

Drink and Society: Scotland 1870-1914

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PART 1

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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 implimentation 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

- the Foresters and Shepherds.
- 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 Womens' 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

S.T.L.	Scottish Temperance League
S.T.L.R.	Scottish Temperance League Register and Abstainers' Almanac
U.F.	United Free
U.P.	United Presbyterian

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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.³

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, focussing 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 reintroducing the masses to Christian observances by personal and national reformation.⁴

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

basis and brief pledges reflected.⁵

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 benefited 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.⁹

Footnotes

1. C. Drummond "An Outline of the Temperance Question", London, 1906, p. 28. 19th century sources for the movement include: E. Morris "A History of Teetotalism" Glasgow 1853, S. Couling "A History of the Temperance Movement" London, 1862, W. Logan "The Early Heroes of the Temperance and Teetotal Societies in Glasgow from Their Origin", Glasgow 1873, P. Winskill "A Comprehensive History of the Rise and Progress of the Temperance Movement to 1881" Warrington, 1881, J. Dawson Burns "Temperance History", 2 Vols., London, 1881, J. Burns "A Temperance History", London, 1889, P. Winskill "The Temperance Movement and its Workers", London, 1893, plus A. Aird's chapter 'The Temperance Movement', in "Glimpses of Old Glasgow", 1894, and R. Reid 'The Early History of the Temperance Movement in Scotland', in the Scottish Temperance League Register and Abstainer's Almanac (hereafter cited as S.T.L.R.) 1897, pp. 62-6. On the 20th century movement see T.W. Hamilton "The Temperance Reformation in Scotland with special reference to John Dunlop and Greenock 1829-1929", Greenock, 1929. The sole major secondary source on the movement is D. Paton "Drink and the Temperance Movement in 19th Century Scotland", Edinburgh University unpublished Ph.D. thesis 1977. B. Harrison's "Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England 1815-72", London, 1971 is, needless to say, a most helpful study.
2. On Boswell - I. Lusting and F. Pottle "Boswell: The Applause of the Jury 1782-5", London, 1982. In the 1820's an article did appear in the "Edinburgh Encyclopedia" on the use of wines and spirits but it had more influence abroad than in Scotland. Cockburn anecdotes appear in E. King "Scotland Sober and Free: The Temperance Movement 1829-1979", Glasgow, 1979, pp. 4-5, D. Daiches "Glasgow", London 1977, pp. 66-7, and C. Oakley, "The Second City" Glasgow, 1946, p. 22. Prohibition of distilling during the Napoleonic Wars is cited in the Select Committee on Drunkenness, Report of Minutes of Evidence, pp. 1834 (559) viii, 914, p. 106, Glasgow Chamber of Commerce's support for this is mentioned by C. Oakley "Our Illustrious Forebears" Blackie, 1980, pp. 27 and 38. On the excise reform's acceleration of 'shebeening'- D. Paton, "Drink and the Temperance Movement in 19th Century Scotland" (hereafter cited as D. Paton, thesis) Chapter I, 'The Rise and Progress of Whisky Drinking in Scotland', pp. 5-20 and I. Donnachie 'Drink and Sobriety 1750-1850: Some Aspects of the Scottish Experience', Scottish Labour History Society Journal, 13, 1979, pp. 9-11. Engels' conclusions on increased drinking in this era appear in "The Condition of the Working Classes in England", ed. W. Henderson & W. Chaloner, Oxford, 1958, p. 148.
3. Select Committee on Drunkenness, Minutes of Evidence P.P. 1834 (Supra) p. 175. S. Mechie "The Church and Scottish Social Development 1780-1870", London, 1960, p. 80, I. Donnachie 'Drink and Sobriety 1750-1850: Some Aspects of the Scottish Experience' (Supra) pp. 5-22, and his "A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland" Edinburgh, 1979, p. 129. Pace W.L. Burn "The Age of Equipoise" London, 1964, p. 281, historians regard the 1830

Beer Act as "revolutionary in its social consequences." The following have proven useful studies of the development of the West of Scotland: S. Checkland "The Upas Tree: Glasgow 1875-1975" Glasgow, 1981, Chapters I and II, A. Gibb "Glasgow the Making of a City", London, 1983, Chapter VI, pp. 115-46, and A. Slaven "The Development of the West of Scotland" 1750-1960, London, 1975, Chapters V-VII.

4. S. Mechie (op cit) Chapter VI, 'John Dunlop and the Scottish Temperance Reformation', pp. 81-99 and the "Autobiography of John Dunlop", pp. 18-32. 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, p. 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.
5. S.T.L.R. 1899 pp. 61-3, 'Temperance Events in Scotland During the Reign of Victoria'. L. Wright "Scottish Chartism", Edinburgh, 1953, pp. 36-9 describes Fraser, "The Edinburgh Monthly Democrat and Total Abstiners' Advocate", the Universal Suffrage Association's "fundamental belief in temperance", p. 87 on the "Chartist Circular's" advocacy of a temperance pledge for all Chartists. On temperance and the Chartist Churches see Wright pp. 96-125, H.W. Faulkner "Chartism and the Churches" London, 1970, pp. 107-9, A. Wilson "The Chartist Movement in Scotland" Manchester, 1970, pp. 126-138, and S. Mechie "The Church and Scottish Social Development 1780-1870" Chapter VII, 'Patrick Brewster and Scottish Chartism', pp. 100-118. B. Harrison 'Teetotal Chartism', History, Vol. 58, 193, 1973, and B. Harrison and P. Hollis 'Chartism, Liberalism and the Life of Robert Lowery', English Historical Review, 82, July, 1967, pp. 503-535.
6. On the Maine Law (1851) which prohibited all manufacture and retail of "spiritous liquors" state-wide, see N. Dow "The Reminiscences of Neal Dow: Recollections of 80 Years", Portland, Maine, 1898, H.S. Clubb "The Maine Law" New York, 1856, and Funk and Wagnall's "Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition" (annual). D. Paton, thesis, preface XIX. Dawson Burns "Temperance History" 2 Vols., London, 1881, Vol. I, p. 409, 419, 431 and 444. B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England 1815-72" London, 1971, Chapter X, and A. Dingle "The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England: the United Kingdom Alliance 1872-95" London, 1980, pp. 1-36 describe Alliance origins. On the Scottish Prohibition Society - A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow", Glasgow, 1894, p. 217. On the S.P.B.T.A. see D. Paton, thesis, Section III, 'Progress of Temperance Reform 1853-1900', and on the I.O.G.T. see the commissioned histories e.g. T. Honeyman's "Good Templary in Scotland: its Work and Workers 1869-94" Glasgow, 1894 and "Good Templary: A Jubilee Volume", Glasgow, 1924, and several others.

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.
8. Scottish Temperance Alliance "S.T.A. - What it is and What it Does", Glasgow, 1924 and Centenary Committee "Centenary of the Scottish Temperance Movement in Scotland, 1832-1932" Glasgow, 1932.
9. C. Drummond "An Outline of the Temperance Question", Glasgow, 1906, p. 29. "No Licence: The New Campaign", Glasgow, 1921, pp. 92-105, 'Legislative Report: A Sketch of the Development of the Scottish Liquor Licensing Laws'. Also T.W. Hamilton "The Temperance Reformation in Scotland with Special Reference to Dunlop and Greenock: a Century of Work in Progress 1829-1929", Greenock Total Abstinence Society 1929.

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.¹ Its moral suasionist policy was greatly misunderstood partly because it was a very broad policy designed to attract as many as possible.²

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."³ League leaders were businessmen⁴ - 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 $\frac{1}{3}$ 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.⁷

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.⁸ Robert Smith J.P. (President 1852-73) was a successful shipping magnate of City Line.⁹ He also had teetotal forebears, in-laws¹⁰ (the Service family), and descendants, i.e. the Allans of highly successful Allan and State Line, who refused to employ drinkers, promoted ^{the} Glasgow United Evangelistic Association and United Presbyterian Missions and were active in educational, suffragette, and socialist circles.¹¹ 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, Rechab-
itism, the Band of Hope, the Sabbatarian Sunday Closing Association and

the prohibitionist United Kingdom Alliance.¹² 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.¹³

Many lesser officials were millowners and managers, ship-owners 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵

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.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ Their proportion of the Honorary Directorate and Vice Presidency declined as that of J.P.s grew from the late 1890's on.¹⁸ 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 ^{the} 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 missionaries. 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

Source T L R 1 59 1915

Year	Total No. Members	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Infants	Other	Notes
1899	24	10	14					
1900	24	10	14					
1901	24	10	14					
1902	24	10	14					
1903	24	10	14					
1904	24	10	14					
1905	24	10	14					
1906	24	10	14					
1907	24	10	14					
1908	24	10	14					
1909	24	10	14					
1910	24	10	14					
1911	24	10	14					
1912	24	10	14					
1913	24	10	14					
1914	24	10	14					
1915	24	10	14					

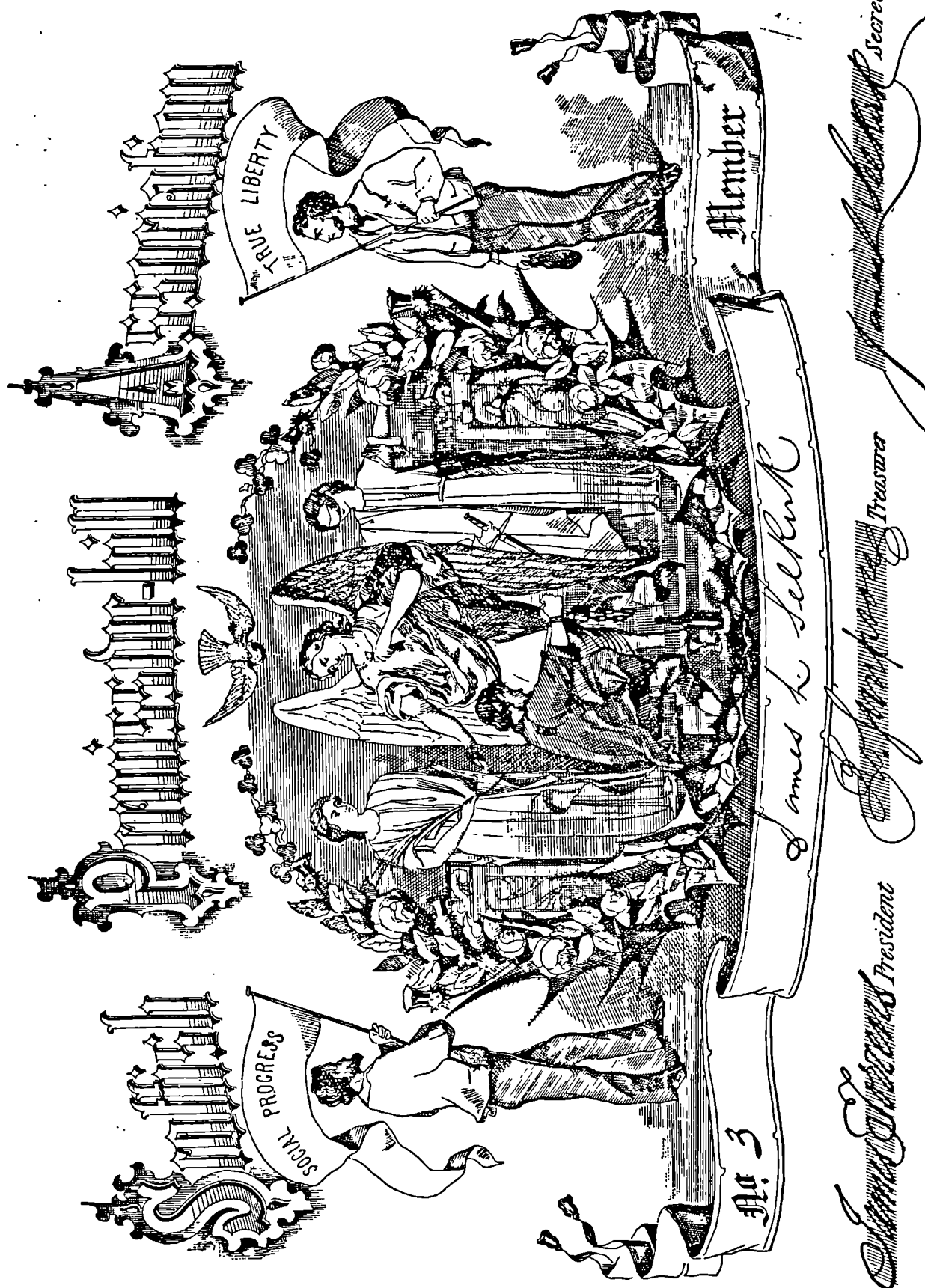
KEY VP = Vice President
HD = Honorary Director

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.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.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.⁴⁴ Their social origins were exactly those one would expect of evangelicals. $\frac{1}{3}$ 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.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 few 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 rate-payers 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 reflected.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.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 societies 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 prohibitionists 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 ^{narrow} 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 support. 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.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.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."⁶² Over the Association's lifespan (1858-1921) some agents, like Robert Dransfield, were obvious careerists.⁶³ Others were craftsmen displaced by technological innovations, such as Paton the Barrhead shoemaker,⁶⁴ or former Chartists like John Fraser,⁶⁵ men from rural backgrounds appalled by urban conditions,⁶⁶ whilst William Brodie, Robert Mackay, and James Browning White were spurred on by personal injustice suffered at the hands of the Trade.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.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 convincing 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 organisations 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 Macfies.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

pacifist. 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.⁸⁵

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.⁸⁹

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.⁹⁰

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 embourgeoisement 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 toppers" 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."⁹⁵ 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.⁹⁶

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.⁹⁷ 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.⁹⁸

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, composers, 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 Honeyman, 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.
5. J. McNair "Birth of the Temperance and Total Abstinence Movement", Glasgow, 1880, p. 11. The Scottish Businessmen William Collins and Henry Forbes were responsible for introducing the "ardent spirits" movement into England, see N. Longmate "The Water-drinkers: A History of Temperance" London, Hamilton, 1968, p.35.
6. On the Scottish Association see D. Paton, thesis, preface xxiii and also p. 12 et seq., "The Drink Question in Scotland, Recognition and Response."
7. K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action: an Appraisal of their Social Work in the Victorian Era", London, 1962, Chapter II "The Evangelicals and their Part in Such Work" pp. 15-28 briefly traces the origins of Evangelicalism, as does F.K. Brown "Fathers of the Victorians", Cambridge, 1961. A. Drummond and J. Bulloch "The Scottish Church 1688-1843", Edinburgh, 1973, is the best study of pre-Disruption trends.
8. The first president was the Revd. William Reid - see A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow" Glasgow 1894, p. 215. For Robert Kettle see the Revd. William Reid D.D. "Temperance Memorials of the Late Robert Kettle Esq." Glasgow, 1853, pp. IX-XLVI, A. Aird, (supra) pp. 422-3, and P.T. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", 2 vols., Manchester 1897, Vol. I, p. 127. E. Morris "History of the Temperance and Teetotal Societies in Glasgow from Their Origins" Glasgow, 1855, p. 227. On McNair, a builder, see P.T. Winskill (supra) Vol. II, p. 200 and for Morris, an English businessman Vol. II p. 260.
9. An interim president was appointed for 3 months, prior to Smith's selection i.e. flour merchant John McGavin. On the latter see A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow" pp.215 and 435-6, also Winskill (supra) Vol. II, p. 207. Robert Smith receives mention in Winskill (supra) Vol. II, p. 447, and D. Paton, thesis, p. 256.
10. See James Smith, Saltcoats in Winskill (supra) Vol. II pp.444 and 416.

11. S.T.L.R. 1910 p. 31, J. Roxburgh "The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919", University of London Press, 1971, p. 226, "Clydeside Cameos" 1885, Rankin, London, 14, p. 109, obituary of Alexander Allan Glasgow Herald 4th April 1892, A. Aird (supra) pp. 398-9, P. Winskill (supra) Vol. I, p. 46 on Alexander Allan, and S.T.L.R. 1874 p. 20.

12. J. McNair "Birth of the Temperance and Total Abstinence Movements" pp. 14-15, P. Winskill (supra) Vol. I, p. 251, S.T.L.R. 1879, p. 37, and D. Keir "The House of Collins", Collins, London, 1952, especially pp. 93-157 on William Sen. and 159-201 on William Jnr. On publishers Cassel, Chambers, Coghill and Tweedie see G. Hayler "Famous Fanatics", London, 1911, Chapter XX, 'Religious Publishers', pp. 181-186. On Cassel (1817-65) see also, S. Nowell-Smith "The House of Cassell 1848-1958", Cassell, 1958. Neil McNeil of Rothesay was also involved in publishing. On William Chambers (1800-83) "The Story of a Long and Busy Life" Edinburgh, 1882 and on Robert Chambers see "Memoir of Robert Chambers" Edinburgh, 1872. On Coghill's milieu, see A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow", Glasgow, 1894. On William Tweedie (1821-74) see B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-72" pp. 104, 259, 317, 359. Other teetotal publishers included Edwin Curtice & Co., Charles Darrah of Manchester, Gammon a partner in Partridge & Co. Gavin & Co. Manchester, and John Lile of Lile and Fawcett, London.

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. ...

16. S.T.L.R. 1861, p. 20 and A. Aird. "Glimpses of Old Glasgow" pp. 424-5.

17. D. Paton, thesis, p. 326.

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

19. The clique who dominated S.T.L. were the Revds. Gladstone, William Ross, Joseph Brown, Alexander Wallace, Fergus Ferguson, David Russel, James Burton, and Bell-Henderson. The Revd. J.A. Johnson was the author of "Religious Destitution in Glasgow" Glasgow, 1870, and "The Rising Tide of Irreligion, Pauperism, Immorality and Death in Glasgow and how to Turn It", Glasgow, 1871. Membership of League Committees appear in the S.T.L.R. after 1891.

20. See Table 1, S.T.L. Officials, page 19. 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.
24. D. Paton, thesis p. 263, Adviser 1850 p. 121 details 1850's expansion strategies. An aspect of the 1860's decline was the formation of the "Glasgow Abstainers' Federation" which absorbed many League-affiliated societies. Its first president was William Smeal - S.T.L.R. 1864 p. 62. S.T.L.R. 1876 p. 53 and B. Lenman "An Economic History of Modern Scotland 1660-1976", London, 1977, p. 188, A. Slaven (op cit) pp. 86-95, A. Gibb (op cit) Chapter V, pp. 82-114, and W.O. Henderson 'The Cotton Famine in Scotland', Scottish Historical Review, XXX, 1957, and W.H. Marwick "Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland" (1973 reprint) pp. 17-18, 63, 108, 124, and 224.
25. S.T.L.R. 1861, p. 40.
26. S.T.L.R. 1876, p. 54, D. Owen "English Philanthropy 1660-1960" London, 1963, Part III, Chapter VIII, pp. 211-5. B. Harrison 'Philanthropy and the Victorians' Victorian Studies, June 1966 pp. 353-374. C. Mowat "The Charity Organisation Society 1869-1913: Its Ideas and Work", London, 1961, Chapter I, pp. 1-18. J.K. McDowall "People's History of Glasgow", Glasgow, 1899, p. 64-5, noted over 300 charitable and benevolent institutions and 43 "religious and moral" societies.
27. S.T.L.R. 1879, p. 54.
28. S.T.L.R. 1896 preface, 1900, p. 103, 1897, p. 9, 1902, p. 107, 1905, preface, 1907, p. 121, and 1915 p. 131. On U.K.A. receipts see B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England 1815-72" (henceforth cited as B. Harrison Drink and the Victorians) pp. 20, 217, 228, 230-3 and 366, and A. Dingle "The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England: The U.K.A. Alliance 1872-95", London 1980 (henceforth cited as A. Dingle "The Campaign for Prohibition") pp. 15, 50, and 191-9.

29. For the first expansion of agency work see Adviser, October, 1850, p. 153, and August 1851, p. 310. There were 10 agents in 1856, 11 in 1859, 9 in 1862 and 8 in 1864 - S.T.L.R. 1857, p. 6, 1860, p. 17, 1861, p. 6, and 1865, p. 16. On early volunteers see, W. Logan "Sketch of the Life and Labours of Robert Gray Mason - Temperance Advocate", Glasgow, 1864, pp. 16-20. S.T.L.R. 1876, p. 62, 1877, p. 62, 1883, p. 60, and 1910, p. 108.

30. S.T.L.R. 1864, p. 55. P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century" Vol. II, p. 422 reveals South Ayrshire temperance owed much to William Sheriff of the Girvan West Coast Mission. In the East men like Edinburgh teacher James Watson gave up holidays to work for the League "without fee or reward", and in Glasgow S.T.L. depended on the services of evangelists like Horn - S.T.L.R. 1886, p. 68, and A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow" pp. 418-20. For the origins of P.S.A.'s, see C. Binfield "So Down to Prayers: Studies in English Nonconformity 1780-1920", London, 1977, p. 174.
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.

31. P. Winskill (supra) Vol. I p. 227, and S.T.L.R. 1893 p. 71 for the example of Thomas Clapperton of Galashiels, agent of the S.T.L. and I.O.G.T. S.T.L.R. 1883 p. 60 suggests George Easton was however lavishly pensioned through illness in 1882. Salaries were unpublished. Promotion was to the posts of cashier and Secretary - see S.T.L.R. 1906 p. 106 and Winskill (supra) Vol. II p. 108 for examples.

32. N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers: A History of Temperance", (henceforth cited as N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers") p. 68. Agents were usually male till the late 19th century - S.T.L.R. 1910, p. 108.

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

tap-room politicians and unprincipled demagogues, who have so often succeeded in making dupes of the people, and whose schemes not only end in smoke but in something a good deal worse" - sentiments similar to those in J. Dawson Burns "Autobiography of a Beggar Boy" London, 1855. On Brewster (1788-1859) see Revd. A.R. Howell "Patrick Brewster" (unfinished manuscript Paisley Public Library) and "Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen" p. 39, on Cranston, E. Mein "Through Four Reigns" Edinburgh, p.p., n.d., c. 1948, on Easton and Dransfield, "Autobiography of George Easton", Glasgow, 1869, (2nd edition 1884) and J. Hammerton "Trial and Triumph: A Life and its Lessons - A Biographical Sketch of Robert Dransfield", Glasgow, 1892, and on Lowery B. Harrison and P. Hollis "Chartism, Liberalism and the Life of Robert Lowery", English Historical Review, 82, 1967.

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.
35. E. Morris "History of the Temperance and Teetotal Societies of Glasgow from their Origins" Glasgow, 1855, p. 228, on Robert Reid's career, see S.T.L.R. 1909, p. 77, George Easton "Autobiography of George Easton" Glasgow, 1869, p. 16. Easton also had ambitions to act but had the education for neither profession, and became an agent. Ambitious agents rose from local societies to District Unions to the League's service, thence to the ministry - see the careers of Duncan and Jago in P. Winskill (supra) Vol. I p. 332 and II p. 93. On Robert Gow see S.T.L.R. 1909, p. 111 and for A. Allan Beveridge P. Winskill (supra) Vol. I p. 117, S.T.L.R. 1910, p. 108 and 1915, p. 94.
36. J.A. Hammerton "A Life and its Lessons: a Biography of Robert Dransfield", Glasgow, 1892, pp. 74-6, on John Anderson see P. Winskill (supra) Vol. I, p. 51 and S.T.L.R. 1863, p. 60. For Dunnachie, S.T.L.R. 1876 p. 62 and Winskill (supra) Vol. I, p. 335.
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

Temperance Spectator April 1861, p. 57 and 78, and July 1861 p. 126. Scottish Temperance Annual p. 109. Andrew Baxter for example had a Ph.D., most probably in physiology. Typical of the deceased was William Rhind Stachur, (1815-94) see Winskill (supra) Vol. II, p. 471.

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

39. D. Paton, thesis, Section III, "The Progress of the Temperance Reform 1850-1900", pp. 240 et seq.
40. B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians" Chapter VII pp. 147-179, the "Dictionary of Temperance Biography", by Harrison and H.J. Hanham, in Society for The Study of Labour History: Bulletin, Supplement, 1973, Harrison's "British Prohibitionists 1853-72: A Biographical Analysis", in International Review of Social History Vol. XV, Part III, 1970, and A. Dingle "The Campaign for Prohibition", Chapter III, pp. 180-9, and 206-20 based upon Dingle's "The Agitation for Prohibition", Monash University unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1974, Appendix I.
41. S.T.L.R. 1909, pp. 81-2 Lord Overtoun was J. Campbell White J.P. senior partner of White's Chemicals. His employees' conditions were those exposed by socialists in tracts alleging "White slavery". On his philanthropic interests see "Glasgow and Lanarkshire Illustrated", Hamilton Herald, 1904 p. 12. C. Oakley "Our Illustrious Forebears", Blackie, 1980, p. 153, and Winskill (supra) Vol. II, p. 529.
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. 18, 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.

 46. On Torrens (decorator) A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow", pp. 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 hydropathic 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.) "Who's Who of British M.P.'s" Vol. II, p. 377. James Landels Selkirk (President 1900-3) was a J.P. and Bailie associated with a firm of Glasgow accountants - The Bailie, 3 Mar. 1880, XV, pp. 1-2. 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 work - L. Paton "J.B. Paton: An Autobiography", London, 1914, p. 65. 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.

48. On Bilsland, J. Smith Samuel "Reminiscences", unpublished manuscript n.d., Strathclyde Regional Archives, and Scottish Temperance Annual 1906, pp. 23-4. See Chapter IV Part ii "Building Societies" on those associated with the City and County House Purchase Co. Ltd. Of these, Steele, Stevenson and Bilsland were also connected with city improvements and the Workmen's Dwellings Co. of Glasgow. Torrens was also involved in a Housing Trust. W.F. Anderson had similar interests, as did Alexander Paterson of the League, a United Presbyterian mill manager and director of Glasgow Cooperative Building Society - Winkill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. II, p. 305. On Brechin, "Who Was Who in Glasgow", 1909, p. 26.
49. B. Harrison 'Philanthropy and the Victorians' Victorian Studies, ix, 4, June 1966, pp. 355, 361 in general trends here, and Harrison 'British Prohibitionists 1853-72: A Biographical Analysis', International Review of Social History XV, Pt. III, 1970, pp. 377-8 and p. 383.
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. 15, 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.
51. On Chisholm see "Stother's Glasgow, Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire Xmas and New Year Annual" 1911, pp. 65-6, E. Gaskell "Lanarkshire Leaders", D. Adam "Local and Municipal Souvenir of Glasgow 1837-97" p. 71. For Bailie W.F. Anderson see "Who Was Who in Glasgow", pp. 5-6, "Glasgow and Lanarkshire Illustrated" p. 37. On the Foundry Boys see Chapter 8, Part ii, and "Diary of Sir Michael Connal 1835-93" edited by J.C. Gibson. On Sir George Green, see "Glasgow and Lanarkshire Illustrated" p. 59.
52. B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", Chapters 5 and 6, 'The Origins of Teetotalism 1830-34' and 'Moderationists Versus Teetotalers 1834-48'. D. Paton, thesis, Chapter II, p. 50 et seq.
53. See Table II, S.P.B.T.A. Officials, page 50. 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.
54. This had been true for example of anti slavery - see R. Bingham "The Glasgow Emancipation Society 1833-76", Glasgow unpublished M. Litt thesis, 1973.
55. D. Paton, thesis, pp. 320-1.

