anniversary in 1910 there were over half a million Rechabites.\textsuperscript{289} Their initial objective of drawing the friendly societies out of licensed premises was attained by 1914. Alliance of friendly society and teetotal principles was a challenge Rechabitism thrived on. 'Brotherhood' was threatened by inter regional and inter 'trade' rivalries yet the Order's high moral purpose was instrumental in discouraging secessions. Few, they alleged, were expelled for pledge-breach or misappropriation of funds. The I.O.R. aided the aspiring and provided a solution to problems of urban artisan culture which later served the needs of urban and rural communities alike, epitomising temperance's pervasive social influence. It appealed to those keen to be "a Hebrew of the Hebrews",\textsuperscript{290} emulating a lost tribe, or a puritanical holy order with vows of abstinence, industry, aspiration and social service. Prior to the Religious Worship Act of 1855 it was a means of reaching the English unchurched masses. Later it was a universal evangelical tool and a symptom of esoteric revival.\textsuperscript{291} Mesmerism and spiritualism were "a solace for middle and upper class alienation."	extsuperscript{292} Rechabitism occupied a similar role further down the social scale, yet was no opiate. The Rechabite attitude to social reform, an idiosyncratic synthesis of self-help and desire for a 'social service state' provide fascinating insight into links between evangelical reform and radical politics. Rechabite interests highlight "national efficiency" and "race suicide's" potency, especially as rallying points
for diverse political opinions. Rechabites helped popularise a sense of 'social justice', and to facilitate its transfer from social reform to the political arena.

The moral suasionist thrift movement never received the acclamation it deserved from a temperance movement increasingly dominated by prohibitionists. Yet marked increase in working class saving and establishment of thrift institutions for even the very poor were largely its work. It represented a two-way process. A popular vogue for new types of self-help interacted with reformers' desire for moral stewardship and, in the case of friendly society and insurance work, desire to gain admittance to working class homes in time of sickness, bereavement and births - all excellent psychologically for receipt of their evangelical message.\(^{293}\) Survival and success of thrift supports Harrison's contention that public provision, far from monopolising social welfare initiative, prompted many to retreat from its impersonality towards "de-centralised self-help."\(^{294}\) Parallel emphasis on self-help by moral suasion and trades unionism led ironically to friction and a large working class clientele for industrial assurance. The Left perpetuated self-help's hostility to the sales tactics of the latter.\(^{295}\)

In general however thrift benefited many. Drinkers gained incentive not to relapse, many were protected against domestic calamity and some were able to become householders. Thrift illustrates massive growth of economic activity in the Victorian period. The local institutions described gave volunteers and clerks openings
into careers in accountancy or insurance, especially significant as in the West of Scotland relatively low wages and low demand kept such opportunities at a premium.\textsuperscript{296} Just as political activity became "a channel of movement into non-manual occupations" friendly societies provided radicals like J.D. Burns and Fisher, Australia's first Labour Prime Minister with organisational experience. Local politicians' canvassing of such groups perhaps heightened this extension of working class self-confidence.\textsuperscript{297}

The movement influenced Victorian architecture and business ethics. It directed attention at working class habits and also business standards and accountability. Reformers like Shaftesbury, who felt acutely the physical dangers of cities were also perturbed by their businessmen's lack of responsibility or conscience. This was all the more despicable because they were extremely careful with charities' "entrusted money" and disliked "money-grubbing."\textsuperscript{298}

Their honesty synthesised chivalry and Chalmerian political economy. 1840's commercial failures through over-rapid expansion and speculation led many to support the accountancy demand for fairer treatment of creditors, while the City of Glasgow Bank Crash was reflected in Charles Cameron's 1880 Debtors' Bill.\textsuperscript{299} Reformers, although familiar with bankruptcy via literature and the lives of literary men, did not understand it. Also, although bankruptcy legislation banished the Marshal sea's spectre and initiated fairer treatment the social stigma of exclusion from polite society, or at the other social
extreme, appearance in the Small Debts Court had if anything increased. Reformers like Arnot, author of the mid Victorian warning "The Race for Riches" (1851), regarded the Glasgow Bank Crash not as an accident but as an apocalyptic sign, justifying claims that a new "commercial morality" was vital to counter greed-induced destruction - not only for speculators who had evaded human and divine law but also thousands of innocent victims. The Great Depression similarly had psychological impact out of proportion to its economic significance, encouraging Christian apologists to shelve Mill's confidence in mercantile commonsense for division of business into the just and the vicious. This was true of reformers like John Wilson whose transactions brought uncomfortable proximity to perpetrators of the Bank Crash, reminding them of God's moral government via rewards and punishments and economic temptation as a symbol of life's "great moral trial."

To Ricardian economists bankruptcy was inefficiency. To evangelicals it was symptomatic of repeal of the usury laws, the rise of limited liability and credit finance's test of character. Thriftlessness was neglect of God given providence. Equally worship of Mammon "brutalised." Chalmerian theology had become unpopular yet elements of his political economy were sustained by this movement. Reformers' consequent encouragement of caution in investing shareholders' money contributed to increasing overseas investment, a trend inimical to civic and national patriotism and to nostalgia for an economic order in which units were small and open to personality's influence.
There were also negative aspects. Many working class families continued to spend too high a proportion of meagre income on drink. Adam Smith's and Smiles' comments were still valid in the 1940's. Thrift could have dehumanising effects. Conjunction of thrift and temperance created a negative stereotype. To this day "right Rechabite" denotes meanness in Lanarkshire and Lancashire alike. Mystical and masonic overtones were suspect.

Thrift also continued to be associated in many minds with specific short term goals e.g. purchase of tools or emigration. The economic criteria of 'respectability' varied within classes. Its minimum definition was only ability to pay rent and evade charity. Stratified institutions and responses were symptomatic of cultural distinctions even within the labour aristocracy and varying opportunities.

The movement's aims were limited. There was little in these reformers' backgrounds to prompt questioning of the capitalist system. They largely evaded the wage issue. Admirers of Chalmers and W.P. Alison alike, ratepayer-temperance men, wage fund economists and Liberal-Socialists converged, as Thomas Begg and 1840's reformers had, on the need for moral reform. Even housing reformers adopted a stance reminiscent of J.S. Nettleford's "Practical Housing" (1908). Their desire to aid the middling classes resembled that of C.S. Loch. Rechabites could be quite Hobsonian in criticism of laissez faire and their demands for intervention and union account-
tability suggest a rich spectrum of 'labour' aspirations. They too however conceived of their role in terms of morals and "the fiat of Eternal Justice", envisaged "leveling up", and best understood AGAR'S prayer. Most became more sophisticated than Hoyle yet rejected socialist and Neo Classical economists' criticisms, promoting thrift as "voluntary socialism." Their portraits of "Successful Businessmen" like Rothschild literally continued Smiles' work and "buttressed the peculiarly Victorian belief in respectability" to a remarkable degree.
Footnotes

Moral Suasion and Thrift.


2. Haddington's Temperance Society had as its first secretary David Jerden of Greenock (1816-93) and in the late 19th century was associated with the ironfounder Bailie William Mackay (1826-1891) - see P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. II, pp. 101-2, and 197.

3. For Smiles on education, see "Thrift", Edinburgh, 1875, pp. 2, 7, 12-13, 65, and 378. On industriousness, ("it may be identified with poverty but there is glory in it...industry enables the poorest man to achieve honour if not distinction. The greatest names in the history of art, literature and science are those of labouring men.") See the above, pp. 4-6. On the 'honest poverty' and independence theme, pace Burns, see preface and p. 16, on domestic duty, pp. 14-5, on social aspiration, ("every man is bound to do what he can to elevate his social position and secure his independence"), see the above preface, and on intemperance, see pp. 27, 37, 40, 79, and 371-2.


6. S. Smiles, "Thrift", p. 7, and W. Chambers, "Misexpenditure", p. 19, where the second form of misexpenditure is described as "time spent in listless idleness on the street or elsewhere which might be devoted to mental improvement or other useful purpose", and remedies included "reading, drilling, or some outdoor work".


8. W. Chambers, "Misexpenditure", pp. 19-21. The latter's 3rd and 9th misexpenditures were that "by absorption of mind and money
on crotchets...such as Chartism, the land schemes of O'Connor, perhaps also socialism and the visionary projects of Owen and similar philosophical dreamers", and that "in connection with trades unions and strikes, to which may be added as a sequel, lockouts."


Jas. Finlay, Chas. McIntosh, Robt. Napier, and J. Wilson being among them. See also, D. Keir "The House of Collins", p. 101, and also "The Diary of Sir Michael Connal" (cited earlier).

There was even a noticeable temperance component on the Glasgow Savings Bank Board in the 1930's - when it included men like Lord Bilsland, Mrs. Ian Coats, W. Hope Collins, Sir Patrick J. Dollan, Ernest F. Fortune, and Lord Maclay amongst others, according to passbooks of that era.

14. Dunlop, son of a banker connected with the Renfrewshire Bank, at Greenock, was not the only temperance reformer with banking connections. The Revd. Thomas Guthrie and James Guthrie J.P. of Brechin had similar backgrounds. Many others had been or were bank officials or agents e.g. J.S. Marr of S.T.L. and Richardson Campbell of the I.O.R. (Bank of Scotland) David Ferguson, son of the Revd. Fergus Ferguson and brother of Professor F. Ferguson (Clydesdale Bank) Provost Cavan of Kirkcudbright and J. Martin J.P. Carluke (British Linen Bank). This is not surprising given that bankers were invariably 'pillars of respectability', and the way in which banking was a business school for young members of the industrial and commercial elite, as the career of many like Hugh Mason, M.P. Manchester, reflected. On bankers' contributions to the early British and Foreign Temperance Society, see B. Harrison, "Drink and the Victorians", p. 107, Table III, and p. 156 for references to J.H. Cotterell of Bath Deposit Bank.

15. Adviser, 1850, p. 244, 'Penny Banks and Temperance Societies'.

"1851, p. 304 (on the chequered career of early efforts in connection with the Dunfermline Soc.)

"1891, p. 34 'The Savings Bank and the Savings Bar' and p. 51 'How little Fred Saved the Wages', a tale of dynamic thrift.

J. Dawson Burns, "Temperance History...", p. 409, for this general trend in the U.K.

16. See the "First Annual Report of Glasgow United Total Abstinence Society", 1852, and also, L. Paton "J. Paton...", p. 60 for a description of Calton's penny banks, run in connection with Bible meetings and designed to help poor children buy clothes to attend church in.

17. See e.g. G.C. Pringle M.B.E., F.E.I.S. "Thrift: Its Doctrine and Practice".

18. O. Checkland, "Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland", p. 133 P. Payne (op cit) 'The Savings Bank of Glasgow', pp. 154-6, cites Principal MacFarlane DD, and the Revd.s Alexander Raleigh, James MacGregor of the Tron, and Gillan as promoter/sympathisers, who regarded thrift as "an essential pre-requisite for the work of the Christian evangelist". The Revd. Henry Duncan (1774-1846) was in many ways a man after most temperance reformers' hearts. Born in Lochrutton of parents with a Covenanting heritage, he was educated at St. Andrews University and trained commercially with Heywood & Sons of Liverpool prior to embarking upon a train-
ing for the Presbyterian ministry at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. As minister of Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire he established the first savings bank in the country. He was also noted for his advanced views on several questions - e.g. on the need for a Volunteer Corps, food rationing, a local newspaper, and Esperanto - and became a Church of Scotland General Assembly Moderator.


Meikle was himself a subscriber to the Glasgow Abstainers' Union - See G.A.U. Annual Report, 1879-80, p. 12.


22. S.T.L.R. 1851 e.g. carried adverts publicising the G.S.B.'s daily opening, a service offered from the 1840's onwards, its democracy of facilities, and its small minimum deposit - 1/-. They also emphasised the uniformity of service at each branch, regardless of neighbourhood, the absence of charge for bank books, and that no notice was required for repayment. Moreover they stressed that the same rate of interest was given to depositors as was given to "Friendly Societies, and Charitable and Religious Institutions".

G.A.U. "60 Years Work 1854-1914", pp. 61-2. Its broad interpretation of thrift, derived from Smiles and the home economics movement, (currently the subject of a study by Helen Corr, of the University of Edinburgh), led also to clothing schemes, cookery classes, and the ubiquitous "Mothers' Meetings". See also the Good Templar, 1871, p. 118. Lodges frequently began savings banks like that described at Rothesay.


27. This, according to Gosden, was a relative decline also experienced by the P.O. Savings Banks. See "Self-Help: Voluntary Associations", pp. 240-242.


30. Richardson Campbell, "Provident and Industrial Institutions", p. 215, and for the history of the G.S.W.R., see W. McIIlwrath "Glasgow and South Western Railway", Tweed, Glasgow, 1880. (A U.K. Railway Temperance Union was established in 1862. Cities like Liverpool had Railway Evangelistic and Temperance Missions in the late 19th century).

31. See e.g. "Lewin's History of Savings Banks", 1866, cited in G.B. Wilson, "Alcohol and the Nation", p. 242. See also Snowden's eulogy of thrift, quoted in B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", p. 400. For Gladstone's comments, see "Mr. Gladstone on Drinking Habits and Savings Banks", in S.T.L.R., 1883, p. 41. On the Charity Organisation Soc.'s thrift, and its Thrift Committee (1905), see the "Rechabite and Temperance Magazine", April 1908, p. 82 and November 1908, p. 246. On war thrift, see Wilson (supra) p. 243.


