Temperance Societies in Late Victorian and Edwardian England

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By

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For my family,
Mary, Juliana, and Russell,
with love

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PREFACE

The research for this book took many roads. In a few instances, notably that for the Good Templars, I could rely almost exclusively on my own research. In other cases, I combined my manuscript and rare book research with that of other historians, as in the case of the United Kingdom Alliance. For some societies I relied largely on the research of other scholars, for instance, for the Bands of Hope. I took advantage of the generosity of modern scholars by querying them by email.

I had the advantage of reading a couple of important manuscript monographs. Gerald W. Olsen provided me with a copy of his unpublished book on the Church of England Temperance Society. Because of ill health, he sadly has been unable to revise his manuscript for publication. Margaret Barrow completed her doctoral dissertation on the National British Women's Temperance Association shortly before Alzheimer's ended her scholarly career. I had hoped to revise it for her so that it could be published but, to my regret, never found the time.

I am grateful to the interlibrary loan service of the Miami University library which helped me enormously until the Covid-19 endemic closed the campus .I then depended on Google Books and other online sources such as the British Newspaper Archive to supplement my personal trove of handwritten notes, photocopies, microfilm, old books, and modern scholarship. It was good to have handy the six-volume *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem* which the Anti-Saloon League of America published during National Prohibition. Sadly, it is not indexed.

I thank my nephew Dr. Michael A. Rinella for putting my illustrations in .tiff format. Without his help, I would have been at a loss about how to provide the publisher with the illustrations.

Although the focus of this book is on temperance societies, it also provides many biographical sketches, most only a few lines but a handful with several paragraphs.

WRITING ABOUT TEMPERANCE

For historians of English temperance, the 400-pound gorilla is Brian Harrison. Modern scholarship on the English temperance movement began with the publication in 1971 of his *magnum opus*. Over 500 pages long, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872*, is both a pioneering and definitive work, based on a 1966 Oxford doctoral dissertation. Harrison's flagship book sailed into scholarly acclaim accompanied by a flotilla of articles, temperance biographies, and a critical bibliography.

Harrison was ambitious. He combined the social history of the temperance movement with the politics of the drink question. Although Harrison wrote mainly about the temperance movement, he attempted to encompass both sides of the drink question, drinkers and drink sellers as well as reformers.[1]

Harrison never wrote a sequel extending his story beyond 1872. When he left temperance history, he had trained no students to do continue his work on the drink question. Unexpectedly, he published a second edition of *Drink and the Victorians* in 1994. Essentially it was a reprint with a new introduction.

There have been respectful criticisms.[2] One reviewer cautioned: "large as the book is, it opens as many questions as it closes."[3] Harrison wrote less about religion than specialists would like.[4] He was the first historian to pay serious attention to the United Kingdom Alliance, but he did not devote similar space to other anti-drink societies. To be fair, the Good Templars only arrived in England in the late 1860s, and anti-drink Anglican reformers were not reorganized on a dual basis, abstainers and moderate drinkers, until 1873.

Although Harrison acknowledged that drink remained "a live political issue" until after the First World War, he chose for various reasons to end his great book in the early 1870s.[5] This gave space to other historians such as myself.

Temperance after 1872

I argue that the decline of the English temperance movement was uneven and cannot be assigned to just one date.[6] For instance, the gospel

temperance excitement in the late 1870s and the 1880s "revived interest in individual reform and brought the churches into antidrink activities."[7] After Harrison closed his book, the Church of England Temperance Society and the Independent Order of Good Templars flourished for many years. In the 1890s women's temperance societies became among the largest of adult anti-drink organizations.[8] In 1899 Lord Peel's Royal Commission minority report gave temperance reformers a new focus other than prohibition. In the early twentieth century disinterested management of the retail drink trade attracted many advocates. The massive book by Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell, *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform* was published in 1899, and T.P. Whittaker organized the Temperance Legislation League in 1905.[9] Should one forget the children? The Bands of Hope recruited "over 3 million members annually between 1897 and 1914."[10] The number of abstaining Nonconformist ministers did not peak until the early 1900s.[11] Temperance remained sufficiently important in Wales that in 1915 Lloyd George could persuade Welsh reformers to postpone Welsh disestablishment in return for his promise of a strong anti-drink policy.[12] Recently, a sociologist drew attention to the phenomenon during the First World War of a call for temperance to make the country morally worthy of military victory.[13] After the war, the newly important Labour Party had a large teetotal section.[14]

Although in decline, the English temperance movement did not become irrelevant until the early 1930s. In 1929 the government appointed a royal commission to study the drink problem.[15] No prohibitionist was appointed to the royal commission, but a moderate teetotaler, the Methodist minister Henry Carter, served, as did an advocate of disinterested management, Arthur Sherwell. Of the nineteen members of the royal commission only sixteen signed the majority report presented in 1931. In 1932 the three major Methodist denominations merged to form the United Methodist Church. Carter became the general secretary of its new Temperance and Social Welfare department. He helped negotiate with the prohibitionists what was called the "agreed temperance program," signed on 9 November 1933.[16] To achieve consensus, it was unambitious.