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.
57. Bailie Kennedy's work is described in D. Paton's thesis, p. 321. See Chapter 7 on the Trade.
58. Dawson Burns "Temperance History", Vol. I p. 444 and S.P.B.T.A. 1873-4, p. 32, and D. Owen "English Philanthropy 1660-1960" Part III, VIII pp. 211-215 on 1870-1914, and F.K. Brown "Fathers of the Victorians" Cambridge, 1961, Chapter IX, on the early 19th century philanthropy's "10,000 compassions."
59. D. Owen (supra) pp. 2-3, 13-15, 18-21, 94, 100, and 104. On the C.O.S. see Owen's short chapter and also C.L. Mowat "The Charity Organisation Society: 1869-1913, Its Ideas and Work", London, 1961.
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.
62. S.P.B.T.A. 1895-6 p. 19.
63. J.A. Hammerton "A Life and its Lessons a Biography of Robert Dransfield", Glasgow, 1892, and P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. I, p. 325 on the "Scottish Gough".
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.
67. P. Winskill (supra) Vol. I, p. 155, Vol. II, p. 529, and Vol. II p. 196 on William Brodie, Robert Mackay, and James Browning White respectively.
68. P. Winskill (supra) Vol. II, p. 389 on W.S. Rosie - born in Wick and successively a teacher, local government clerk, grocer, Salvation Army worker, and the Glasgow manager of the National Telephone Co.
69. D. Paton, thesis, p. 298, S.P.B.T.A. 1874-5, p. 7. - See Chapter 8, Part ii, on women in temperance organisations. By 1914 the S.P.B.T.A. employed female graduates.

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

70. A. Dingle "The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England", p. 9. Good Templars misguidedly destroyed records each time a commissioned history appeared in Britain. It is true to say though that American historians have "neglected" I.O.G.T. archives in the U.S.A. On Templary's origins see, E.H. Welfare "The World Our Field: A History of the Good Templar Order", Birmingham, 1955, p. 1, W.W. Turnbull "History of the I.O.G.T. - its Rise and Progress 1851-1901", Birmingham, Jubilee Volume 1901, p. 3. R. McKechnie "Good Templary in Scotland: its Work and Workers 1929-1979" Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1980, p. 7, and T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland: its Work and Workers 1869-1894", Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1894. On Joseph Malins' work see Dawson Burns "Temperance History" Vol. II, p. 103 and E.H. Welfare (supra) p. 5. On the decision to introduce Templary, W.W. Turnbull (supra) p. 36 and 67, and George Gladstone "Good Templarism" Glasgow, 1872, p. 32. Details of Roberts' career appear in Winskill (supra) Vol. II, p. 380.
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:

- its Work and Workers 1869-94", p. 12. 28 were in Glasgow, 4 in Paisley, and 1 each in Partick, Govan, Parkhead, Rutherglen, Barrhill, and Kilmarnock. See Appendix for I.O.G.T. regional strength. On Thomas Corbett, see Lord Rowallan (op cit) and Biographical Appendix. W. Chambers "Cheap Cooking Depots and Dining Halls" tract, n.d., S.T.L.R. 1864, pp. 59-60, and O. Checkland "Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland" Edinburgh, 1980, p. 98. The Order's masonic overtones were noted in Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald, Oct. 15, 1870. See S. Walker 'T.V. Powderly the Knights of Labour and the Temperance Issue', in Societas: a Review of Social History 5, 1975, pp. 279-93, and also H. Pelling 'The Knights of Labour in Britain 1880-1901' Economic History Review 2, IX, 1956.
72. T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland: its Work and Workers 1869-94", preface vi, G. Gladstone "Good Templarism", p. 93 and R. McKechnie "Good Templary in Scotland: its Work and Workers 1929-79" frontispiece, where it shows the Order's seal.
 73. G. Gladstone "Good Templarism" p. 90 and 136. Pride in self-support was reminiscent of the Chartist pride in total dependence upon voluntary offerings of the people - see A. Wilson "The Chartist Movement in Scotland", p. 145. Rewarding donations with office was a common failing - see B. Harrison 'Philanthropy and the Victorians' Victorian Studies, June 1966, pp. 364-5. Philanthropy gave the middle classes opportunities to become drunk with the aristocracy noted Owen - D. Owen "English Philanthropy 1660-1960" p. 14 on philanthropic self regard and K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action" p. 10.
 74. D. Paton, thesis, preface xxii, and I.N. Pierce "I.O.G.T.: A History of the Order", Grand Lodge of England, 1873, pp. 12-15. On the "Good Templar Digest" and its author S.B. Chase, a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in the 1850's see G. Gladstone "Good Templarism", p. 28.
 75. W.W. Turnbull "History of the I.O.G.T. - its Rise and Progress 1851-1901" pp. 23 and 7, and G. Gladstone "Good Templarism" p. 111.
 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.
 77. W.W. Turnbull "History of the I.O.G.T. - its Rise and Progress 1851-1901" p. 162.
 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.
 79. Dawson Burns "Temperance History" Vol. II p. 142, G. Gladstone "Good Templarism" p. 56, T. Honeyman "Good Templary: Its Work and Workers 1869-94" pp. 13, 25, G. Gladstone (supra) p. 56, and 61 and Dawson Burns (supra) Vol. II, pp 162, 202, 221, 242 and 362.

- T. Honeyman (supra) pp. 25-7 and 30, G. Gladstone (supra) p. 146 - the Glasgow Commercial Lodge pioneered visitation of lapsed members by "captains" - and T. Honeyman (supra) p. 30 for discussion of the Revd. William Ross' criticisms in the I.O.G.T. Annual Report of 1878. Their debate over the Order's social function foreshadowed that of socialists - see D. Allen 'Culture and the Scottish Labour Movement', Scottish Labour History Society Journal, 14, 1980, pp. 30-39, especially pp. 34-35.
80. See P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. II p. 174 and 267 for references to John Linkie and William Muir of Edinburgh and their lodges.
81. C. Bolt and S. Drescher "Anti-slavery Religion and Reform", London, 1982, J. Dunlop "Autobiography of John Dunlop" London, 1832, G. Shepperton "Chalmers the Free Church of Scotland and the South", Journal of Southern History, XVII, 1951, p. 519, and, by the same author, "Frederick Douglas and Scotland", Journal of Negro History, XXXVIII, 1953, pp. 307-321, and "The Free Church and American Slavery" in Scottish Historical Review, 30, 1951, pp. 126-143, Klingberg "Harriet Beecher Stowe and Social Reform in England" American Historical Review, XLIII, 1938, pp. 542-551, C. Taylor "British and American Abolitionists", Edinburgh University Press, 1974, Glasgow United Abstainers' Annual Report 1853, p. 6, R. Bingham "The Glasgow Emancipation Society 1833-76", Glasgow University unpublished M. Litt thesis, 1973, pp. 6-8, 34-5, and 45-9, R. Garnett "Co-operative and Owenite Socialist Communities in Britain 1825-45" Manchester University Press, 1971, pp. 1-60, C. Bolt "The Anti Slavery Movement and Reconstruction", London, 1969, pp. 3, 11, 21, 31 and 105, C. Duncan Rice "The Scottish Factor in the fight against American Slavery", Edinburgh University unpublished Ph.D., 1969, p. 44 Appendix A. on crossmembership of Edinburgh Emancipation Society and the Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, and Appendix B pp. vi and vii for mention of Smeal, Gallie and Kettle etc. On the Smeals see Bingham (supra) pp. 45-8, "Autobiography of John Dunlop" London 1832 p. 101, S.T.L.R. 1892 p. 7 and S.P.B.T.A. 1895-6 p. 7, P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. II, p. 436, and A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow" pp. 443-4. On venues and speakers see Glasgow Emancipation Society Minutes 16.11.1852, Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library, and North British Daily Mail 3.2.1876. Also A. Hook "Scotland and America" Blackie, 1975, H. Temperley "British Anti Slavery 1833-70", London, 1972, pp. 23-39 and 210-253, J.F.C. Harrison "Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America", London, 1967, T. Thistlethwaite "The Anglo-American Connection in the early 19th Century" Philadelphia, 1959, pp. 40-6, 74-5, 91-6, 113, 116-22 on shared reform background. On radicalism especially see W.H.G. Armitage "Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England 1560-1960", London, 1961, and R. Boston "British Chartists in America", Manchester 1971.
82. T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland: a Jubilee Volume" Glasgow, 1924, p. 24, Dawson Burns "Temperance History", Vol. II, p. 221, and P. Winskill (supra) Vol. I, p. 421 on the career of George Grandison. Desertions to the Free Templars went on in Glasgow till the 1890's - see Glasgow University Archive source on the I.O.G.T. (P/Cn 49.19).

83. Teetotal businessmen may have shared Shaftesbury's preference for halls rather than open air meetings with order in mind. G. Finlayson "The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury 1801-85", London, 1981, p. 469. W.W. Turnbull "History of the I.O.G.T.: its Rise and Progress" p. 71, T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland its Work and Workers" p. 25 and 46, Rechabite and Temperance Magazine Nov. 1898, Glasgow University Archive source on I.O.G.T. P/CN 49.19 No's 83 and 84, W.W. Turnbull (supra) p. 148, T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland: a Jubilee Volume" p. 35.

84. D. Paton, thesis, p. 94. See Tables, pp.64-66, on I.O.G.T. strength. Glasgow University Archive source (supra), and R. McKechnie "Good Templary in Scotland its Work and Workers 1929-79" pp.7-9.

85. The Order deliberately chose "International" rather than "Independent" as its prefix in 1905 - see McKechnie (supra) p. 7. Article 'Good Templar Mission to Germany - letter from James G. Campbell' in Good Templar 1870-1, p. 58. On the German focus for evangelicalism and social policy see K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action" pp. 19, 37-8, and on specific schemes e.g. the German Inner Mission, Bielfeld for epileptics, Frank's Orphan Home, Kaiserwerth and the Rauhe Haus, (congresses of Lutheran clergy and laity which met annually 1848-71 to discuss social problems) see pp. 15, 214, 96, 38, 233-4, 237, 245, 63-4, 97-8, 184, 187 respectively. On the temperance component of the Evangelical Alliance, see W. Arnot "Autobiography of the Revd. William Arnot", London, 1877. See Chapter IV, Part iv, on Rechabite interest in German social provision in the late 19th and early 20th century. An article on Wavrinisky appears in Scottish Temperance Annual 1910 pp 25-6, while two on Cremer are in Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, Oct. 1908, p. 198 and March 1911 'Gleanings'. On the outbreak of war's effect on the I.O.G.T. conference, Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, Sept. 1914 p. 210. This paralleled Free Church experiences - see S. Koss "Nonconformity in Modern British Politics" London, 1975, Chapter VI 'The Impact of War', p. 126. On D.M. Stevenson see D. Adam "Local and Municipal Souvenir of Glasgow 1837-97" p. 74. R. McKechnie "Good Templary in Scotland: its Work and Workers 1929-79" p. 43.

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.

87. D. Paton, thesis, p. 326 'Temperance and the Churches', I.N. Pierce "I.O.G.T. - a History of the Order", p. 5, G. Gladstone "Good Templarism" pp 88 and 90-1, T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland its Work and Workers" pp 21, and 45-6 and Honeyman "Good Templary: A Jubilee Volume" p. 30. For Gladstone's international renown see E.H. Welfare "The World Our Field" p. 17 (Hardie of course

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

88. T. Honeyman "Good Templary: Jubilee Volume" pp. 14, 29, article 'Saving the Fallen' in Good Templar 1871, p. 363, W.W. Turnbull, "History of the I.O.G.T.: its Rise and Progress" p. 23, G. Gladstone "Good Templarism" p. 11, and Dawson Burns "Temperance History", Vol. II, p. 103. It built on visitation techniques evolved by early 19th century visiting societies, (Wesleyan-influenced), general or domestic missions, and the later Christian missions K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action" p. 9, and D. Owen "English Philanthropy 1660-1960" p. 67.
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 Bearers 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

- London, 1963,
- English Working Class", and W. Kiddier "The Old Trades Unions", London, 1930. 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.
99. On Kirk, Grand Worthy Chief Chaplain at the very first session of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, an important figure in East Coast temperance and associated with the Brighton St., Evangelical Union Church before his death in 1886, see H. Kirk "Memoirs of Professor John Kirk DD" Edinburgh, 1888, and for this group, T. Honeyman "Good Templary: a Jubilee Volume", Appendix, and Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland its Work and Workers", pp. 143-5. Stevenson's biographical details appear in P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century" Vol. II, p. 465 - he was a mill manager. For 20th century Templars see R. McKechnie "Good Templary in Scotland: Its Work and Workers 1929-79", pp. 13-20.
 100. T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland: Its Work and Workers", p. 142. 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.
 101. See Good Templar 1871, p. 237. The papers of the Elliots of Minto and of Arthur Elliot M.P. are lodged with the National Library of Scotland. Their philanthropy was entirely local - designed to offset the influence of their rivals the Douglas family. Elliot became a Liberal Unionist in 1886 and was Goschen's biographer - H.J. Hanham "Elections and Party Management. Politics in the time of Disraeli and Gladstone" London, 1959, pp. 164-5. The Revd. Fergus Ferguson's rather turgid serial 'Not Found Wanting', which appeared in the Good Templar over 1870-1, for example chronicled a Glasgow University student's battle against upper class prejudice. The 1894 Executive is described in T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland: Its Work and Workers" pp 143-5. On Honeyman see P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. II, p. 52, E.H. Welfare, "The World Our Field", pp. 22-3 and R. McKechnie "Good Templary in Scotland: Its Work and Workers 1929-79" pp. 13-14. His son's papers are lodged with Glasgow University Archives (49.71). On the Scottish Clerks see Journal for the Home About the Home Oct. 1907, pp. 244-6.
 102. 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

Winskill (supra) Vol. II, p. 545 and T. Honeyman "Good Templary: Its Work and Workers" pp. 10-11. On Braidwood, see later section on the Rechabites. Honeyman (supra) p. 139 mentions the careers of McKerracher etc. The formation of the Advocates' Union is described in S.T.L.R. 1902-3, p. 93, and S.P.B.T.A. 1902-3, p. 20. Its 1902 meeting was headed by Corbett, Wilson, and Robert Allan.

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 |
| 3. Thomas Roberts, Glasgow | 26. Stanley, Paisley |
| 4. Heart of Midlothian, Edinburgh | 27. Excelsior, Glasgow |
| 5. Star of Hope, Glasgow | 28. John Dunlop, Paisley |
| 6. St. Mungo, Glasgow | 29. Dawn of Freedom, Rutherglen |
| 7. Morning Light, Glasgow | 30. Beacon Light, Glasgow |
| 8. Friend of the Vale, Bonhill | 31. Star of Freedom, Partick |
| 9. Benjamin Franklin, Glasgow | 32. Excelsior, Kilmarnock |
| 10. Victoria, Glasgow | 33. Scotia, Glasgow |
| 11. Thistle, Glasgow | 34. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Glasgow |
| 12. Auld Reckie, Edinburgh | 35. Day Star, Edinburgh |
| 13. Thomas Mackie, Glasgow | 36. Let Glasgow Flourish, Glasgow |
| 14. Gleniffer, Paisley | 37. Briton's Freedom, 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.

*Source - T. Honeyman "Good Templary: Diamond Jubilee Volume", p. 20.

International Order of Good Templars.

Regional strength at 1894¹

Division	Lodges	Members
Lanarkshire	65	3647
Ayrshire	46	2486
Fife and Kinross	44	1984
Renfrewshire	38	2002
Aberdeenshire	30	1604
Midlothian	30	1584
Perthshire	25	1339
Argyll and the Western Isles	18	977
Dumfries	15	777
Galloway	15	750
Dumbarton	13	853
Orkney	13	847
Berwickshire	12	778
Invernesshire	11	475
Ross and Cromarty	10	652
Peebles and Selkirk	9	839
Roxburgh	9	573
Clackmannan	9	562
Kincardine	8	377
West Lothian	7	487
East Lothian	6	283
Caithness	4	105

¹Source: T. Honeyman "Good Templary in Scotland: its Work and Workers 1869-1894", pages 14-26 (Honeyman unfortunately excluded Glasgow and Edinburgh from his figures).

International Order of Good Templars

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

<u>Lodge</u>	<u>members</u>
"Airdrie"	4,198
"City", Glasgow	901
"Rescue", Peterhead	549
"Glasgow", Glasgow	523
"Motherwell"	436
"Britannia's Hope", Hamilton	401
"Strathbogie", Huntly	373
"Faithlie", Fraserburgh	361
"Thomas Fairrie", Greenock	328
"St. Kieran", Campbeltown	316
"True Blue", Greenock	291
"George Stevenson" Rothesay	288
"Ravenscraig", Peterhead	279
"Wilberforce", Carluke	277
"Rossie", Ferryden	274
"Haven of Rest", Troon	266
"Pride of Esk" Musselburgh	261
"Janet Hamilton", Coatbridge	258
"Union & Crown", Glasgow	258
"St. George", Thurso	255
"Commercial", Dundee	251
"Rolling Wave", Buckie	250
"Victoria", Aberdeen	234
"Temperance Home", Dundee	232
"Hope of Coatdyke"	230
"Dawn of Freedom", Rutherglen	230
"Tweed", Peebles	216
"Lifeboat", Ardrossan	216
"Flower of Yarrow" Selkirk	213
"Pharos", Stornaway	211

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 channelled, 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

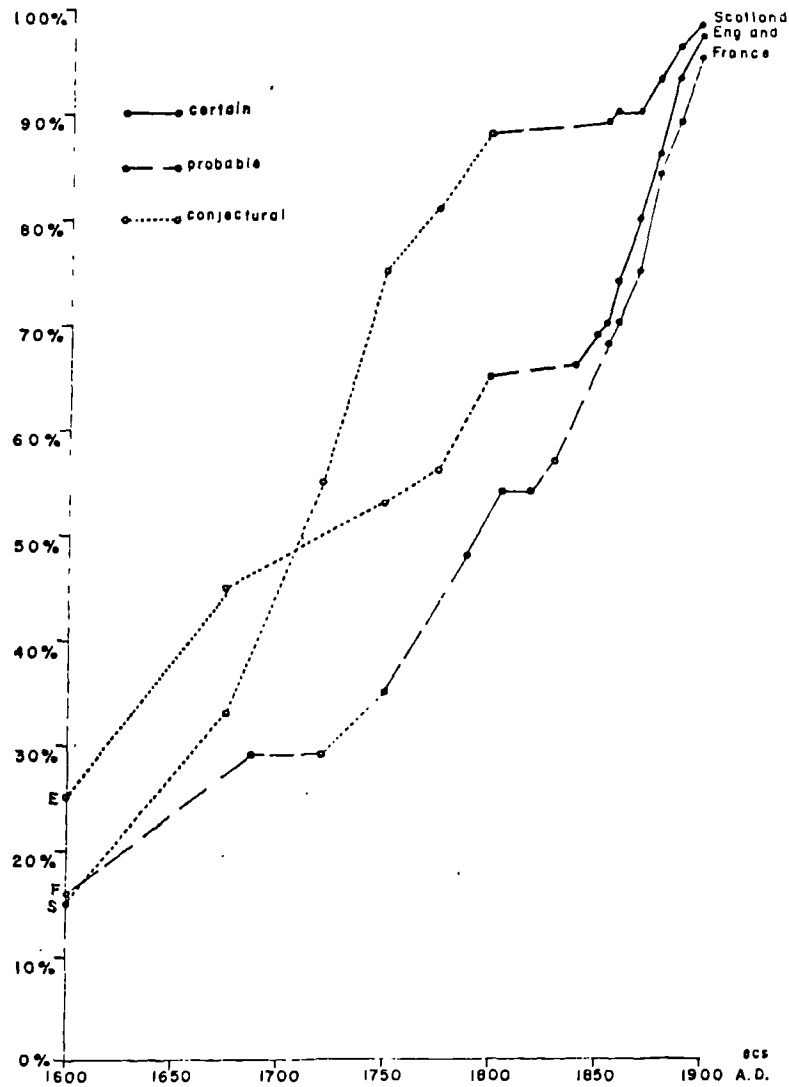
generation free from taste or taint of alcohol - a sound policy, attractive to a wide spectrum of religious, moral and social reformers whose work converged on the child.³

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.⁴ 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.⁵

"In the campaign to radicalise the British electorate press and platform were mutually reinforcing."⁶ 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, missionaries and, after an 1860 formal agreement, the col-porteurs 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
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New Coloured Plates, and New Maps in Colours.*

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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.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. 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 $\frac{2}{5}$ 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.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 Benthamite 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 Coombe'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.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.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 "conversaciones" 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.²⁶ 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."²⁷

Temperance lessons were forced to compete with other childrens' questions. 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, Childrens' Homes and Juvenile Street Trading.²⁹ 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.³⁰

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.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.³³ The I.O.G.T. equated education with "good citizenship" and attempted to be an educational institution setting temperance examinations. Temperance 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.³⁴ It trained public speakers, reflected reformers' awareness of subject specialists' threat to the volunteer speaker and created an alternative educational system, heightening parallels between Templary and religious brotherhoods, and highlighting the movement's distance from the intelligensia.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.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.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.³⁸

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.³⁹

Not all counter-attractionists were dismissive of public house culture. The Glasgow Abstiners 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 missionary 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 coffeerooms 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 BRAW COFFEE-HOOSIE WHAUR A DRAM-SHOP USED TO BE!*

FREENS

AN' FELLOW-CEETIZENS

IN GENERAL!

AN' YOU FOKE ABOUT 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' relick 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 sae 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 robbit men o' their judgment; But they drank it.
It robbit them o' their nat'ral affeckshun; But they drank it.
It robbit them o' independence an' self respect; But they drank it.
It made them mean, unmanly, disgustin' wretches; But they drank it.
It made them savage an' quarrel-some; But they drank it.
It cled them wi' rags; But they drank it.
It made them live in low, filthy dens o' hooses; But they drank it.
It sent them in scores to the P'olice Office; But they drank it.
It sent them to the Jail, the Hulks, an' the Gallows; But they drank it.
Baillies an' Shirrifs, Judges an' Justices, deplored its effects; But they drank it themsel's!
Ministers preach'd about it; But they drank it themsel's!
It blotit oot 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 ta'en up the Coffee-House line mysel'!

Come and see me! Ye'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-CEETIZENS.—I'm no the Shop I ance wuz. I've a blythe heart an' a cheery face noo. Come an' see me!

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."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.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.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 tea-room 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

Source : The Glasgow Room, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

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.⁵³

Cassels' Coffees (a London and Leith firm) and the London "non-alcoholic wine" merchants Ingersoll and Melliush 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 tee-totalers and was the subject of lantern slides gifted to temperance societies by Cadbury.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."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, wiring, capsuling, 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 "tippie" the teetotaler could command; now a glance at the list of different drinks manufactured by this firm should put him,

however great an epicure or bonvivant, in the position of a "wealth making wit waver," including, as they do, lemonade, soda water, seltzer, orangeade, pine apple, raspberry, cider, sarsaparilla, quinine water, &c., &c., in all over a score of different beverages. Besides those mentioned, this firm have from time to time brought out novelties in their line—"Ferrugine," "Hop Ale," and "Squash" being new departures introduced from time to time. Already M. R. F. Barr has some dozen vans busily engaged delivering his production in the city alone, and that the quality of the goods he produces is unexceptionable may be inferred from the fact that he supplies the Hospitals and kindred institutions. The "Man You know," to his credit be it said, gives his business his strict personal attention, and to that circumstance much of the success he has already attained is due. Still a young man, his energy, enterprise, and upright and honourable modes of conducting his business have already placed Mr R. F. Barr in the front rank of those in his line of business, and with his genial manner and modest bearing we confidently predict for him a brilliant and useful future, which, we trust, he may be long spared to enjoy.

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

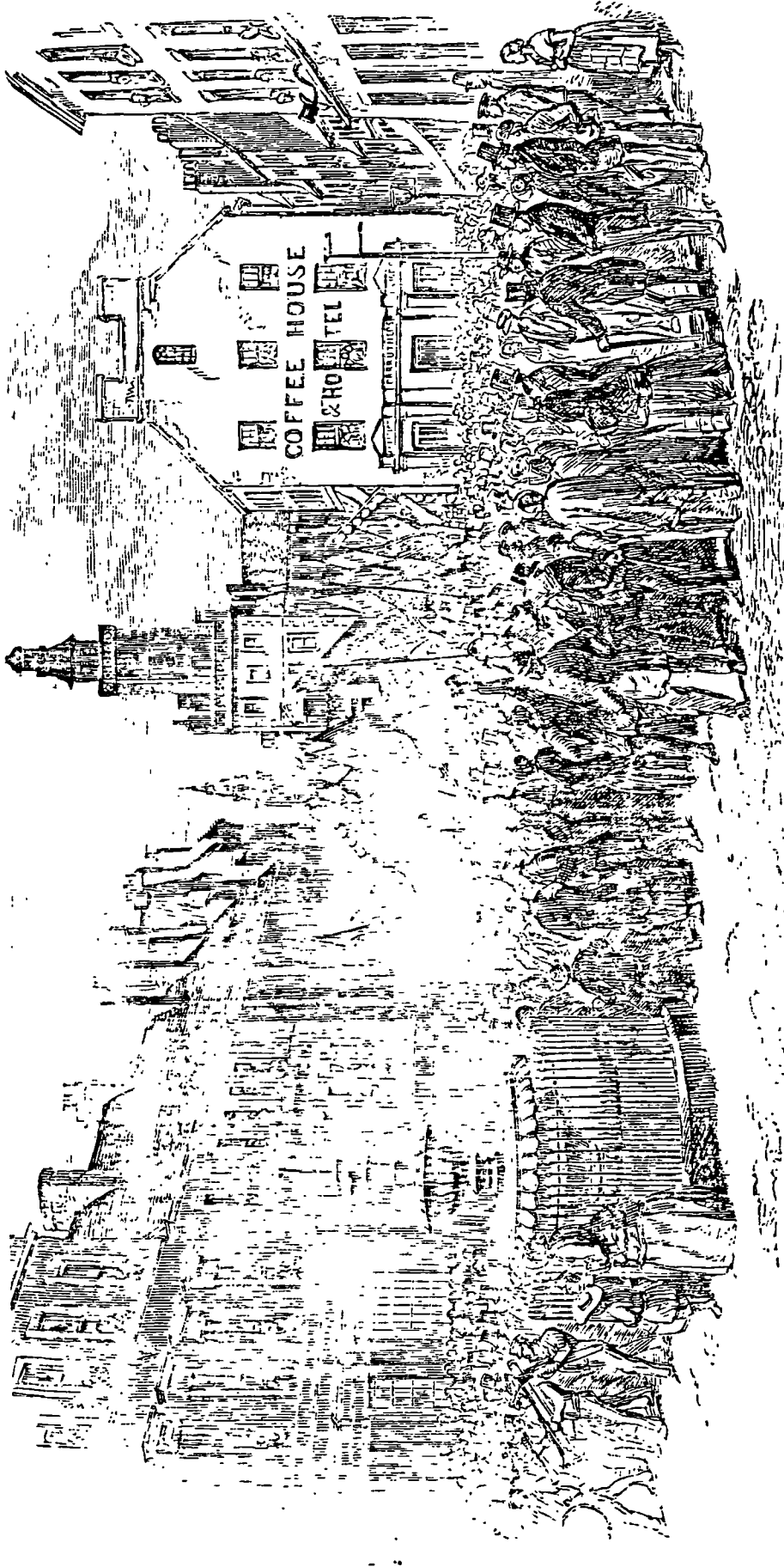
Like coffee houses, they often provided reading rooms and "stock rooms" for businessmen. They were used by itinerant dental surgeons, and as community facilities, as temperance halls were. By the late 1870's 400 bed luxury temperance hotels existed. Disassociation with "discomfort and overcharging with 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 Rivas, 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



GRAND PROCESSION OF THE GORBAL'S TEMPERANCE SOCIETY, AT DUMFRIES.