33. B. Harrison (supra) p. 338.

34. Ditto, pp. 168 and 175.


38. For the aforementioned cliches see e.g. Adviser, March, 1850, p. 40.

40. See Cobden's speech, reported in "The Freeholder", 1 Jan. 1851, and quoted by Harrison in "Drink and the Victorians", p. 288. See also the details of the soirees of the Freehold Land Society at Leeds in early December 1850 at which Cobden spoke of "saving habits" as the hope of the working classes, and of drunks as their enemies, reported in Adviser, Jan. 1851, p. 199.


47. For similar English hostility towards the casual residuum as a pollutant see, G. Stedman Jones "Outcast London", Oxford, 1971.


For Blaikie's housing interests, see N.L. Walker (ed.) "William Garden Blaikie: An Autobiography", London, 1901, pp. 156-159. See e.g. Chambers' fears that "the housing association becomes an underseller on terms with which no one can compete" in his essay on "Building Societies", p. 2.


Land Allotment Co. made up a 'Balfour group'. It professed to have £7 million capital but had not and failed in 1892. A public appeal was launched for victims. Balfour, Burnley M.P., was arrested for fraud in Buenos Aires in 1894. The ensuing scandal resulted in W.T. Stead being fined for contempt for a Review of Reviews article on the accused. Balfour received 14 years penal servitude, colleagues 17 for fraud and forgery.


58. e.g. J. Begg "Drunkenness and Pauperism", p. 14 and also Jabez Burns, "A Retrospect of 45 Years Christian Ministry", 1875, pp. 219 and 223.


60. See the S.T.L.R. advertisements throughout the 1860's. For Gemmill, see the Biographical Appendix.


63. For Stirling's comments see Revd. A. Wallace "The Gloaming of Life...", pp. 60-62. "Sober, intelligent and pious" weavers had built most of the West End of Paisley but by 1857 Stirling remarked, "Alas! What a change now!"

64. On W.P. Alison, author of "Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland" (1840) and "Remarks on the Report of H.M. Commissioners on the Poor Laws of Scotland" (1844), see Checkland pp. 81, 202, and 314 and Mechie pp. 33, 60, 70, 72-5, and 156. Alison was of course "the most significant opponent" of Chalmerian social policy regarding the poor, insisting as many later temperance reformers did that, "A certain degree of physical comfort is essential to the permanent development and habitual influence over human conduct of any feelings other than our sensual appetites". ("Observations...", p. 73). Alison together with his brother Archibald, Sheriff of Lanarkshire, made what Carlyle called a "brave and humane" stand against the Malthusian bogey and called for more efficient provision of relief - a call supported by Patrick Brewster of Paisley amongst others.

65. The environmental concern of the I.O.R., for example, is evident in The Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, Glasgow Supplement, Aug. 1896, p. 193.


67. This however is the realm of an on-going 'standard of living debate', e.g. E. Hobsbawm "Labouring Men", pp. 134-5, S. Checkland "The Rise of Industrial Society in England", 1964, pp 228-9,

68. See Glasgow Argus, Sat. 29 Aug. 1857, for interest in the development of Dennistoun.

69. I am indebted to Mr. B. Aspinwall for this reference.


73. Noted in the Glasgow Post Office Directory 1870, p. 104. J. Fulton was Vice President, and A. Stewart treasurer. F. Hughes (supra) pp. 15-20. On Burt see Chapter on S.P.B.T.A.

74. Glasgow Municipal Commission on the housing of the Poor 1904, Evidence of John Mann, para. 15, 393.


76. Priests were exceptions to this list - see Drummond & Bulloch "The Church in Victorian Scotland...", pp. 64-80.


83. S.T.L.R. 1904, p. 104, quote from Dundee speech of novelist J.A. Steuart. See W. Walker, "Juteopolis..." for Walsh and Scrymgeour. See also Chapter V on the Prohibitionists.


85. S.T.L.R. 1914, pp. 42-44, 'Drink and Poverty' and 'The Housing Problem'.


87. P.P. Census, Scotland.

88. 6d per day amounted to £45 in 5 years - enough to begin investment in certificates towards purchase of a £400 house - so ran advertisements circa 1906. The C.C.C. asserted that their venture was "unique and popular" for 6 reasons - encompassing the lowest rate of subscription of any society in the U.K., and the lowest rate of repayment, earlier advances enabling the customer to own sooner and make "at the very beginning a saving of 1½ years rental". Searching scrutiny of the firm's viability each year by its Trustees was also one of these factors it was claimed. See Journal for the Home, Oct. 1908, pp. 74-5. On the theme of family responsibilities, see the above, Vol. II, No. 1, p.11, and also on the need to escape the city smog, July 1905, p.63. Pre-War advertisements headed "The Missive" emphasised the indignities and uncertainties to which tenants of tenement buildings were subjected, in contrast to the freedoms enjoyed by owner-occupiers.

89. See the article on the City and County House Purchase Co. Ltd. (complete with cameos of R. Murray MacIntyre and R. Storey Cooper the agency manager) in Glasgow Today, 1909. See also the advertising section of the S.P.B.T.A. Reports for this period. For James Steel, not to be confused with James Steele the Trade's representative on Glasgow Town Council in the early 1870's and partner in Steele, Coulson & Co., see "Who's Who in Glasgow", 1909, p. 197, and the Biographical Appendix. For the C.C.C. personnel, i.e. MacIntyre, Dr. Dougan, A. Cranston, D.D. Binnie, J. Wilson (architect) Councillor D. Mason, T. Berrie, Deacon Convener Andrew MacDonald J.P., Wm. MacDonald F.E.I.S., J. Grafton Lawson (Dundee lawyer) and Councillor D. McCarthy of Edinburgh, not least Thomas Robinson of Hurlet, see the Biographical Appendix. C.C.C. sympathisers included the Revd. Bruce Meikleham, Grand Chief Templar of Scotland, Bailie William Martin J.P., Judge Munro of Clydebank, and also had links with John Davidson of...
Greenock, of the Scottish National Sunday School Union, and with the philanthropist and patron of the arts Sir James Flemming of "Woodburn", Rutherglen, the latter being a trustee until he fell ill. See Journal for the Home about the Home, Jan. 1905, pp. 13-19 and 48 and 82, and July 1909, p. 139. Bailie Guest was interested in the firm's work not only in the West of Scotland but also in his native Dublin - see Jan. 1907, p. 178. Bailie Hugh Brechin and Bailie Martin both supported the C.C.C. as a bulwark against socialism.

90. See Scottish Reformer advertisements 3.10.1903. See also the temperance material in the archives of the C.C.C., which includes C.C.C. advertising for the "Scotia Lodge No. 33" and its Sale of Work of 3.2.1906, its support for the Sons of Rechab Subscription Sale of 22.6.1910, and for various I.O.G.T. bazaars. Offers of employment for abstainers were made continuously from 1904-14 by the firm via Scottish Reformer, Good Templar, Christian World, Daily Record, Dundee Courier, Glasgow Herald, Scotsman, and The North Eastern Daily Gazette etc. I am indebted to Mr. Johnson, an employee of the C.C.C., from the 1920's onwards, for drawing my attention to the firm's advertising scrapbooks.

91. See the firms' advertisements throughout this period in Football Standbook, Land Values, and Christian World, and also in local newspapers like Scotsman, Glasgow Herald, Daily Record, Dundee Courier, and Dundee Advertiser etc.


93. On Thomas Berrie, General Secretary of the Scottish Clerks' Assoc., see the Biographical Appendix, derived from the company journal cited above, for Oct. 1907, pp. 244-246, and the article on the 'S.C.A. Celebrations for Coming of Age', in April 1909, pp. 118-9. The S.C.A. membership consisted of clerks, cashiers, commercial managers, and "within recent years", draughtsmen, surveyors and measurers. It was strongest in Glasgow and London.

94. See Chapter VIII.

95. On Antipodean moral suasion and thrift's background see A. Briggs "Victorian Cities", Penguin Reprint, 1980, Chapter VII, 277-310. which describes the way in which the rapid discovery and exploitation of Australian gold made Melbourne 'the Paris of the South' of the Continent, and prompted a coffee-palace movement in response to the excesses which ensued. Munro, active in the latter, was also however a founder of thrift institutions. See the 'Rechabite Sketches' in the Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, No. 1, Vol. XX, Jan. 1889, p. 1, and Feb. 1886, p. 1. Munro, born in Sutherland in 1832, had been an Edinburgh abstainer and apprentice printer with Constable & Co. prior to emigration in 1858. In 1865 he established the Victorian Permanent Building Society. By 1886 it was one of the leading Australian societies, with £400,000 in capital. He was also prominent in the formation of the Federal Bank of Australia, the Real Estate Bank, the Territorial Bank, and Federal Building Society.


98. For sanitary engineers, see "Stratten's Glasgow", pp. 98 and 164, and also the S.P.B.T.A. advertisements throughout this period. On Moyes e.g. see S.P.B.T.A. advertisements, 1909, p. 92. See also G. Best "Mid-Victorian Britain", p. 40 on this theme.

99. On pawnshops, see K. Chesney (op cit) pp. 219, 223-4, 268, 394. P. Holt, 'Scottish Pawnshops 1792-1820: a note on a neglected index of the condition of the working class', in Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society, 1974, No. 8, pp. 31-33. It was not until 1813 that "the first regular pawnbroker" was in business in Glasgow, according to Cleland and the Glasgow Herald. Their numbers rose however in the era of distress preceding the Radical Uprising. The records of the aforementioned association are lodged with the Strathclyde Regional Archives.

100. The balance due on mortgages then stood at £68,812, whilst total assets were £87,060,000. See Sir Harold Bellman's "Thrifty 3 Millions", London, 1936, quoted in G.B. Wilson's "Alcohol and the Nation", p. 245. The 1890-1900 slump was in spite of a decennial increase in population of 446,456/90,111 families, according to Cook & Keith "British Political Facts", 14 Population, p. 232. Glasgow's suburbs, for example, grew from 522,000 in 1871 to 776,000 in 1901. See Cook & Keith (supra) p. 234.


102. Cockerell & Green (supra) Chap. 3, p. 34, 'Life Assurance'. Richardson Campbell, "Provident and Industrial Institutions", pp. 194-199. In 1698 the Revd. Halley, a Church of England clergyman from Lincolnshire, formed a Life Insurance Company and in 1699 the Revd. Wm. Asheton pressed successfully for the Mercers' Guild of London to form a Life Assurance and Annuity Association. In 1696, one year after the Royal Bank of Scotland had been established by act of parliament, the first insurance company to specialise in property was founded. Amongst the oldest companies were Amicable (1707) Caledonian (1805) and Sun (1810). Cockerell & Green, pp. 37-9.

103. Ditto, p. 38. Precocious in adoption of the agency system was National Life, (Edinburgh, 1829) which had 60 agents by 1856 — among them merchants, shopkeepers, bankers, estate agents, and solicitors.

On the theme of lapsed parental, and often paternal, responsibility, see the stereotyped tale of woe "Nelly's Shop", in Adviser 1891, p. 123, and Kirton's "Buy Your Own Cherries", pp. 3-8.

See also Revd. A. Wallace "The Gloaming of Life", p. 91, on the "dark days" experienced by Stirling's family whilst he was a drunkard, and "whilst the publican's family could live on the fat of the land and appear in their flaunting silks and satins."

Note also the introduction to A. Wilson's biography of "Walter Wilson...", where upward mobility to a position where one might "afford employment to many contemporaries and simplify the needs of countless others" was seen as the logical outcome of this "first object" of paternal responsibility. See e.g. Revd. A. Wallace (op cit) p. 66, where he describes the burden of family funerals in terms of respectability and financial responsibility. Many resented that "the sober and the well-doing have to pay for those who have exhausted their means in the public house" in order to maintain the family reputation. On gambling - R. McKibbin, 'Working Class Gambling in Britain' (op cit) p. 162.

105. Cockerell & Green (op cit) p. 62, where this shift is attributed to "promotions in Glasgow, Manchester and Liverpool", plus the formation of local accident and plate glass insurance businesses in other parts of the provinces. For the brewing industry's reliance on regional markets prior to late 19th century changes in technology and transport see, I. Donnachie, "A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland", pp. 32-3, and 122-5, and later section on the Trade. Cockerell & Green (op cit) pp. 76-118, 'The Archives of British Insurance'.

106. See e.g. S.T.L.R. 1857, advertisements, pp. 1-10. 1860-64    
1874    
1875    
1882    


109. Cockerell & Green, p. 112. Records pertaining to the firm are at 3 George St., Edinburgh.

110. Cockerell & Green, p. 92 and S.T.L.R. 1859, p. 12. Records of this firm are with those of Royal Insurance at Liverpool City Library.
111. S.T.L.R. 1859, p. 12. Directors included Henry Watson (Chairman) Robert Barclay, Wm. Brand of Barshaw, Robert Cowan of Glasgow, Alexander Ewing, Glasgow, and John Strang. Its solicitor was Robert Knox, its medical examiner J.B. Cowan M.D. and its secretary Charles Stewart in 1859. This firm is not to be confused with the Lancashire & Yorkshire Accident Insurance Co., estd. in Manchester in 1877, which did have a 'temperance section' and the temperance reformer Thomas Dick as District Agent.