Lilian Lewis Shiman

The person who most influenced me as a historian of the English temperance movement was Lilian Lewis Shiman. In 1969, on a research trip to consult the Guy Hayler temperance collection, I met her at the University of Wisconsin where she was writing her dissertation. Ending in 1895, it covered twenty-odd more years than *Drink and the Victorians*. It was hard

to for her to publish soon after Harrison. Publishers told her that he had "covered" temperance. Not quite. While waiting for a book publisher, she wrote a number of social history articles that in shortened form appeared in *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England* (1988).[17] She later pioneered the study of women in the English temperance movement first in an article and then as part of a book, *Women and Leadership in Nineteenth-Century England* (1992).[18] Shiman's work has been indispensable in the writing of my book.

The *Crusade against Drink* avoided any historiographic debate and almost exclusively cited primary sources, but it implicitly challenged Harrison's periodization. Although she ended her book with the general election of 1895, she emphasized non-political aspects of the temperance movement, including previously obscure Yorkshire temperance societies.

Sources

Non-political sources exist. For instance, in the mid-1980s E.J. Higgs brought attention to the ninety miles of records in the Public Record Office where alcohol-related documents appear among many departments but most commonly in Home Office files: records related to revenue, regulation of the effects of alcohol, rehabilitation, and alcohol as an economic asset. Higgs observed that "little work has been done" on temperance policies for State employees such as the Metropolitan police. He also pointed out that British historians ignore drink policies for the Empire which are important for their own sake and for having helped form the attitudes of the ruling elite.[19]

Predictably researchers have concentrated on the most accessible sources. A few organizations published weekly or monthly periodicals and produced manuscript minute books. The United Kingdom Alliance, a prohibition lobby founded in 1853, became a popular subject with its complete run of minute books and a London headquarters that welcomes researchers. As a result, books largely or entirely about the Alliance were published in 1977 and 1980.[20]

My Own Research

When this writer first visited the Alliance offices in the late 1960s the minute books shared a cramped alcove with a duplicating machine. An official boasted that when he was appointed, he had engaged a scrap paper dealer to remove a lorry-load of old books. Since that time, the definition of trash has changed. The Alliance actively collects rare publications donated

by defunct temperance societies and offers researchers a comfortable reading room.

My own research has focused on the late Victorian and Edwardian period with only a limited overlap with Harrison. What brought me to temperance history was not Harrison, but the revival of American temperance studies in the mid 1960s.[21] The new American scholarship made me ask: what about England?

I started my temperance research about the time that Harrison received his doctoral degree. My article in the *Journal of British Studies* came out in 1971, the same year that *Drink and the Victorians* appeared.[22] At that time, I began to draft a book on the politics of drink in late Victorian and Edwardian England. When I happened upon the memoirs of Jessie Forsyth, I was diverted to social history. I published two books and several articles on the Good Templars. I also wandered in the British Empire as far as India to write about Gandhi and prohibition.

After Shiman's *Crusade against Drink*, books about temperance or drink grew slowly. Beginning in 1989, David W. Gutzke published several books about the licensed trade and drink. In 1991 Ian Tyrrell contributed an international study of the WCTU that included much material on the UK. In the early twentieth century books about temperance and drink in modern Britain became less and less exotic. Books appeared by John R. Greenaway (2003), James Nicholls (2009), Robert Duncan (2013), Annemarie McAllister (2014), Henry Yeomans (2014), Paul Jennings (2016), David Beckingham (2017), and Thora Hands (2018), as well as dissertations and articles by other historians. I have learned from them and often cite them in this book.

My emphasis on Shiman does not mean that Harrison had no influence on my work. I began writing as a political historian before shifting to social history. Like Harrison, I came to regard temperance societies as the key to what success the English temperance movement achieved.[23] They are the what this book is about.

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[1] I never met Brian Harrison, but we exchanged letters when I was writing a biographical sketch about F.R. Lees.

[2] In honor of the thirtieth anniversary of the publication of *Drink and the Victorians*, David W. Gutzke organized a symposium (with contributions from David M. Fahey, John R. Greenaway, and Gutzke) published in the *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs* 18 (2003): 85-93. Greenaway wrote the entry for Harrison in Jack S. Blocker, Jr., David M. Fahey, and Ian R. Tyrrell, eds. *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History* (ABC-CLIO, 2003).

[3] W.R. Ward in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 23 (January 1972): 92.