TEMPERANCE GRAND EXCURSION.

The Gorbal's Temperance Society have recently given their members and friends an excursion, which for economy and enjoyment, we think, scarcely has a parallel in the record of such festivals. The treat consisted of a journey on the 19th ult., from Glasgow to Dumfries and back, a distance of 144 miles, at the unprecedentedly low fare of 2s. 6d. each. The party, which 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 Paisley, Kilmarnock, and Sanquhar; and the train reached Dumfries at about one o'clock. Here great preparations had been made by the Dumfriessians, and the teetotalers of the north to give them a hearty and enthusiastic reception. The whole town turned out to meet them, while several hundreds of teetotalers from Sanquhar, Kilmarnock, Lockerbie, &c., 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 Total Abstinence Society, headed by the Rev. Mr. Good, vice-president of the society; the Rev. Mr. Clark, the Rev. Mr. Scott, the Rev. Mr. Tuller, Messrs. Sharp, Milliken, &c.

The whole party having been marshalled within the station gates, marched out with their banners flying, and preceded by the Gorbal's Society's fine band, amid the cheers of the assembled multitude. The Sanquhar, Kilmarnock, and

other parties, followed the Glasgow detachment; while the entire procession was preceded by the above-named clergymen, 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 preparation had been made 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, whence they marched in order into the apartments, where they partook of sandwiches, fruit, and clear cold water. In each of the various class rooms one of the clergymen presided, and said grace. The multitude having been re-arranged, an "An Address" in procession to see the objects of public interest in Dumfries, proceeding along the principal street, through the market-place, where the beautiful fountain placed there was in full play, to view the grave of Robert Burns. On entering the romantic graveyard, the bands ceased to play, and the banners were furled, in respect to the resting-place of the silent dead. The company, on entering the gate, turned round the west gable of the church, along the path and past the grave and mausoleum of the ploughman bard. The eyes of the company were kindly thrown open, and the interior, with its fine sculptures, inspected. The visitors then retraced to the street, and proceeded to the docks, and along the verdant banks of the Nith, turning across the ancient bridge and on towards the observatory on the Maxwellton side of the river. After passing the observatory, the procession advanced to the top of Corbie's

Hill, and enjoyed the picturesque view of the town, and the splendid panorama bounded by the mountain-ridges of Cumberland and Galloway, and the lofty Criffle, with its cloud-capped summits.

The visitors, having given three hearty cheers to the proprietor, for his permission to climb the hill, returned to the academy in 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 clergymen who had honoured them with their countenance and encouragement; also to the committee of the Dumfries Temperance Society, and especially to Mr. Welsh, 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, in the music of the steeple bells.

A carriage, with a printing-press upon it, gaily decorated with evergreens, followed the procession, and several pressmen were busily engaged throwing off a sheet of welcome to the total abstinence of the West of Scotland, on their visit to Dumfries; also "An Address" by the Dumfries and Maxwellton Total Abstinence Society, on the Day of the Grand Temperance Demonstration, held on the 19th July, 1852.

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

In the evening a monster 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.

COUNTER - ATTRACTIONS

EXCURSIONS

GOUROCK, LARGS, AND MILLPORT.

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



GOUROCK.

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.

Source : "Tweed's Guide to Glasgow and the Clyde", Glasgow 1872, reprinted as "The Clyde 100 Years Ago", Glasgow, 1973, page 69.

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."⁶⁰ 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 Abstiners, on which no drink was allowed and drunkards were abandoned en route - a threat which did not deter 800,-1,000 labour aristocrats from going on each. Trains and trams offered more dignified escapism than that of drink.⁶¹

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

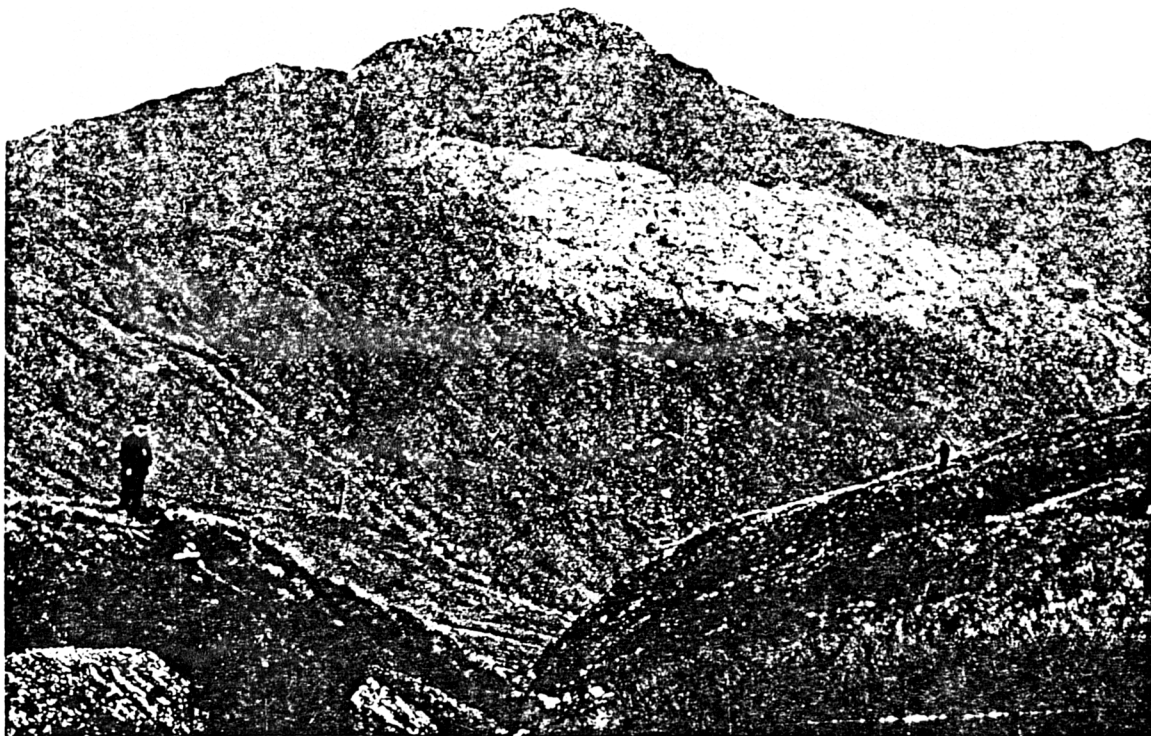
of self-help was the only solution.⁶²

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



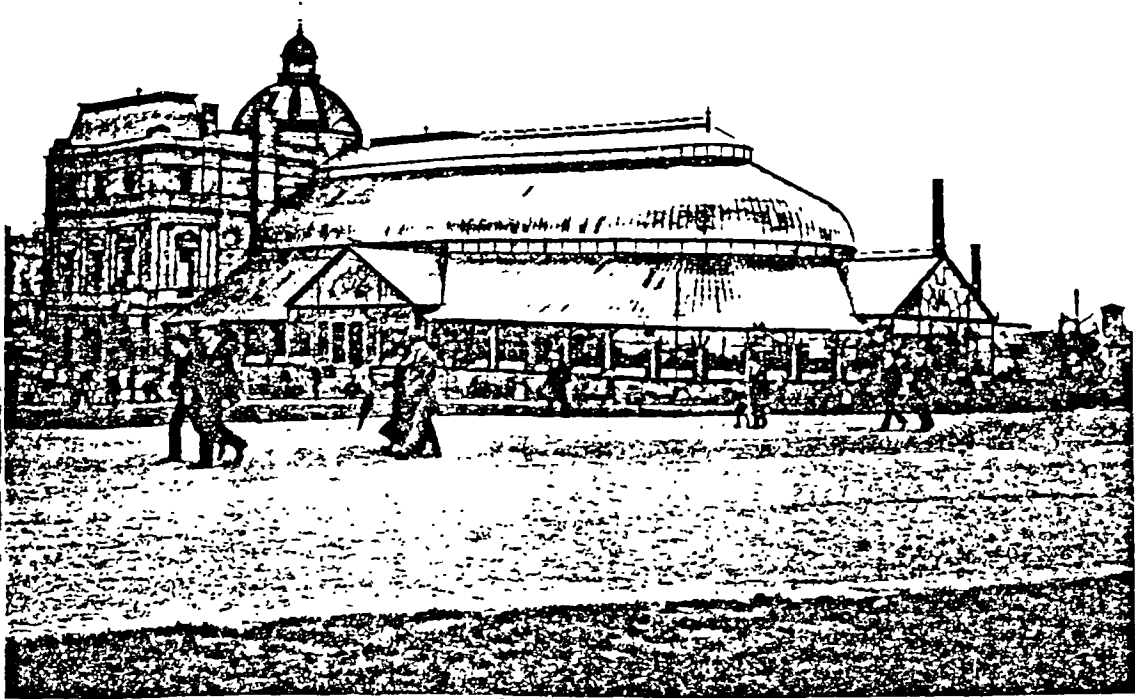
ARDGOIL ESTATE - HEAD OF COILESSAN GLEN



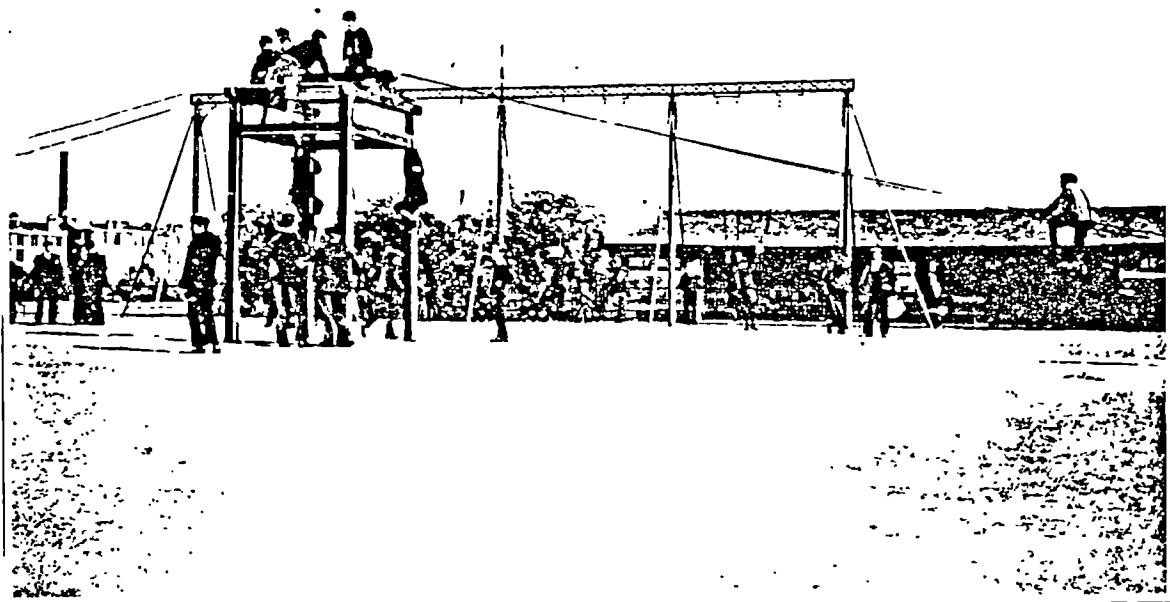
WATERFALL - ROUKEN GLEN PARK

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. Teetotalers 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



GLASGOW GREEN - PEOPLE'S PALACE AND WINTER GARDEN.



GLASGOW GREEN. GYMNASIUM FOR ADULTS.

GLASGOW GREEN. GYMNASIUM FOR ADULTS.

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

-attraction.

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 *airs*.

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

They need not go in for much knowledge—
May ev'n sing the third out of tune,
For the world-noted S.F.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 to go about bragging,
And saying, they're musical men.

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

While, as to the trifle of playing,
To learn that alone they are free,
They've 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 chorals thrown away."

Piano! "Leave that to the ladies:
For Tonic Sol-fa it won't suit;
To the voice it a very poor aid is,
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 sings.

You may talk about Handel 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 plays well,
We'll bid a flat seventh *ta-ta*."

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

O. N.

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.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.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.

Symphonies and Accompaniments by
WM CRAWFORD

With expression.

Key Eb.

The musical score is written in E-flat major (three flats) and common time. It consists of three systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The piano part features a steady eighth-note bass line and a more melodic treble line. The vocal line is marked 'With expression.' and includes lyrics in a Scottish dialect.

System 1:

Vocal: { d | d | ,d :d .m | s, :s, .l, }
A wee bit rag-git lad - die gangs

System 2:

Vocal: { | d .t, :d .r | m : | f .,m :f .l | s .m :r .d | r .,m :r .d | l, : | }
wan' - rin' thro' the street, Wa - din' mang the snaw wi' his wee hack-it feet,

System 3:

Vocal: { | d .,d :d .m | s, :s, | d .t, :d .r | m : | f .,s :l .d' | s .m . :d .r | }
Shiv' - rin' in the cauld blast, greet - in' wi' the pain, Wha's the puir wee callan? He's a

drunkards raggit wean He stan's at il - ka door, an' he keeks wi' wistfu' e'e To

see the cronda-roun' the fire a' laughin' loud wi' glee, But he daur - na venture ben, tho' his

heart be'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 spearin' for his mither, and he wunners whar she's gaen
 But Oh! his mither she forgets her puir wee raggit wean.
 He kens nae faither'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 faither's face The drunkards raggit wean.
2. Oh! pity the wee laddie, sae guileless an' sae young,
 The oath that leaves his faither's lips, will settle in his tongue
 An' sinfu' words his mither speaks, his infant lips 'ill stain,
 For oh! there's nane to guide the bairn, The drunkard's raggit wean.
 Then surely we micht try an' turn that sinfu' mither's heart,
 An' try to get his faither, to act a faither's part,
 An' mak' them leave the drunkard's cup, an' never taste again,
 An' cherish wi' a parents care, their puir 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 "practisings".⁷³

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 Robertson, 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.⁷⁴ Temperance choirs enjoyed great longevity, whilst 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.⁷⁵

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 ^{the} 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 Tenneil 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.⁸⁰ 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-attractionists 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

*Poster published by the Scottish
Temperance Alliance, Glasgow (c.1940)*



Source : E.King "Scotland Sober and Free - The Temperance Movement
1829-1979", Glasgow, 1979.

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 Glenbuck 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.⁸⁹ 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.⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹ Existing evangelical fervour too was diverted via recreation into more and more sectarian channels, exemplified by the 'Old Firm' divide.⁹²

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.

1. For the standpoints of the League and S.P.B.T.A. in the 1860's see S.T.L.R. 1859, p. 44-8, 1860, p. 60, 1861, p. 8 and 1862, p. 55 and D. Paton, thesis, Section III pp. 249-268. The Permissive Bill's origins are described in A. Dingle "The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England" pp. 16-17 and ^{his} f. 10 p. 34. The Temperance Spectator throughout the 1860's is useful for study of these divisions - e.g. the July 1861 issue p. 125 delineates U.K.A. allegations of League societies headed by spirit dealers - implying that the League had reverted to primitive "moderation." The League's policy was probably "shrewd realistic and prophetic" however - see D. Paton, thesis, p. 252. In 1861 the League stated its policy as total abstinence and "progressive reduction". On religious animosity which contributed to the S.T.L. S.P.B.T.A. split see D. Paton, thesis, p. 254. Prohibitionists were often Evangelical Unionists whereas the S.T.L. was predominantly United Presbyterian. An exception was the League's Revd. Guthrie (E.U.) - see P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century" Vol. I, p. 438. On the League's subsequent support of the Permissive Bill, see D. Paton, thesis, p. 254.
2. Non-churchgoers were not immune to this acute sense of the vulnerability of moral virtue - see J. Dawson Burn "Autobiography of a Beggar Boy", Letter VI, p. 121. Temperance reformers' favourite books were invariably the Bible and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress". Their fears were Malthusian, their remedies Chalmersian - see R.M. Young 'Malthus and the Evolutionists: The Common Context of Biological and Social Theory', Past and Present, 43, pp. 109-141, especially pp 119-125, 133 and 142. 'The Seductiveness of Alcohol', Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, Jan. 1892, p. 7, and in the July 1906 issue of same at p. 210, 'Drink, Sweating and Social Wellbeing', and 'The Armour Within', Aug. 1892, p. 242. F. Prochaska "Women and Philanthropy in 19th Century England" Oxford, 1980, Part II 'The Power of the Cross', pp. 95-231. See Leo Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God is Within You' reviewed in Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, January 1908, p. 15. See D. Paton, thesis, pp. 267-8 for his view of hostility to new developments.
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.
4. S.T.L.R. 1901, p. 93. The best comparative study of pressure group techniques is still D.A. Hamer "The Politics of Electoral Pressure: A Study in the History of Victorian Reform Agitations",

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.

5. On Glasgow's exposure to fine oratory - speech of Bailie Cochrane to Scottish Literary Institute, in Glasgow Argus Nov. 7, 1857, on Father Mathew's visit in 1842, see S.T.L.R. 1899, p. 61 and Chapter 8, Part i, on Dresser, who spoke on "War, Slavery and Intemperance" on his 1851 visit, First Annual Report of the Glasgow United Total Abstinence Society 1852, on Stowe, W. Chambers "Story of a Long and Busy Life", pp. 59-61, G. Shepperson, 'Harriet Beecher Stowe and Scotland 1852-3', Scottish Historical Review, 32, 1953, and F. Wilson "Crusader in Crinoline", London, 1942, p. 225. On Gough see "Autobiography and Personal Recollections of J.B. Gough with 26 years experience as a public speaker", London, 1870, S.T.L.R. 1879, pp. 15 and 37, the many editions of his reminiscences issued throughout the late 19th century, and also H.W. Morrow "The Lifestory of J.B. Gough" New York, 1930, Glasgow Argus Sept. 19, 1854, and N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers: A History of Temperance", (hereafter cited as N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers"), pp. 145-156. Gough's obituary appeared in S.T.L.R. 1887, p. 79. For Sankey and Moody see S.T.L.R. 1875 pp. 66-7 and G. Hayler "Famous Fanatics", London, 1911, Chapter XVI, pp. 142-4. Moody (1837-99) was born at Northfield, Massachusetts, of farming stock. A boot and shoe salesman, he rose to prominence as a Congregational lay preacher, Sunday School worker, organiser of a Sanitary and Christian Commission for Civil War volunteers, and later as a Chicago based evangelist. Ira Sankey was a "temperance musician" who joined him on lecture tours of America, Canada and Britain. On Murphy's 1881 visit S.T.L.R. 1883 p. 65, and K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action" pp. 130-3, and Chapter VIII 'Gospel Temperance' pp. 126-147. The best 19th century account of this wing of the movement is A.R. Kimball "The Blue Ribbon", Stevens, 1894. See Chapter 8, Part i. On Mother Stewart see her "The Crusader in Great Britain: A History of the Origins and Organisation of the B.W.T.A." Springfield, 1893 pp. 209-359, S.T.L.R. 1893, p. 73, and B. Aspinwall "The Feminine Connection"; College Courant, Glasgow, 1978, XXX, pp. 6-12. See Chapter 8 Part II. On Demorest and Wooley see S.T.L.R. 1894, p. 84 and p. 75. Eli Johnston of Brooklyn also lectured to 20 Scottish towns - S.T.L.R. 1878, p. 55. America fascinated many - Thomas Whitaker made it the theme of his 1876-7 visit to Glasgow - S.T.L.R. 1877 p. 57. Amongst 'colonial speakers' was Sir Robert Stout, ex-premier of New Zealand who spoke at Rouken Glen on local veto in 1909 - S.P.B.T.A. 1909-10, p. 35. On Charrington - S.T.L.R. 1908, p. 109 and G. Hayler "Famous Fanatics" London, 1911, pp. 157-8, and K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action" p. 31. On Mursell, S.P.B.T.A. 1907-8, p. 30.
6. B. Harrison 'A World of Which We had No Conception: Liberalism and the Temperance Press 1830-72', Victorian Studies, 1969, ^{Vol. 3} p. 129.
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 and Total Abstinence Movements of Scotland", Glasgow 1880, p. 32, and E. Morris "History of the Temperance and Teetotal Societies of Glasgow" p. 229. On the earliest English publications see B. Harrison 'Drink and Sobriety in England 1851-72: A Critical Bibliography' in International Review of Social History 1967, No. 2, p. 218. R. Cowan "The Newspaper in Scotland: a Study of the First Expansion 1815-60" Glasgow, 1946 pp. 351-357. The League press quickly dispelled the seditious image. Dawson Burns "Temperance History" Vol. I, pp. 363, 368, 396 and 408. Press reforms - S.T.L.R. 1860 Annual Business Meeting Resolution X. On increasing literacy - M. Sanderson 'Literacy and Social Mobility in the Industrial Revolution in England', Past and Present, 56, 1972, pp. 75-103, on rising literacy in the 1830's, L. Stone 'Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900' Past and Present, 42, 1968, pp. 69-139, especially pp 119 and 126 where it is claimed that the "the bottom 30%'s cultural barrier" was drastically reduced over 1840-90, Scotland's literacy rate having been a creditable 89% in many areas even in 1855, and R.K. Webb 'Literacy among the Working Classes in 19th Century Scotland', Scottish Historical Review 33, 1954, pp. 101-114. (Moral suasionists shared Alison's sentiments - p. 106). On the popular press, more important than ever because of the rise of the daily press - V. Neuburg "Popular Literature: A History and Guide", Penguin, 1977, Chapter IV, pp. 144-234. On publishers of 'improving literature' operating parallel to the League - pp. 202-11. S.T.L.R. 1874 p. 51 noted the power of the press. The publications department seemed materialistic to the old guard - S.T.L.R. 1875, p. 62. Gratuitous copies of the Journal for Ministers and Adviser for poor children are discussed in S.T.L.R. 1859, p. 5, 1874 p. 51, 1875 p. 63 and 1878 p. 59. Such literature doubtless filled a vacuum created by the demise of Chartist literature - see A. Wilson 'The Scottish Chartist Press', Scottish Labour History Society Journal, July, 1971, pp. 3-17.

8. Blackie Sen. was a patron of the Glasgow United Working Mens' Total Abstinence Society. On Gallie see The Bookseller, 1.2.1876, p. 94 and A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow", pp. 412-4. The movement provided business for John Menzies etc. Booksellers were cultivated for obvious reasons - see J. MacNair "Birthdays of the Total Abstinence Movement in Scotland" p. 12. Like Guy, some were also philanthropists - D. Owen - "English Philanthropy 1660-1960" p. 45. The tract society agreement aimed at greater access to the poor and social reform cooperation - S.T.L.R. 1860, p. 12. Production details from S.T.L.R. 1862, p. 60, 1860 p. 10-12, 1870, p. 12. The groups targeted were evangelical favourites - K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action" p. 14. A series by local ministers hoped to sway "professing Christians" - S.T.L.R. 1860, p. 11.

T.S. Arthur (1810-85) e.g. wrote an indictment of the city in "Three Years in a Man Trap" - S.T.L.R. 1874, p. 52, and V. Neuburg "Popular Literature a History and Guide" pp. 168-70. Production details - S.T.L.R. 1875, p. 63, 1879, p. 59, 1886, pp 63-5 and 1906, p. 108. Distribution of pictorial tracts - e.g. by A.P. Brown - S.T.L.R. 1909, pp. 89-91 and 1910, p. 114. On exports - P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. II p. 81 and Vol. I p. 373 on M.L. Hutchinson Mayor of Melbourne, and originally of Newton Stewart and Thomas Ferguson of Edinburgh who founded a Melbourne Tract Depot. The gold rush had necessitated a temperance movement. On temperance tracts in general see B. Harrison 'Drunkards and Reformers: Early Victorian Temperance Tracts', History Today, Vol. 13, 3, March 1963.

9. On Clara Lucas Balfour - S.T.L.R. 1879 pp. 18-20, Dawson Burns "Temperance History" Vol. I, p. 410, L. Lewis Shiman 'The Band of Hope Movement: Respectable Recreation for Working Class Children' in Victorian Studies Vol. 17, 1973-4, pp. 62-4 and N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers", p. 195, and Adviser 1850, p. 120. Other sales detailed in S.T.L.R. 1886, pp 62-3 and 1887, p. 65.