112. For Sovereign Life, see S.T.L.R. advertisements, 1860. Cockerell & Green, p. 100, and S.T.L.R. 1859, p. 8. In 1859 its officials included the Duke of Roxburgh, (President) the Marquis of Abercorn and Earl of Stair and Earl of Camperdown. Its local board included Colin Campbell of Colgrain, T.D. Douglas of Dunlop, the writers George Crawford, Colin C. Donald, James Stevenson, Donald Cuthbertson the accountant, James Smith the architect, and Archibald Smith the merchant. Its secretary and manager in the Glasgow office at 102 St. Vincent St. were Wm. D. Johnston and G.W. Snodgrass, both from families already mentioned in connection with the temperance movement. Its records are now with those of Commercial Union, St. Helen's, London.

113. Cockerell & Green (op cit) 'Archives of British Insurance', p. 109, Its records are at 35 St. Vincent St., Glasgow.


115. S.P.B.T.A. 1874, advertisements, p. 5. In 1874 its board included Alexander Ronaldson, merchant (Chairman) James Nicol Fleming, merchant (V.C.), with the merchants G. Stewart Anderson, Allan Arthur, Turnbull, and Wm. Taylor, Michael Balmain the banker, Wm. Burns, a solicitor, James Salmon the architect, Anthony Hannay of Kelly & Co., and John Henderson of Tillie & Henderson. Its physician was Professor McCall Anderson, its lawyers Burns, Aitken & Co., and the manager and secretary were W.W. Reid and David Lawrie. See also Cockerell & Green, p. 109. Records of the firm are with Norwich Union's head office.

116. On Equitable, see S.P.B.T.A. 1874, p. 4, and Cockerell & Green, p. 87. It had agents in Edinburgh, 9 in Glasgow (including Dick and Selkirk of S.P.B.T.A.), 2 in Dumfries, and also in Paisley, Leith and Dundee. The Scottish manager was in fact Wm. Howat of Dundee - from a family connected with S.P.B.T.A.'s Vice Presidency since 1866. (See S.P.B.T.A. 1866-7, p. 2). Friend in Need, see S.T.L.R. 1863, advertisements. Its chief office in Scotland was 114 West Nile St., Glasgow, managed by J. Renham. On Scottish Widows, see S.T.L.R. 1859, p. 7, and Cockerell & Green, p. 111. Its directorate reflected its Edinburgh base, and the interest of lawyers and landowners in mutual assurance of this type. Other S.W. directors were George Bell, the Leith merchant, Professor William Aytoun of Edinburgh University, and Thomas Constable, printer and publisher. For the Scottish Provident Institution, see S.T.L.R. 1859, p. 5,


118. G. Best, "Mid-Victorian Britain", 'The Making of Livings', p. 99, on the employment of the people of Scotland over 1851-1881 as a % of the occupied population. Most categories increased throughout these years - with the exception of manufacturing and agriculture:

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<th>1851</th>
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<td>Manufacture</td>
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<td>Agriculture</td>
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See also pp. 96-7, and details pp. 115-7 on 'The Hierarchy of Labour'. Best's tables, derived from R.D. Baxter's "National Income", Appendix IV, pp. 88-93, refer only to males in England and Wales. Scottish levels were lower. The average income p.a. in Scotland was a mere £23.10/- in contrast to £32 for England and Wales. Yet in the decade 1860-70 it was possible for the building trades to earn 26-30/- p.w., shipwrights 20-30/- p.w., coal miners 5/- per day reducing later to 4/- per day, and skilled workers might earn anything between 25/- and £4 p.w.

119. M.D. Steuart, "Scottish Provident Institution 1837-1937" pp 1-3 on Fraser, and 5-6 on Cleghorn. The latter was born in 1778 in Duns, and was a farmer with legal training who migrated to Edinburgh in 1811. He became editor and accountant of the Farmers' Magazine and later of Edinburgh Monthly Magazine. He advised on the widows' fund of the legal profession, and that of the Church of Scotland. He conducted the S.P.I. from the same office as he did the Edinburgh Savings Bank. His successor was his partner James Watson (1837-93).

120. Steuart (op cit) p. 25. The Life Association of Scotland for example had equally good results. At 1859 it had an annual income of £151,078, which rose to £193,013 by 1863 - S.T.L.R. 1863. Also pp. 35-6.

121. See the recently published history of the Quaker firm, D. Tregoning & H. Cockerell "Friends for Life: Friends Provident Life Office 1832-1982", London, 1982. Its founders Tuke and Joseph Rowntree were also connected with savings banks and friendly society work. Quaker interest in thrift was symptomatic in part too of their exclusion from various professions by religious tests in the early 19th century. This firm also had a connection with the Edinburgh Century Insurance Co. Ltd. which was identified with Henry Brown, James Pringle, Provost of Leith, and John Campbell Lorimer, the Edinburgh Sheriff. See the above, pp. 7-10, and 40-45. Cockerell & Green, (op cit) p. 37. Dawson Burns, "Temperance History", p. 103. In 1868 for example deaths in the temperance section were not only fewer than those in the general but also were only 80% of the projected figure,
as opposed to 93% for luckless non-abstainers - which seemed to add weight to the suggestion that "the wages of sin are death". Among the founders of the U.K. Temperance & General were Wm. Johnson of London (1806-68) former treasurer of the New British and Foreign Temperance Society, and a Vice President of N.T.L., and J.T. Mitchell M.R.C.S. (1814-88) a doctor identified with temperance since 1836. A managing director was the Revd. Wm. Baker, a Congregational minister and secretary of the afore-mentioned N.B.F. Temperance Soc. J.H. Raper, the U.K.A. parliamentary agent, also had connections with the firm on his own account and through his second wife, a daughter of E.A. Tisdall. (See Winskill's "Temperance Standard Bearers", Vol. II, p. 96, and p. 253, and Vol. I, p. 78 and II, p. 356, respectively).


123. W.P. Alison was the godson of the improving landlord Sir. Wm. Pulteney (1729-1805) also interested in communications and the British Fisheries Society. Alison's work, described briefly earlier, focussed rather on the urban poor. He was identified with the Edinburgh New Town Dispensary (1815), and the Edinburgh Assoc. for sending Medical Aid to Foreign Countries. Professor Andrew Buchanan - one of many Buchanans involved in temperance, (e.g. Councillor Robert of Dumbarton, connected with S.P.B.T.A. and licensing restriction, James Buchanan a member of S.P.B.T.A.'s executive 1871-75, John B. a vice president of S.P.B.T.A. 1874-82, and Alexander B., a S.P.B.T.A. vice president from 1882-96 and also a director of the League in the 1870's and subsequently a League honorary director (1882-90) and a vice president (1893-6). Buchanan, like many medics connected with the movement, was a physiologist who retired in the 1870's from Glasgow University.

Dr. Wm. Young - was a Glasgow graduate of 1834, who worked in the city until his death in 1867. (See W.I. Addison's "Roll of Graduates", p. 669). Robert Greville LL.D. (1824 graduation) was the author of works on botany, born in Bishop Auckland in 1794. He died in Edinburgh in 1866. (Addison, op cit, p. 239).

Rev. Thomas McCrie (1797-1875) was the son of the Revd. Thomas (1772-1835), the biographer of Knox. He edited his father's miscellaneous writings, and was the author of pamphlets on church history. The McCrie-Roxburgh Church, Edinburgh, commemorated McCrie's work. Dr. George McCrie of Ayr, U.F. Moderator 1907, was a descendant. See G. Reith "Reminiscences of U.F. General Assemblies", Edinburgh, 1933.

John Wigham - on this merchant family see The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club. Part of this family resided in Dublin, see B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", p. 224, on J.R. Wigham (1829-1906) the Dublin prohibitionist.


125. Henry Herbertson was possibly related to R.G. Herbertson of New Cumnock, and A.Herbertson of Galashiels, both of whom were vice
presidents of S.P.B.T.A. from the early 1880's on. Herbertsons' was a firm of measurers. Councillor Alexander McKenzie's sold "art furniture, carpets and parquet flooring", whilst Rainy, Knox & Co. were a firm of merchants, manufacturers and agents. See the Glasgow Post Office Directories for 1875.


127. See S.P.B.T.A. advertisements 1886, p. 88, and 1888, p. 95

128. For Dick's insurance work, which included agency for Sceptre Life, see the earlier section on the S.P.B.T.A. Also Glasgow Post Office Directories 1870, pp. 614-8, 1880, p. 896, 1890, p. 1044 etc. For Finlayson, agent for U.K. Temperance & General Provident, and for commercial ventures like Guardian Plate Glass Insurance, see Glasgow Post Office Directories, 1870, pp. 614-8. On Fortune - see The Eagle, Portrait Gallery No. XVIII, April 22, 1909, p. 8, summarised in the Biographical Appendix. On Selkirk, see Chapter II on the S.P.B.T.A. Also Glasgow Post Office Directories 1890, p. 1044, where the firm of J.L. & T.L. Selkirk are linked with the Equitable Life Co. of the U.S.A., Guardian Plate Glass, and Home, Fire Insurance. By 1890 J.S. Marr was a leading figure in accountancy circles, with a prestigious office handling work for Guarantee Insurance, Scottish Accident Insurance, Scottish Alliance Insurance Co. Ltd., City of Glasgow Life Assurance, Commercial Fire Insurance Co. of Scotland, Fidelity Insurance, Glasgow & London Fire Insurance, The Fire Insurance Association, Scottish Employers' Liability and Accident Insurance Co., the Employers' Liability Assurance Co. Ltd., not to mention the Scottish Temperance Life Assurance Co. Mann, a mere agent in 1870, had his own office by 1880 at 188 St. Vincent St. which later became J. & L. Mann & Co. See the company history, op cit. Harrison has also noted the career of James Whyte, a Scots exile resident in Dudley and active in the U.K.A. and Midlands temperance in general, who rose in similar fashion. See "Dictionary of Temperance Biography", (editeur). In the late 19th century Wm. A. Smith of the Highland Temperance League was also a superintendent of insurance agents for the British Workman Life Assurance Co. Ltd.
129. Post Office Directories, op cit.
On Borland, see "Who Was Who in Glasgow", 1909, p. 22. See Chapter VIII on Borland, the Inebriates Committee and the Girgenti experiment.

130. This was significant too as the society also published their lectures. For Carmichael's lecture, see Transactions of the Insurance and Actuarial Society of Glasgow, 1904-5, Series 5, 16, 'The Use of Alcohol as affecting Life Assurance Risk'. For Finlayson's, see Series 5, 13, 'Tuberculosis and Life Assurance', and for J.B. Russel's, Series 2, 5, 'The House in Relation to Public Health'. Selkirk was the secretary and treasurer of the Scottish Institute of Accountants by 1890. J.S. Marr's relative Thomas, manager of Scottish Amicable Life, was the president of the Insurance and Actuarial Society of Glasgow in 1882, 1886, and 1889. Rodger was its president for 1900-1.

(John Mann MRCS was the author of "The Contribution of Medical Statistics of Life Assurance with hints on the Selection of Lives", London, 1865, mentioned earlier in connection with the U.K. Temperance & General).

132. Although the Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, April 1902, p. 81 thought that the firm was established in 1883, it was mooted as early as 1881, according to Dr. Neil Carmichael in, 'Alcohol as Affecting Life Assurance', in S.T.L.R. 1907, pp. 81-84. The pioneer of such life assurance was Robert Warner of the U.K. Temperance and General Provident Institution - see the Revd. James Barr's speech to the Rechabite annual meeting of 1925 in Dundee, quoted in R. Hightet's "History of the Rechabites 1835-1935", I.O.R., Salford, 1935, p. 353 and also S.T.L.R. 1882, pp. 45-46, "Testimony of Life Assurance". Several firms had special abstainers' sections by the late 19th century - e.g. British Empire Mutual (1847), Victoria Mutual (1860) and notably Abstainers' and General (1883). The latter Birmingham based firm was founded by William Henry Greening of Birmingham (1889) - see Winskill, op cit, Vol. I, p. 426, - its original title being the Blue Ribbon Assurance Co. Companies like Sceptre Life, formed in 1864 "to effect assurances chiefly to members of religious bodies", which had always had special sections were imitated in this by societies like British Empire, and Imperial, from the 1880's and 1890's on. See S.T.A. 1899-1900, pp. 62-5, 'Life Assurance and Abstinence'. By the turn of the century the Prudential "had just added the significant question to its proposal form, 'If a total abstainer, how long have you been so?" and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Accident Co. had developed a "Temperance Bonus" of 10% for one year's abstinence.
S.T.L.R. 1890 and 1906, advertising sections. 
This is exemplified by early attempts to absorb Scottish Temperance Life, described in J. Denholm "History of the Scottish Life Assurance Co., 1881-1981", Chambers, 1981.

134. On A.K. Rodger, (1855-1932) son of a brewery manager turned draper, see the Biographical Index, derived from W. Ross Shearer's "Rutherglen Lore", and "50 Years! The Story of the Rutherglen Evangelistic Institute 1885-1935", Rutherglen, 1935. My thanks is given here to Maimie Magnusson and David Anderson for access to the manuscript of "A Length of Days: A History of Scottish Mutual Assurance 1883-1983", Aberdeen U.P., 1983, especially Chapters 1 and 2. Scottish Temperance Life became Scottish Temperance & General in 1924, and was renamed in 1952 when it became The Scottish Mutual Assurance Society although it retained the same offices at 109 St. Vincent St., Glasgow. Others connected with Scottish Temperance Life included:
Glasgow Area - Jas. Colquhoun, later a bailie, John Gourlay C.A., John Filshill, later a bailie, David Fortune of Scottish Legal Life, Stewart Clark of the Anchor Thread Works, J.H. Dickson J.P., identified with Hutcheson's Hospital, the manufacturer Jas. Gibson, Councillor J.R. Miller (d. 1908) Thomas Watson, shipowner, Andrew Biggart, managing director of Sir William Arrol's company, William McLean, Sir A. McLean of Partick, George Smith, Thomas Murray, Michael Honeyman, Dr. Caskie of Largs, Archibald Law Jnr., Thomson McIntosh, a chartered accountant, Bailie J.P. Maclay of Maclay and McIntyre shipbuilders, Provost McPherson of Grange-mouth, and Dr. Neil Carmichael.