[4] Clyde Binfield, "Temperance and the Cause of God," *History* 57 (October 1972): 403-10.
[5] Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p. 367.
[6] Shiman saw the decline in the number (but not the fervor) of English temperance societies as beginning in the mid-1890s, after the prohibition defeat in the general election of 1895.
[7] See Shiman's review in *Journal of Modern History* 45 no. 1 (March 1973): 130.
[8] Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, "From Temperance to Suffrage?" in *Our Mother's Land: Chapters in Welsh Women's History, 1830-1939,* edited Angela V. John (University of Wales Press, 1991), p. 135. See also Ian R. Tyrrell, *Woman's World, Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (University of North Carolina Press, 1991).
[9] John Greenaway*, Drink and British Politics since 1830* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), "Rowntree and Sherwell's New Approach."
[9] John Greenaway*, Drink and British Politics since 1830* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
[11] D.B. Bebbington, *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics, 1870-1914* (George Allen & Unwin, 1982), p. 46.
[12] Stuart Mews, "Urban Problems and Rural Solutions: Drink and Disestablishment in the First World War," in *The Church in Town and Countryside*, ed. Derek Baker (Basil Blackwell, 1979), pp. 449-76.
[13] Henry Yeomans, *Alcohol and Moral Regulation: Public Attitudes, Spirited Measures and Victorian Hangovers* (Policy Press, 2014), p. 245.
[14] Stephen B. Jones, "Labour, Society and the Drink Question in Britain, 1918-39," *Historical Journal* 30 (1987): 105-22.
[15] For this royal commission, see Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics*, pp. 145-46.
[16] Gwylmor Prys Williams and George Thompson Brake, *Drink in Great Britain, 1900 to 1979* (Edsall, 1980), pp. 124-29; Henry Townsend, *Robert Wilson Black* (Carey Kingsgate, 1954)., pp. 184-85.
[17] See David W. Gutzke's review, both sympathetic and critical, in *Victorian Studies* 33 no. 1 (Autumn 1989): 186-88.
[18] As her final research project, Shiman began a study of Anglo-American temperance reformers. She had completed a third of it before ill health made her abandon it. From it, she published only an article about John B. Gough.
[19] E.J. Higgs, "Research into the History of Alcohol Use and Control in England and Wales: The Available Sources in the Public Record Office," *British Journal of Addiction* 79 (March 1984): 41-47.
[20] D. A. Hamer, *The Politics of Electoral Pressure: A Study in the History of Victorian Reform Agitations* (Harvester, 1977), includes five chapters on the Alliance, ending in 1900, based on an exhaustive and exhausting reading of minute books; A. E. Dingle, *The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England: The United Kingdom Alliance, 1872-1895* (Croom Helm, 1980), provides a convincingly negative picture of a failed pressure group.
[21] Joseph R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (University of Illinois Press, 1963). For the revival of American temperance

history in the 1960s, see also James H. Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920* (Harvard University Press, 1963), Norman H. Clark, *The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington* (University of Washington Press, 1965); and John C. Burnham, "Perspectives on the Prohibition 'Experiment' of the 1920's," *Journal of Social History* 2 no. 1 (Autumn 1968): 61-68.

[22] "Temperance and the Liberal Party: Lord Peel's Report, 1899," *Journal of British Studies* 10 (May 1971).

[23] "As Brian Harrison has pointed out, the single factor which distinguished the Victorian temperance movement from the raft of anti-drink activity that preceded it was the emergence of organized temperance societies." James Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol: A History of the Drink Question in England* (Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 96.

CHAPTER ONE

TEMPERANCE PEOPLE

The English temperance movements peaked in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[1] Using the plural emphasizes that not all anti-drink people shared the same objectives or methods. The temperance movements were a quarrelsome reform family united by what they were against.[2]

Abstainers

Temperance usually meant total abstinence. Teetotalers were a small minority in the English population and rarely achieved positions of power or influence.[3] Looking at the entire United Kingdom, there were only four teetotal MPs in 1860 and as late as 1883 there were only 36.[4] No total abstainer sat in a British cabinet until December 1905.[5]

Nevertheless, optimism sustained temperance reformers. One abstainer speculated that "a great many people belonging to the 'comfortable classes' would join us heartily if they really knew what an evil thing drink is."[6]

Victorian respectability made drunkenness unacceptable. The temperance movements were saved from political irrelevance by middle-class drinkers who worried that urban workingmen drank excessively.[7] A prohibitionist leader referred to these reform-minded drinkers as "the 'non-abstaining' section of the temperance army."[8] A few such drinkers joined the temperance societies that would accept them, and many others supported legislation intended to reduce the consumption of alcoholic drink.