Temperance Lessons

10. N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers" pp. 130-2, B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians" pp. 32, 111-2, 133, 155, 160-6, and 174-6 on temperance lessons and temperance and education in general. Knox wrote on "scientific temperance instruction" in Commonwealth in 1858. Some radicals, like Hume, had been suspicious of temperance as a rival to education - Longmate (supra) p. 92. On the Nonconformist 'education crusade' see D.W. Bebbington "The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics 1870-1914" London, 1931, pp. 66, 73, 75-9, and 126-152. Education was of course central to Liberalism - J. Vincent "The Formation of the Liberal Party 1857-68" London, 1966, and Harrison (supra) pp. 29, 219 and 243. On Charles Cameron - J. Roxburgh "The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919", London University Press, 1971, p. 163. Cameron lectured on free education to the Glasgow Workingmens' Electoral Association in 1880, introduced an unsuccessful bill thereon in 1881, and wrote "Free Education" Glasgow, 1880. Reformers like the Revds. George Gladstone, Fergus Ferguson and Barr were all school board members, as was Hardie and many other temperance figures. Hardie advocated temperance lessons as a specific for the "hunger and burst" lifestyle of many workers in 1883 - F. Reid, 'Kier Hardie's Conversion to Socialism', "Essays in Labour History", Vol. II, London, 1971, p. 29.
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.
12. Glasgow United Total Abstiners' Association Annual Report 1853, S.T.L.R. 1864, p. 38, Good Templar, 1870, p. 43, J. Roxburgh "The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919", p. 9 and A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow", p. 189. On truancy see Roxburgh (supra) pp.190-4. On the E.I.S. - A.J. Belford "A Centenary Handbook of the E.I.S.", Edinburgh, 1946. On the Inspectorate - T.L. Bone "School Inspection In Scotland, 1840-1966", University of London, 1968.
 13. D. Owen "English Philanthropy 1660-1960" pp 2, 27-8, 31, 35. On the dangers of wide reading without moral purpose and religious faith and concern for 'the child' - Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, Jan. 1899, p. 2, and July 1911, pp 158-9. W. Chambers "Story of a Long and Busy Life", p. 67. On religious bigotry - J. Handley "The Irish in Modern Scotland", Cork, 1947, pp. 107, on Maynooth and Chapter IV 'Religious and Racial Discord' pp. 93-121 in general, and pp 218-219 on the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872. On organisation, somewhat patchy perhaps, of a Catholic bloc vote in school board elections, via the Catholic Union, J. McCaffrey 'Politics and the Catholic Community Since 1878', Innes Review, 29, 1978, pp 145-6. D. Bebbington "The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics 1870-1914" London, 1972, pp. 76-8, 126-152. A. Drummond and J. Bulloch "The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874", Edinburgh 1975, pp. 98-107. J. Roxburgh "The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919" pp 11, 15-19 and on Lang 253: 'There was a Temperance Catechism' - see P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century" Vol. 1, p. 327 and S.T.L.R. 1879, p. 20 on Robert Wilson of Glasgow, author of the "Temperance Shorter Catechism". On the breakdown of $\frac{1}{2}$ time education - Roxburgh pp. 85-97, and on expanding school provision, benefitting the labour aristocrat sector largely, pp. 130, 137-8 et seq.
 14. H.V. Emy "Liberals, Radicals, and Social Politics 1892-1914", Cambridge, 1973, p. 105. Teetotal views echoed T.H. Green's stress of promotion of citizenship via development of state education which influenced the younger generation of Liberals. See Rechabite and Temperance Magazine July 1911, p. 158 (on influence of Professor John McCunn's 'Ethics of Citizenship') and the issue of Jan. 1902 leader 'Training Citizens'. See James Coates, vegetarian phrenologist and spirit-photographer of Crosshill, Glasgow, discussed in Chapter VIII, Part I. Chamberlainite assumption that public health and educational reform were but two sides of one coin was quite widely held and relevant here. W.N. Edwards "The Temperance Compendium", London,

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.

15. Scottish Review 1858 (supra) D. Jamie "John Hope: Philanthropist and Reformer", Edinburgh, 1907, Shadow (pseud.), "Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs being Sketches of Life in the Street, Wynds and Dens of the City" Glasgow 1858, p. 138, S.T.L.R. 1874, Resolution VIII, and S.T.L.R. 1875, obituary of John Anderson who had campaigned for the Act.
16. Tweedie published Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson's classic temperance textbook in 1878. Barr wrote in similar vein - 'James Barr B.D. M.P.' Records of the Church History Society 1982, p. 198. S.T.L. Minute Book 1870-6, January 1873 n.p., S.T.L.R. 1877, p. 65, Rechabite Guardian 10, Feb. 1878 p. 6, Glasgow Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Annual Report 1879, p. 18.
17. S.T.L.R. 1883, p. 79, 1886, p. 72, and 1899, p. 62.
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

in Brechin. He was also associated with the 1877 World Alliance of Reformed Churches as were many temperance reformers - J. Hoeveler "James McCosh in the Scottish Intellectual Tradition: from Scotland to Princeton" Princeton University Press, 1981, P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. II, p. 203 and I p. 203 on the teetotal American publisher who arranged his emigration. On cross currents in educational reform in general, see F. Thistlethwaite "The Anglo-American Connection in the early 19th Century", Philadelphia, 1959, pp. 132-152. For an American perspective - N. Mervinsky 'Scientific Temperance Education in the Schools', History of Education Quarterly, 1, 1961, pp. 48-56. J. Roxburgh "The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919" pp. 13-14 on female voters, and pp. 113-4 on "Specific Subjects".

19. S.T.L.R. 1891, p. 77, 1893, p. 76, 1897, p. 85, T.L. Bone "School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966", University of London, 1968, p. 140, and Roxburgh (supra) pp. 192, 139, 185 and 204. S.T.L.R. 1894, p. 75. Scottish Band of Hope Union Report 1908, p. 12, and S.T.L. Board Minute Book 1870-1.
20. S.T.L.R. 1894, p. 85, 1897 p. 85.
21. S.T.L.R. 1898, p. 84.
22. J. Roxburgh "The School Board of Glasgow", pp. 190 et seq on Allan's evidence before the 1915 Committee of Enquiry on Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and pp. 174-193 on William Mitchell J.P., a 'Free Kirker', self-made man, Director of the Juvenile Delinquency Board, director of the S.P.C.C., founder of East Park Children's Home, and school board member for 27 years, and author of "Rescue the Children", London, 1886, and "Neglected Children in our Towns and Cities", Glasgow, 1891. E. Miller "Century of Change 1875-1975: 100 Years of Training Home Economics Students in Glasgow" Glasgow, 1975, pp. 9-13. School meetings were held at Provanside, Grove St., Elmbank, Napierhall St., Canning Place, Dovehill, Overnewton, Gorbals and Newlands in Glasgow in 1906 - S.P.B.T.A. 1906-7, p. 26. S.T.L.R. 1898-9, p. 93.

23. Teachers Connected with the League

1879	150	1894	179
1883	190	1899	221
1887	179	1906	132
1890	179	1910	153
1891	163	1915	172

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.
24. S.T.L.R. 1900 p. 97 and 1902 pp. 105-6.
 25. S.T.L.R. 1903 p. 98, 1902 p. 105, 1904 p. 127. A similar scheme with gold and silver medals was begun by John Henderson, a S.P.B.T.A. director and Ayrshire school board member. S.T.L.R. 1905, p. 108.
 26. S.T.L.R. 1905, p. 114, Scottish Temperance Annual 1905 pp. 132-4. Scottish Band of Hope Union Report 1908 pp. 25-6, W. Walker 'Dundee's Disenchantment with Churchill', Scottish Historical Review, ^{Vol. 49} 1970, p. 89 for Dundee Social Union's "Report on Housing and Industrial Conditions in Dundee" 1905, and W. Walker "Juteopolis: Dundee and its Textile Workers 1885-1923" Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 74, 79-80, 82, 85, 92, 108-9, 200-1, 279, 284. S.T.L.R. 1906, p. 114.
 27. S.T.L.R. 1906, p. 115 and A. Belford "A Centenary Handbook of the E.I.S.", p. 139.
 28. Rechabite and Temperance Magazine Sept. 1900 'Physical Drill in Schools' and L.M. Simpson "Education, Imperialism and National Efficiency in England 1895-1905", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Glasgow University, 1979. Article of J. Gulland M.P. in Scottish Temperance Annual, 1906, p. 47. On this public health shift see Glaister's "The Hygiene of Schools", Glasgow 1895. On S.P.B.T.A. board candidates - S.P.B.T.A. 1906-7, p. 30, 1909-10, p. 27 and 1910-11 pp 16 and 29. On I.O.G.T.'s - Scottish Temperance Annual, 1906, p. 47; and on the I.O.R.'s Rechabite and Temperance Magazine Jan. 1886, p. 18, Nov. 1891, p. 342, May 1897 p. 118 and June 1900 p. 143. This helped make school boards "an interesting mixture of businessmen and labour aristocrats", as Walker noted in 'Dundee's Disenchantment with Churchill' (supra) p. 89. 'The School and Incidental Temperance Teaching', Scottish Temperance Annual 1908, pp. 51-7. Scottish Band of Hope Union Report 1908 pp 18-30. Scottish Temperance Annual 1910 pp 25-6. See Biographical Appendix. Reformers associated with corn products from McGavin onwards abound.

30. S.T.L.R. 1910 pp 32 and 113, and 1911 p. 121. See descriptions of Nonconformist pressure group action on education in C. Binfield "So Down to Prayers: Studies in English Nonconformity 1730-1920", London, 1977. D. Bebbington "The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics 1870-1914" pp. 126-152 especially, and S. Koss "Nonconformity in Modern British Politics" London, 1975, pp. 8, 16-17, 23-7, 103-4, 109, 112, 121, 124 and 187. Binfield Chapter IV, pp. 80-91 and 210.
31. The Syllabus appears in S.T.L.R. 1911 pp 97-8. Scottish Band of Hope Union Report 1911, p. 15, 1912, p. 15, 1913 p. 8, and Scottish Band of Hope Union Board Minutes 1914 for resolutions to campaign for full implementation of the Syllabus. G. Pirie 'The Temperance Syllabus: how can its influence be extended?' Scottish Temperance Annual 1912, pp 50-3. A. Belford "A Centenary Handbook of the E.I.S." pp. 142-5. 1946. S.T.L.R. 1914 p. 177.
32. G. Williams and G. Brake "Drink in Great Britain 1900-79" London, 1980, p. 95 on the Royal Commission of 1929 and pp. 181-8. Alcohol as a drug had been central to moral suasion and had been backed by the testimony of Sir Victor Horsley etc. "Centenary of the Total Abstinence Movement 1832-1932" Centenary Committee, Glasgow 1932 p. 81. "Scottish Temperance Alliance - What it is and What it Does" Glasgow, 1936.
- Good Templar Educational Work.
33. N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers" pp.20 and 61, B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians" p. 118 and 137. Temperance Spectator 1861 p. 41 describes Dr. Lees' visit to the 'Calton Mechanics'. Institutes have featured in unpublished research e.g. R. Wildman "A Social History of Scottish Working Class Education 1800-72, with particular reference to Glasgow", Edinburgh, unpublished Ph.D. thesis 1977. On the Rodger brothers' Rutherglen Institute - W. Ross Shearer "50 Years! The Story of the Rutherglen Evangelistic Institute 1885-1935", Rutherglen, 1935. (Its attraction was partly due to its provision of baths for the community - p. 9). James Roxburgh "The School Board of Glasgow" p. 23, A. Gillespie "Sir Michael Connal and his Young Men's Institute", Glasgow, n.d. and on Connal (1817-93). Transactions of the Natural History Society of Glasgow, Vol. 4, pp. 148-51, and "Diary of Sir Michael Connal" Glasgow, 1895. On Thomas Corbett, founder of Glasgow Central Workingmens' Club and Institute see its Minutes, 29 April 1880, and Scottish Reformer, Jan. 25, 1908. See W. Chambers "Story of a Long and Busy Life" pp. 97-9, D. Keir "The House of Collins", Collins, 1952, p. 201, E. Wilson "Walter Wilson 1849-1917" Glasgow, 1920, p. 58, T. Hamilton "The Temperance Reformation in Scotland with Special Reference to Dunlop and Greenock 1829-1929", p. 27, Glasgow Argus, Oct. 31, 1857, S.T.L.R.

- 1909, pp. 76-7 for strong League connections with Glasgow Commercial College, estd. in Steel's Coffee House.
34. E.H. Welfare "The World Our Field", pp 54-5, I.N. Pierce "I.O.G.T.: A History of the Order" pp.10-11, W.W. Turnbull "A History of the I.O.G.T." p. 81, and Welfare (supra) p. 50.
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.
36. P. Snowden "Socialism and the Drink Traffic", London, 1908, pp 81-2.
37. B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians" pp.297-8.
38. G.B. Wilson "Alcohol and the Nation", London, 1940, p. 246, A.G. Docherty 'Urban Working Class Recreation in Scotland in the years before 1914', Edinburgh, unpublished MA thesis, ¹⁹⁷⁷ J. Begg "Drunkenness and Pauperism", Edinburgh, 1850, p. 15, D. and C. Guthrie "Memoir of Thomas Guthrie" Edinburgh, 1880, pp. 279-281, Glasgow Argus, Oct. 31, 1857 and A. Sherwell "The Drink Peril in Scotland", London, 1903, p. 55. The following pages are influenced by B. Harrison's 'Religion and Recreation in 19th Century England', Past and Present, 38, Dec. 1967, pp. 98-125, and B. Harrison "Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain" Oxford, 1982, Chapter V, pp. 217-259.
39. D. McLure "Commonsense" 1852, preface iv, D. and C. Guthrie "Memoir of Thomas Guthrie" p. 24, Duchess of Rutland "How Intemperance has been Successfully Combat 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

and not narcoticised abhors silliness." On the crusade against brutality - R. Malcolmson "Popular Recreations in English Society 1750-1850" Cambridge, 1973, and Harrison "Religion and Recreation in 19th Century England" (supra) pp. 99-103, 108, 116-119 on the R.S.P.C.A. plus Harrison's "Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain", Oxford, 1982, Chapter II, "Animals and the State in 19th Century England", pp. 82-122.

40. Glasgow Abstainers' Union "Sixty Years Work 1854-1914" Glasgow, 1914, p. 67. A. Sherwell "The Drink Peril in Scotland", pp. 46-8. This exaggeration has been adopted uncritically - see K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action", p. 3. On Lovett and pub music - B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", p. 222. See I. Donnachie "Drink and Society 1750-1850: Some Aspects of the Scottish Experience", Scottish Labour History Society Journal, 13, 1979, pp. 14-15, "The Social and Economic Roles of the Public House".
41. H. Levy "Drink an Economic and Social Study", pp. 111-7, D. and C. Guthrie "Memoir of Thomas Guthrie", p. 283, A. Sherwell "The Drink Peril in Scotland" p. 59. On Sabbatarianism, see Glasgow Abstainers' Union "Sixty Years Work 1854-1914" p. 55, on Sunday trains, C. Robertson "Early Scottish Trains and the Observance of the Sabbath", Scottish Historical Review, 57, 1978, pp. 151-166. On the activities of the Lord's Day Observance Society - Harrison "Religion and Recreation in 19th Century England" (supra) led by rural clergy, and "with some genuine working class support, pp 103-5, and "Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain", p. 126, pp 127-8, 132, 135, 139-40 (on methods) 126-132 and 148 (support) Glasgow Argus Sept. 19, 1854, 'Lay Lecture XIII'.

Coffee and Tea rooms etc.

42. D. Jamie "John Hope Philanthropist and Reformer" p. 44, D. Burns "Temperance History" Vol. 1, p. 364, S.A.S.D. "Report on Refreshment and Reading Rooms for the Working Classes", Edinburgh 1853, S.T.L.R. 1857 p. 56 and 1862, p. 71. Duchess of Rutland "How Temperance Has Been Successfully Combated", p. 16, P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century" Vol. II, pp 248 and 183, and Vol. I, p. 392 on French, father of the Revd. Robert of Bootle.
43. Glasgow had always had coffee houses - see J.A. Hammerton "Sketches of Glasgow" Glasgow, 1893 p. 86, and D. Daiches "Glasgow" London, 1977, p. 68. On this movement see N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers" pp. 8, 35, 195, 206-10, B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians" pp. 38-9, 304, and 312, and K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action", pp. 137-44, 146, 292. E. Morris "History of the Temperance and Teetotal Societies of Glasgow" p. 93, and "W.W." (pseud.)

"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" p.p. 52-3.
46. On People's Cafe Co. - Rechabite Gazette 9 Jan. 1878, and 10 Feb. 1878, and K. Heasman (supra) p. 143. On Elizabeth Cotton (later Lady Hope), - N. Longmate (supra) pp 206-8, and E. Cotton "Our Coffee Room" 1876 and "More About Our Coffee Room" 1878. Her work had Shaftesbury's moral support. On Greenock and Dundee ventures see T. Hamilton "The Temperance Reformation in Scotland with special reference to Dunlop and Greenock", p. 35 and I.O.R. "Bonnie Dundee Souvenir" I.O.R., 1925, p. 21 and on Mauchline see P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. II, p. 200. Duchess of Rutland "How Intemperance was Successfully Combat ed", p. 18. On wine lodges, Longmate (supra) p. 209, and on this Glasgow case, "Reminiscences: a Narrative and Record of the Extraordinary Proceedings of the Magistrates at the Annual Licensing Court of 1884", Glasgow, Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Association, Glasgow, 1884, p. 23. More confidence was placed in teetotal ventures with reading rooms attached - see The Ayrshire Post Dec. 17, 1880 p. 1. 'Ayr Coffee House Announcement' Schemes like the Yates' reflected 23 and 23 Vict. C27 (1860) and 1861 and 1863 creation of refreshment wine licences and encouragement of wine retail - See B. Webb "The History of Liquor Licensing 1700-1830". Cass reprint 1963, p. 141.
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

- Philanthropy in 19th Century England", Oxford, 1980, pp. 212, 224, 229. Longmate (supra) p. 211, and F. Worsdall "A Glasgow Keek Show: Glimpses of City Life" Glasgow, 1981, p. 106.
48. On tea gardens - G. Best "Mid Victorian Britain 1851-75", p. 221, A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow", pp 15-16, 112, F. Worsdall "A Glasgow Keek Show: Glimpses of City Life" pp 127-8 extracts from Glasgow Herald, 29 Apr. 1825, 27 Nov. 1826, 17 July 1835 and 3 April 1840 on Bridgeton 'Tea Gardens' "Bonnie Dundee Souvenir" I.O.R. 1925, p. 21, and Longmate (supra) p. 75 on Lamb. Longmate (supra) p. 8 and I. Donnachie 'Drink and Society 1750-1850: Some Aspects of the Scottish Experience', Scottish Labour History Society Journal, 13, 1979, pp 7, 9, on the high cost of tea in the early 18th century and hostility to tea in Galt's "Annals of the Parish", I. Donnachie "A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland", Edinburgh, 1979; p. 12, and also Glasgow Argus Aug. 29, 1857, where the writer feared the taste for tea would leave working class families with little "to gather or build with" - reminiscent of later attacks on the 'drink craze'. Adviser 1851 p. 215, S.T.L.R. 1863 p. 35 on consumption and faddists. Russian tea - Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, Feb. 1891, p. 40. On later consumption - Longmate (supra) p. 211 and G.B. Wilson "Alcohol and the Nation", p. 251. S.P.B.T.A. 1901-2, p. 21.
 49. See S.T.L.R. 1894 obituary of Cranston. See Biographical Appendix. On Stuart Cranston - The Bailie 2.10.1889, 'Men You Know' 885.
 50. On Kate Cranston (1849-1934) see "Who Was Who in Glasgow" 1909, p. 50, Glasgow Scrapbook, Mitchell Library, and on Major Cochrane (ironfounder) - R. Murray "The Annals of Barrhead", Gibson, Barrhead, 1942. On Cranstons' Tearooms see Glasgow Scrapbooks Vol. 24, p. 128, Glasgow Illustrated, Jan. 1971, Glasgow Chamber of Commerce Journal 1967 p. 499, Scotland Feb. 1951, pp. 58-60, J.J. Waddel 'The Glasgow Tearooms' in Builders Journal and Architects' Record, Apr. 15, 1903. Details of viability - 1905-54 Sales Ledgers, Adam Smith Business History Collection. T. Howarth "Charles Rennie Macintosh and the Modern Movement" London, 1952, pp. 45, 49, 121-47, and 225 and specific references to the Argyle Room, Buchanan St., Ingram St., and Willow Room ventures. On the middle class lady - E. Burton "The Early Victorians at Home 1837-61", Harlow, 1972 p. 152.
 51. See John Lennox's, Stockwell St. Venture - P. Winskill, "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century" Vol. II, p. 166. On the Hind Smiths - Dawson Burns "Temperance History" Vol. II, p. 135, N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers" p. 210, S.T.L.R. 1877 p. 55, 1878, p. 46 and 1879, p. 37,

- Glasgow Abstainers' Union "Sixty Years Work 1854-1914", pp 69-70, and Good Templar, July, 1872, p. 276, and Dec. 1872, p. 357, K. Heasman "Evangelicals in Action" p. 139, and B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", pp 225, 304.
52. On the Gothenburg scheme - B. Harrison (supra) pp 274, 277, 281, 342, 385, 403, N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers", pp 232-3, and 270, and Sherwell and Rowntree "British Gothenburg Experiments", London, 1901. See Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, Aug. 1905, p. 285 on Arthur Chamberlain and Chance etc.
53. Tea was imported direct from India from 1834 on - J.K. McDowall "The People's History of Glasgow", p. 45. On tea dealers - Glasgow Argus Aug. 29, 1857, "Stratten's Glasgow", London, 1891, pp. 173, 202, 230-1, 146, 114 and 96, E. Wilson "Walter Wilson 1849-1917", Glasgow, 1920, W.H. Marwick "Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland", London, 1936 (Clifton reprint 1973) p. 100, on Muir "Who Was Who" (1897-1916), Scotsman Aug. 7, 1903, Gowan and Gray "The Lord Provost of Glasgow 1833-1902" Glasgow, 1902, pp. 461-6. Thomas Lipton "Leaves from a Lipton Log", London, 1931, and P. Mathias "Retailing Revolution", Longmans, 1967. On Douglas, P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. I, p. 322. On Spite, born in Sleaford and trained in Spalding and London, "Stratten's Glasgow", London, 1891, pp 55-6. Spite's chain spanned the city centre, the West End, Clydebank, the Southside and East and the years 1876-1928, according to the Glasgow Post Office Directories. All radical hostility to tea had long since evaporated - see the career of James Moir (1805-80) Glasgow Chartist and town councillor 1848-80, excepting 1865-8, and Gallowgate tea dealer - A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow", p. 68, P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Appendix xiv notes 17 tea dealers in Winskill's 2 volume biographical dictionary of U.K. reformers.
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 Grogan 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

'British Prohibitionists 1853-72: a Biographical Analysis', International Review of Social History, 70, p. 383.

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.
56. Stratten's Glasgow, p. 126. Glasgow Herald 4.2.1981, "Barr 1830-1980", Commemorative Brochure of A.G. Barr & Co., 1980, "Stratten's Glasgow", pp 120, 78-9, on Thomson Ltd., (said missionaries included Prof. McCall Anderson of Glasgow, Dr. Stewart, and "at a very early age", Sir Lyon Playfair M.P.) and pp. 168, 178, 126, 209, 294 and 334 respectively. On R.F. Barr see Scottish Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Review May 1890, p. 186 and on R. Colthart of Globe Mineral Water Co. Victualling Trades Review, 1906, p. 323, and on Bratby and Hinchcliffe, aerated water engineers, pp 92-3. There were 33 lemonade firms in Glasgow alone by 1880 - Glasgow Post Office Directories 1880, p. 781.
57. W.W. "Selections from My Correspondence" p. 91, E. Morris "History of the Temperance and Teetotal Societies of Glasgow" pp 212-3, on Edinburgh's first venture P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. I, p. 40, S.T.L.R. 1857 and 1874 subscription lists suggest the total number of hotels and coffee houses in the 1850's was well over 2,000, and 50 hotels were affiliated to the League by the 1870's. English figures given in N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers", p. 74. M.W. Stewart "Old Edinburgh Taverns" London, 1952, p. 176.
58. On the Ormesby's and Mckinlays see P. Winskill (supra) Vol. II, pp 293 and 211 and "Stratten's Glasgow" pp 250-1. On the Stewart Baths at Rothesay which complemented such hotels there - "Stratten's Glasgow" pp 255-6, and on Crieff Hydro p. 315-6. See E. Burton "The Early Victorians at Home 1837-61" pp. 110-12. See Chapter 4, Part IV on convalescent homes etc.
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.

60. Glasgow Argus Sept. 19, 1857, 'Tod & McGregor's Trip to Millport.' R. Murray "Annals of Barrhead" Gibson, Barrhead 1942, pp 50-51.
61. Glasgow Abstainers' Union "Sixty Years Work 1854-1914" p. 57. See Annual Reports of Glasgow United Total Abstainers' Association, 1853 and 1854.
62. Rechabite Guardian, Nov. 1877 p. 3, 'A Glasgow Fair by a Glasgow Clergyman', Revd. A. Wallace "Pleasure Trips" S.T.L. Tract, 59, n.d. On Cook - S.T.L.R. 1894, p. 86. P. Winkill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century" Vol. I, p. 257, N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers", pp 134 and 193, and J. Pudney "The Thomas Cook Story", London, 1953. Glasgow Argus Sept. 12, 1854, 'A Sail to Millport', and D. McLure "Commonsense", Glasgow, 1852. On Frame - Lancashire Evening Post, April 15, 1981. Frame died in 1934 but the firm he founded now has 34 branches. V. Vale 'The British Temperance Emigration Society', Bulletin of the British Association for American Studies, Dec. 1964, and H.L. Malchow "Population Pressures: Emigration and Government in late 19th Century Britain", Paola Alta, 1979, describe emigration schemes. Union Transit Co. - see e.g. S.P.B.T.A. 1911-12, p. 90. On Lunn - D. Bebbington "The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics 1870-1914", p. 63.
63. The old Western Union, influenced by Livesey's seaside trips for the poor etc., went to Ayr and were addressed by Edward Grubb in Dr. Renwick's (temperance and abolition) Church - E. Morris "History of the Temperance and Teetotal Societies of Glasgow" pp 100-101, T. Honeyman "Good Templary its Work and Workers" pp. 12-16, S.P.B.T.A. 1883-4, p. 6, Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, Sept. 1887, p. 208 and June 1896 p. 144, S.T.L.R. 1890 p. 72, 1894 p. 84, S.P.B.T.A. 1892-3, p. 9, T. Hamilton "The Temperance Reformation in Scotland with Special Reference to Dunlop and Greenock" p. 44, A. Wilson "Walter Wilson 1849-1917" p. 130. On travel's competition with drink see Lord Grey, Chairman of the N.E. Railway Company quoted in G.B. Wilson "Alcohol and the Nation", London, 1940, p. 247. See S.T.L.R. 1883, p. 74 'Intoxicants in Pullman Cars' and p. 79 'Railway Refreshment Rooms'. See Chapter 8, Part iii

on railwaymen.

Parks and Gardens.

64. J. Begg "Drunkenness and Pauperism", p. 15, on Kelvingrove bought in 1852 see Glasgow Argus , Sept. 19, 1857.
65. D. Fraser "Power and Authority in the Victorian City" Oxford, 1979, p. 170 et seq on the evolution of the 'social role' of the Victorian city. Town Council Committee Lists 1882-3. Glasgow Corporation. "Municipal Glasgow" Glasgow, 1914 p. 190. See Biographical Appendix - Bilsland etc.
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

like Liverpool and London, courtesy of a Metropolitan Free Drinking Fountain Association dated from the 1850's. In Glasgow old wells dried up, but Corporation fountains were erected in the 1860's. Sir James Bain erected one in 1873 - others were added in honour of Hugh Macdonald, Bailie James Martin, Lord Provost Stewart and the introduction of Loch Katrine water - see A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow", pp. 156-60, S.T.L.R. 1883, p. 65, S.T.L.R. 1899, (on Lamberton's gift to the South Side in 1898) and "Glasgow and Lanarkshire Illustrated", p. 20, and Glasgow Corporation "Municipal Glasgow" pp. 165, 167, 173, and N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers" p. 200. Fountains were encouraged by water-drinking, a vogue for sculpture, and developments in water engineering - B. Read "Victorian Sculpture", Yale, 1982, and G. Binnie "Early Victorian Water Engineers", Telford 1982. On water supplies - Sir J.D. Marwick "Glasgow: the Water Supplies of the City", Glasgow, 1901, J. Colston, "Edinburgh and District Water Supply", Edinburgh 1890, and D. Lewis "Edinburgh Water Supply - A Sketch of its History, Past and Present", Edinburgh, 1908, and B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", pp.38, 298-300.