Edinburgh - Prof. W.G. Blaikie, Prof. Calderwood, David Lewis, Jas. Tod of Eskbank House, Dalkeith, and George Watt, an advocate.


Aberdeen - Alexander S. Cook, merchant and temperance historian, and John Leith and Thomas Ogilvie - both manufacturers.


Liverpool - Revd. Canon Armour DD, of the Merchant Taylors School, and Councillor John Lea.

Wales - T.P. Price M.P. Monmouth, Principal Herbert Evans DD, Carnarvon, Alderman Edward Jones, Dalgelly, Revd. Principal Edwards DD, of Bala, first principal of Welsh University College, Aberystwyth and brother of the Welsh Calvinist Methodist Dr. James Edwards of Liverpool, who also served as a referee for U.K. Temperance and General.

135. S.T.L.R. 1906, advertising section - it is unclear at what point the company embarked upon mortgage work.

136. Cockerell & Green, op cit, p. 70. See advertisements for the Lancashire and Yorkshire Co. in S.T.L.R. 1859.
137. The flotation of shares in J. & P. Coats of 19th Nov. 1901 was reported in the Glasgow Herald of 27.12.1901. Scottish Temperance Life held 14,000 Ordinary shares.

138. Richardson Campbell "Provident and Industrial Institutions", pp. 200-201. Scottish Temperance Life investments in 1914 consisted of interests in home and foreign railways, (£340,000) house property, (£296,000) "Indian and Colonial, and Provincial and Municipal Securities" and freehold ground rents, (£103,520), according to the Annual Report of that year.

139. Richardson Campbell "Provident and Industrial Institutions", pp. 200-201.


142. S.T.L.R. 1904, 'Liquor Sellers and Life Insurance'. Similar claims were made in S.T.L.R. 1882, p. 46, 'Dr. Edmunds' Testimony', which attributed the failure after a mere five years operation of the publicans' company Monarch Life Assurance Association to the high mortality rate of the Trade - 30 per 1,000 in the decade 1851-1861, compared with 17 per 1,000 for "ordinary mechanics and labouring men".


The Blue Book had 500 pages and dealt with 110 assurance firms. It computed total liabilities at £311,083,812 across all these companies, and found 1,964,858 ordinary life policies in force, "covering a sum of no less than £675,960,290."

144. In some areas temperance insurance was and still is popular - e.g. Ansvar, based at Larkhall, another 'in-comer' like Sun Life of Canada. Ansvar works closely with the remnants of the temperance movement via a Salvationist regional manager. Cook & Keith, "British Political Facts", 14 Population, p. 233, in conjunction with the Blue Book figures, cited above.

Footnotes

The Independent Order of Rechabites.

146. See Defoe's essay "Projects" (1697) quoted in Richardson Campbell "Provident and Industrial Institutions", p. 239. Mention is also made in the Appendix to the Report of the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies of 1870 of East Coast societies dating back to the 17th century, and to the Leith Friendly Society or Incorporation of Carters which was cited as being of 300 years standing in the records of the Registrar of Friendly Societies. See H.M.S.O. "The Friendly Societies Act of 1974", 1980, p. 33.


149. Taken from the Post Office Directories of Glasgow, 1870, 'Friendly Societies', pp. 88 et seq.


151. Western Mutual Assurance "Our 100 Years", Glasgow, 1932. Officials at 1832 included John Frame (President), mentioned earlier in connection with temperance excursions. George Anderson and George Herbertson - related perhaps to the Herbertsons mentioned in connection with other forms of thrift. Others subscribed to the temperance societies. The connection of John Mann and Sir John Mann Jnr. with this society is well known. In addition, Trustees in the society's centenary year included S.T.L.'s 'lay preacher' William J. Wood F.S.A., Thomas Henderson J.P., F.R.S.E., connected with savings banks, James Murray J.P. of the British Linen Bank, and Alexander Walker C.B.E., D.L. Directors included Sir John Smith Samuel, mentioned earlier, plus James Moodie M.A. a Pollockshields reformer. The manager was perhaps a relative of Sir George Green of the Prudential, vis one A.J. Green F.F.A. After 1919 it became the Western Mutual Assurance Society.

152. The Royal Liver Friendly Society should not be confused with the Liverpool Victoria Legal Society (1843) another society altogether, and currently the largest of Britain's 47 friendly societies. See, J. House "The Friendly Adventure: the story of the City of Glasgow Friendly Society's First 100 Years", Glasgow, 1952, p. 11.

153. The City of Glasgow, founded by James Logan, was dominated by its first secretary John Stewart, (d 1894) and his son James, (1867-1950). For the former, see The Bailie 24.1.1894. Alexander Stewart, the elder son of Stewart, was a minister and
an Honorary Director of the League in the 1870's - S.T.L.R. 1873-4, p. 47. The latter appears to be unrelated to the Revd. James Stewart of Peterhead, a League Vice President 1870-1914. David Johnston was its Aberdeen agent whilst attending medical classes at Aberdeen University, and James L. Johnston was a society President. Tom Johnston M.P., later Secretary of State for Scotland in the 1940's, was a Director from 1912 on, a Vice President from 1919 on, General Manager, and subsequently a Director of the society's investment trust. President during the first 27 years was James Wilson, an East End man like David Fortune, and manager of an East End works.

154. On Paxton, the Clydebank Trades Hotel (1899), and Rutland House Govan, see J. House "The Friendly Adventure...", p. 30. On Dr. Devon see House (supra) p. 36, and on Dr. J.C. Edmiston who was Chairman in 1911 and President from 1912 on, p. 48.

155. See Richardson Campbell "Provident and Industrial Institutions", pp. 4-5, 47-107.

156. The Sons of Scotland Temperance Friendly Society, (estd. in Greenock on 27.2.1865) had 30,000 members in the 1920's. I am indebted to the manageress of the Sons of Scotland Office in Larkhall for this and all other information on the society which follows.


158. Richardson Campbell, "Provident and Industrial Institutions", p. 241. This was in fact stressed by Sir Frederick Eden in "The State of the Poor" (1798) - according to Sir Arnold Wilson and Herman Levy in "Industrial Assurance", 1937, p. 15.

159. See the Scottish Temperance Annual 1899-1900 article, 'Life Insurance and Abstinence', by W. Bingham, p. 62. Also S.T.L.R. 1910, pp. 48-50, 'The Rechabites 75th Anniversary'. See the initiation of an Oddfellow as described in Richardson Campbell, "Provident and Industrial Institutions", pp. 263-4.


166. Richardson Campbell, "Rechabite History: a record of the Origin, Rise, and Progress of the I.O.R., Salford Unity, from 1835-1911", I.O.R., Manchester, 1911, p. 70, 'Introduction of the Order to Scotland'. For Mackintosh, see Campbell (supra) p. 72. The latter was reputedly the "mainspring" of other Edinburgh abstinence societies, notably one connected with post office workers (estd. 1838) and the Edinburgh T.A.S. itself. He died in 1859 as the result of an accident at work. Also, W. Logan, "Early Heroes of the Temperance Reformation", Glasgow, 1873 and P.T. Winskill, "Temperance Standard Bearers...", Vol. 2.

167. Richardson Campbell, "Rechabite History...", 'Progress in Scotland, p. 100.

168. R. Highet, "History of the Rechabites", p. 54. By 1841 the number of candidates necessary to form a new tent had been reduced from 15 to 10. Others were 600 strong.


170. R. Highet (supra) p. 49. Richardson Campbell, "Rechabite History" p. 92. e.g. Greig was I.O.R.'s activist around 1840-T and District Secretary of the Leeds District. He became travelling secretary of the British and Foreign Temperance Society, possibly the lecturer attracted to the N.T.L. from the Anti-Corn Law League described by Brian Harrison in "Drink and the Victorians..." p. 155. R. Highet, "History of the Rechabites", p. 89, and 128. Indeed the Board had no power to appoint agents as late as the H.M.C. of 1861.


173. Richardson Campbell, "Rechabite History", p. 156, for lectures on "Abstinence and Rechabitisim in the Secession Church", given at Dunoon. The I.O.R. predictably gained the support of ministers in areas where adherence to 'drinking usages' was especially prevalent - e.g. Campbeltown. Connection with the
Free Church was still evident in the 1890's through the Revd. Hugh Black of Free St. George's Edinburgh, and Revd. James Barr B.D.


175. Excerpts from the Minute Book of "Nazarene" tent, Port-Glasgow, 1839-46, entry dated 8.12.1841.


177. R. Hight, (supra) pp. 97-8. (The Neisons were also social investigators of the 1850's). See "Glasgow District 40 - A Jubilee Retrospect of 1923".


182. R.T.M. July 1886, p. 162, Dumfries and Kircudbright also extended to Kelso. Dundee District = 78 members and 4 tents. Edinburgh District = 211 members and 6 tents. Glasgow District = 1,450 members and 28 tents. Dumfries District = 287 members and 7 tents.


Duncan's Temperance Hotel, 59 Union St., and Aitken's at 114 Argyle St., were used according to L.O.A.F. Annual Report 1883, p. 84 and 1891, p. 4.


D.H. Hague (supra) p. 8. Growing Scottish interest in the Order was denoted by the staging of Annual Moveable Conferences at Dundee in 1886, Greenock in 1891, Edinburgh in 1895, Aberdeen in 1899, and Dumbarton in 1905.

190. e.g. Shepherds' Magazine, 1895, p. 79, Greenock members met in Borland's Temperance Hotel, "George Anderson" Lodge, Glasgow was careful to hold the initial stages of its socials in the Co-operative Tearooms in London St., whilst similarly past masters of the Order met in Neilson's Temperance Hotel for discussions - although they dined elsewhere after the meetings - Shepherd's Magazine 1895, p. 133 and 138. Toasts at Lodge meetings were frowned upon by editors of the L.O.A.S. Unity, although the Order could still see the humour of anecdotes involving drink. e.g. Shepherds' Magazine, June 1895, pp. 166-8. The Order was keen to distance itself from pub culture, and accepted the criticisms of 'wet' friendly societies made by the Sons of Temperance. See 'The Public House, Home of the Friendly Society', reprinted from the Son of Temperance magazine in the
Shepherds Magazine, 1895, p. 246-7. This did not however stop Shepherds initiating members of the trade - John MacLachlan of Castle Brewery for example was an honorary member of "River Clyde" Lodge (estd. 1884) - Annual Report of the Lodge for 1901.

191. Annual Reports L.O.A.S. 1901. "St. Andrew's" Lodge, (1879). Masonic Hall, Paisley Road, had initiated Rosebery. "Pride of the West", Cameron Corbett, J. Parker Smith, ex-M.P. William Jacks & Alexander Cross M.P. "Sir William Wallace", Dumbarton Rd., had the former M.P.s Thomas Russel and Gilbert Beith, "George Anderson", which met in the Barrowfield U.F. Church, had Sir George Trevelyan, and E.R. Russel M.P., "Robert the Bruce", Naburn St., Bonar Law, and "Carrick Buchanan", Coatbridge had the former M.P.s Graham Whitelaw and R.B. Cunningham Graham. This was not a pattern confined to the city. C.L. Orr Ewing M.P. was a member of both the Irvine and Ayr lodges, established in 1884 and 1885 respectively. Overnewton's "General Gordon" lodge (estd. 1885) met in the St. Vincent Masonic Hall and had J.G.A. Baird as an initiate.

192. I am indebted to Mr. Lesley Badger, of the Scottish Friendly Assurance Company, West Regent St., Glasgow, and to the Kilmarnock managers of branch offices of United Friendly Insurance, and the Liverpool Victoria Friendly Society for their comments. The latter was typical of this process. It took over 3 other societies prior to 1914, and another 11 from 1914 to 1954, and currently has assets of £670 million.

193. On the origins of the Sons of Temperance Friendly Society, see the "Sons of Temperance of New York Centennial Brochure, 1842-1942", Sons of Temperance, New York, 1942, pp. 2 and 33. Formed in the U.S.A. in 1842, nearly a quarter of the Order's founders were Scots exiles. The Order's first Division in the Old World was in Ireland, established under the personal direction of Father Mathew (p. 10). In America the Order was highly respected, and included Civil War heroes, Neal Dow, and William Armstrong, "the father of constitutional prohibition", among its members. A prominent British member was the English temperance reformer J.H. Raper - pp. 16, 147 and 156. By 1853, Grt. Britain had 3 sub-divisions of the Order. Also - Scottish Temperance Annual, 1906, 'The Sons of Temperance Friendly Society in Scotland', pp. 72-76, for the institution of the National Division of Grt. Britain and Ireland in early April 1855, the institution of the "John Dunlop" Division at Greenock in February of 1865, and of the "St. Rollox" Division at Glasgow in 1866, at the Garrick Coffeehouse. Although there were soon 5 such Divisions in Scotland, schism resulted - unresolved till 1891. Glasgow and Coatbridge featured prominently in ill feeling. Yet at the Sons of Temperance meeting in Glasgow in 1895 the Order had 481 Divisions and 309 sections. W. Edwards "Temperance Compendium", p. 118. By 1899 U.K. strength was 46,443 adults in 993 Divisions, 19,720 juveniles in 416 Divisions, with funds of £209,082. By 1903, total British membership was 55,468. This rose to 1,013 Divisions and 841 sections with total membership of 153,661 with £419,977 by 1908. - Journal for the Home about the Home, July, 1909, p. 150. By 1921, there were 710 Divisions in Scotland, with combined adult and juvenile strength of 28,472 according to "No Licence, the new Campaign...", p. 125. G.B. Wilson, "Alcohol and the Nation", p. 257.
194. In April 1885 a new Fife District was opened at Edinburgh. See the Rechabite Magazine, June 1885, p. 131. Dumfries and Perth Districts were also creations of this phase of Rechabitism. Ayrshire became a separate District in February 1889 according to Robert Highet's "History of the Rechabites...", p. 198. Districts prior to the Order's mid-century crisis were Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Hawick. See Highet (supra) pp 96-7, and also Richardson Campbell's "Rechabite History...", p. 161.