When Queen Victoria died, there were at least three million adult teetotallers in the United Kingdom, that is, fewer than nine percent of the adult population.[9] The strength of the United Kingdom temperance movements was provincial, far from cosmopolitan London. It flourished in the north of England and in Cornwall in the west, Wales and Scotland. [10] It was also strong in Ireland, most obviously among Presbyterians but also among Roman Catholics.[11]

The historian Lilian Lewis Shiman has argued: "The temperance movement in England was a conservative reform effort which saw nothing wrong in the existing society that the elimination of drink could not solve."[12] This is true, if one allows that some temperance reformers were more ambitious in their goals. Such reformers grew numerous during the late Victorian and Edwardian years.

Why were there Teetotal Temperance Movements?

England and the British Isles were not alone in experiencing the disruption of teetotal temperance movements. Drink also came under attack in other English-speaking countries, in parts of Europe, and beyond.[13] Why and why at this time are questions not easy to answer. Industrialization and evangelical Protestantism, often proposed as an explanation, have too many exceptions to be a fully satisfying answer.[14] There may be no universal explanation. This chapter shows that even confining the question to England produces no simple solution.[15] What we do know is that, breaking with tradition, millions of men and women chose not to drink. As such abstainers were a minority of the English population, they strived to create an alternative sober world for their families while also trying to persuade drinkers to join their life of total abstinence.

Working-class Abstainers

It is safe to say that in England the majority of those who abstained from drink were humble men and women, content with obscure local organizations. Despite the prominence of the middle class in national and regional temperance societies, most total abstainers were working class.[16] A prohibitionist leader described "the flower of the working classes in all the large towns of England" as his supporters.[17] The standard history of the Welsh temperance movement emphasizes the working-class membership of early temperance societies with self-employed shoemakers and tailors as typical members.[18]

Many pioneers of what became the Labour Party such as the coal miner Thomas Burt (1837-1922) did not drink. Philip Snowden (1864-1937) claimed that a majority of Labour MPs in the Edwardian parliaments were teetotal.[19] In a contrast with other workingmen's clubs, only three percent of those of the Independent Labour Party sold alcoholic drink in 1909.[20]

Anecdotal evidence suggests that teetotalers most often were women. Although one of the largest societies of adult teetotalers in the late nineteenth century was a woman's organization, women's temperance

societies and women in mixed-sex societies played only a marginal role in the leadership of the national temperance movement.

Temperance advocacy was not confined to white teetotalers. For instance, J.E. Celestine Edwards (1857?-94), born in the West Indies, was ordained a Primitive Methodist minister in Scotland, studied medicine in London, and became a temperance lecturer in England. Edwards is known as editor of the monthly anti-racist journal called *Fraternity*, published by the Society of the Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man.[21]

Nonconformist Abstainers

The late Victorian temperance movement is often identified with Nonconformity.[22] In political campaigns Nonconformist abstainers provided much of the energy for the temperance cause. In fact, temperance politics diverted them from religious activities. “Prayer Meetings were cancelled in favour of electioneering during the 1906 general election.”[23]

The elected officers and salaried officials of most national and regional temperance societies, as well as most teetotal M.P.s, were middle-class Nonconformists. This explains the reputation of the temperance agitation as middle class and Nonconformist. Yet in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century many middle-class Nonconformists drank. None of the three most prominent middle-class Nonconformist politicians--John Bright, Joseph Chamberlain, David Lloyd George--was a lifelong total abstainer. (Bright only gave up drink when in his sixties.) Further complicating the image of the English temperance movement, a powerful temperance movement within the Church of England lived uneasily beside that of dry Dissenters. Churches competed with chapels in the temperance movement. Finally, although English teetotallers typically were devout Christians, a few prominent reformers rejected any kind of a religion.

Generalizations about the relationship between Nonconformity and temperance need caution. In late Victorian and Edwardian England, prominent total abstainers included a Roman Catholic cardinal, Henry Manning (1808-92). In 1873, he founded a teetotal society for Catholics, the League of the Cross.[24] Within a few years in London alone it had thirty-one branches with 35,000 active members.[25] Catholics in England organized eleven temperance or total abstinence societies between 1860 and 1875.[26]

Reform could be a substitute for religion. Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle (1845-1921), led the National British Women's Temperance Association from 1903 until her death. She was an agnostic or atheist. A bemused friend pointed out: “She believes in no form of religion, but goes to church, I hardly know why, if it is not to distribute teetotal leaflets at the

door."[27] Her former secretary, Leif Jones (1862-1939), became president of the United Kingdom Alliance in 1906 and served until 1932. Although a minister's son, he too was an agnostic or atheist.