68. Botanical gardens had distinctly evangelical overtones - see J. Prest "The Garden of Eden: the Botanic Garden and the Re-Creation of Paradise", Yale, 1982 - whereas some parks were influenced by the Scottish Burial Reform Society of the 1890's. See e.g. M. Allan "William Robinson 1838-1935" London, 1982.
69. A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow", p. 171, Rechabite and Temperance Magazine 1889, 'Books and Reading' on botany, Glasgow Argus, Nov. 7, 1857, on the Hutcheson and Victoria Gardens allotments Aird (supra) pp. 172-3, and on the allotments movement H. Levy "Drink: an Economic and Social Study" London, 1951, p. 114. The City and County House Purchase Co.'s support for "Petite Culture Cottages" with overhead gardens yielding income to tenants had Chartist tones - Journal for the Home About the Home, July-Sept. 1910 'Petite Culture Cottages', and Jan.-Mar. 1910, pp 191-2, article by T.M. Scotland C.E. of Tollcross, on Bourneville schemes. For the connection with Hydepark Loco. Works - S.P.B.T.A. 1887-8 p. 13 on the death of John Nielson, a supporter of S.P.B.T.A. and S.T.L.

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 Abstiners 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.
72. D. Jamie "John Hope Philanthropist and Reformer" p. 304, Adviser Feb. 1850, and Feb. 1851, S.P.B.T.A. 1893-4, pp. 10 and 12, and G. Best "Mid Victorian Britain 1851-70" pp. 193, 196, 220, 223.
73. D. Paton, thesis, p. 96 et seq. See "Stratten's Glasgow" p. 177 for Morrison Bros. (estd. 1822 by Gallie). The rise of cheap popular music led to the establishment of several Glasgow music shops in the mid Victorian period e.g. James S. Kerr (1863) Bayley Ferguson (1869) Mozart Allen (1868) and the Glasgow Music Centre (1868). Stewart's biography appears in P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. II, p. 134. N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers" p. 199 for English parallels. Crawford, Gibson, Sterling and Pierpoint appear in Winskill (supra) Vol. I pp. 274 and 404, and Vol. II, pp 325 and 323. This was the era of sheet music par excellence - necessitating the 1906 Copyright Act.
74. A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow" pp. 190-194, on Dundee Choral Union and influence of the Blue Ribboners, T. Honeyman "Good Templary: its Work and Workers" pp 22 and 35, S.P.B.T.A. 1883-4 p. 7 on the Cross Hall Choir, S.T.L.R. 1901, p. 97 on White Ribbon Choirs, S.P.B.T.A. 1894-5 p. 12, on East End choirs and bands, Mother Stewart "The Crusader in Great Britain" p. 249 on Moody, and S.P.B.T.A. 1882-3, p. 14, 1884-5 p. 5, and S.T.L.R. 1915 p. 145 on use of Mizpah bands and choirs at temperance meetings. On the origins of Scottish choral music encouraged by the early 19th century Scottish Musical Institute, precenters, individuals like William Ewing, 1830's Philharmonic Societies, and more especially popularisation of sacred music by Mainzer amongst the working classes of Glasgow and Edinburgh with the backing of Charles McLaren etc. -

R. Marr "Music for the People: a Retrospect of the International Exhibition of 1888 with an account of the Rise of the Choral Societies of Scotland" Menzies, 1889, preface to p. cxiv. Teetotalers were prominent at the 1859 Handel Centenary at Edinburgh. They built on the work of societies like Glasgow Musical Association (1843) Glasgow Harmonic Assoc. (1850) love of Handel and availability of City Hall (1841). The founder of the 1855 Choral Union was John Makeson, head of a Vale of Leven dyeworks - Oakley "Our Illustrious Forebears" p. 152 - a region noted for industrialist promotion of self-help. Choral Societies were established in areas like Bridgeton in the 1860's aiming at labour aristocrat membership. The Tonic Sol Fa Choral Union (1863) which met every Tues. in City Hall was a direct descendant of a Tonic Sol Fa Union (1859) and the Scottish Vocal Music Society (1856) formed after the Revd. John Curwen's visit to Glasgow in 1855. On Robertson and the Orpheus - R. Middlemass "The Clydesiders: a Left Wing Struggle for Parliamentary Power" London, 1965, pp. 39, 41, 273, 283, and H. & K. Robertson "Orpheus with his Lute: A Glasgow Orpheus Anthology" Oxford, 1973. The Orpheus was following in the Choral Union (1843) example of performing for charities - J.K. M'Dowall "The People's History of Glasgow" p. 63. On the movement's later use of music - see 'Music and Temperance Reform', Scottish Temperance Annual, 1906 pp. 90-3, and "No Licence: the New Campaign", 'Hints for Canvassers'.

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.

76. D. Jamie "John Hope, Philanthropist and Reformer", Edinburgh, 1907, p. 162. Glasgow Argus, Oct. 10, 1857 and Nov. 7, 1857. The latter columns were by "Shadow"

- 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.
77. Revd. W. Reid "Temperance Memorials of the late Robert Kettle", p. xiv, W. Logan "The Great Social Evil", London, 1871, p. 54, W. Walker "Juteopolis: Dundee and its Textile Workers 1885-1923" p. 339 for James Scrymgeour's Telegraph attack on theatre attraction of "the worthless scum of all classes" in the 1850's. Coates' comment comes from a lecture to young men later printed as "Hygienic Hints and Moral Aids" (1885) and used by the Band of Hope. See C. Oakley "Our Illustrious Forebears" and "The Second City" pp. 37, etc. on theatre fires. Trade and 'temperance' were pleased when theatres ceased to be after-hours dens - Glasgow Wine Spirit and Beer Trade Annual Report 1914, p. 34, and S.T.L.R. 1914, p. 63, P. Snowden "Socialism and the Drink Traffic" 1908, 'The Complement of Veto'. H. Morley "Journal of a London Playgoer", Leicester University Press, 1974, E.S. Turner "Roads to Ruin - the Shocking Story of Social Reform", Penguin, 1950, pp. 233-254, J. Roxburgh "The School Board of Glasgow", pp 187-188, 'Sunday Shows', in Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, Jan. 1911. Glasgow had 10 theatres by 1899 - J.K. M'Dowall "The People's History of Glasgow" p. 29.
78. Demorest - S.P.B.T.A. 1892-3, p. 11. The I.O.G.T. for example ran contests for adults. There were numerous Rechabite 'prize reciters' for children, as well as R. Cameron's "Anti Liquor Recitals and Readings" Edinburgh 1893, G. Roy "Temperance Recitations" Glasgow, n.d., and R. Semple "Temperance Sketches in Prose and Verse". See Chapter IV, Part iv, for participation in societies like the Glasgow Southern Debating Association.
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 working-man'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"

79. pp. 22, 83, O. Checkland "Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle", Edinburgh, 1980, pp. 137-43, and 148. Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, 1906, p. 153 quoted Carnegie's maxim "Don't smoke, drink and use the free library". In keeping with the spirit of this admonition was the Greenock library practice of inking out the racing section of reading room newspapers - Daily Express, June 2, 1983 p. 2. Works' institute libraries, such as that of the Bairds (patrons of the Church of Scotland) at Muirkirk often shared the movement's evangelical rationale and desire to guide reading into 'profitable' - and in effect Smilesean - channels. For the teetotal contribution to pressure for corporation library provision to pace suburban expansion, and the general movement to establish free libraries in Scotland - W. Aitken "A History of the Public Library Movement in Scotland up to 1955", Glasgow, 1971.
80. Town Council Lists, 1870-1914, Strathclyde Regional Archives. S.P.B.T.A. 1902-3, p. 11, R.D. Altick "Victorian People and Ideas", London, 1973, p. 277, N. Longmate "The Waterdrinkers" p. 198, Scottish Reformer 10.10.1903, Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, Mar. 1906, p. 54 and A. Aird "Glimpses of Old Glasgow", pp. 178-9. S.P.B.T.A. Annual Reports carried advertisements for Duncan Macara's "artist's colourman" business - but this remained a largely middle class hobby. 'Pearls before swine or Art in Pubs', Rechabite and Temperance Magazine Dec. 1904 reveals the teetotal attitude to art as well as hostility to "the reformed pub". See G. Hayler "The Vision of a Century 1853-1953: The U.K.A. in Historical Retrospect", London, 1953, p. 53 and B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians" pp. 157, 165, 187, 351, 356 on George Cruikshank (1792-1873).
81. Dr. Honeyman became the Director of Glasgow Art Galleries in 1939, writing of his experiences in "Art and Audacity", Collins, 1971. On Haddow's Scottish Socialist Art Circle - D. Allen 'Culture and the Scottish Labour Movement', Scottish Labour History Journal, 14, 1980, p. 32.
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.

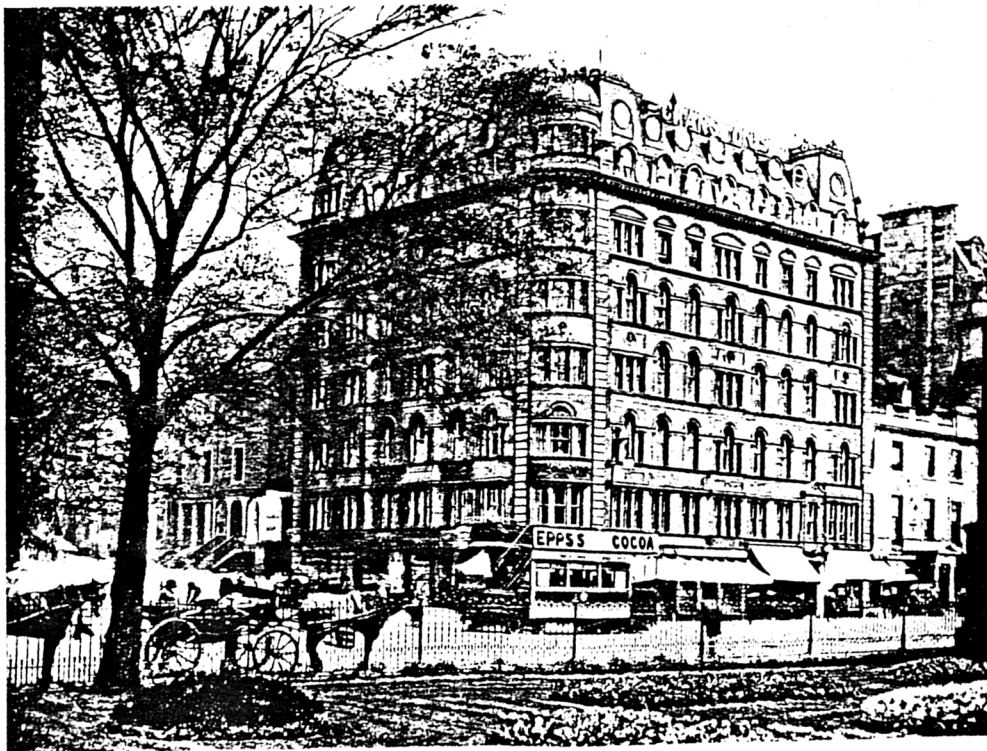
83. See references to Jamieson's "Powder Hall and Pedestrianism" in A.M. Docherty "Urban Working Class Recreation in Scotland in the years before 1914", Edinburgh University unpublished M.A. thesis, 1977. On gambling see R. McKibbin 'Working Class Gambling in Britain 1880-1939', Past and Present, 1979, 82, pp. 147-178, and K. Chesney "The Victorian Underworld", Penguin, 1970, pp 123 and 341-2 for brief comment on the 'golden age' of gaming dens early in Victoria's reign and the tightening of legislative control after the 1845 Gaming Act, D. Bebbington "The Nonconformist Conscience", pp. 37 et seq. 'The Problems of Society'.
84. Town Council Lists. The first committee on public baths (1875) included the Lord Provost, Bailies Scott, Ure, McBean and Wilson, Treasurer Osborne, John Burt, and James Hamilton, John Laing, John Mowat, A.H. McLellan, James Salmon, W.R. Smith and Alexander Waddell. See A. Docherty "Urban Working Class Recreation before 1914" pp 33-4 on the career of amateur champion James Milne who migrated to Glasgow as a shipyard apprentice. The Scottish Amateur Swimming Association's (1888) origins lay in the Associated Swimming Clubs of Glasgow. By 1899 there were 30 Glasgow clubs in the S.A.S.A. with 3,000 members - often connected to churches and workshops according to J.M. M'Dowall "The People's History of Glasgow", p. 98. S.T.L.R. 1914, p. 189 on Lamont. School Baths encouraged the sport - see Bone (op cit) p. 172.
85. P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century" Vol. I, p. 189 and Vol. II, p. 360 for examples of such sportsmen, plus S.T.L.R. 1909, p. 95, 'The King's Prizeman' on George Gray of Glasgow. D. Jamie "John Hope: Philanthropist and Reformer" pp. 385-403 - he promoted Volunteering as "exercise and healthy recreation for office lads and working men". He donated uniforms, boots and copies of Alliance News to Volunteer Corps. The Volunteer Movement dated from 1859. In 1899 Glasgow still had the largest proportion of Volunteers of any area in 10 battalions. Men from the Southern Glasgow division won this shooting prize in fact in 1889, 1894, 1898 and 1908 - J. M'Dowall "The People's History of Glasgow" p. 42.
86. Rechabite and Temperance Magazine June 1896, p. 144, and Nov. 1896 p. 264. A.B. Harrison 'The Competitiveness of the British Cycle Industry', Economic History Review, 22, 1969, p. 297 A. Wilson "Walter Wilson 1849-1917" p. 190, the latter was honorary president and cup donor of the Merchants' Club. See "Stratten's Glasgow" p. 220-1 on J. Edwards & Co. of Glasgow's West End which produced cycles costing £9-£16 in 1891. Rechabite and Temperance Magazine June 1900, p. 143. On Thomas Annan, employed by Glasgow Improvement Trust

to produce the photographs which became "The Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow", see M.F. Harker "Victorian and Edwardian Photographs", London, 1975, pp. 63-5 and T. Annan "Photographs of the Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow 1868-77", Dover, 1977.

87. See e.g. Hely Hutchison Almond (of Loretto) "Football as a Moral Agent" 1893.
For the Scottish Churches Football Association - Scottish Churches Handbook, 1933, p. 129. Established in 1927, it still had 16 affiliated associations in the Glasgow area in 1933. For the Chapel origins of Aston Villa of Reading (birthplace of the Band of Hope) see S. Yeo "Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis" London, 1976, pp 60 n 24 and 345. W.J. Baker 'The Making of a Working Class Football Culture', Journal of Social History, 9, 1975-6, pp. 241-51. 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 Abstiners were beaten 3-0 by Rangers in 1889, whilst Temperance Athletic went down to Cowlares 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.
88. T. Findlay "Garan 1631 to Muirkirk 1950" p.p. 1980, pp. 42, 61-3, and index of players 10-11. Following the building of a Templar Hall in Muirkirk the Bairds gave permission for land to be utilised pro tem as a football field. The Shankly family and an astonishing number of internationals played there early in their careers. T. Mason "Association Football and English Society 1863-1915", Brighton, 1980, describes the social composition of teams and of crowds - interestingly,

using known occupations of 249 spectators in the 1902 Ibrox disaster. W.J. Baker (op cit) p. 244 on export of Scottish professionals, p. 246 on limitation of opportunities re contracts and transfers. G. Stedman Jones 'Working Class Culture and Working Class Politics in London 1870-1900', Journal of Social History, VII, 1973-4, pp. 460-508 and S. Meacham "A Life Apart: the English Working Class 1890-1914", Cambridge, 1977.

89. P. Bailey "Leisure and Class Control in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control 1830-85", Toronto, 1978 and his 'Towards a Role Analysis of Mid Victorian Working Class Respectability', Journal of Social History, XIII, 3, 1979, pp. 336-353. This was also true of Clarion efforts - D. Allen 'Culture and the Scottish Labour Movement', Scottish Labour History Journal, 14, 1980.
90. B. Harrison 'Religion and Recreation in 19th Century England', Past and Present, 38, Dec. 1967, 'The Class Basis of Support' pp. 103-6 on the Lord's Day Observance Society.
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".
92. S.F.A. Harp, Hibernian, Shamrock and Celtic clubs in West and Central Scotland were symptomatic of a Catholic sub-culture - S.F.A. Annals 1878-96, The Exile 1884-5, Tablet 21.7.1855. I am indebted to B. Aspinwall for this reference. See also J.E. Handley "The Celtic Story: A History of Celtic F.C.", London 1960, pp 28-9, and G. Docherty and P. Thomson "100 Years of Hibernian F.C." Edinburgh, 1975, p. 38.
93. G. Best "Mid Victorian Britain 1851-70", Fontana 1979, p. 22, Harrison (supra) pp. 117-9, on R.S.P.C.A., and 121-3. On public house provision of bowling greens - McAlpine Papers, Glasgow University Archives, on Sir Robert's 1905 Radnor Park venture. Bowling was however an old sport. By 1899 there were 29 Glasgow clubs, some in connection with local works - J.K. M'Dowall "The People's History of Glasgow" p. 96. The latter, p. 97, also notes 170 quaiting clubs.
94. On Reading - S. Yeo "Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis", London 1976. On Birmingham - A. Briggs "Victorian Cities", Penguin reprint, 1980, pp. 184-240, E.P. Hennock "Fit and Proper Persons: Ideology and Reality in 19th Century Urban Government", London, 1973. On local government per se, see Chapter VI. On city leisure J. Lowerson and J. Myerscough "Time to Spare in Victorian Britain", Brighton, 1977. H. Meller "Leisure and the Changing City", Henley on Thames, 1976, H.J. Hanham 'Liberal Organisations for Working Men 1860-1914', Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, 7, 1963. J. Vincent "The Formation of the Liberal Party 1857-68", London, 1966, p. 79. Such groups were most likely to share social superiors' interest in Liberalism and temperance.



COUNTER - ATTRACTIONS
TEMPERANCE HOTELS

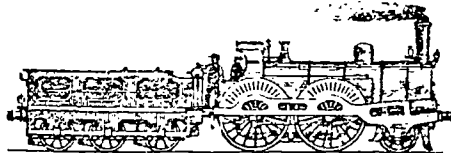


THE DINING ROOM.

Source : E.Mein "Through four Reigns", Edinburgh, privately printed,
n.d., circa 1948.

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

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The Carriages are of the most improved description, & specially Constructed for the Comfort of Through Passengers.

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

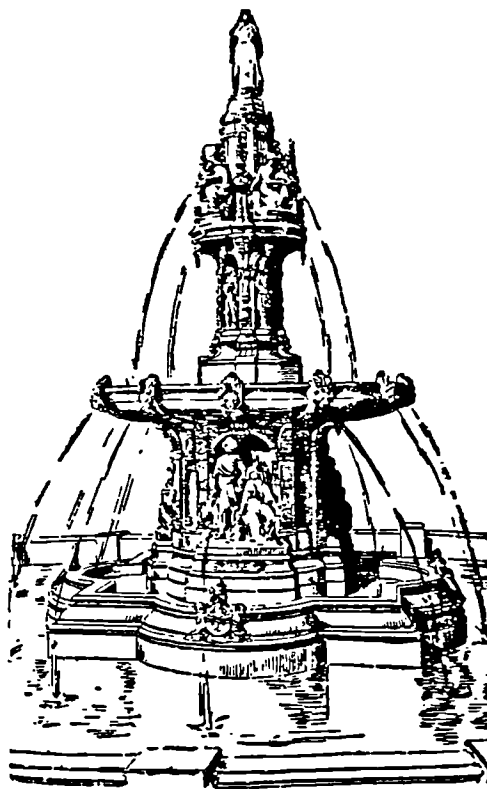
For particulars, see Company's Time Tables and Programme of Tours.

Glasgow, 1872.

JAMES SMITHHELLS, General Manager.

THIRD CLASS BY ALL TRAINS.

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



DOULTON FOUNTAIN.

Source: J.A. Hammerton "Sketches from Glasgow", Glasgow, Menzies, 1893, p. 67.



WAVERLEY HOTEL SOUTH UNION STREET

Courtesy of Dundee Public Libraries.



MATHER'S HOTEL, 1900

Courtesy of Dundee Public Libraries.

Advertisement.]



ESTABLISHED]

MONTGOMERIE'S

[1816.

RAILWAY TEMPERANCE HOTEL, LANARK.

★ 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.

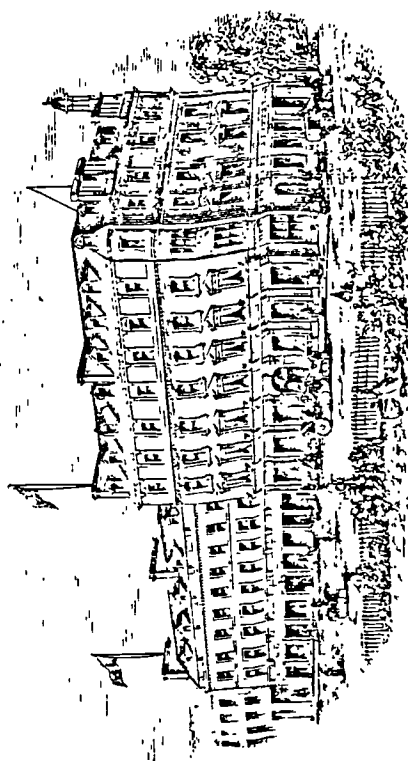
JUNE, 1871.

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 is generally accustomed paying.

Source : "The Clyde 100 Years Ago", Glasgow, 1973.



L A M B ' S
TEMPERANCE HOTEL,



DINING AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS,
REFORM STREET,
DUNDEE.

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.

SEE NEXT PAGE.

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 Trinobantes at Caesar's landing" gentry abdication from moral leadership, drinking and "habitual improvidence" aiding artisan social degradation.⁴ 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.⁵ 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."⁶ 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".⁷

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.⁸ 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".⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹

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.¹² 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.¹³

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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ League penny banks operated at the Nelson St. Chapel and Murdoch's School in Blackfriar St. on Mondays and Saturdays,¹⁶ foreshadowing later School Board promotion of banks to improve "the character and prospects of the young."¹⁷ 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.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.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.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.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.²²

This interacted positively with improved labour

A PENNY SAVED—A PENNY GAINED.



MANY NOCKLES MAKE A NICKLE.

"SMOKE NOT."

BY A WORKING MAN.

Two 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 Havannahs 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,
 "Full THIRTY 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, price Sixpence. We hope that many will be scattered amongst the boys of our land.]

Source :

The Band of Hope Review and Childrens' Friend ,
 February 1st, 1859, p.152.

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.

YEARS ENDED.	Funded.	Unfunded.	Total.
	£	£	£
5 January, 1849 -	774,022,638	17,794,700	791,817,338
" 1850 -	778,168,316	17,758,700	795,927,016
" 1851 -	789,272,562	17,756,600	807,029,162
" 1852 -	765,126,582	17,742,800	782,869,382
" 1853 -	761,622,704	17,742,500	779,365,204
" 1854 -	755,311,701	16,024,100	771,335,801
31 March, 1855 -	752,064,119	28,151,400	780,215,519
" 1856 -	775,730,594	28,182,700	803,913,294
" 1857 -	780,119,722	27,989,000	808,108,722
" 1858 -	773,225,405	25,911,500	805,136,905
" 1859 -	786,801,154	18,277,400	805,078,554
" 1860 -	785,952,000	16,228,300	802,180,300
" 1861 -	785,119,609	16,659,000	801,804,609
" 1862 -	784,252,338	16,517,500	800,770,238
" 1863 -	783,306,739	16,433,409	799,740,149

SAVINGS BANKS.

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

	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
	£	£	£	£
From 16th Sept. 1861.	1,978,333	60,460	97,837	2,136,630
to 31st Dec. 1862.	408,268	11,851	18,259	438,378
Received (including Interest.)	1,570,065	48,609	79,628	1,698,292
Paid.				
Capital at the end of the period.				

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

	England.	Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
	£	£	£	£	£
1858 RECEIVED	6,450,349	169,938	780,023	501,115	7,901,425
PAID	6,448,481	185,973	649,563	505,586	7,889,593
CAPITAL	31,533,726	907,301	1,960,902	1,518,423	35,920,352
1859 RECEIVED	7,435,248	194,216	815,034	577,409	9,021,907
PAID	6,685,052	159,608	648,651	412,608	7,905,819
CAPITAL	33,219,564	968,792	2,210,710	2,005,810	38,393,876
1860 RECEIVED	7,814,270	204,764	861,975	597,576	9,478,585
PAID	6,801,149	167,320	723,092	516,860	8,208,421
CAPITAL	35,666,481	1,034,732	2,414,073	2,143,052	41,258,288
1861 RECEIVED	7,188,034	181,116	814,326	651,394	8,835,470
PAID	8,042,826	207,607	700,609	600,497	9,551,539
CAPITAL	35,518,199	1,037,309	2,537,904	2,155,034	41,248,446
1862 RECEIVED	6,591,275	158,915	880,505	499,842	8,130,537
PAID	8,532,642	222,021	821,231	619,735	9,605,633
CAPITAL†	34,625,353	1,001,511	2,670,192	2,090,038	40,387,094

* Including £268 transferred from Post Office Savings Banks.

† Including £225,839 transferred to Post Office Savings Banks.

‡ The Capitals are made by computation only.

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.