195. See R.T.M., May 1894, pp. 114-5. R.T.M. July 1886, p. 197, suggests that of the Order's 72 Districts in the United Kingdom, 53 were expanding, 12 were static, and 7 were in decline. Gwent and Glamorgan and Glasgow District headed Districts still expanding. Both Districts had a wide range of occupational groupings, and this was doubtless part of their success. Highet estimated membership figures for Gwent and Glamorgan separately in "History of the Rechabites" pp. 432-3). See also R.T.M., September 1887, page 234, where Glasgow eclipsed Gwent and Glamorgan, R.T.M. Jan. 1889 p. 13, for Edinburgh's rivalry with Glasgow in 1888-9, and ditto p. 161 for Glasgow's acquisition of 2,250 new members that year as against Edinburgh's 715. ¾ of all new tents in the world in 1890 were Scottish - R.T.M., Feb. 1891, p. 39. 1887-92 Districts expanding fastest were Gwent and East Glamorgan and the Glasgow District, with the Ayrshire and Edinburgh Districts not far behind - R.T.M. Aug. 1892, p. 181. Dumfries District's experience was not entirely rosy in the 1890's partly as a result of influenza which swept South West Scotland - R.T.M. July 1891, p. 163, Sept. 1892 p. 208, Jan. 1894, p. 18, and Sept. 1899, p. 213. Ayrshire expanded almost as rapidly as Glasgow and had the highest proportional increase of any District of I.O.R. in 1890 - R.T.M. 1891, pp. 208 and 241. On Fife see R.T.M. Jan. 1892, p. 46, and April 1893, p. 95. On Perthshire see R.T.M. Jan. 1893, p. 5, and Feb. 1893, p. 46. The Inverness District was formed in 1890 (R.T.M. April 1894, p. 94) and Caithness was campaigned from 1892. (R.T.M. Jan. 1892, p. 46). R. Dunnachie's article 'Extension Work in Scotland', given to a special conference in the Christian Institute, Glasgow, in 1891, appeared in R.T.M. Sept. 1892, p.208. Hawick was also revived by Glasgow officials in concert with the "flourishing Temperance Institute" members there - R.T.M. July 1893, p. 166 and Oct. 1892, p. 229.

196. R.T.M. Sept. 1897, p. 212. 12 "Home" areas declined 1894-6. Manchester, Liverpool, and the previously successful Gwent and Glamorgan Districts lost members over 1896-8. Trade depression, falling wages, with concomitant industrial unrest contributed. Glasgow District however increased by 2,415 members - R.T.M. Sept. 1899, p. 213. 1899-1900 saw Glasgow's largest ever increase of funds. By 1900 there were 256 tents and nearly 25,000 Rechabites in this area, with £40,000 in credit by 1901. R.T.M. June 1900, p. 115, and April 1901, p. 95. Ayrshire and Edinburgh remained vigorous, Ayrshire having more members but less tents and funds than Edinburgh - Scottish Reformer, 3,10.1903. By 1905 Glasgow had accumulated funds approaching £70,000 according to R.T.M. May, 1905, p. 114. 1885-1894 Reports of the Registrar


198. R. Highet, "Rechabite History...", pp. 53, 56, and 124. The tent opening fee of 15/- was also retained until the late 1890's - R.T.M. July 1887, p. 224.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Union</th>
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<tr>
<td>Amalgamated Engineers</td>
<td>52,019</td>
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<td>Biolermakers and Iron shipbuilders</td>
<td>26,776</td>
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<td>Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners</td>
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201. See R.T.M. 1887, p. 296. The average sickness per member (1874-85) was 6 days 22 hours, as against the Oddfellows 1.5 weeks (1866-70) and the Foresters 1.4 weeks (1870-5).

202. See the "Glasgow District 40 - A Jubilee Retrospect..." 'List of Officers.' i.e. J.B. White, P. Braidwood, Richardson Campbell, G. Rowe, Dunnachie, Boyd Munn, J.S. Bone, J.F. Johnston, John Campbell, W. Monaghan, A. Bell, A. Maclean, J.A. White, - see Biographical Appendix.

203. Grand Masters of Scotland included the 4th Earl of Rosslyn (1870-3) Sir Michael Robert Shaw Stewart (1873-82) Walter Henry the 11th
Earl of Mar, (1882-5) Sir Archibald Campbell, later 1st Lord Blythswood (1885-92) the 11th Earl of Haddington (1892-4), Sir Charles Dalrymple of Newhailes (1894-7) the 18th Lord Saltoun, (1897-1900) James Hozier, 2nd Lord Newlands (1900-4), Charles Maule Ramsay (1904-7) Sir Thomas, later 1st Lord Carmichael (1907-9) the 8th Duke of Atholl, (1909-13) and Sir Robert King Stewart of Murdostoun (1913-16) - Yearbook of the Grand Lodge of the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Scotland. I am indebted to the Grand Secretary of the G.L.S., E.S. Falconer. Glasgow Post Office Directories 1870, 'Friendly Societies'. Its President R. Bruce was in insurance, Rock vice presidents included R. Chrystal, a business connection of Overtoun, and William Connal.


206. R. Hightet, "History of the Rechabites..." Appendix A, p. 496.

208. On the Rechabite historian Robert Highet see R.T.M. Feb. 1905, 'Rechabite Portrait Gallery'. Highet was born in 1867 in Kilmarnock and was associated with the Free Church there, conducted Sunday School and evening classes, joined the McLelland tent in 1887 and was the Ayrshire District Secretary by 1905. He was cashier to J. & M. Craig in their colliery department - an expanding firm whose owner was a director of Dunnachie's Glenboig Fire Clay Co. St. Marnock, bound volume 1898-1900. Local History Collection Dick Institute, Kilmarnock. Highet was later High Secretary - "Centenary of the Total Abstinence Movement in Scotland, 1832-1932", 1932, p. 120.

209. R.T.M. 1900, 'An Historical Sketch from Some Old Records', by Richardson Campbell, H.S. Councillor Waterson's connection with the I.O.R. also dated back to this era - see R.T.M. Jan. 1896, p. 23 - as did that of Andrew Fernie, an Edinburgh businessman identified with the Guthrie Memorial Church, according to P.T. Winskill in "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. I, p. 374. Some orders ruled that certain offices had to be held by householders (e.g. treasurer) but it is not clear whether the Rechabites initiated the middle classes with this in mind. For the L.O.A.F. ruling on this point see "L.O.A.F. Rules", Glasgow, 1893, Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library.

210. e.g. Rechabite Gazette, 5th Sept. 1877, p. 2, recent "influential Glasgow initiates" included John McIntyre, Robert Mitchell, Drs. James Chalmers and John Beckett M.B.C.M., Bailies Burt and Lamberton, and John W.Swann - possibly related to the co-operative leader Walter. Fees for honorary members although fairly low were higher than benefit membership. The Order may have looked to such members to provide halls - R.T.M. May, 1884, p. 115. James Coats, the physiologist of the Paisley manufacturing family, paid off debts on the Order's Lerwick hall and recreation room. Local employers like David W. Lindsay, partner in the Possilpark Foundry, and local councillors and town clerks were often initiated - see R.T.M. 1889, p. 110, July 1886, p. 162, May 1887, p. 71, and July 1891, p. 164 for evidence of this from Dumfries to Tain.

211. e.g. the "William Collins" (estd. 9.6.1882) which met on Wednesdays in Stirling Road, Glasgow and was associated with David Fortune, mentioned earlier, the Evangelical Union's Revd. Dr. Ferguson, Robert Mackay of S.P.B.T.A., James Malcolm, and George Morrin, later Bailie Morrin, the "George A. Clarke", Paisley, (17.12.1883) "James Shaw", Maryhill, (3.9.1887) "John Wilson" Glasgow, (6.12.1887) "Sir Andrew Maclean" Partick (19.6.1888) "James Drysdale", Tollcross, (20.6.1896) "Samuel Chisholm", Glasgow, (4.2.1902) "Bailie John King", Glasgow, (13.1.1904) "John Colville", Clelland, (30.11.1904) and "Archibald McLelland", Kilmarnock (2.12.86) etc. The latter for example was a Kilmarnock provost who dominated the town for nearly a quarter of a century, and was of a group of temperance reformers connected with the Winton Place Evangelical Union Church, A. McNair M.A. "Personal Memorials, with a chapter prefixed on the extent of the Atonement", Glasgow, 1904, p. 40, St. Marnock, Bound volume 1898-1900, March 1900, p. 101,

'Local Magnates', No. 1, see Biographical Appendix.

(Ayrshire tents names also identified with the Covenanting past - R.T.M. June 1913, 'The High Moveable Conference'). Samuel Chisholm was also connected with the "Anchor of Unity" tent in Glasgow, as was the Revd. David Watson, - R.T.M. 1891, pp. 21 and 321. By 1891, Dundee's Provost Matthewson was also an I.O.R. initiate. R.T.M. Nov. 1891, p. 342. See also Edinburgh Lord Provost William Slater Brown, and Darvel's Andrew Mair in 'Rechabite Portrait Galleries' of Feb. 1910 and Sept. 1914, and Winskill's "Temperance Standard Bearers...", Vol. 1, p. 115 on Beith. On crossmembership - see the affiliations of A.S. Cook of Aberdeen, Andrew Bennet, and Andrew Black and George Bogie as described in Winskill (supra) pp. 225, 110, 123 and 130 respectively.

212. R.T.M. Sept. 1889, p. 261, it took six rounds of balloting before Dunnachie was elected to the Board - a swift decision by Rechabite standards. A letter to R.T.M. in March 1891, p. 59 from a Jarrow tent secretary on Returns complained "most of us are working men, employed in trades..." Moves to reduce conference attendance expenses were opposed by W.S. Rosie in similar terms - see R.T.M. Sept. 1895, p. 205.

213. See R.T.M. June 1901, p. 136. 'Letters', R.T.M. 1898, 'Mr. Gladstone', from George Wolff, Past District Chief Ruler of Dublin District No. 22 - which took issue with William Reid's use of the magazine for political comments, and judged Gladstone's Irish policy to have been "mistaken".


217. R.T.M. Sept. 1894, pp 193-4, and P.T. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers", Vol. 1, p. 415. e.g. Gordon, a member of the Parochial Board, an elder of Ferryhill Parish Church, and an "ardent temperance politician".
218. For Adamson's connection with I.O.R. - R.T.M. July 1914, 'Rechabite Portrait Gallery', and for Flockhart's R.T.M. Nov. 1907. Fife and Clackmannan was, by the early 1870's the strongest of the district unions of the Miners' National Association and was already in possession of the 8 hour day. It remained an area loyal to Alexander McDonald even in 1881, and mining union officials like William Berwick had participated in the emigration schemes which McDonald had sought to regulate with self-help and more especially direction of labour supply in mind. See G.M. Wilson "Alexander McDonald, leader of the Miners", Aberdeen U.P., 1982, pp. 72, 79-80, 86-7, 129, 179, 182-5, and 203-6, and also J. Young, "The Rousing of the Scottish Working Classes...", p. 112. For Dollan see Glasgow Room "Miscellany on Sir P. Dollan" compiled by P. Woods. Dollan's connection with Rechabitism was far more tenuous than that of the others because of his background. The I.O.R. admitted that many Scottish Catholics felt that they could not join the Order - see Dunnachie's letters to the R.T.M. - although by 1904 they had initiated the Revd. Father Hayes of Market Rasen, recently commended by the Pope for temperance zeal. On Rosslyn Mitchell see Biographical Appendix, constructed from his Glasgow Herald obituary.