Nonconformist Teetotal Ministers and Societies

In 1881 an essay about the temperance work in the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Nonconformist denominations began with an apology. T.E. Williams acknowledged that "the Christian Church in this country has been slow to identify itself with the Temperance Movement."[28] Denominational temperance societies among the Nonconformists had few members and little money. The Bible Christians were regarded as a teetotal denomination but did not have a temperance society until 1882. The Baptists had organized one earlier (1874), when its income was only £56. In 1892 its income had grown to £567.[29] To a large extent, it was a society of ministers. In 1881 its membership of less than 1,100 included between five hundred and six hundred ministers.[30] The Primitive Methodists organized a temperance league belatedly in 1883. The New Connexion Methodists never organized a denominational temperance society.[31] Did this matter? Writing in 1893, Dawson Burns said: "during the last seven years the Methodist New Connexion Conference has not received a minister or college student who has not been an abstainer."[32]

Although individual Quakers were prominent in the temperance movement, the Society of Friends was slow to organize a temperance society of their own. A Friends' Temperance Union was organized in 1852. No records were kept and "little was done." It was reconstructed in 1877, but experienced "ups and downs." By 1891, "it had got into low water."[33]

The peak for teetotalism among Nonconformist ministers did not occur until the early years of the twentieth century. When the Congregational Total Abstinence Association was formed in 1874, about a quarter of Congregational ministers in England were teetotallers.[34] The number of abstaining ministers quickly grew. The number of total abstainers among Congregational ministers rose from 760 out of about 2,000 in 1879 to about 2,500 out of 3,000 in 1904, while 2,650 out of 2,950 were abstainers in 1908. The statistics refer to membership in Congregational Total Abstinence Association, and not all teetotallers were members.[35] Its income for 1891 was £265.[36] Among Baptist ministers, a sixth were teetotalers in 1860, a cohort that grew to 1,100 out of 1,900 in 1886. By 1908, the number of abstainers had grown to 2,321 out of 2,647 Baptist ministers. Confirming the upward trend, 211 out of 214 Baptist seminary students were total abstainers in 1907. In 1898, out of 370 ministers on Free Methodist home

circuits, 357 were total abstainers. As older Free Methodist ministers retired, the teetotal proportion grew: "almost without exception year by year the ministers on probation, all the students in the Theological Institute in Manchester, and the boys in Ashville College at Harrogate are abstainers." According to the *Alliance News*, in 1896, the Primitive Methodists numbered 1,113 ministers and 30 students in training for the ministry, nearly all total abstainers, as were "a very large proportion of the 10,742 local preachers." According to the same source, among Bible Christians, all 293 ministers and all students were abstainers, as were nearly all 1,937 local preachers.[37] In the Presbyterian Church of England, its 307 ministers included 206 abstainers and of its sixteen students, all but one were abstainers. In 1892 the English Presbyterians organized a total abstinence society. Unlike most Nonconformist ministers, a majority of Unitarian ministers drank, with only 146 abstainers out of 369 ministers in 1907.[38]

The belated conversion of Nonconformist to total abstinence can be seen in the campaign against drink in 1921 led by J. Alfred Sharp (1856-1932) who as that time was president of the Wesleyan Methodists. Sharp was a lifetime teetotaler.[39]

Whatever the ministers did, many members of the Nonconformist laity drink. In 1897 the Baptist Union rejected a proposal that total abstinence be a requirement for holding church office. Resolutions in the Wesleyan Methodist church to exclude people in the drink trade from office failed every year from 1898 to 1901.[40] In 1896 E. Tennyson Smith, a Good Templar, organized the Temperance Ironsides to urge the expulsion of drink sellers from church memberships.[41]

There are no statistics for office-holders who drank or other Nonconformist drinkers, but such drinkers existed. Thomas Clowes was the chairman of the Manchester Brewers' Central Association. In his will, he left £500 to his Congregational chapel.[42] When John Massey, an agent for the National Trade Defence Association, died in 1906, he was a lay preacher at the Ebenezer Methodist New Connexion Church in Newcastle.[43]

Anglican Abstainers

An additional caveat needs mention in assessing the role of the Nonconformists in the English temperance movement. The Church of England played at least as large a role. In 1869, the Convocation of Canterbury called drunkenness a "terrible vice." Organized in 1873, the Church of England Temperance Society became the largest denominational temperance organization. Supposedly 6,000 Anglican priests were total abstainers in 1897.[44] The CETS included all the Anglican parties: evangelicals,

broad churchmen, and Anglo-Catholics. A large minority of CETS members were moderate drinkers.[45] Predominantly upper middle class, they included most of the CETS representatives in the House of Commons. Working class and clerical abstainers made up a majority of the membership. By the end of the nineteenth century most Anglican diocesan bishops were total abstainers.[46] The drink trade increasingly regarded Church of England clerics as enemies.[47]

Ambiguous Relationship with Religion

The ecclesiastical historian Frances Knight argues that the relationship between temperance and religion was complicated and ultimately hostile. She sees in temperance: "its strongly altruistic principle of social welfare, its emphasis on self-discipline and strong character, its strongly materialist ethos and its ambiguous relationship with religion."[48] Without intending to do so, the temperance movement helped make England a secular society.