	ENGLAND.	WALES.	SCOTLAND.	IRELAND.	UNITED KINGDOM.	Transferred from P.O. Sav. Banks
1865	(Received) £ 6,104,130 (Paid) £ 7,731,845 (Capital) £ 33,002,171	174,573 191,243 465,816	967,662 1,007,632 2,859,377	478,272 638,012 1,886,659	7,651,677 9,537,072 58,16,293	£ —
1870	(Received) £ 5,557,136 (Paid) £ 6,553,980 (Capital) £ 41,038,929	162,404 175,584 1,013,327	1,272,110 1,175,140 3,523,254	500,017 463,089 2,002,758	7,571,667 8,167,787 37,995,919	£ 5,807 78,775
1871	(Received) £ 5,964,954 (Paid) £ 6,204,795 (Capital) £ 41,413,002	179,903 175,389 1,066,943	1,437,370 1,369,144 4,119,735	596,765 495,655 2,250,333	8,098,092 8,150,713 33,819,063	£ 4,700 125,055
1872	(Received) £ 6,154,089 (Paid) £ 6,193,165 (Capital) £ 31,872,653	205,557 168,583 1,133,346	1,702,497 1,491,396 4,452,360	527,848 522,540 2,221,669	8,562,971 8,396,184 32,679,860	£ 7,207 359,437
1873	(Received) £ 6,344,192 (Paid) £ 6,500,315 (Capital) £ 32,555,929	212,479 185,292 1,213,757	1,765,176 1,765,241 4,638,698	456,398 570,176 2,145,357	8,788,395 9,071,214 40,500,135	£ 8,000 45,530
1874	(Received) £ 6,521,244 (Paid) £ 6,742,573 (Capital) £ 33,225,929	256,925 218,919 1,285,970	1,870,874 1,683,493 4,955,309	493,647 571,520 2,017,291	9,066,674 9,216,325 41,406,399	£ 11,116 54,970
1875	(Received) £ 6,656,300 (Paid) £ 7,019,457 (Capital) £ 34,206,576	229,096 251,401 1,259,212	1,970,444 1,752,994 5,322,065	450,985 455,277 2,061,022	9,295,515 9,549,319 42,387,529	£ 1,416 130,745
1876	(Received) £ 6,593,701 (Paid) £ 7,031,586 (Capital) £ 34,206,576	185,056 277,238 1,201,286	1,995,125 1,784,233 5,697,619	511,097 461,094 2,177,967	9,293,879 9,537,935 43,293,193	£ 1,357 123,084
1877	(Received) £ 6,593,423 (Paid) £ 7,031,586 (Capital) £ 34,206,576	178,260 24,142 1,159,254	2,020,480 1,61,256 6,026,802	504,463 61,623 2,271,853	9,363,691 1,246,732 41,273,638	£ 1,363 31,192
1878	(Received) £ 6,496,927 (Paid) £ 7,031,586 (Capital) £ 34,206,576	164,494 32,208 1,159,259	2,061,099 1,75,460 6,026,802	436,098 62,013 2,271,853	9,153,618 1,291,673 41,273,638	£ 1,363 31,192
1879	(Received) £ 6,356,066 (Paid) £ 7,031,586 (Capital) £ 34,206,576	169,967 24,142 1,159,259	1,974,262 2,040,862 6,026,802	394,477 52,794 2,271,853	8,912,772 1,218,459 41,273,638	£ 1,363 31,192

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

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.

	ENGLAND and WALES.	SCOTLAND.	IRELAND.	UNITED KINGDOM.
1865	(Received) £ 3,630,432 (Paid) £ 2,156,581 (Capital) £ 6,161,488	94,845 70,670 141,773	126,910 91,100 217,157	£ 3,851,987 2,318,671 6,596,400
1868	(Received) £ 5,347,761 (Paid) £ 3,473,443 (Capital) £ 11,092,147	120,818 59,696 225,676	237,288 121,862 454,892	£ 5,605,867 3,653,141 11,606,655
1869	(Received) £ 5,676,849 (Paid) £ 3,968,773 (Capital) £ 12,713,223	132,895 94,734 266,747	274,956 161,549 544,239	£ 6,084,610 4,227,656 13,524,209
1870	(Received) £ 5,891,508 (Paid) £ 4,442,852 (Capital) £ 14,161,869	146,429 108,941 304,235	295,145 206,384 633,000	£ 6,333,082 4,758,157 15,099,104
1871	(Received) £ 6,546,826 (Paid) £ 4,709,657 (Capital) £ 15,539,098	155,881 119,359 340,737	338,669 226,421 745,239	£ 7,041,357 5,111,467 17,026,004
1872	(Received) £ 7,367,034 (Paid) £ 5,492,844 (Capital) £ 18,103,398	180,074 140,630 289,201	373,887 293,386 825,740	£ 8,129,995 6,344,181 19,318,239
1873	(Received) £ 7,895,200 (Paid) £ 6,084,166 (Capital) £ 19,947,432	193,020 177,453 494,763	242,371 222,563 845,549	£ 8,453,591 6,584,181 21,167,740
1874	(Received) £ 8,310,179 (Paid) £ 6,410,824 (Capital) £ 21,935,787	184,432 171,204 417,926	393,204 294,007 813,746	£ 8,865,815 6,876,095 23,157,469
1875	(Received) £ 8,779,880 (Paid) £ 6,861,838 (Capital) £ 23,749,859	186,449 160,171 445,213	390,108 300,551 1,093,363	£ 9,256,426 7,395,560 26,187,245
1876	(Received) £ 8,963,813 (Paid) £ 7,311,143 (Capital) £ 25,593,490	187,893 166,144 445,213	440,285 327,477 1,093,363	£ 9,601,681 7,797,476 26,596,650
1877	(Received) £ 9,149,908 (Paid) £ 7,560,170 (Capital) £ 26,974,319	196,516 166,144 445,213	490,694 327,477 1,093,363	£ 9,824,198 7,963,201 28,740,727
1878	(Received) £ 9,489,918 (Paid) £ 7,910,462 (Capital) £ 28,538,104	214,389 176,431 445,213	487,963 415,281 1,225,896	£ 10,195,090 8,514,194 30,411,563
1879	(Received) £ 9,955,282 (Paid) £ 8,411,120 (Capital) £ 30,022,266	201,427 176,701 445,213	504,098 415,281 1,225,896	£ 10,630,745 9,030,174 32,012,134

* Including Interest.

Source: Scottish Temperance League Register and Abstainers' Almanac, 1881, Almanac Section.

A 20th century example of this strategy.

TRUSTEES' SAVINGS BANKS

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

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS

1871	17,025	
1881	36,194	739
1891	71,608	5,088
1901	140,393	12,786
1911	176,519	24,818
1921	264,157	209,731
1931	289,441	191,562

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

Source : G.B.Wilson "Alcohol and the Nation", p.243.

salesmen, shop assistants, and even labourers, carters painters and a few miners over 1870-1914.²⁶ "Purposeful saving" declined post 1897. A fair proportion of balance increases were mere compound interest.²⁷ Yet even this was helpful to a significant few, here 3,000 "exemplary depositors", and reinforced the thrifty mentality.²⁸ 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.²⁹

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'.³⁰ 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

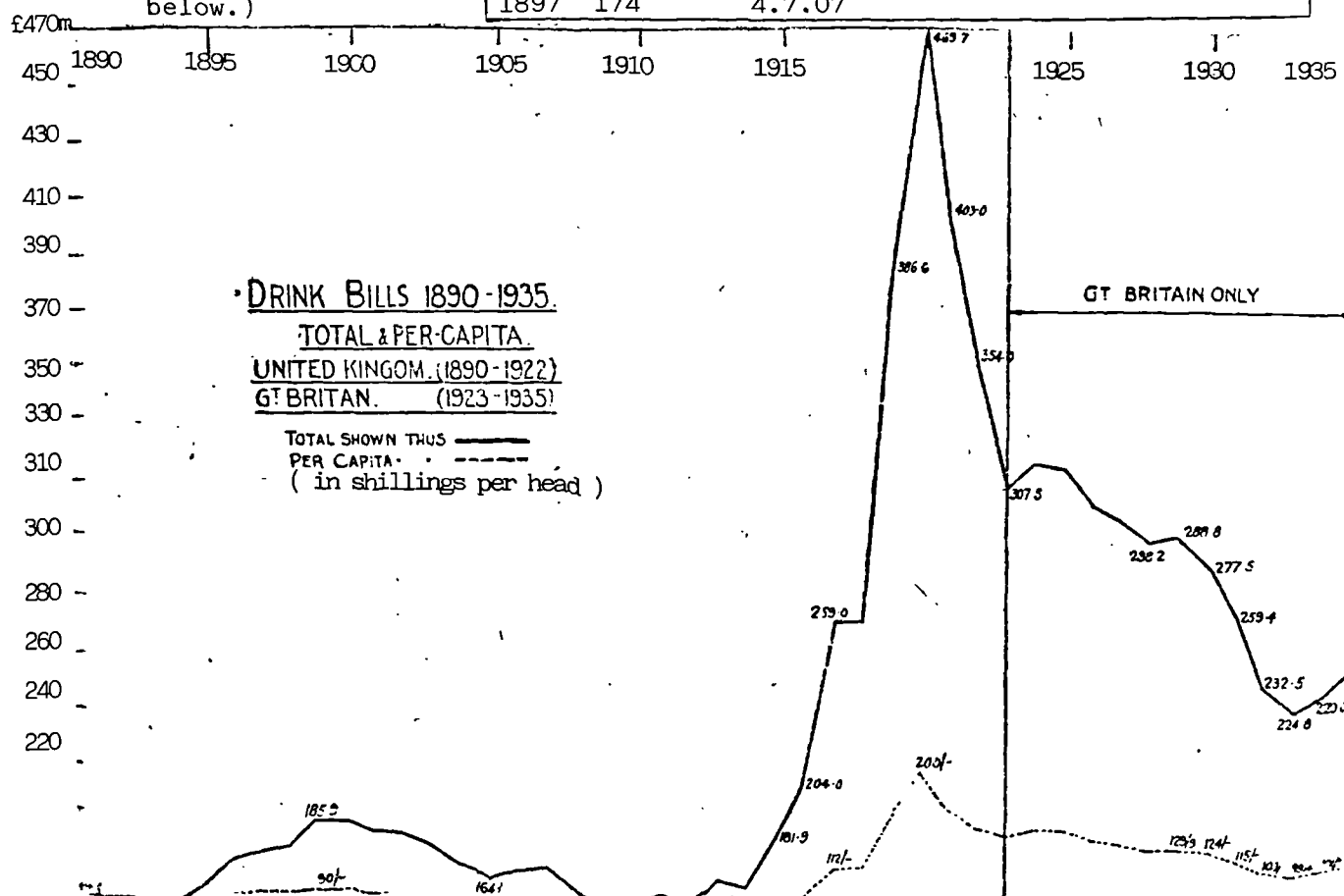
Burns produced Bills for the temperance press from 1886-1909.

(Summarised right.)

After Burns' death 'Drink Bills' were produced by the temperance historian G.B.Wilson and also Professor H.Levy down to the late 1930's. (as shown below.)

Year	Total Cost (£)	P.Capita
1820	50,441.....	£2.8.6d
1825	67,027.....	2.19.5
1830	67,292.....	2.16.5
1835	80,528.....	3.3.0d
1840	77,606.....	2.18.10
1845	71,632.....	2.12.11
1850	80,718.....	2.18.10
1855	76,761.....	2.14.6
1860	85,277.....	2.18.6
1865	106,440.....	3.11.3
1870	118,836.....	3.16.1
1875	142,877.....	4.07.3
1880	122,279.....	3.10.11
1884	126,349.....	3.10.9

Year	Total (£Ms)	P.C.	Year	Total	P.C.
1885	141	£3.18.4d	1898	177	£ 4.08.1d
1886	141	3.17.4	1899	186	4.11.8
1887	143	3.18.0	1900	185	4.10.4
1888	142	3.17.3	1901	182	4.7.8
1889	151	4.1.03	1902	179	4.5.7
1890	160	4.5.01	1903	174	4.2.4
1891	162	4.5.07	1904	169	3.19.0
1892	162	4.4.09	1905	164	3.15.11
1893	159	4.2.09	1906	166	3.16.3
1894	159	4.1.11	1907	167	3.15.9
1895	163	4.3.04	1908	161	3.12.4
1896	170	4.6.04	1909	155	3.8.11
1897	174	4.7.07			



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).³¹

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.³² 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.³³ Respectability 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

MORAL SUASION AND THRIFT -
BUILDING SOCIETIES AND TEMPERANCE

"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 canvass 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.³⁷ 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.³⁸ (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.³⁹

Reformers assumed, pace Cobden, that temperance truths would civilise the masses liberating their financial potential and enabling investment in freehold land.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ 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 1,000.⁴²

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.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.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.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 The Witness.⁴⁶ Drink was judged to

be "the only available solacement" of slumdwellers 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 slumdwellers became "familiarised with the spectacle of filth, thus habits of uncleanness 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

nation.⁵¹

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.⁵²

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.⁵³ 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".⁵⁸ Intended to ease housing pressure, none claimed to make vast improvement in the quality of housing on offer.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.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.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.⁶² Also, although earlier artisan homeowners built entire districts, as with Paisley's weavers, within a lifetime this pattern was overturned.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).

MORAL SUASION AND THRIFT

The impact of the first Population Statistics on the temperance movement.

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.

	Population, 1861.	Square Miles.	Persons to a Square Mile.	Statute Acres.	Area to a Person, in Acres.	Statute Yards.	Yards to a Person, in Yards.
SCOTLAND,	3,002,204	30,885	97.7	19,689,377	6.41	96,049,584,680	31,039
<i>Divisions.</i>							
Northern,	130,492	3,553	36.9	2,261,622	27.81	10,316,007,181	82,929
North-Western,	170,204	7,406	23.3	4,738,676	17.31	22,919,009,640	131,711
North-Eastern,	363,010	8,736	41.6	2,420,594	6.66	11,720,211,900	31,953
East-Midland,	522,122	4,208	124.7	2,730,102	5.34	13,502,981,200	23,807
West-Midland,	240,015	4,208	57.0	2,633,176	11.22	13,031,971,540	51,308
South-Western,	1,065,094	2,282	467.1	1,463,397	1.45	7,078,911,440	7,631
South-Eastern,	408,746	1,563	261.9	1,192,521	2.21	5,771,816,160	14,159
Southern,	214,551	3,234	66.3	2,081,636	9.61	19,022,224,110	46,654

Comparing the population with the area of Scotland, it would appear that there were (April 7, 1861) 97.7 persons, or within a fraction of 100 persons to every square mile, and of course 6.41 acres to every person of the population, or 2.8 acres to every family. Of these 2.8 acres, about 1/2 would be arable, 1/3 hill or moor, and 1/4 of an acre pond or lake.

This proportion of persons to a mile varied extremely in the several counties of Scotland, being lowest in the county of Sutherland, where there were only 12.2 persons to a mile, and highest in the county of Edinburgh, where there were 176.2 persons to a mile. Dundee contained the next greatest number of persons to a square mile, viz. 718.5; after which followed Lanark 710.1 persons to a square mile. The proportion in other counties of Scotland is very much below this, the highest of these being Clackmannan, with 463.3 persons to a square mile; and next to it Linlithgow with 301.2 persons to a square mile. Of the lowest proportions, after Sutherland, comes Inverness, with only 20.4 inhabitants to a square mile, Argyre with 24.5 inhabitants, Ross and Cromarty with 25.8 inhabitants, and Peebles with 29 inhabitants to a square mile.

* Of these, about 125,000 acres are occupied by inland lakes of various sizes.

Distribution of Population on the Mainland and in Islands.

	HOUSES.			POPULATION.		
	Num. of Fam.	In- habitd.	Un- inhab.	Males.	Females.	Both Sexs.
SCOTLAND.	578,581	303,220	10,240	1,449,918	1,012,146	2,462,064
1. Mainland (including Shipp.)	613,728	333,660	12,507	1,574,222	1,012,249	2,586,471
2. Islands (1-63, including Shipp.)	34,656	29,620	413	75,560	69,434	164,994

The islands ("any piece of solid land surrounded by water, which affords sufficient vegetation to support one or more sheep, or which is inhabited by man," of Scotland amount to 787. Of these, 186 were inhabited by one or more persons on the night of April 7, 1861.

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.

Towns.	Persons to 1 Room.	Towns.	Persons to 1 Room.	Counties.	Persons to 1 Room.	Counties.	Persons to 1 Room.
Paisley	21	Leith	16	Shetland	8.1	Ross & Cromarty	1.4
Glasgow	20	Aberdeen	15	Orkney	2.1	Inverness	1.8
Dundee	19	Edinburgh	14	Argyle	2.0	Clackmannan	1.5
Greenock	17	Ferrie	13	Argyle	1.8	Sutherland	1.7

Only 11 per cent. of the families in Scotland lived in houses of three rooms, only 51 in houses of four rooms, and 1 of a per centage in houses of ten rooms. 226,723 families lived each in one room; that is, 34 per cent. of the families in Scotland lived in one room each,—which room had one or more windows,—often a mere apology for a window.

INCREASE AND PROPORTION OF THE SEXES.

DATE OF EXAMINATION.	TOTAL POPULATION.	MALE POPULATION.	FEMALE POPULATION.	PROPORTION OF FEMALE TO 100 MALES.
March 19, 1861	1,005,124	750,001	255,123	117.6
May 17, 1861	1,005,124	750,001	255,123	117.6
May 28, 1861	2,031,521	1,468,593	562,928	112.8
June 7, 1861	2,031,521	1,468,593	562,928	112.8
March 31, 1861	2,031,521	1,468,593	562,928	112.8
April 8, 1861	2,031,521	1,468,593	562,928	112.8

The proportion of females to males in Scotland varies in the different divisions. In the northern, it is 121.5 to the 100; in the north-western, 114.5; in the north-eastern, 111.5; in the east-midland, 115.7; in the west-midland, 105.7; in the south-western, 104.0; in the south-eastern, 112.5; and in the southern, 111.1. The variation in the counties is even more marked, Shetland being so high as 142.6, and Linlithgow so low as 94.4.

The proportion of the sexes in Scotland is remarkably great, 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 2 1/2 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 1855, there were 109.7 females for every 100 males. In Denmark, in 1850, there were 108.8 females for every 100 males. In Spain, in 1852, there were 101.5 females for every 100 males. In Holland, in 1853, there were 101.8 females for every 100 males. In France, in 1856, there were 101.9 females. In the combined States of the German Union, in 1856, there were 102.8 females for every 100 males. In Norway, in 1855, there were 101.2 females to every 100 males. In Sweden, in 1855, there were 106.3 females to every 100 males; while in England and Wales, in 1851, there were 103.2 females to every 100 males; the proportion in Scotland being 111.2 females to every 100 males.

POPULATION OF SCOTLAND—Continued.

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

Periods.	Total Dec. Increase.	Dec. Inc. of Males.	Dec. Inc. of Females.	Percentage of Total Inc.	Percentage of Male Increase.	Percentage of Female Increase.
1801-1811	197,444	87,205	110,239	12.27	11.79	12.68
1811-1821	265,657	156,327	129,330	15.82	18.90	13.20
1821-1831	272,865	131,833	141,032	13.04	13.41	17.71
1831-1841	255,798	127,496	128,302	10.62	11.43	10.27
1841-1851	268,558	133,617	134,941	10.25	10.75	9.79
1851-1861	178,552	74,369	99,183	6.00	5.41	6.55
In 60 years	1,453,674	710,757	743,117	99.32	96.16	85.48

EXTENT AND POPULATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

	Extent in sq. miles.	Population.
England and Wales	58,329	20,066,224
Scotland	31,321	3,082,294
Ireland	32,447	5,761,543
Islands in the British Seas	394	143,447
Totals of the United Kingdom in 1861	122,491	29,053,508
Colonies and Foreign Possessions in Europe	122	160,306
Do. do. Asia	875,807	137,279,165
Do. do. Africa	48,995	1,437,711
Do. do. America & West Indies	820,258	4,303,797
Do. do. Australasia, etc.	679,460	1,349,500
Totals of the British Empire	2,747,125	178,616,927

Ionian Islands—under British protection—Extent in square miles, 1041; pop., 229,736.

POPULATION.			
CENSUS OF SCOTLAND, 1851 AND 1861.			
	1851.	1861.	
HOUSES,			
Inhabited,	370,209	802,909	
Vacant,	19,146	17,167	
Building,	2,420	2,692	
POPULATION,			
Males,	1,375,170	1,416,963	
Females,	1,312,293	1,614,269	
Total,	2,687,463	3,031,232	

TOTAL POPULATION, AND BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES IN SCOTLAND.

YEARS.	ESTIMATED POPULATION.*	BIRTHS.	DEATHS.	MARRIAGES.
1855	2,604,200	92,500	62,200	10,000
1856	2,633,177	101,715	68,136	20,487
1857	2,661,566	103,628	61,925	21,314
1858	2,689,870	104,195	63,532	19,065
1859	2,718,174	106,532	61,734	21,127
1860	2,746,478	107,504	64,055	21,118

* Estimated for the Middle of the Year, and including Army, Navy, and Merchant Seamen at Home belonging to Scotland.

TOTAL POPULATION, AND BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

YEARS.	ESTIMATED POPULATION.*	BIRTHS.	DEATHS.	MARRIAGES.
1805	16,925,000	572,625	290,315	115,061
1817	17,132,000	570,065	423,294	137,865
1818	17,310,000	563,070	299,860	138,220
1819	17,532,000	578,179	410,873	111,583
1820	17,794,000	603,422	398,966	119,728
1821	17,983,000	615,865	395,174	131,206
1822	18,067,000	624,171	407,164	128,179
1823	18,103,000	612,391	421,067	161,320
1824	18,018,000	634,566	488,259	150,349
1825	18,787,000	635,123	456,212	151,774
1826	19,045,000	657,764	341,269	150,292
1827	19,305,000	693,071	419,815	150,667
1828	19,523,000	653,481	449,676	150,967
1829	19,746,000	680,881	441,710	167,724
1830	19,976,000	683,439	422,790	169,000

* Estimated for the Middle of the Year, and including Army, Navy, and Merchant Seamen at Home, belonging to England and Wales.

MORAL SUASION AND THRIFT

The impact of Population Statistics on the temperance movement in the late 19th century.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES OF SCOTLAND.

	1881.	1891.		1881.	1891.
Aberdeen	267,003	261,332	Kirkcudbright ...	42,126	39,985
Argyll	76,440	75,003	Kinross	6,600	6,280
Ayr	217,504	226,283	Lanark	904,405	1,046,040
Banff	62,731	64,199	Linlithgow	43,125	52,808
Berwick	35,383	32,496	Nairn	10,434	10,019
Bute	17,066	18,464	Orkney	32,057	30,453
Caithness	38,815	37,177	Peebles	13,519	14,761
Clackmannan	25,677	28,432	Perth	125,985	126,199
Dumbarion	75,327	94,495	Renfrew	262,981	290,798
Dumfries	76,124	74,221	Ross & Cromarty	78,539	77,810
Edinburgh	388,977	434,159	Roxburgh	54,445	53,741
Elgin	43,709	43,453	Selkirk	25,562	27,353
Fife	171,960	187,316	Shetland	29,709	28,711
Forfar	266,374	277,773	Stirling	112,137	125,608
Haddington	38,472	34,485	Sutherland	23,366	21,896
Inverness	90,414	89,317	Wigtown	38,602	36,062
Kincardine	34,460	35,647			

POPULATION OF THE CITIES, BURGHES, TOWNS, &c., IN SCOTLAND.

	1881.	1891.		1881.	1891.
Aberdeen	105,003	121,023	Inverurie	2,931	2,934
Airdrie	13,363	19,135	Irvine	8,503	9,039
Annan	3,366	4,860	Jedburgh	3,400	3,397
Arbroath	21,758	22,987	Kilrenny	2,769	2,610
Ayr	20,821	24,791	Kilmarnock	24,977	28,447
Banff	8,841	11,285	Kinghorn	1,866	1,569
Brechin	9,031	8,955	Kirkcaldy	15,055	27,151
Burntisland	4,096	4,692	Kirkcudbright	2,571	2,531
Campbeltown	7,558	8,235	Kirkwall	3,923	3,895
Cromarty	1,352	1,310	Lanark	4,905	5,537
Cullen	2,033	3,985	Leith	58,193	67,700
Cupar	5,010	4,729	Linlithgow	3,913	4,155
Dingwall	1,918	2,290	Lochmaben	1,217	1,366
Dunbarton	13,782	16,998	Montrose	14,975	13,048
Dumfries	17,030	17,821	Musselburgh	7,869	8,888
Dunbar	3,651	3,554	Nairn	4,161	4,640
Dundee	140,054	153,051	Oban	3,986	4,946
Dunfermline	17,685	22,157	Paisley	55,642	66,418
Dysart	10,874	12,549	Perth	28,918	29,809
Edinburgh	228,190	261,225	Peterhead	10,992	12,105
Elgin	7,388	7,799	Pittenweem	2,057	1,991
Falkirk	13,165	17,312	Port-Glasgow	10,501	14,626
Forfar	12,818	12,657	Portobello	6,793	8,182
Forres	4,031	3,971	Renfrew	4,825	6,764
Galashiels	12,434	17,367	Rutherglen	11,265	13,364
Glasgow	487,918	658,198	St. Andrews	6,450	6,853
Greenock	63,899	63,696	Selkirk	6,090	5,788
Haddington	4,042	3,771	Stirling	16,013	16,974
Hamilton	13,997	24,563	Stranraer	6,342	6,193
Hawick	16,184	19,204	Wick	8,025	8,464
Inverness	17,366	19,215	Wigtown	1,722	1,509

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.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶

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.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ 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.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.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.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.⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁶

Also Bright was not alone in fear of the "sunken sixth" - as the movement's martialling of crime statistics 1870-1914 shows.⁷⁷ 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.⁷⁸

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 $\frac{1}{4}$ 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.⁸³ 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.⁸⁴ 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 appetities." It demanded "not only better houses for the people but also better people for the houses."⁸⁵

The striking growth of lower middle class groups was very important. Social class categories were no longer static. Although wage earners en masse 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 unmistakeable 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 Anniversary 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, Craigneil, Bellahouston.

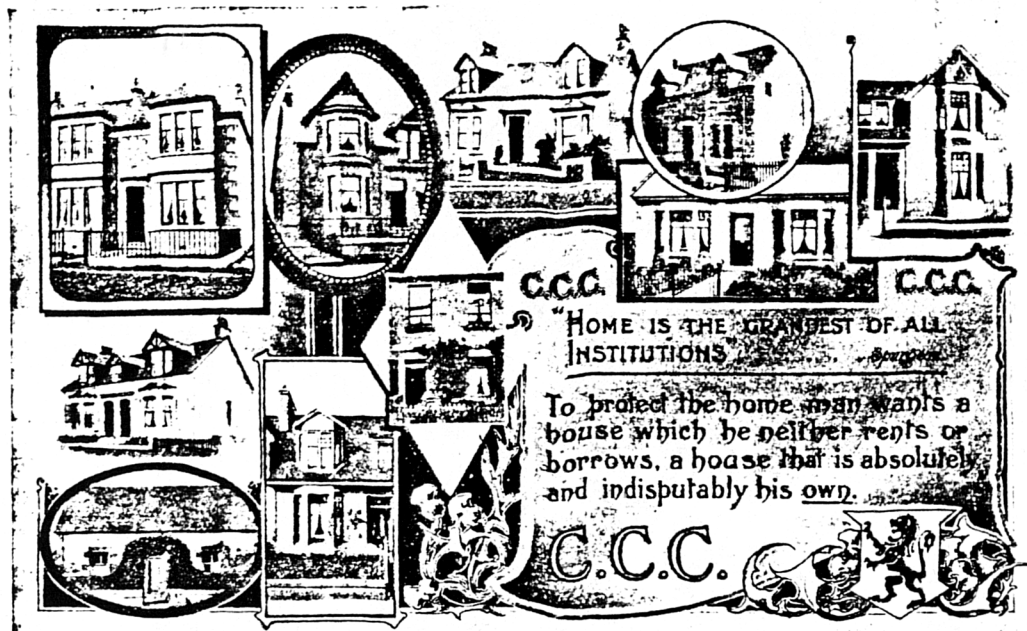
Source: Journal for the Home about the Home,
March, 1910, p. 180.