220. Bebbington (supra) p. 15. Pacifist tendencies were, as in I.O.G.T., reflected in the number of tents entitled "Star of Peace" etc. - R.T.M. March 1900, p. 95. See also the article in the July 1904 copy "Is it possible to have Universal Peace". Some Rechabites could deplore war yet remain loyal to the party conducting it - see Duncan Kirkwood's complaints to the R.T.M. editor about letters criticising the "bungling government" in June 1901, p. 136 - especially where Conservatism stood as 'defender of the faith', as in Kirkwood's native Belfast. (On the brothers Thomas and Duncan Kirkwood of I.O.R. Belfast, Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers...", Vol. 2, p. 134) For Dunnachie's comment in context, see R.T.M. May 1887, p. 102. On this theme see also R. Highton "History of the Rechabites...", p. 435. A mere 249 Rechabites served in the Boer War - see R.T.M. Sept. 1903, 'The 40th Annual Moveable Conference', p.215, where the liabilities for these were discussed. On Rechabites and school boards - R.T.M. Nov. 1891, p. 343, R.T.M. May 1894, p. 99, and R.T.M. June T900 and July 1896, p. 169. Some, like Charles McKenzie, Past Chief Officer of Lochee became school board officers - R.T.M. Aug. 1892, p. 191. See Notes', R.T.M. Jan. 1904, for sympathy with the Vigilance Association's attempts to restrict arrival of foreign females in Britain for "immoral purposes": R.T.M. 1903, p. 214 noted Agnes Weston's work for the Order in its 'Royal Naval District', established in 1901 with 6 tents and several auxiliaries. The latter's work is mentioned briefly in F. Prochaska "Women and Philanthropy..." p. 183. A 'Military District' was formed in 1905 - R.T.M. 1905 'Conference Report'. On close association of physiologist
Professor J.G. McKendrick M.D., F.R.S.E. with the Order R.T.M. March 1893, p. 71. Tent surgeons were often asked to present lectures on health. Articles often had distinct overtones of social Darwinism - R.T.M. June 1896, p. 214 and Aug. 1901, p. 152. This was especially true of Walter N. Edwards' "Science Chats". On mortality figures calculated by Neison, R.T.M. May 1896, p.49. "Letters to the Editor" throughout 1898 reflected members' interest in child mortality, and the bearing of housing conditions on the rates of scarlatina, consumption, and cancer. The Order regularly calculated life expectancy for those 16-50 across "general population", "healthy males", and "Rechabites", and also calculated juvenile deaths - see R.T.M. 1909, p. 101. On industrial accidents, R.T.M. April 1901, p. 88. The Order was most interested in the work of the National Association for the Prevention of T.B., as formation of a tent amongst the patients of the Bellfield Sanatorium highlights. On Bellfield see, Sir A. McGregor "A History of Public Health in Glasgow 1905-1946", Edinburgh, 1967. See R.T.M. 1909, 'Notes' for support of Burns' Housing and Town Planning Bill, expressed in terms of 'preventative medicine'. Also, 'Alcohol and the Garden City', and subsequent articles on 'A Garden City and the Liquor Trade', on the allegations by Henry Vivian M.P. (South Hackney) Chairman of the Garden City Tenants Ltd. of "secret drinking at Letchworth" in spite of refusal of a licence for the development, in R.T.M. Feb. 1911.

221. Rechabite Gazette, 10 Feb. 1878, p. 4. I.O.R. drew heavily on American temperance press for anecdotes and homilies. Comments by Gough and Moody were always printed in full, as with "Moody's Temperance talks". Articles by Revd. Dr. Talmage of New York in National Temperance Advocate were reprinted R.T.M. Jan. 1891, p. 5. Emerson and Alcott, major contributors to American transcendentalism, were frequently quoted - total abstinence often being a feature of transcendentalist social experiments according to A.C. Rose "Transcendentalism as a Social Movement 1830-1850", Yale U.P., 1982. On temperance sympathies of Longfellow and Tolstoi, see Winskill's "Temperance Standard Bearers...", Vol. II, pp. 184 and 499.


223. P. Gosden, "The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875", p. 8-9. The Act of 1855 had allowed trade union rules to be lodged without scrutiny as with friendly society rules in general, but their position was changed by the Trades Unions Act of 1871. Co-ops were also under different legislation (the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts), after 1852.

on an interview between the Trades Union Parliamentary Congress and the Ancient Order of Foresters on this point, reprinted from Unity August, 1906. (e.g. "Friendly Societies must in justice to themselves work to obtain an amendment to the Friendly Societies Act to compel Trades Unions to have their benefit funds valued and kept separate, otherwise the outlook for friendly societies is grave indeed....Trade Unionists have no right to sell sickness benefits at less than cost price, no—have they the right to use the benefit funds for fighting purposes; they must be prepared to do the right thing by adopting valuation and separation of funds, and if they will not friendly societies must either fight them with the object of compelling them to do what is right or they must be content to see Trades Unions continue to be the blacklegs of the friendly society world."

225. R.T.M. Nov. 1908, 'Among the Friendly Societies', by An Observer.
229. Bailie, Wed. Jan. 22, 1873, article 'Sic Vos Non Vobis etc.'
231. R.T.M. Sept. 1897, p. 266.
233. e.g. R.T.M. Sept. 1898, p. 198, where the editor noted Gladstone's "fears that the growing prosperity of Great Britain might corrupt the principles and religious ideals of her people". He felt that the same message was discernible in the writing of Besant, Gissing, and Oliphant regarding the perils of materialism.
236. Richardson Campbell, "Provident and Industrial Institutions", p. 216, and S.P.B.T.A. 1907, p. 100. Sickness Benefits * ranged from 2/6d to £1 per week for males between 15-50, and between 2/6d to 10/- for female members. Funeral Benefits of between £5 and £200 could be secured by both sexes. Endowment benefits of £25-200 could be paid at 40, 45, 50, 55, 60, or 65 - or prior to endowment age in the event of a death provided the first quarter's contribution had been paid and the holder was "clear on the books". Superannuation benefits were payable from age 65, at the rate of from 2/6d to 10/- per week. (*At 1907 levels). S.T.L.R. 1909, pp. 100-101, and R.T.M. 1905 'Specimen Annuity Tables'.
237. T. Hamilton, "Centenary of the Total Abstinence Movement in Scotland...", p. 120.

238. R.T.M. July 1895, p. 161. See R.T.M. Nov. 1898 'Notes' 'Convalescent home for Working Men'. I.O.R. supported hospital charities e.g. R.T.M. Aug. 1902, p. 191 and Nov. 1902, p. 261. The Aberdeen District I.O.R. were also connected with Hospital Saturday Demonstrations and galas for the local Infirmary and Sick Children's Hospital - R.T.M. Sept. 1896, p. 214. R.T.M. Jan. 1903, p. 52. (By the 1920's the Sons of Temperance also had a home at Brighton, a town replete with hydros and coffee-palaces).

Good Templar, 1870, p. 56, letter 'Seaside Homes'. On Scottish Convalescent homes, 23 in 1899 according to H.C. Burdett's "Hospitals and Charities", London, 1899, O. Checkland, "Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland", pp. 5-6, 69-70, 214-8, and 349-351. This Dunoon venture was identified with the philanthropist Beatrice Glugston (1827-88) - Checkland (supra) Chapt. 12, Section II, 'Post-Hospital Care', pp. 214-8. She also founded the Glasgow Convalescent Home at Lenzie. Dunoon gave hydroopathic treatment and the acetic acid cure, the latter courtesy of Messrs. F. Coutts & Sons possibly related to Isaac Coutts the Edinburgh solicitor active in the Rechabites and the League. Subscribers to Dunoon included Princess Louise, leading Scottish titled ladies, Lady Coats, Mrs. Baird of Cambusdoon, Mrs. Smith of Jordanhill, and Mrs. Whitelaw of Gartsherrie House Checkland, Appendix IV, p. 349. R.T.M. 1905 leader 'Cameron Corbett Cottages'. These were distinctly modern in concept. The cottages had homely atmospheres and could accommodate entire families. The surroundings were "quiet and healthy", yet the cottages had every amenity, including well-equipped kitchens with gas ovens, tiled floors, patented windows for efficient ventilation and verandahs for the family to sit out on, and were built by Greenock architects using stone from a local quarry. See anon letter on Edinburgh's need for a municipal hospital in R.T.M. Jan. 1899, p. 5. For a study of the pressure for municipal hospitals see, R. Gaffney, "The Development of Hospital Provision in Glasgow 1867-97", University of Glasgow, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1980.

240. R.T.M. Nov. 1898, 'Notes', 'A New Day for Rechabitism'.


242. See R.T.M. Sept. 1913, "Report of the High Moveable Conference", 'Women as Directors'. A 1913 proposal to expand the Board to 10 members including 2 compulsory female members was "defeated by an immense majority". By 1912 there were only 4 female District representatives in the U.K. (Sept. 1912, p. 170). Women tended to be relegated to the organisation of the juvenile order - see e.g. the obituary of Janet Braidwood in R.T.M. June 1899, p. 144. The U.O.F.R. Chief was the Revd. John M. Holt, Vicar of Fulstow, Lincs. - obituary R.T.M. March 1887, p. 53. Richardson Campbell "Rechabite History...", pp. 219-222 discusses the origins of the U.O.F.R. D. Sunderland of Stockton was the District Ruler, the Revd. T.J. Messer of Hull was its Corresponding Secretary. The Executive met in his home in Worship St., Hull. (For Messer's biographical details, see P.T. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. II). The Scots R.S. Kay, John Strachan, and one of the Wighams were among the Executive Council which convened a U.O.F.R. Conference at Edinburgh in 1842. See 'A History of the U.O.F.R.', R.T.M. March, 1887, pp. 53-55. Female offices passed out of usage in the U.K. but were retained in some colonial Districts like Australia, possibly as a direct result of the wider spheres of influence accorded women in frontier communities. The U.O.F.R. held conferences in -

1841 Newcastle
1842 Edinburgh
1843  London (Channell's Temperance Hotel)
1846  Birmingham
1850  Liverpool (Bethesda Chapel)
1856  Douglas

In 1844, Glasgow had 11 tents, Edinburgh 9, Aberdeen 6, and Dundee 3. Richardson Campbell (op cit) p. 223 lists the Scottish Districts of the female order in the early 19th century as Glasgow, Edinburgh, Cheviot and Tweed, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Greenock. See also Hight (op cit) p. 115-119.


245. R.T.M. Jan. 1892, p. 37. For Glasgow's enforcement of 'Model Female Tent Rules', possibly drafted by the District rather than the H.M.C., see R.T.M. May, 1892, p. 111. Ayrshire pressed for increased sick benefits - May 1893, p. 115. On maternity benefit, a feature of the old U.O.F.R. - see R.T.M. Sept. 1893, p. 206. The Norwich H.M.C. in mid 1895 decided that such a payment could not be made to men. (See R.T.M. Sept. 1895, p.232). Some delegates to the latter alleged that this lack of uniformity was resented by London officials, whose "pet aversion" it was said were female members.

246. See R.T.M. Nov. 1896, p. 260, and Nov. 1903, p. 209, on Glasgow's decision to prevent working girls from insuring for sick pay till age 16. (This juggling with the Order's financial 'risks' was not without moral overtones - Magazine's 'Notes and Comments' columns reveal an interest in the age of consent question similar to that of Stead and the Salvationists). See R.T.M. Jan. 1892, p. 37, on Irvine membership, Sept. 1896, p. 23T, for the Ayrshire representative's remark to the 5th Annual Conference of Scottish Districts of I.O.R. that Edinburgh and Aberdeen hostility to women was "preposterous". For its consequences see "Levies on Female Members" in R.T.M. 1905. Hampering female membership was low pay - see R.T.M. Apr. 1896, p. 97. ("When sickness overcomes a toiler of this class it must be hard indeed to keep the wolf from the door.")

247. R.T.M. Sept. 1893, p. 209 - an 1893 ruling that all could join the Board was worthless. R.T.M. June 1896, p. 139. Sister Brow of Annan was appointed in that year to the District Executive of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright - a move related to the strength of I.O.G.T. support in the area, and to the unspecified welfare problems in that region which had resulted in a record of 804 weeks sickness for 410 members during the year. Aberdeen countered friendly society claims by suggesting that there had been a lady secretary of the local I.O.R. since 1894 - R.T.M.
Sept. 1901, p. 190. It was a source of satisfaction to the I.O.R. that only in 1901 did the Oddfellows resolve to admit female lodges to district meetings, having previously "taxed female lodges without representation" on the grounds that it was not seemly for women to attend meetings held in public houses - July 1901, p. 150. Sister C. McDonald of Calderhead, "a lady identified with various branches of Christian work", and the District Ruler of the "Sir James Y. Simpson" tent, Bathgate, by 1903 was the first woman ever to preside at a Rechabite meeting - R.T.M. June 1903, p. 144. On female speakers etc. R.T.M. Jan. 1895, p. 21, Feb. 1895, p. 46 and Jan. 1896, p. 46. Rechabite comments on the great conference of female workers which took place in the Queen's Rooms, Glasgow, in Oct. 1894 appeared in R.T.M. Dec. 1894, p. 267. 'Woman's World' was expanded over the period 1900-14 especially. Its editor was not named, and was possibly male. Its overall tone was feminine rather than feminist. It stressed the role of women as "the chief ornament of home" whilst keen to see women make the most of themselves in other ways.

248. R.T.M. May 1886, p. 107. This tent was established in Feb. 1886. See K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action", p. 140. This venue, part of an East End Mission was a converted pub connected with Barnardo and Kinnaird.


250. 'As the Twig is Bent', article in R.T.M. May 1894, p. 98, and for the motto 'No day without a good deed to crown it' see 'Children's Hour', Jan. 1897. R.T.M. Nov. 1894, p. 256.