Advanced Temperance Party

Terminology insinuated that a certain kind of temperance reform was better than others. Prohibitionists proudly claimed to be the advanced temperance party, with at its core the United Kingdom Alliance and a fraternal society known as the Good Templars. The middle-class membership of the Alliance contrasted with the mostly working-class Good Templars.

The advanced temperance party demanded referendums for local prohibition known as Direct Local Veto.[49] Other prohibitionist organizations included the British Temperance League, regional societies such as the North of England Temperance League, the major women's temperance societies, and several Nonconformist denominational societies.[50]

Beginning in 1883, a coordinating organization called the National Temperance Federation brought together societies that demanded Direct Local Veto and also rejected compensation for license holders who lost their businesses because of a change in public policy. When what was called the Gothenburg Scheme became politically important, the NTF opposed so-called disinterested management that tried to purify the public house by minimizing the profit motive.[51]

Moderate Abstainers

In contrast with the advanced temperance party, moderate temperance reformers eagerly cooperated with reform-minded drinkers. Moderate

meant a focus on licensing reform such as reducing the number of licensed premises and not the total elimination of the sale of drink. Moderate also came to mean a willingness to allow money compensation to license holders who lost their licenses because of a change in public policy and not because of misdeeds, provided that the money come from the drink trade as a kind of self-insurance and that the compensation was for only a limited number of years. Moderates sometimes supported the Gothenburg Scheme of disinterested management of the retail drink trade.[52] The largest moderate organization was the Church of England Temperance Society.

Divisions between the advanced and the moderate reformers often resulted from a differing sense of what was practicable. Should a reduction in the number of pubs, Sunday Closing, restricting sales to juveniles, the elimination of barmaids, establishing inebriate reformatories, and other reforms be the priority because easier to achieve than a frontal prohibitionist attack on the pubic house? In contrast with the prohibitionist organizations, individual prohibitionists often joined moderate reformers in willingness to support legislation that postponed local prohibition for a few years to allow the drink trade to create a sinking fund to pay those who lost their licenses. At the turn of the century, the prohibitionists T.P. Whittaker (1850-1919) and W.S. Caine (1842-1903) endorsed Lord Peel's Report, a licensing reform scheme drafted by the chairman of a Royal Commission. Postponing Local Veto, it focused on a drastic reduction in the number of public houses with only limited compensation.[53] Later Whittaker became a convert to the Gothenburg Scheme.

Moral Suasion and Legislation

Whatever their other policy disagreements, all temperance reformers supported anti-drink education or propaganda called moral suasion. They supported "taking the pledge," campaigns for personal promises of total abstinence. Self-help was central to the temperance movement.

By the late nineteenth century nearly all temperance reformers wanted legislation to reduce drastically or end drinking. T.P. Whittaker conceded that "legislation was but one phase of the struggle," but he added that personal abstinence and moral suasion "would be largely futile and hopeless" without legislation.[54]

Moderate Drinkers as Temperance Reformers

Teetotal pioneers insisted that drinkers should never be called temperance reformers, but in practice there was little consistency about

terminology.[55] The two most prominent anti-drink societies in late nineteenth-century England allowed members to drink. The United Kingdom Alliance demanded only that its members support prohibition. The Alliance did not identify its non-abstaining members, although it was an open secret that its honorary secretary drank. The Church of England Temperance Society grew out of an earlier Anglican society that had required total abstinence. When the CETS was created in 1873, it provided a section for its non-abstainers who typically ranked higher in social class than the more numerous abstaining members.

Teetotalers sometimes grumbled that moderate drinkers were guilty of making drink respectable, but their support was indispensable. The phenomenon of moderate drinkers tackling the drink problem prompted a half-ironic quip by Sir Wilfrid Lawson (1829-1906): "we are all temperance reformers now." He added that his fellow prohibitionists were “rather keener than some.”[56]

What was Teetotalism?

Teetotalers disagreed about what teetotalism meant. Although teetotal pledges referred to alcohol as a beverage, many abstainers wanted unfermented grape juice in the Eucharist. The Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church insisted on fermented sacramental wine, as did the Wesleyan Methodists in England for many years.[57]

Another question dividing total abstainers: should a teetotaler accept alcohol in medical treatment? The use of alcoholic drink in medical care declined.