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:—

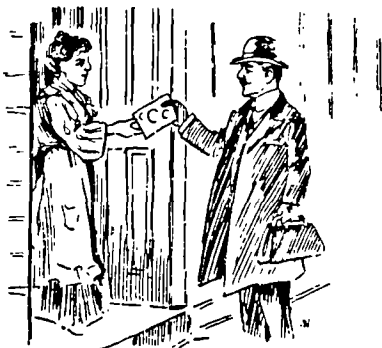
WHY PAY RENT? WHY NOT? "MY DWELLING MY OWN."

(SEE NEXT 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."

Source: Journal for the Home, about the Home,
quarterly magazine of the City and County
House Purchase Company, Jan. 1909,
pp. 106-107.

Comfortable homes were regarded as the supreme counter-attraction.

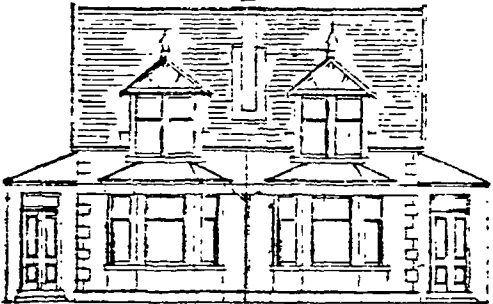
It was small. Initial share capital was £25,000. Only £7,540 was raised by public issue by 1909. As with savings banks, officials supplied capital. It paid 5% dividends, surplus being diverted into reserve funds. £164,000 was advanced 1904-9 yet surplus was possible. 1906 profits were £879,905 and 1907's £768,525. Like co-operative building it was cautious.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."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.

<p>HOUSE OWNERSHIP Is the Signboard of INDEPENDENCE and the unmistakable stamp of FORETHOUGHT AND THRIFT <i>PROSPECTUS FREE</i></p>	<p>C. C. C.</p>		
<p>HOUSE-BUYING MADE AS EASY AS RENT-PAYING</p>  <p><i>FRONT ELEVATION</i></p> <table border="0"><tr><td data-bbox="443 1261 699 1305">EX-BALIE JAMES STEELE, J.P. <i>Chairman</i></td><td data-bbox="898 1261 1145 1305">R. MURRAY M'INTYRE, Esq. <i>Managing Director</i></td></tr></table>		EX-BALIE JAMES STEELE, J.P. <i>Chairman</i>	R. MURRAY M'INTYRE, Esq. <i>Managing Director</i>
EX-BALIE JAMES STEELE, J.P. <i>Chairman</i>	R. MURRAY M'INTYRE, Esq. <i>Managing Director</i>		
<p>C. C. C.</p>	<p>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</p>		

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.¹⁰² 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.¹⁰³ The subsequent take off of the joint stock, mutual, mixed and proprietary companies of the industry^{was} reflected in endowment assurances's popularity. This was pioneered in 1837 but became prominent only in the late 19th century and produced $\frac{1}{2}$ 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.¹¹¹ Sovereign Life (1845) was London based but similarly associated with Phillips of the N.T.L., Glasgow physician Charles Ritchie and Archibald Livingston.¹¹²

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).¹¹³ Scottish Amicable was a local with "minimum premium" policies, while firms like Liverpool and London Globe (1836)¹¹⁴ and Scottish Imperial (1865) were favoured for strength acquired through amalgamations.¹¹⁵

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).¹¹⁶ 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.¹¹⁷ 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.¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹ 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 1915.¹²⁰

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 £200,000.¹²¹

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.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.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 £434,400.¹²⁴ 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.¹²⁵

Success in turn stimulated interest. Alexander Allan, A.H. McLean, Hugh Lamberton, James Anderson the Glasgow starch and gum manufacturer, the Revds. 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.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.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.¹²⁸ 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.¹²⁹

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 temperance 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

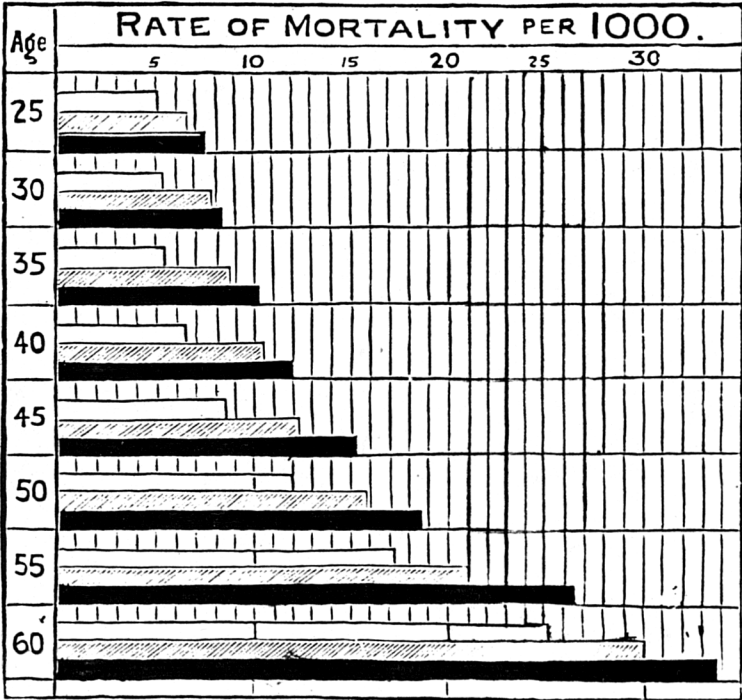
RECHABITE MORTALITY PROPAGANDA

ABSTINENCE AND LONGEVITY.

53

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.

Reference Number.	Occupation	All Causes.	Alcoholism.	Cancer.	Phthisis.	Diseases of the Nervous System.	Liver Diseases.	Bright's Disease.	Suicide.	Total of Columns 2 to 9.
	Average of all Males, (<i>The Standard</i>)	1004	16	68	187	103	27	35	19	455
4	Medical Profession,...	952	17	67	65	132	54	44	26	405
9	Commercial Travel- lers,	988	22	72	168	125	60	41	28	516
20	Farmers,.....	596	9	55	76	61	22	20	19	262
21	Farm Labourers, ...	621	5	48	90	64	8	14	15	244
25	Brewers,	1393	47	119	248	113	73	43	23	666
26	Publicans,	1781	111	74	271	188	201	87	41	973
27	Publicans' Servants,	1883	131	94	543	146	49	72	36	1071
28	Stationers,	931	18	64	213	104	38	27	12	476
34	Grocers,	729	11	54	125	85	32	37	16	360
35	Drapers,	845	16	56	203	104	30	35	17	461
53	Engine, Machine, Boiler Makers, Fit- ters, &c.,.....	913	10	65	163	110	21	35	13	417
54	Tool, Scissors and File Workers,.....	1315	10	68	369	139	19	51	19	675
60-66	Building Trades,	934	14	65	190	94	21	39	18	441
72	Wool, Worsted Man- ufacture,	984	7	64	159	120	24	50	16	440
74	Cotton Manufacture,	1114	12	72	197	128	17	38	20	484
83	Coal Miners,	885	5	53	89	87	17	23	11	285

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.

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

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

Scottish Temperance Life Assurance Company.

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

Sceptre Life Association .

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

Source : Scottish Temperance Annual 1899-1900, page 52.

MORAL SUASION AND THRIFT

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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.

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

Table B.

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

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

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.¹³⁴ 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."¹³⁵ 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.¹³⁶ 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.

Year.	New Policies Issued.	Premiums.	Interest, &c.	Total.	Life Assur- ance Fund.
	£	£	£	£	£
1883, ..	69,425	2,112	—	2,112	914
1893, ..	206,725	51,136	6,509	57,645	177,223
1903, ..	412,650	126,432	32,699	159,131	869,741
1913, ..	717,375	219,918	79,550	299,468	2,073,776

MORTALITY EXPERIENCE. THIRTY YEARS (1883-1912).

Period.	TEMPERANCE SECTION.			GENERAL SECTION.		
	*Claims Expected.	Actual Claims.	Ratio of Actual to Expected.	*Claims Expected.	Actual Claims.	Ratio of Actual to Expected.
1883-1887 ..	43	15	35%	11	7	62%
1888-1892 ..	159	79	50%	49	33	68%
1893-1897 ..	290	138	48%	95	67	70%
1898-1902 ..	444	188	42%	164	118	72%
1903-1907 ..	609	298	49%	223	123	55%
1908-1912 ..	770	356	46%	271	186	69%
	2,315	1,074	46%	813	534	66%

* 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.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.¹³⁸ 'Industrials' represented working class investment of

MORAL SUASION AND THRIFT

The Success of Life Insurance Promotion by 31.12.1910

<u>Company</u>	<u>fs.</u>	<u>Company</u>	<u>fs.</u>
Abstainers & General	528,501	London & Lancs. Life	2,591,262
Alliance Ltd.	6,529,376	London Life Ltd.	5,166,870
Imperial Life Fund	2,654,883	London & Manchester	80,940
Provident " "	3,679,908	London & Provincial	86,339
Atlas Ltd.	2,085,791	Marine & General	1,766,166
Britannic Ltd.	1,110,201	Metropolitan	2,254,005
British Equitable	1,680,124	National Mutual	2,901,903
British Life	22,466	National Provident	6,920,500
British Union & National	437	North British &	
British Widows	7,352	Mercantile	15,645,126
Caledonian	2,893,137	Northern Ltd.	5,040,556
Century Ltd.	414,027	Norwich Union Life	8,970,756
City of Glasgow	3,119,328	Scottish Imperial	690,189
City Life Ltd.	95,571	Omnium Ltd.	2,567
Clergy Mutual	4,662,050	Pearl Ltd.	2,573,765
Clergy Pensions	759,314	Phoenix Ltd.	10,039,764
Clerical, Medical & General	5,468,071	Profits and Income	73,431
Commercial Union	4,394,572	Provident Free Home	169,238
West of England Fund	578,941	Provident Clerks &	
Hand in Hand " "	3,697,278	General	2,679,416
Union Life " "	3,938,113	Prudential Ltd.	41,425,963
Consolidated Ltd.	30,319	Refuge " "	5,261,477
Cooperative Ltd.	128,834	Royal " "	10,306,847
Customs Fund	509,221	Royal Exchange	3,987,603
Eagle	2,117,705	Royal London	90,840
Economic	4,449,114	Royal National Nurses	1,404,517
Edinburgh	4,456,863	Salvation Army	413,691
Edinburgh Chartered Accountants	64,078	Sceptre Ltd.	1,177,151
English & Scottish Law	2,851,296	Scottish Accident	184,755
Equitable	4,592,246	Scottish Amicable	5,540,845
Enquiry & Law	4,627,477	Scottish Equitable	5,877,835
Friends Provident	3,418,756	Scottish Life Ltd.	1,616,122
General	2,192,033	Scottish Metropolitan	813,344
General Accident Fire & Life	65,602	Scottish Provident	14,760,001
Gresham Ltd.	10,216,844	Scottish Temperance	1,680,609
Guardian Ltd.	3,362,015	Scottish Union &	
Westminster	757,875	National	4,859,394
Hearts of Oak Ltd.	14,668	Scottish Widows	20,240,396
Law, Union & Rock	7,611,359	Standard	12,658,288
Legal & General	7,134,075	Star	6,752,603
Life Association of Scotland	5,807,793	Sun Life	8,601,668
Liverpool & London Globe	5,109,211	U.K. Temperance	9,182,354
Liverpool Victoria	23,425	University	895,400
London Assurance	2,494,655	Wesleyan & General	810,784
		Yorkshire Ltd.	2,040,285
			<u>£348,545,470</u>

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 calculations¹⁴¹ 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."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 ^{their} 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,¹⁵³ health and housing reform movements. Like co-operation they were class assertive.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,¹⁵⁵ to identify with 'progress' and 'civilisation'. Fraternal societies often had overtones of paganism, pantheism, and patriotism e.g. the Sons of Scotland.¹⁵⁶ All claimed descent from medieval guildry for their permutations of chivalric codes.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.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'etres 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.

The Rechabites.

"Wine? I drink none being in that particular of the persuasion of Jonadah, the Son of Rechab."
(Bentham, quoted by P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. 1, p. 144).

By 1835 a teetotal friendly society free from association

THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF RECHABITES

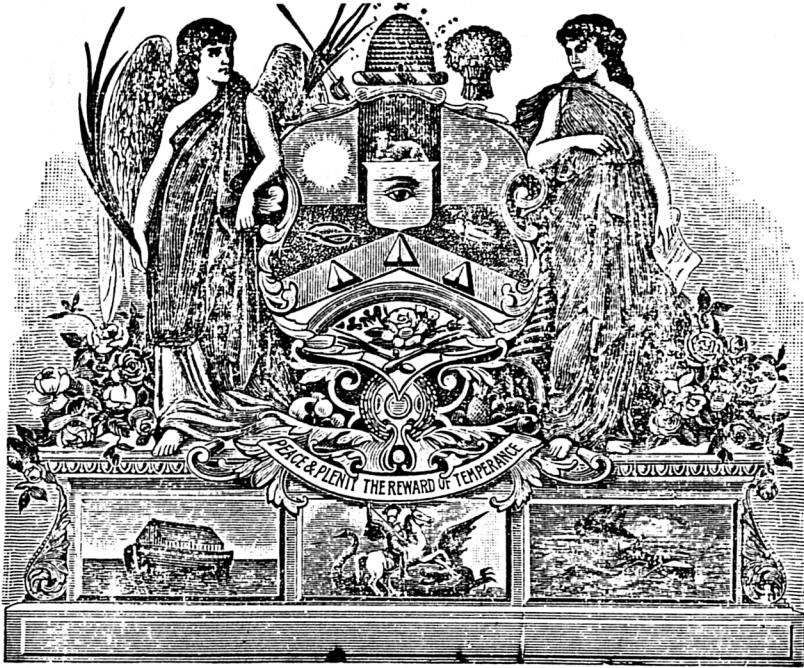
The Emblem of the Order.



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 pre-occupation 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. Rechabiteism 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."¹⁶⁷ By 1841 there were 47 Scottish tents and 4,000 Rechabites.¹⁶⁸

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.¹⁶⁹ 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.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.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.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.

Year	Adult Membership		Juvenile Membership		Total Funds. £
1835	..	45	..	—	10
1838	..	3,200	..	380	1,236
1840	..	10,320	..	650	3,025
1842	..	21,542	..	1,046	10,501
1844	..	22,684	..	1,323	15,277
1846	..	18,268	..	1,360	11,250
1848	..	12,500	..	1,420	11,234
1850	..	9,060	..	1,082	13,025
1852	..	6,733	..	960	15,285
1854	..	6,005	..	950	18,232
1856	..	5,940	..	972	19,825
1858	..	6,009	..	934	23,341
1860	..	6,115	..	974	28,754
1862	..	6,670	..	1,020	38,586
1864	..	8,974	..	1,403	42,984
1866	..	10,342	..	2,409	49,863
1868	..	12,931	..	2,815	63,496
1870	..	15,402	..	4,389	90,824
1872	..	21,310	..	5,872	98,397
1874	..	28,932	..	6,415	120,290
1876	..	32,086	..	9,468	159,100
1878	..	33,452	..	12,952	217,441
1880	..	34,641	..	16,684	243,214
1882	..	40,822	..	20,904	288,321
1884	..	51,473	..	24,731	331,399
1886	..	67,722	..	28,298	384,477
1888	..	78,057	..	35,545	455,498
1890	..	95,074	..	47,795	531,973
1892	..	113,097	..	61,667	639,855
1894	..	127,291	..	72,292	730,261
1896	..	142,078	..	81,678	834,061
1898	..	153,048	..	87,430	1,012,591
1900	..	168,293	..	100,896	1,130,639
1902	..	186,831	..	117,239	1,315,027
1904	..	204,514	..	141,041	1,526,675
1906	..	224,301	..	168,246	1,742,036
1908	..	241,949	..	187,839	2,000,157
1910	..	259,508	..	209,164	2,254,454
1912	..	313,461	..	224,147	2,586,735
1914	..	319,755	..	253,275	2,811,056
1916	..	335,294	..	286,555	3,061,120
1918	..	358,957	..	366,519	3,381,110
1920	..	377,525	..	425,523	3,721,486
1922	..	374,686	..	416,954	4,136,363
1924	..	379,534	..	402,749	4,402,143
1926	..	385,797	..	368,436	4,862,779
1928	..	386,814	..	349,955	5,232,661
1930	..	390,470	..	329,535	5,554,223
1932	..	390,534	..	318,147	6,115,798
1934	..	387,204	..	310,870	6,485,346

Source: R. Highet "A History of the Rechabites, 1835-1935...", I.O.R., Salford, 1935, p. 501, Appendix E.

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

Reg. No.	Name.	Town.	Reg. No.	Name.	Town.
134	Hope, - - -	Glasgow.	545	Tower Hill, - -	Clackmannan.
136	Charity, - - -	Greenock.	558	Rose, - - -	Old Kilpatrick
137	Nazarene, - - -	Port-Glasgow.	559	Thistle, - - -	Coatbridge.
161	Paisley, - - -	Paisley.	588	Kelvingrove, - -	Maryhill.
214	John Dunlop, - -	Greenock.	589	Triumphant, - -	Pollokshaws.
263	Balclutha, - - -	Dumbarton.	607	William Hamilton, -	Strathblane.
276	Thistle, - - -	Glasgow.	634	Argyle, - - -	Dunoon.
278	Franklin, - - -	Glasgow.	640	Ruby, - - -	Stonehouse.
285	Rising Sun, - - -	Glasgow.	650	Hope of Loch Kieran,	Campbeltown.
310	Sons of the Rock,	Stirling.	655	Hope of Butc, - -	Rothsay.
316	Lily of the Valley,	Renton.	691	Falls of Clyde, - -	Lanark
360	Dollar, - - -	Dollar.	759	Williams, - - -	Hamilton.
373	Concordia, - - -	Greenock.	760	Moscric, - - -	Carlisle.
386	Mars Hill, - - -	Alloa.	843	Abbey, - - -	Lesmahagow
420	Jonadab, - - -	Airdrie.	860	Dewdrop, - - -	Larkhall.
428	Banks of Carron,	Denny.	983	Eagle, - - -	Eaglesham.
472	Banks of Levern,	Barrhead.	986	St. Mungo, - - -	Glasgow.
473	Tree of Life, - -	Rutherglen.	1015	Banks of Clyde, - -	Greenock.
501	Bruce, - - -	Bannockburn.	1017	Aimwell, - - -	Helensburgh
527	St. Paul's, - - -	Glasgow.	1033	Sons of the Ochils, -	Tillicoultry.
539	Phoenix, - - -	Alloa.	1060	United Perseverance,	Falkirk.
543	Sir John de Grahame,	Falkirk.	1096	Links of Devon, - -	Alva.

FEMALE TENTS.

51	True Sisters, - -	Greenock.	150	Daughters of Rechab,	Airdrie.
77	Sisters of Charity,	Greenock.	151	Elizabeth, - - -	Glasgow.
81	Deborah, - - -	Port-Glasgow.	152	Queen of the West, -	Glasgow.
83	Rose of the Vale,	Renton.	159	Rose of Sharon, - -	Alloa.
84	Daughters of the Rock,	Stirling.	160	Good Design, - - -	Falkirk.
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 :—

1415	Union, ...	148	1699	Archibald M'Lelland, ...	38
1618	General Gordon, ...	135	1593	Victoria, ...	37
1258	Pride of the West, ...	120	148	Hope of Glasgow, ...	36
1462	Anchor of Unity, ...	110	1452	Lily of the Clyde, ...	34
1274	Eastern Pioneer, ...	101	1765	James Shaw, ...	34
1607	Vale of Irvine, ...	88	1516	Hope of Port-Glasgow, ...	28
1431	Ark of Safety, ...	86	1744	Loudoun, ...	27
1482	Hope of Bethany, ...	85	1703	Star of the Forth, ...	26
167	Thistle, ...	83	1505	Gospel Rescue, ...	25
1541	Banner of Reform, ...	79	1469	Guard of Honour, ...	25
1542	Star of Carrick, ...	69	1693	Pride of Leven, ...	20
1399	William Collins, ...	68	1764	Granite, ...	19
321	Good Samaritan, ...	65	1779	John Wilson, ...	17
1628	Gem of the Forth, ...	62	1334	Banks of Ayr, ...	13
1608	Loudonhill, ...	60	1517	Guiding Star, ...	13
1436	Lord Wolseley, ...	60	1787	George A. Clark, ...	13
1653	Progress, ...	56	1251	Helensburgh, ...	10
284	David Livingstone, ...	54	1788	Glazert Bank, ...	10
1663	Guardian Eagle, ...	51	1777	Arthurlie, ...	9
1290	Kirkintilloch, ...	38	1704	James Montgomery, ...	7

.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.¹⁸¹ By 1886 Glasgow membership was 6 times greater than that of Edinburgh, and this was only partly due to inclusion of Ayrshire.¹⁸² 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.¹⁸³ 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



FRIENDS AND BROTHERS—(Demonstration on Saturday, 30th July).

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.¹⁸⁴ 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.¹⁸⁵

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.

No. and Name of Court.	Night of Meeting and where held.	Name and Address of Secretary.	Dates of Meetings.			
			May.	June.	July.	August.
4640 Royal Oak ..	Alternate Mondays, 7-30 p.m. Foresters' Hall, 127 Stockwell Street, Glasgow.	William Stevenson, 12 Salisbury Street.	14, 28	11, 25	9, 23	6, 20
5171 Lord Clyde ..	Alternate Mondays, 8 p.m. Lorne Hall, 207 Govan Road, Govan.	George Hamilton, 23 Merryland Street, Govan.	7, 21	4, 18	2, 16, 30	13, 27
5392 Royal Albert ..	Alternate Mondays. Mechanics' Hall, 46 Canning Street, Glasgow.	Thomas McInnes, 33 Brandon Street, East.	14, 28	11, 25	9, 23	6, 20
5461 Caledonia ..	Alternate Wednesdays, 7-30 p.m. E.U. Church Hall, Nelson Street, S.S., Glasgow.	John McArthur, 69 Thomson Street, Govan.	9, 23	6, 20	4, 18	1, 15, 29
5463 Blythswood ..	Alternate Mondays, 8 p.m. Masonic Hall, 9 High Street, Renfrew.	Alexander Scott, 28 Manse Street, Renfrew.	7, 21	4, 18	2, 16, 30	13, 27
5515 Royal Ash ..	Alternate Tuesdays, at 7-30 p.m. Congregational Hall, 83 New City Road, Glasgow.	George Paterson, 26 Crossburn Street.	1, 15, 29	12, 26	10, 24	7, 21
5541 Royal Elm ..	Alternate Tuesdays. Free Masonic Hall, Douglas Street Partick.	William Hollinsworth, 22 Rosevale Street, Partick.	1, 15, 29	12, 26	10, 24	7, 21
5590 Royal Thistle ..	Alternate Tuesdays, 7-30 p.m. Sandyford U.P. Church Hall, Breadlane St., Glasgow.	Robert Stephen, 23 Dumbarton Road.	8, 22	5, 19	3, 17, 31	14, 28
5591 Marquis of Lorne	Alternate Wednesdays. Congregational Hall, Windsor Street, Govan.	Peter Blair, 630 Govan Road, Govan.	2, 16, 30		11, 25	8, 22
5599 Heatherbell ..	Alternate Wednesdays, 8 p.m. St. James' Hall, Stirling Road, Glasgow.	Robert J. Carruthers, 14 Ronald Street.	9, 23	6, 20	4, 18	1, 15, 29
5746 Sir Robert Bruce	Alternate Thursdays, 8 p.m. Band Room, Old Street, Duntochter.	Alexander Burnsides, Clyde Trust Buildings, Dalmaur.	3, 17, 31	14, 28	12, 26	9, 23
5759 Hawthorn ..	Alternate Wednesdays. Masonic Rooms, Cogan Street, Pollokshaws.	John Ogg, 53 Herriot Street, Pollokshaws.	2, 16, 30	13, 27	11, 25	8, 22
5776 Robin Hood ..	Alternate Wednesdays, 7-30 p.m. Eastern Hall, Claythorn Street, Glasgow.	James Paxton, 34 Fisher Street, Dennistoun.	2, 16, 30	13, 27	11, 25	8, 22
5802 Hutcheson ..	Alternate Tuesdays, 7-30 p.m. Wellington Hall, Commercial Road, Glasgow, S.S.	John Warnock, 127 Hospital Street.	1, 15, 29	12, 26	10, 24	7, 21
5807 Top o' the Hill ..	Alternate Tuesdays. Congregational Hall, 88 New City Road, Glasgow.	John Watson, 84 John Street.	8, 22	5, 19	3, 17, 31	14, 28
5912 Brandon ..	Alternate Thursdays, 8 p.m. St. John's School, Duke Street, Hamilton.	Robert Cunningham, 38 Miller Street, Hamilton.	3, 17, 31	14, 28	12, 26	9, 23
5993 Royal Archer ..	Alternate Mondays. Crown Hotel Assembly Rooms, Caledonian Road, Wishaw.	John F. McChrystal, 48 Glasgow Road, Wishaw.	14, 28	11, 25	9, 23	6, 20

No. and Name of Court.	Night of Meeting and where held.	Name and Address of Secretary.	Dates of Meetings.			
			May.	June.	July.	August.
6023 Royal Fern ..	Alternate Tuesdays, 7-30 p.m. Cranstonhill Free Church Hall, Cranston St., Glasgow.	Andrew Laing, 195 Stobcross Street.	1, 15, 29	12, 26	10, 24	7, 21
6115 Craigmaddie ..	Alternate Thursdays, 7-30 p.m. West End Hall, Bridge Street, Milngavie.	John M. Provan, Old Town, Milngavie.	3, 17, 31	14, 28	12, 26	9, 23
6155 Victoria ..	Alternate Wednesdays. Lesser Temperance Hall, Sunnyside Road, Coatbridge.	Edward Lewis, 1 Bauman's Square, Coatbridge.	2, 16, 30	13, 27	11, 25	8, 22
6162 Royal Burgh ..	Alternate Mondays, 7-30 p.m. St. John's Masonic Hall, Cathcart Street, Rutherglen.	James Steel, 229 King Street, Rutherglen.	14, 28	11, 25	9, 23	6, 20
6176 Holly Oak ..	Alternate Tuesdays. Albion Hall, College Street, Glasgow.	John Fraser, 124 Bellfield Street.	1, 15, 29	12, 26	10, 24	7, 21
6177 Dalziel ..	Alternate Thursdays. Auction Mart, Hamilton Street, Motherwell.	John Shank, 167 Windmillhill, Motherwell.	10, 24	7, 21	5, 19	2, 16, 30
6222 Hearts of Oak ..	Alternate Mondays. Gardener's Hall, Hamilton Road, Cambuslang.	Alexander Robertson, 6 Colebrooke Street, Cambuslang.	14, 28	11, 25	9, 23	6, 20
6256 David Livingstone	Alternate Tuesdays. U.P. Mission Hall, Main Street, Maryhill.	William Drummond, 317 Gairbraid Street, Maryhill.	8, 22	5, 19	3, 17, 31	14, 28
6303 Royal George ..	Alternate Tuesdays. Public Halls, New Road, Parkhead.	James Fullerton, Springfield Road, Shettleston.	8, 22	5, 19	3, 17, 31	14, 28
6329 Neilson ..	Alternate Mondays, 7-30 p.m. Mission Hall, 428 Springburn Road, Springburn.	Charles Macfie, 508 Keppochhill Road.	14, 28	11, 25	9, 23	6, 20
6339 Robert Burns ..	Alternate Saturdays, 7 p.m. Barker's Hall, Muirmadkin, Bellshill.	Richard Young, 22 Waddell's Land, Bellshill.	5, 19	2, 16, 30	14, 28	11, 25
6408 Royal Stag ..	Alternate Mondays, 8 p.m. Laurieston Secession Hall, Bedford Street, Glasgow.	Thomas Russell, 144 Caledonia Road.	14, 28	11, 25	9, 23	6, 20
6426 Vale of Clyde ..	Alternate Wednesdays. Clydesdale Hotel, High Street, Carlisle.	John Murphy, Stewart Street, Carlisle.	9, 23	6, 20	4, 18	1, 15, 29
6442 Baracen ..	Alternate Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Rockville Mission Hall, Possil Road, Glasgow.	James K. Cadman, 50 Regent Street.	2, 16, 30	13, 27	11, 25	8, 22
6617 Royal Rangers	Alternate Tuesdays, 8 p.m. Inglefield Hall, Cathcart Road, Glasgow.	John Anderson, Kildale House, off New St., R'glen.	1, 15, 29	12, 26	10, 24	7, 21
6650 Ailsa ..	Alternate Tuesdays. Plumb School, Plumb Street, Girvan.	John McClelland, Greenside, Girvan.	8, 22	5, 19	3, 17, 31	14, 28
6875 Sir Walter Scott..	Alternate Tuesdays. Lifeboat Hall, Victoria Street, Kirkintilloch.	James C. Martin, Bloomsfield Villa, Kirkintilloch.	1, 15, 29	12, 26	10, 24	7, 21
6913 Blochairn ..	Alternate Tuesdays. Blochairn Hall, Blochairn Road, Glasgow.	Thomas F. Mack, 70 Armadale Street.	8, 22	5, 19	3, 17, 31	14, 28
6940 Home of David Livingstone, ..	Alternate Wednesdays. Livingstone Masonic Hall, Blantyre.	John E. Fortune, Waterloo Row, Blantyre.	2, 16, 30	13, 27	11, 25	8, 22

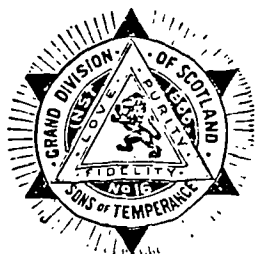
hotels.¹⁸⁶

The 'Shepherds (L.O.A.S.), originally a Forester inner order for additional benefits, were fellow competitors.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.¹⁸⁸ U.K. membership^{was} 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.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.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.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 Beneft £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 ½d. per week.