251. See 'The Way to Conduct a Juvenile Tent', of April 1844, quoted in Cunliffe's article (op cit) which advocated teaching a scaled-down M.A. course to the children. On the Chalmers' band see R.T.M. Apr. 1893, p. 95, on the Holytown bellringers, May 1902, p. 120, references to a visit to Hengler's (paid for by the adult I.O.R.), Dec. 1900, p. 283. See also June 1902, p. 166 for picnics in the grounds of Lady Campbell's Garscube House (now the grounds of the University of Glasgow's Veterinary School) for the children of "Star of Defence", Bridgeton, and for the entire Glasgow district at Wilson's Bantaskin House, Falkirk. \( \frac{3}{4} \) of the 1,200 however present at the 'social' run by the Paisley Rechabites in the local Templar Hall were not members! - see June 1902, p. 144. For the Saturday socials run by "Glazert Bank", Kirkintilloch (thought to be an effective counter-attraction to the town's 17 licences) see Dec. 1896, p. 282. On proposed Rechabite examinations, Sept. 1905, 'Competitive Temperance Examinations'.

for the U.K. were printed until August 1883, when 33 Districts submitted returns. Membership rose sharply over 1883-8 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of U.K. Districts</th>
<th>Juvenile Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10,229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>14,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>21,107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>23,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>27,410</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See also R.T.M. 1887, p. 215, Sept. 1897, p. 214-6, and Sept. 1901, p. 278 when the increase for the year was nearly 13,000. For Glasgow's competitiveness, see R.T.M. Sept. 1893, p. 220, Sept. 1895, p. 217 (when Glasgow, Belfast, Ayrshire, Sheffield and Gwent were the areas where juvenile membership was increasing fastest) Sept. 1897, p. 214, Sept. 1899, p. 215, and 1903, p. 214. Glasgow made the greatest progress in the years 1894-6, but thereafter dropped behind until 1903, when Glasgow was first and Edinburgh third for progress during the year. Glasgow had recruited 2,169 that year. On the Happy Brigade - R.T.M. 1894, p. 202 and subsequent 'Children's Hour' pages in the magazine were by 'Uncle Reuben', i.e. Bro. Main of Port Glasgow. High Chief Ruler of I.O.R. 1908-10. See R.T.M. 1908, p. 2. On the District Funeral Fund, Rechabite Gazette, Nov. 1877, p. 1.


256. See R.T.M. Apr. 1888, p. 84 when 12 Districts and 324 were as yet unregistered. I.O.R. was not the worst culprit. During 1886 registrations under the Friendly Society Act of 1875 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>England</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.O.R.</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepherds</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foresters</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oddfellows (M)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; (Gr.Un.)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; (Nat.Ind)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sons of Temp.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sons of Phoenix</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Registration was urged by officials throughout the 1880's in terms of the advantages in cases of theft, fraud or misapplication of funds, improved status for creditors of Order Trustees, ability of the 15-21 age group to make binding receipts, cheaper certificates of birth/death, easier discharge of mortgages without reconveyance, ability to invest in the National Debt, and to have the County Court/magistrates approach officials for money or property in their trust, and Registrars' advice. It also gave greater leeway in disposing of sums at death to nominees, or where there was no will, vis the Trustees, without letters of administration or liability for the deceased's debts. Offer of aid in valuations from public auditors was strongly recommended. On benevolent societies' failure to register, H.M.S.O. "The Friendly Societies Act of 1974", 1980, 'Benevolent Societies'.

257. On 'clearances', see R.T.M. 1887, pp 226-7, where attempts were made to raise the age at which these could be obtained from 45-50. The Clearance Rule, (General Law 22), was intended to be "amongst the principal benefits of the Order" but was complicated by tent freedom to pay high/reduced benefits as they saw fit, in spite of obligation to pay 'transfer' members at the rates which their former tents had quoted. R.T.M. 1889, 'Letters to the Editor', 'Distressing Case', also Jan. 1892, p. 6-7, 'Our Clearance System', by Richardson Campbell. The problem was gradually sorted out by the consolidation of District funds. On tramping, see Gosden's "The Friendly Societies in England", pp. 76-78, re E.J. Hobsbawm's article in E.H.R., 1951, p. 299. In 1895 it was argued that there should be benefit and non-benefit clearances. R.T.M. Sept. 1895, p. 211. There were never more than 400 clearances p.a. usually in the U.K. The question was clearly a symbol of the Order's tensions, sensitive as the 1890's trade depression led to increased "leakage" or loss of members - R.T.M. Sept. 1895, p. 211.

258. e.g. R.T.M. Nov. 1896, 'The Juvenile Tents and the Parent Fold: Bro. H. Wells Smith's objections to their Union'. (The writer attacked the latter, then head of the juvenile order, for "verbosity"). 'Scotland Favours Our Views', R.T.M. Sept. 1896, favoured amalgamation if only because in future "families would only have to pay one official one sum", and juveniles would boost solvency. Smith replied in 'Letters', Nov. 1896.
Wallace Ingham, Bradford District Chief, was still complaining of "references of a personal nature" in Jan. 1897, p. 8.

259. R.T.M. 1887, pp 227-9, 'Superannuation'. I.O.R. gave Neison the sickness and mortality returns for the 10 years ending June 30th, 1887. The Order itself calculated surpluses and deficiencies for 71 sample tents meantime. 29 were in surplus, 42 in deficit - R.T.M. 1887, p. 248. This was not unusual and was later improved. In 1891 Government 'Blue Books' I.O.R. was the 7th most solvent friendly society, with a deficiency of only 31.76% against Foresters' 72.17%, Shepherds' 81.63%, Druids' 92.70%, Sons of Temperance's 131.96%, and the British Order of Gardeners' 670.15%. The Order quoted these figures in R.T.M. June 1891, p. 134, but did not abandon pursuit of total solvency, such was its mistrust of credit finance. On pressure to adopt uniform benefits and cease payment of doctors from the sick funds, R.T.M. Sept. 1893, 'Report of the 35th High Moveable Conference', p. 230. Glasgow's solvency that year was £1.6/1d in the £, but 15 Districts had deficits bringing the overall solvency to £1.1/4d. Payment of doctors could lead to deficit in individual tents - R.T.M. Sept. 1895, p. 225. Separate salary funds had to be adopted by Glasgow tents in the 1890's. By late 1895, some were also concerned about "negative values" in the funeral funds - R.T.M. Sept. 1895, p. 227. On varying rates of mortality and success, R.T.M. 1891, p. 294, and Apr. 1896, p. 97. Mortality in Scottish districts was highest in Dundee and lowest in Ayrshire, where the farming community balanced high risk mine and mill workers. Ayrshire and Glasgow were far healthier than Neison's tables anticipated.

On numerically strong areas also financially weak, R.T.M. Jan. 1896, p. 48. This was exacerbated by flexibility in rates of sick pay. Ayrshire tended to be extravagant and was forced to make changes - R.T.M. Jan. 1901, p. 17, and Feb. p. 42. For 'District Consolidated Funds', introduced in the 1890's - "Bonnie Dundee Souvenir...", p. 44. R.T.M. May 1895, p. 112 - even the "Scotland's First" tent dragged its feet over adoption of consolidated funds. This engendered more bickering. See R.T.M. Sept. 1895, p. 229, where the Edinburgh District attempted to gain exemption from the Relief Fund Levy on the grounds that consolidated districts rarely if ever claimed from it. On benevolent funds, R.T.M. Jan. 1892, p. 59. Allegations of Executive bias in allocation of the Relief Fund in R.T.M. Nov. 1896, 'As Others See Us' a reprint of an article from the Scottish Friendly Societies' Journal. R.T.M. Sept. 1897, pp. 220-225 discusses 'District Investment Funds', used only by 'richer' Districts.

260. R.T.M. Nov. 1886, p. 289. I.O.R. had tents in Oban from 1886 and had ⅓ of its town council as members, plus ties with the local press - determined in its support of the crofters - R.T.M. Jan. 1892, p. 21. By the early 1890's operations expanded up into Orkney and Shetland - R.T.M. Jan. 1892, p. 47. This was similar to the I.O.G.T. which had a number of Central Scotland lodges named after Crofter flashpoints. On the Board etc., R.T.M. July 1886, p. 189. The High Chief Ruler toured the Northern Isles 1892-3. Horror at poverty there "exemplified by the way in which yearly rentals are only £1 per head of population" was recorded in R.T.M. May, 1893, p. 120.


265. B. Gilbert (op cit) pp. 171-180 and 553-8. In some societies this was the result of imperfect understanding of the relationship between longevity and sick claims. Reform was hindered by competition, and by the upward movement of interest rates during the Boer War. Even obscure societies like the United Order of Patriarchs had schemes for perpetual or chronic sickness by the 1900s - (i.e. only 2,000 members in 1904) - R.T.M. June 1902, p. 138. For details of the L.O.A.F. pension scheme see R.T.M. Sept. 1904, 'Gleanings'. This may nevertheless have been a factor in the increase in membership of the Foresters 498,192 in 1878 to 630,683 in 1908. Treble (op cit) p. 278 - only 1% of Oddfellows used theirs. For rejection of a proposed Rechabite Superannuation Fund, R.T.M. 1887, pp. 227-230. "Dundee Souvenir", op cit, p. 45, Utilisation of society surpluses was the Oddfellows' solution to the old age pension problem within each order as late as 1905 - R.T.M. 1905, p. 31.

266. Treble, (op cit) p. 270. In general Blackley's scheme was criticised as one which permitted no 'contracting out', and the inclusion of sickness and superannuation benefits in one scheme was seen as a threat to the work of friendly societies. The practicability of the scheme and its advantages in terms of abolishing the Poor Rate's tax upon thrift, forcibly making the thriftless more responsible, and encouraging thrift were summarily dismissed by most societies and a London Conference of Friendly Societies in 1887 condemned it at the instigation of the L.O.A.F. and Oddfellows. (See the report of this in R.T.M. Sept. 1887, p. 216). R.T.M. Aug. 1884, p. 168. R.T.M. 1906, p. 252 and 1909, p. 125. I.e. 'Report of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, Vol. III, 'Minutes of Evidence', P.P., 1895. R.T.M. May 1899, p. 101, 'The Problem of Old Age Pensions', and R.T.M. Jan. 1899 article, 'Old Age Pensions'.

268. Treble (supra) p. 287-8. L.O.A.F. were unimpressed by the merits of state pensions, published pamphlets hostile to pensions as late as 1902, and attempted to block the O.A.P. question in the Societies' National Conference. Criticism was expressed in terms of Smilesean virtues and inadvisability of costly programmes in the Boer War years. Oddfellows were divided on the question - Treble p. 292.

269. R.T.M. 1909 p. 160 and 182, 'Among the Friendly Societies'. In a reply to a survey Rechabites, Northumberland & Durham Miners, and Lancashire and Cheshire Miners suggested state pensions might have adverse effects. Sons of Temperance disagreed. National Deposit Friendly and Free Gardeners were undecided. Reactions were closely related to perspectives on solvency and reports from New Zealand. R.T.M. Sept. 1909 'Old Age Pensions', and Jan. 1910, p. 11, 'A Retrospect', also Richardson Campbell (op cit) p. 227.


Richardson Campbell, "Provident and Industrial Institutions", pp.244-249, and Gosden, "The Friendly Societies in England", pp.161-2, and 196. The 1875 Act (38 & 39 Vid. Cap. 60) was amended in 1876, 1879, 1882, 1883, 1885, 1887, 1894, and in 1895 was revised and consolidated without impinging upon the societies' liberty. R.T.M. Jan. 1911, p. 10, 'Among the Friendly Societies'. The inadequacy of the friendly societies parliamentary representation was a recurring theme right up to 1914. As Gilbert has shown, the friendly societies were slow to organise and could not agree on the raising of a Parliamentary Fund to pay the expenses of six M.P.s even in 1913. The Rechabites would have favoured this course, but knew that it was too late in 1913. On their lack of information, see R.T.M. Feb. 1911, p. 55 'Among the Friendly Societies'. On electioneering, Jan. 1911, p. 10. On Bill's reception, R.T.M. 1909, p. 125. On Lloyd George's reassurances, R.T.M. 1970, p. 79 'An Important Announcement', 44th H.M.C. Report 1911, pp 232-3, 1911 article 'The Sickness and Invalidity Bill' By a Board Member, p. 127 (where the way the Chancellor, "touched the human note with true
Welsh artistry, and left the House with a Scriptural quotation ringing in its ears", was reported without a trace of sarcasm).

276. On the Order's running battles with the medical profession see R.T.M. 1898, p. 30, 'The Unqualified Medical Assistants', where they correctly predicted their abolition by the General Medical Council, to raise professional status, would lead to trouble for friendly societies, Nov. 1897, 'Notes', where disputes between the medical profession and the Medical Aid Associations which worked with the friendly societies is discussed under 'Medicals in Revolt', Nov. 1898 'Notes' where this was reviewed by the National Conference of Friendly Societies, and 1906, p. 150 on intimidation of "club doctors" by local doctors. No. 11 in 'A Series of Papers' by Richardson Campbell, published in R.T.M. 1900, accused rural doctors of "forcing prices out of all reason to the value of the services rendered or the cheap medicine dispensed" when they had monopolies. Rechabites stood with the friendly society movement against attempts to boycott society work, and B.M.A. attempts to exclude those who earned 30/- per week or more from receiving the attention of friendly society doctors - 'Amongst the Friendly Societies', State Insurance, in R.T.M. 1909. Rechabites attacked medical behaviour right up to 1914, identifying high rates of sickness under the Act with their encouragement of "malingering" through laxity or attempts to cram too many patients onto their register. See calls for medical referees to be appointed at the 1913 H.M.C., in R.T.M. 1913, p. 104.

277. R.T.M. Nov. 1911, 'Mr. Lloyd George's Bill', p. 284. R.T.M. June, 1911, 'The Great Scheme' - quoted a National Union of Gasworkers organiser. Trade unionists were well aware of the Bill's inadequacies, as was the temperance sympathiser Philip Snowden.