Most important, should teetotalers serve drink to guests and customers?[58] As drink remained important in social life, upper middle-class and aristocratic teetotalers often served alcohol to their non-abstaining guests. To the frustration of militant lower-class abstainers, the “long pledge” that promised not to serve others alcohol was often dismissed as impractical. Frederick Temple (1821-1902), Archbishop of Canterbury, was a celebrated teetotaler. When he was bishop of Exeter, a young clergyman pointed out that supplying wines at his table was inconsistent with his temperance teachings. “In a letter of one sentence, he was told ‘to mind his own business’.”[59] In the 1870s, a temperance reformer lamented that Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the president of the prohibitionist United Kingdom Alliance, kept an excellent wine cellar for his guests. Lawson answered that the decision to provide guests with drink was a private matter. He discontinued the practice in the 1880s.[60] Inviting the Liberal politician Sir William Harcourt (1827-1904) to visit his Cumberland estate on his way to Scotland, Lawson

warned him: “The establishment conducted *now* on strictly Temperance lines."[61] Although a drinker, Harcourt was the principal champion of prohibition by Direct Local Veto in the Liberal leadership. As an aristocratic hostess, Lady Carlisle served drink until 1903 when she was elected president of the major women’s temperance organization, most of whose members were Nonconformists, often Quakers or Methodists.[62]

Social Class

It is no surprise that teetotalers appear to have been usually working class or lower middle class. The juvenile Bands of Hope, the fraternal societies such as the Good Templars, and many local societies had working-class memberships, with a sprinkling of the lower middle class. In 1891 of the 31 shoe manufacturers in Rushden 26 were abstainers.[63]

After the mid-nineteenth century, temperance leaders were virtually never working class, but many middle-class leaders had grown up in working-class homes and began their working lives in lower-class jobs. For instance, Joseph Malins (1844-1926), who headed the English grand lodge of the militant Good Templar organization, had worked as a decorative painter as a young man. Henry Carter (1874-1932) stood out among temperance reformers at the time of the First World War and beyond.[64] Although eventually a solidly middle-class Methodist minister, he was the son of a basket maker, and he himself had been apprenticed to a ironmonger’s firm and later made his living as a travelling salesman for a wholesale provisions merchant.[65]

Teetotal Subculture

Total abstainers combined a strong missionary zeal with a desire to create a private "dry" world, a refuge amid the unconverted. Their homes would be sanctuaries for their families and provide a strong foundation for their country.[66] As an example of this subculture, in 1874 Guy Hayler (1850-1943), the son of a Chartist weaver, opened Hayler's Temperance Hotel in Hull. His establishment provided a coffee room, a billiard room, a smoke room, a commercial room, a clubroom, and a reading room but no alcoholic beverages.

Most reformers likely belonged only to local societies, but studies such as those by Lilian Lewis Shiman for her birthplace Bradford and for the Yorkshire village of Birstall are rare. Local temperance societies helped create a teetotal subculture that provided a social life free from alcohol. “The real strength of the movement lay not in … the national groups, but rather

in the small local societies."[67] For instance, in 1889 Shiman's Bradford had eleven anti-drink societies.

In little Birstall the life of abstainers centered on the Temperance Hall. Its teetotal membership became almost a sect, separate from local Nonconformist chapels. Potential threats to its unity such as Good Templar lodges were not welcome.[68]

The printed word extended the reach of the temperance movement and strengthened the commitment of adherents.[69] Temperance literature could appeal to a popular audience. The short story published in 1865 and often reprinted, "Buy Your Own Cherries," was written by the Baptist minister (and later Good Templar) John William Kirton (1831-92). The hero of the story gave up drink when his pub's landlady rudely refused to let him eat the cherries sitting on the bar counter. She said: "buy your own cherries." He drew the lesson that money not spent on drink could be spent on other things. Non-abstaining writers too often emphasised the destructiveness of drink, for instance, Mrs. Henry Wood (1814-87) in *Danesbury House* (1860).

The temperance subculture supported many magazines and newspapers, temperance halls, temperance hotels, temperance holiday excursions, temperance bands and choirs, and temperance magic lantern shows, as well as temperance bazaars and tea parties.[70] Paralleling the non-teetotal world, there were temperance fraternal societies and provident institutions. London had a temperance hospital. Many Nonconformist religious denominations offered the Lord's Supper without an alcoholic cup.

Abstainers and Other Reforms

Teetotalers could be found among the supporters of every radical reform from anti-vivisection to disestablishment and peace and could be counted among the ranks of the anti-vaccinationists, non-smokers and vegetarians. Typically, they were Nonconformists and strong Sabbatarians.[71] J.H. Raper (1820-97), the Alliance's parliamentary agent, would travel on Sundays by foot only. Joseph Malins who headed the Good Templars in England, rejected tobacco and eventually meat.[72] A conspicuous minority of prominent teetotalers were vegetarians. They included the teetotal pioneer Joseph Livesey (1794-1884), the Rev. C.H. Collyns (1820-84), an Anglican priest who was secretary of the British Temperance League, the United Kingdom Alliance secretary T.H. Barker (1818-89),who also was a non-smoker, the *Alliance New*s editor and Swedenborgian poet Henry S. Sutton (1825-1901), the textile manufacturer William Hoyle (1821-86), the shipbuilder A.F. Hills (1857-1927), and members of the Bible Christian vegetarian denomination such as the Rev. James Clark (1830-1905).[73]

Conversion or Family Inheritance

In the mid-nineteenth century temperance organizers had preached their message to whomever they met on the streets. In contrast, by the late nineteenth century temperance societies relied on public meetings that in fact were attended only by sympathizers.[74] Sometimes admission was by ticket only.[75] Temperance processions became less common. The creation of a substantial teetotal minority comprised of lifetime abstainers had a price, withdrawal from the drinking majority. How much first-hand knowledge of public house drinking did temperance militants have when reared in teetotal households?[76]

Typically conversion to total abstinence was the result of face-to-face persuasion, but sometimes it was the result of reading temperance literature. W.S. Caine offers a well-documented example. In 1862, the future MP was a young man, only twenty, on a business trip when he found himself with two or three hours of spare time. He noticed a book in a bookseller's window, *Haste to the Rescue*. Thinking it might be related to Christian missions, a cause dear to his heart, he purchased it. He returned to his hotel, ordered a half-pint of sherry, and sat down to drink and to read. It would be his last drink, as the book converted him to total abstinence. He immediately wrote out a pledge. The book consisted of letters from Julia Bainbrigge Wightman (1817-98), the wife of a Church of England clergyman, to her sister that described her temperance work in her husband's parish at Shrewsbury. A week or two later Caine called on the author and joined her local temperance society. When he returned to the Liverpool suburb where he lived, he started his own temperance society. In less than two years he had secured four thousand pledges and had founded seven or eight temperance societies in his neighbourhood.[77]

Reformed Drinkers

Like Caine, other early teetotalers were reformed drinkers. Many poor men prospered after they gave up drink. For instance, as an itinerant temperance missionary Thomas Whittaker (1813-99) famously swung a rattle to attract a crowd. In 1835 he became an agent for what became the British Temperance League at twenty shillings a week and from 1837 agent for what became the National Temperance League at £100 annually.[78] Whittaker later found work as a temperance insurance agent and, prospering, became major of Scarborough, a justice of the peace, and part owner of a newspaper.[79] He left an estate of £11,632.[80] A son, Thomas Palmer Whittaker, was a Liberal MP who became chairman of the

temperance assurance society that once had employed his father, the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution.[81] In the early 1900s he was knighted and became a privy councillor.

Another example comes from Scotland. Tom Honeyman (1858-1934), a railroad engine driver when he had joined the Good Templars, became a full-time paid agent in the Templar Order seven years later. Still later he was elected secretary of the international Good Templar organization. His son, Tom T. Honeyman (1891-1917), was a teetotal physician who once lectured to Band of Hope children. Shifting professions, he later became an art dealer, director of the Glasgow Art Galleries, and rector of the University of Glasgow.[82]

Not all temperance families turned out well. Jabez Balfour (1843-1916) came from sound abstaining stock. His mother Clara Lucas (Liddell) Balfour (1808-78) was the author of many temperance publications such as *The Garland of Water Flowers* (1841), *Morning Dew Drops* (1853), and *Sunbeams for All Sea*sons (1861). A year before her death she was elected president of the British Women's Temperance Association.[83] Jabez Balfour's sister married (James) Dawson Burns (1828-1909), a Baptist minister who is remembered as a leading temperance advocate and historian.[84]

Jabez Balfour created the Liberator Building Society, with the help of his religious and temperance credentials. It was a massive fraud. When the Liberator crashed in 1892, tens of thousands of Nonconformists lost their savings.[85] Tainted by this scandal, Burns was not nominated as a witness to present the temperance case before the Royal Commission on the Liquor Licensing Laws.[86]

Changing Attitudes

Attitudes toward drink, especially drunkenness, changed in the late nineteenth century. As early as the 1860s some evangelicals saw drunkenness "as the unforgivable sin."[87] Binding teetotalism with religion, gospel temperance migrated from the United States in the mid-1870s. It sought to save souls. Temperance was the means and not the end. Also known as the Blue Ribbon Army, gospel temperance became a force with the arrival of a charismatic American missionary, a reformed drunkard, in 1880.[88] By the end of the decade, more than a million people had joined. Old teetotallers disliked its emphasis on the material advantages obtained by abstaining from drink. After brief popularity, the Blue Ribbon Army faded.

By the 1880s sin had been secularized into vice, with drink the worst vice.[89] People paid attention to the corruption of society and not simply