279. The Rechabites for example supported the 1911 Edinburgh Conference's firm stance on the need for amendments, and there was much discontent at local level - see Nov. 1911, 'Chronicle of Work and Progress', comments on Ayr District's hostility to various clauses of the scheme. On Rechabite leaders' attempts to reconcile members to National Insurance, 'The Insurance Bill', R.T.M. Jan. 1912, p. 5 by Richardson Campbell.


281. On the Rechabite attitude to the "Wet Friendly" see the article by Dr. Carpenter of Croydon 'Temperance Benefit Societies and


283. On the problem of ritual see R.T.M. Feb. 1912, pp. 30-31 where the Rechabites discuss whether it was more advisable to aim for quantity or quality in membership under the Act, and R.T.M. 1912, p. 169, where attempts to modernise the Order by abolishing the ritual was resisted in terms of a fundamentalist assertion that "as to the spirit of the age, there were a lot of things these days NOT good for the Nation". Slogan quoted from R.T.M. April 1912, 'National Insurance', p. 80. The typical temperance reformer's sense of urgency was evident in the I.O.R. call to action 'Wake up Rechabites! Now or Never!' in R.T.M. March 1912, p. 53.

284. R.T.M. June 1913, p. 131. Any panic created was heightened by receipt of the Registrar's report of 547 insolvent societies for the past year - R.T.M. Jan. 1913, 'Among the Friendly Societies'. On the Injustice of the Amending Act and the 12 proposals of the friendly societies, see R.T.M. Dec. 1913, p. 312, and June 1913, p. 131 respectively.

285. Noted in R.T.M. 1913, 'Among the Friendly Societies, p. 81. For the effect of National Insurance on staffing levels see the "Bonnie Dundee Souvenir", p. 46. The Act necessitated the appointment of full time district agents - R.T.M. May 1891, p. 115 and May 1894, p. 115. Establishment of a Glasgow Office with a salaried District Secretary and staff in the mid 1890's had been thought "a new epoch". Even during turn of the century recruitment drives many preferred to use deputations in extension work - as an agent would have cost an estimated £200 p.a. The I.O.R. continued even after 1911 to economise on salaries where possible - see Highet, (op cit) p. 424. 'The Transition Stage - H.M.C. in a Fog', R.T.M. Oct., 1913, pp. 280-281.
In June 1913 the statement of voluntary membership was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>165,389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>55,830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>29,369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>3,240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 253,828 (adults) State Membership in early 1913 is quoted from R.T.M. 1913, p. 228, 'Report of the 46th High Moveable Conference'.


Quoted from S.T.L.R. 1910, pp. 48-50, 'Rechabites' 75th Anniversary'.


Bebbington (op cit) p. 387.


On the Salvation Army Reliance Bank Ltd., Reliance Benefit Society and Salvation Army Assurance Co. see the "Scottish Churches Handbook", 1933, p. 52. Brigadier Middleton drew my attention to the way in which the Salvation Army Assurance Co. employed a large office staff by 1925 with the aforementioned motive in mind. On the search for new types of self-help, D. Thomson "England in the 19th Century", Pelican reprint 1983, pp 150-151, where co-operation especially is placed in the context of "a profound change of mood and mental outlook in the younger generation of the sixties and seventies", prompted in part by Darwinism and reading of Spencer and Huxley according to E.R. Pease, the historian of the Fabian Society.


Andrew Fisher was a personal abstainer and a member of the Ancient Order of Free Gardeners whilst resident in Ayrshire. His short-term saving was towards the goals of emigration and of education for his brother. I am grateful to Denis Murphy of the Dept. of History, University of Queensland, for drawing my attention to his membership of the A.O.F.G.


J.D. Burn, (not to be confused with the Revd. J. Dawson Burns) an erstwhile hatter and sometime publican, retreated from Chartism into organisational work for the Oddfellows in the West of Scotland in the 1840's and 1850's. He wrote a "Lecture on the Moral, Social, and Friendly Character of Oddfellowship of the Manchester Unity", Glasgow, 1840, explaining the advantages of membership especially in terms of "a feeling of community", and Vincent attributed his literary confidence to this work, together with interest in the debates and demonstrations of the Reform Bill era and the work of the hatters' union. No doubt Richardson Campbell's textbook had similar inspirations.


G.B.A.M. Finlayson "The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, 1801-85", pp. 129, 571, (1879 was a particularly bad year for commercial failures because of unrest in Eastern Europe, wars in India and Africa, and significantly the onset of foreign competition), and 593. In addition to Collins, Connal and Kettle mentioned earlier, others with this predisposition included Fergus Ferguson, (who retired from business to become a Lanarkshire Congregational minister - see Wm. Adamson DD "The Life of Fergus Ferguson MA DD", pp. 14-16) and the Revd. William Arnott, who chose to be a gardener rather than a clerk out of a "decided contempt for money-making" "Autobiography of the Revd. Wm. Arnott", p. 41-5, where he explains that it is "better to be the seed of the righteous than of the rich" and that he had "an inheritance which could not be taken away". Like Fisher, Arnott's savings goal was education - see pp. 71, 98, and 125. He scrimped upon rent not only to buy books but also to be able to attend "great coffee feasts", tickets for which cost as much as 1/-.


At its crash the City of Glasgow Bank had 133 branches, £8,000,000 on deposit, and £1,000,000 capital and all the appearance of stability. Eventual reimbursement of depositors by appeal to the shareholders' honour ruined the latter and
occasioned a £400,000 relief fund administered by the Assets Company formed by the more public spirited shareholders in 1882. As the bank had aimed at "the small investor", the crash meant losses for many trades unions and "much intensified the prevailing depression by the losses inflicted on shareholders and depositors", producing unemployment and wage reductions in the building trades especially. For Charles Cameron, see the Biographical Appendix.

300. The main bankruptcy legislation of this period was composed of Acts of 1543, 1571 et seq consolidated and amended in 1825, 1849, 1852, 1854, 1861, 1868, 1869, 1883 (i.e. 46 and 47 Vict. cap. 52), which also disqualified bankrupts for election and sitting as M.P.s, and the 1887 Bankruptcy (Discharge and Closure) Act. The numbers of Scottish bankruptcies were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>35% of total English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>49 and Welsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>58 bankruptcies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


302. Temperance homilies on "Money - a Test of Character" had echoes not only of the parable of the talents but also of works such as William Sewell's "Christian Politics", (1844). See for example articles such as 'The Story of Prince George', and 'Money', in the Rechabite and Temperance Magazine for Feb.1894, p. 26 and July 1909 respectively.

303. R.T.M. April 1897, p. 52. Their vision was of a "brotherhood of financial integrity" - see Richardson Campbell's Foreword to his history of the Order. They sympathised with Tolstoi's denunciation of "misdirection of wealth" and efforts to apply Christian ethics, especially conscience and love, to economics - see the article 'Social Amelioration', in the Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, 1897, p. 51, and the Revd. Moore's view of thriftlessness in Dec. 1893, p. 358. Shaftesbury's awareness of monopoly of wealth as a factor in social tension is quoted from Finlayson, (op cit) p. 575.


Harvie quotes from F.T. Jackson "The Enterprising Scot", Edinburgh, 1968, p. 297. In the 1880's "Scotland revelled in foreign investment", far more so than England or Ireland. Scots had £110 per head invested abroad in contrast to the then U.K. average of £90, in land, mining, and railroad ventures in the U.S.A., Australasia, and Asia. "At precisely the time when the myth of the bawbee-minding Scot was becoming a stock turn on the boards of music halls north and south of the border the Scottish investor was throwing his money about with a flamboyance the Scottish aristocracy had never imagined" - Harvie, p. 108).

305. e.g. Walker "W.G. Blaikie" (op cit) p. 195.


Adam Smith "The Wealth of Nations", Book IV, Chapter III, was often quoted by reformers and the 1930's and 1940's studies referred to here are the 1931 Report on the Social and Economic Aspects of the Drink Problem, (usually referred to as the Buckmaster Report) the Amulree Commission, the New Survey of London Life and Labour, Sir John Boyd Orr's "Food, Health and Income" (1936), and Professor Herman Levy's "Drink - An Economic and Social Study", Chapter 3, 'The Domestic Budget', pp. 29-33, 73 (which quoted the average expenditure on drink in 1940 from the Ministry of Labour Gazette Dec. 1940, p. 305), p 76 and 93 which described the national 'Drink Bills' histories, and p. 99 and 130. 1940's growth of state power and focus on the levels of acceptable taxation led to revitalised scrutiny of private budgets.


Even Rechabites were aware of 'The Other Side of Thrift', see Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, article, Feb. 1909.

Mrs Brenda White drew my attention to the Lancashire use of this nickname - Lanarkshire residents refer to misers as "Racobites" and are usually surprised by the correct spelling.

On the negative stereotype created by the thrift movement see R. McKibbin 'Working Class Gambling in Britain 1880-1939', Past and Present, 1979, 82, pp. 161-162.

"Psychological resistance to saving" was evident, he found, in M.S. Pember Reeves "Round About a Pound a Week", London, 1913, p. 66, Booth's "Life and Labour of the People in London" XVII, p. 75, and Hilton's "Rich Man, Poor Man", London, 1944, p. 47.

307. McKibbin (op cit p. 162) concluded that "saving, as a form of behaviour, was irredeemably associated with middle class hectoring and that made it almost automatically repugnant to the poor".


309. They did however focus (like many of their American counterparts in reform - notably William Jennings Bryan), on monetary reform. Many temperance reformers were also associated with the Imperialist and national efficiency orientated Glasgow Monetary Reform Association, established in 1895, to "secure a stable standard of value over the largest possible area, especially between Britain and all her colonies and dependencies", was horrified at America's paradoxical bankruptcy, ("not from want of material wealth but from want of legal token"), had nostalgia for formerly good trade cycles and stable currency, and shared the thrift reformer's concern that a continued fall in prices despite increases in gold production would mean "increasing the unearned increment of creditors". Report of the G.M.R.A., 1896, and Pamphlets of the Bi-Metallic Standard, 1889-1893. (Those particularly associated with this expression of fear of "the dangers of prosperity", included Gilbert Beith and the Glasgow M.P.s Alexander Cross, William Jacks, and A.D. Provand, Profs. James Mavor, Toronto University and William Smart of Glasgow, J. Shields Nicholson, and Robert Wallace of Edinburgh University). Although some linked this question with the land question (e.g. Chaplin's "Land and Bi-Metallism", Bi-Metallic League, 1893), local businessmen were absorbed in the monometallic and bi-metallic dichotomy principally - see "Reply by G.H. Dick to the Monometallic Arguments advanced at the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in 1892", Glasgow, Sharp, 1893.


311. It should also be noted here that even friendly societies far less radical than the I.O.R. could clash quite spectacularly with local employers - see for example the clash between the Foresters and William Baird & Co., which resulted in court action over workmens' compensation in the Annual Report of the L.O.A.F., 1913, pp. 6-8.

312. The I.O.R. differed greatly from Hoyle's interpretation of the wage question. J.B. Brown 'The Pig or the Stye: Drink and Poverty in late Victorian England', (op cit) p. 388, on the wage question. They accepted other aspects of his view of "self-inflicted poverty". The point that "the temperance message to the working classes was a curious mixture of paternal and individualist strands" (Brown, p. 384) cannot be made over emphasised. Equally, the prohibitionist view also mellowed over the years - see Chapter V. 'Friendly Societies: Their Origins and Principles', by Richardson Campbell, in Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, Feb. 1897, p. 40. 'The Relation of Rechabitism to Social Problems', in the March 1891 issue of the above, pp 54-5, 'Rechabitism as a Factor in Social Progress', in March 1896, 'The High Rate of Sickness in Friendly Societies: Its Cause or Causes', July 1911, pp. 160-161, and 'The Ordeal', in the August 1914 Rechabite and Temperance
Magazine, which quoted Gerald B. Smith, Professor of Christian Theology, Chicago University, on the inability of Christians to "be content with perpetuation of economic conditions which make charity the inevitable but undeserved lot of thousands". The "fiat of Eternal Justice" was a favourite reference point for Rechabites, as were the lines of the American Quaker Whittier

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{The laws of changeless justice bind} \\
\text{The oppressor with the oppressed} \\
\text{And close as sin and suffering joined} \\
\text{We march to fate abreast.}
\end{align*}
\]


313. Note the portraits of the self-made men connected with the City and County House Purchase Co. in its Journal for the Home, and the articles like 'Views of Successful Businessmen', in the Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, of July 1897. Rothschild's maxims were a favourite because he shunned drink - see Jan. 1905, pp. 14-15. Revd. W.J. Dawson DD's 'Tyranny of Habit' appeared in their 1909 issue at p. 231, attacking "The Slavery of Sin" and advising that "Good Habits are as easily formed as Bad Ones" with unabated enthusiasm. A.K. Rodger spoke of Scottish Temperance Life in this manner at the Ideal Homes Exhibition of 1909, and similar sentiments were expressed by C.C.C. promoters like Bailie Hugh Brechin, who in 1908 was fresh from "fighting Socialism, or at least what was called Socialism" in local politics. Both he and Bailie Martin utterly disapproved of "the Socialism that does everything for the man, expecting nothing of him in return", backing mortgage work in terms reminiscent of Hoyle's description of the manufacture of "co-operative capitalists" in "Wealth and Social Progress", Manchester, 1887, p.188 - Journal for the Home About the Home, Vol. II, No. 1, pp.13-14. J.B. Brown, (supra) p. 381.