JUVENILES.

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

AMOUNT PAYABLE AT DEATH AFTER HAVING BEEN A MEMBER FOR														
Age next Birthday at joining.	1 Day.	13 Weeks.	20 Weeks.	1 Year.	2 Years.	3 Years.	4 Years.	5 Years.	6 Years.	7 Years.	8 Years.	9 Years.	10 Years.	
Yrs.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	
1	0 10	1 10	2 10	3 0	3 10	4 0	4 10	5 0	5 10	6 0	6 10	7 0	7 10	
2	0 10	1 15	3 0	3 10	4 0	4 10	5 0	6 0	6 10	7 0	8 0	8 10	9 0	
3	0 15	2 0	3 10	4 0	4 10	5 0	6 0	7 0	7 10	8 0	9 0	10 0	10 0	
4	1 0	2 5	4 0	5 0	6 0	6 10	7 0	8 0	8 10	9 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	
5	1 5	3 0	4 10	5 10	6 0	7 0	7 10	8 0	9 0	9 10	10 0	10 0	10 0	
6	1 10	3 5	5 0	6 0	7 0	7 10	8 0	9 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	
7	1 10	3 10	5 10	7 0	8 0	8 10	9 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	
8	1 15	4 0	6 0	7 0	8 0	9 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	
9	1 15	4 10	6 10	8 0	9 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	
10	2 0	5 0	7 0	9 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	
11	2 0	5 0	7 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	
12	2 5	5 0	7 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	
13	2 5	5 0	7 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	
14	2 10	5 0	7 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	
15	2 10	5 0	7 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	
16	2 0	5 0	7 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	

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 1914.¹⁹² 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 3.1.¹⁹³ 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.¹⁹⁴ By the early 1890's Glasgow was the largest U.K. District and did much Highland extension work.¹⁹⁵ 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.¹⁹⁶

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, cotton-works, 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

Rechabatism 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 Hight 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.²⁰⁹ In the late 19th century aristocratic ladies, doctors and solicitors acting for the Order,²¹⁰ 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.²¹¹ 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.²¹²

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.²¹³ Home Rule was especially sensitive given Glasgow's links with Ulster Rechabitisism 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.²¹⁴ 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!²¹⁵

Over this period "traditional radicalism" was superseded by second generation Rechabites' support for the "social radicalism" of the Young Scots.²¹⁶ 'Old Rechabites' were active in the Early Closing Movement.²¹⁷ In the 20th century the Order's focus, often blurred by sentimentalism and innate conservatism 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.²¹⁸

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.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.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,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.²²²

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.²²³ 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.²²⁴ 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.²²⁵ The National Committee of Friendly Societies' attitude was similar.²²⁶ Rechabites made plain ^{their} 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.

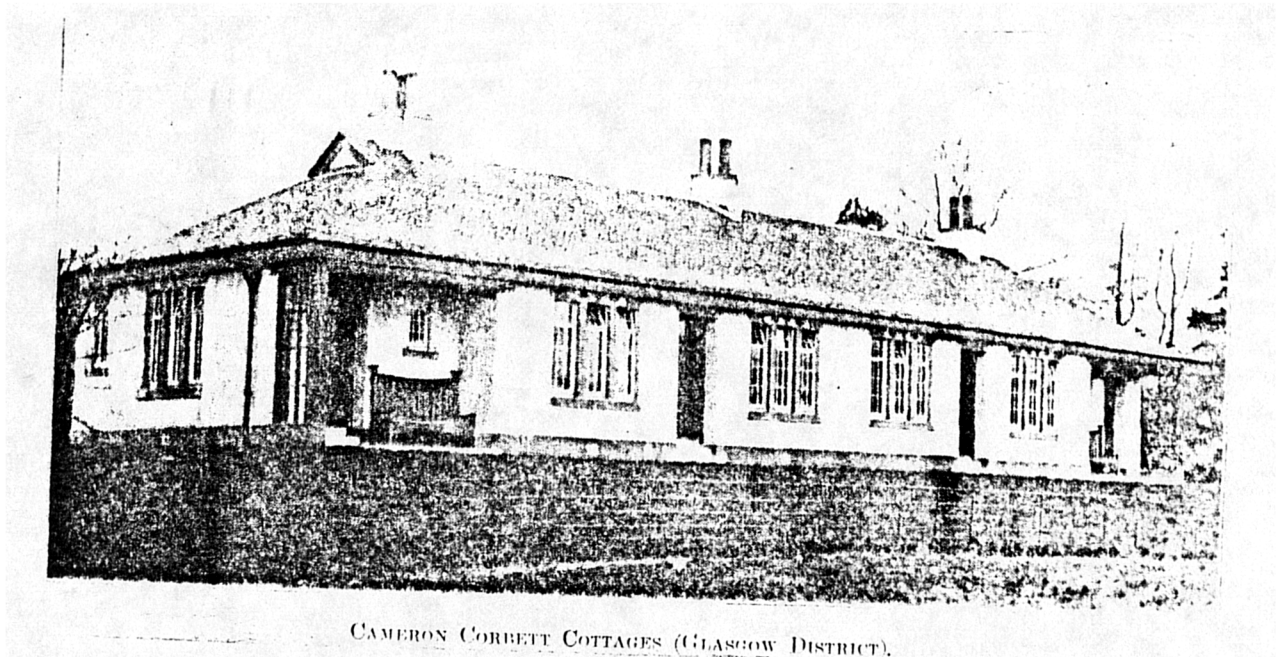
THE "RECHABITE HOUSE," ASHGROVE, KIRN.



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

Source: The Rechabite and Temperance Magazine,
opening pages, 1903.

RECHABITE POST-NATAL HEALTH CARE.



CAMERON CORBETT COTTAGES (GLASGOW DISTRICT).

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 mercenariness.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.

Source: Richardson Campbell "Rechabite History: a record of the Origin, Rise, and Progress of the I.O.R. Salford Unity from 1835 to the Present", I.O.R., Manchester, 1911, pp. 219 and 221.

THE UNITED ORDER OF FEMALE RECHABITES
(U.O.F.R.) - list of Scottish tents prior
to the mid-century crisis.

Glasgow District 20

85 Thistle.....Glasgow
89 Rose..... "
111 Spreading Myrtle..... "
147 Path of Peace.....Kirkintilloch
150 Daughters of Rechab....Airdrie
151 Elizabeth.....Glasgow
152 Queen of the West..... "
196 Ayrshire Lassie.....Kilmarnock
218 Maryhill.....Maryhill
243 Star of the East.....Glasgow
286 Road to Plenty.....Hamilton
294 Flower of Stranraer....Stranraer

Cheviot and Tweed, District 24

30 Bud of Hope.....Berwick
129 Lily of the valley....Kelso
131 Primrose.....Wooler

Aberdeen District 25

47 Love and Unity.....Aberdeen
90 Concordia.....Old Aberdeen
178 Strathisla.....Keith
198 Olive Branch.....Aberdeen
206 Laurel of Morayshire...Elgin
212 Flower of the Dee.....Banchory

Dundee District 26

54 Daughters of Zion.....Dundee
82 Palm Tree.....Arbroath
165 St. Johnston's Hope....Perth

Greenock District 28

51 True Sisters.....Greenock
77 Sisters of Charity..... "
81 Deborah.....Port Glasgow
83 Rose of the Vale.....Renton
91 Snowdrop of the Vale....Alexandria
169 Love and Unity.....Dumbarton
244 Maria Edgeworth.....Ayr
270 Duchess of Argyle.....Campeltown

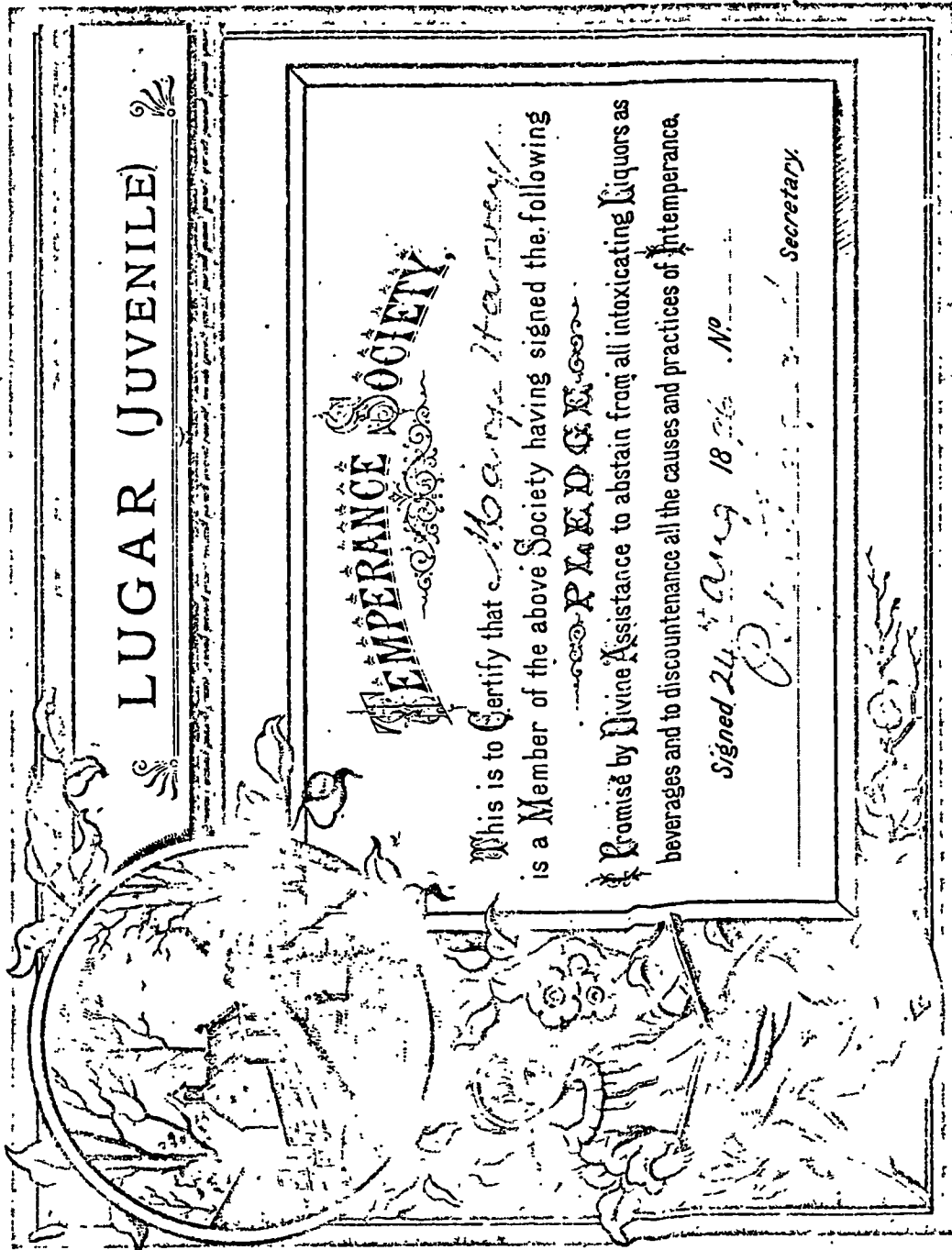
Edinburgh District 10

34 Olive Branch.....Edinburgh
84 Daughters of the Rock...Stirling
109 Star of Hope.....Musselburgh
158 Scottish Blue Bell.....Edinburgh
159 Rose of Sharon.....Alloa
160 Good Design.....Falkirk
248 Queen Margaret.....Dunfermline
301 Provident.....Edinburgh
343 Star of the Border.....Hawick

Source : Richardson Campbell "Rechabite History: a record of the
Origin, Rise and Progress of the I.O.R",
pp.227-232.

level organisation was scrapped. Women never entered Rechabite Boards, were barred from certain mixed-tent meetings and certain levels of sickness benefit.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.²⁴³ 'Merry widows' who broke pledges were made to forfeit all claims or pay fines, a mentality reminiscent of the C.O.S.²⁴⁴ In 1893 however women regained maternity benefit options and payment of sick pay during pregnancy and confinement was at District discretion.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.²⁴⁶ By 1903 lady officials were few. Rechabites were reliant on lady speakers from other societies, e.g. Mrs. Henderson, Black and Blair.²⁴⁷

Female Rechabites organised juveniles rather than adults. Some were already interested in child welfare like Syrie Barnardo of Stepney I.O.R.²⁴⁸ Juvenile temperance benefit societies dated from 1841, their object to "train and retain."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.²⁵⁰ Innocent entertainment was also offered as inducement.²⁵¹ By 1886 there were 30,000 U.K. juveniles. In the 1890's juvenile



LUGAR (JUVENILE)

TEMPERANCE SOCIETY,

This is to Certify that *Harry Harvey*
 is a Member of the above Society having signed the following
PLEDGE
 & Promise by Divine Assistance to abstain from all intoxicating Liquors as
 beverages and to discountenance all the causes and practices of Intemperance.

Signed *Aug 18 1896* No. *1*
P. J. Harvey Secretary.

ADVERTISEMENT.

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 becoming Members of this Order.

Juvenile Branches are established all over the country, and the meetings are conducted on profitable, instructive and bright lines. The chief objects of the Juvenile Section are to inculcate habits of Thrift, Courtesy, and Kindness; to encourage the gifts of reading and song; to promote pure and true views of life; and especially to instil a hatred of Strong Drink and all its attendant evils 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 2d., and the Contribution 2d. per week. The following sums are payable in case of Death of Members (if not 13 weeks in arrear of Contributions), on production of a Registrar's Certificate.

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. Contributions, One Halfpenny per Week.

Years of age at date of joining.		1 day.	20 wks.	1 yr.	2 yrs.	3 yrs.	4 yrs.	5 yrs.	7 yrs.	9 yrs.	11 yrs.	13 yrs.	15 yrs.
Under 1	2 ..	£ s.	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1 and under	2 ..	1 10	3	4	5	6	6	6	10	10	12	14	15
2	4 ..	2 0	4	5	6	6	6	10	10	10	14	15	..
4	6 ..	3 0	5	6	6	6	10	10	10	14	15	..	..
6	8 ..	4 0	6	6	6	10	10	10	14	15	..	..	..
8	10 ..	5 0	8	10	10	10	10	14	15	..	..	..	..
10	12 ..	5 0	9	10	10	12	14	15	..	..	..	..	..
12	13 ..	5 0	10	12	13	14	15	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	14 ..	5 0	10	13	14	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14	15 ..	5 0	10	14	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
			10	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

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

Scale of Bonus payable on Transfer or Death.

2 completed years' membership in Juvenile Section.		10 completed years' membership in Juvenile Section.	
3	£0 4 6	11	£1 5 6
4	0 6 9	12	1 8 6
5	0 9 3	13	1 11 6
6	0 11 9	14	1 14 9
7	0 14 3	15	1 18 0
8	0 17 0	16	2 1 6
9	0 19 0		2 5 0
10	1 2 6		

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 said transferred member. In the event of death any unexpended balance at his credit shall be paid to his relatives; or

To purchase a Paid-up Funeral Benefit Insurance at the following rates:—£5 for £1 9s.; £2 10s. for 14s. 6d.; such 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 2/2, shall be added to the Funeral Benefit.

recruitment grew rapidly in Glasgow, Gwent and Glamorgan and S. Australia aided by formation of competitive Happy Brigades.²⁵² Juvenile insurance was surrounded by fears of infanticide or creation of malingerers.²⁵³

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.²⁵⁴ 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.²⁵⁵

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.²⁵⁶

Clearance certificates, Rechabite equivalents of Church disjunctions,^{weve}_A 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.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.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.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 Rechabite'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.²⁶¹ Yet Rechabiteism, 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."²⁶² 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.²⁶³ 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.²⁶⁴ The aged strained friendly societies and promotion of pension packages had failed.

Rechabite superannuation masqueraded as sick aliment. Where surpluses permitted, older members' premiums were subsidised.²⁶⁵ 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 mens' 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.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.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.²⁷⁰

Common cause was made against undue bureaucracy, unscrupulous insurance giants, and "slate clubs" and "shop clubs".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.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 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.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.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 unions, friendly societies and industrial assurance^{the Rechabites}, 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.²⁸⁵ 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.²⁸⁶ 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.²⁸⁷ 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

Year	Membership		Funds
	Adult	Juvenile	
1873	26	-	-
1883	722	339	£441
1893	6,168	4,641	£10,606
1903	19,870	13,673	£61,746
1913	30,647	20,241	£133,897
1923	35,313	54,111	£254,350
1933	38,881	31,937	£367,225
1943	43,294	24,982	£520,614
1953	28,360	7,944	£582,173
1955	25,884	6,122	£602,925
1956	24,621	4,969	£614,045
1957	23,440	4,423	£623,500
1958	22,508	3,949	£631,525
1959	21,622	3,529	£611,551

Source: I.O.R. Annual Report, 1959, appendix.

rank position therein as the 3rd largest friendly society.²⁸⁸ By their 75th anniversary in 1910 there were over half a million Rechabites.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 Rechabitisim 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",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.²⁹¹ Mesmerism and spiritualism were "a solace for middle and upper class alienation."²⁹² Rechabitisim 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 ~~exploitative~~ 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.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.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."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.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.³⁰⁰ 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.³⁰¹ 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.³⁰² Thriftlessness was neglect of God given providence. Equally worship of Mammon "brutalised."³⁰³

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.³⁰⁴

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.³⁰⁵ 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.³⁰⁶

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.³⁰⁷ Stratified institutions and responses were symptomatic of cultural distinctions even within the labour aristocracy and varying opportunities.³⁰⁸

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.³⁰⁹ 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.³¹⁰ Rechabites could be quite Hobsonian in criticism of laissez faire and their demands for intervention and union accoun-

tability suggest a rich spectrum of 'labour' aspirations.³¹¹ 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."³¹²

Their portraits of "Successful Businessmen" like Rothschild literally continued Smiles' work and "buttressed the peculiarly Victorian belief in respectability" to a remarkable degree.³¹³

Footnotes

Moral Suasion and Thrift.

1. B. Harrison, "British Prohibitionists 1853-72: a Biographical Analysis", International Review of Social History, Vol. 15, 3, 1970, p. 393.
N. Longmate, "The Waterdrinkers", p. 70, refers to the way in which thrift was an inevitable theme of temperance orators, enlivened on occasion by reference to the amounts of clothes or food which 'drink money' could buy as a cue for "two men to stagger in with a giant pudding which was then served to the audience". Burns' reference to "pride of stomach" appeared in his letter to John Murdoch, although similar sentiments were also expressed in his poetry, notably in "Is There for Honest Poverty".
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.
K. Fielden, 'Samuel Smiles and Self-Help', Victorian Studies, Dec. 1968, p. 158. See also, J.F.C. Harrison 'The Victorian Gospel of Success', in Victorian Studies, 1, 1957, and A. Briggs "Victorian People", London, 1965 pp. 124-147.
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.
4. S. Smiles, "Thrift", p. 32. W. Chambers, "Misexpenditure", Edinburgh, 18, p. 2.
5. W. Chambers, (op cit) pp. 13-16.
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".
7. S. Smiles "Thrift", p. 31.
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."

9. S. Smiles, "Thrift", p. 89.
10. W. Chambers, "Misexpenditure", pp. 19-21, where the club-ticket system is discussed by George Anderson, a temperance and City Mission worker and Salvationist, at a Social Science Congress in Glasgow. See also Smiles (above) pp. 106, and 263. For a typical criticism of 'appearances', see Lay Lecture XI, Glasgow Argus, Sat. 29th Aug. 1857. On temperance reformers' well known hostility to gambling see e.g. N. Dow, "The Reminiscences of Neal Dow: Recollections of 80 Years", Maine, 1898, p. 575, and also Adviser Jan. 1856, p. 3. For the negative reaction of evangelicals in general, see R. McKibbin, "Working, Class Gambling in Britain 1880-1939", Past and Present, 1979, 82, pp. 147-178, and D.W. Bebbington "The Nonconformist Conscience..", Chapel & Politics, 1870-1914, Chapter 3, 'The Problems of Society'. For temperance reformers' crusades against pawnshops, see J. Wells "Life of James Hood Wilson of the Barony Church, Edinburgh", London, 1904, p. 112, and also B. Harrison, "Drink and the Victorians", pp. 57-8, 97-8, and 131, and for those against credit, A. Wilson, "The Chartist Movement in Scotland", Chapter 10, 'Chartist Cooperation and Total Abstinence', pp. 126-138, W. Chambers, "Story of a Long and Busy Life", p. 36, and "Walter Wilson", pp. 169, 173 and 176, the latter being responsible for a short-lived co-operative venture at Glasgow Cross in 1897, called "The People's Stores".
11. For temperance and co-operation, see Chapter VIII. The best general histories of co-operation are:-
W. Maxwell, "A History of Co-operation in Scotland", Glasgow, 1910, and J. Kinloch & J. Butt, "The Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society", Manchester, 1981.
J.W. Kirton (1831-92) was an East Smithfield errand boy who rose to become a shop manager, and a Baptist pastor. He was an agent for U.K.A., and was later Secretary to the Grand Lodge of the English I.O.G.T., and author of numerous books. (See P. Winskill), "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. II, p. 135.
12. P. Payne 'The Savings Bank of Glasgow: 1836-1914', in "Studies in Scottish Business History", London, 1967, pp. 152-187. The best general history of the savings banks of Britain is still, "A History of the Savings Banks", Oxford, 1947, H.O. Horne
13. P. Gosden, "Self-Help: Voluntary Associations in the 19th Century", London, 1974, p. 242.
P. Payne (op cit) 'The Savings Bank of Glasgow...', p. 153, where he suggests that "among the gentlemen appointed to act as trustees and managers of the new institution were numbered the mercantile and industrial aristocracy of the city: Jas. Buchanan, C.J. Tennant, Wm. Collins, Wm. Connal, H. Dunlop, J. Ewing,

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'.
 " , 1850, p. 158.
 " , 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.

19. See the Glasgow Post Office Directories 1865, pp. 110-111 and 1870, pp. 113-114, and W. Meikle "The Penny Savings Banks of Glasgow: Their formation and management", Glasgow, 1871.
Meikle was himself a subscriber to the Glasgow Abstiners' Union - See G.A.U. Annual Report, 1879-80, p. 12.
20. T. Hamilton, "The Temperance Reformation in Scotland", p. 45.
H. Horne, "History of Savings Banks", noted also those at Hood's Cooperage and the Glasgow Glassworks in the 1830's, and at Monkland Iron and Steel Works and Kerr & Co.'s Nailery in the 1840's. P. Payne, 'The Savings Bank of Glasgow' (op cit) p. 156.
21. See Statistical Abstracts. G.B. Wilson, "Alcohol and the Nation", p. 243. P. Payne (op cit) p. 156. P. Payne (op cit) p. 161.
22. See 'Book Reviews', Temperance Spectator, February, 1862
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.
23. S.G. Checkland, "Scottish Banking: a History 1695-1973", Glasgow, 1975, and C. Munn, "The Scottish Provincial Banking Companies 1747-1864", Edinburgh, 1981.
e.g. Glasgow Argus, Sat. Sept., 26, 1857
 " ", " Oct. 24, "
 " ", " Nov. 28, "
24. J. Young, "The Rousing of the Scottish Working Class ", p. 109, a comment based upon a remark from "Trades Unions and Self-Help", by A.D. Wilson, Edinburgh, 1873, p. 11 (now untraceable).
25. See Franklin's 'Lay Lectures' in the Glasgow Argus, of Sat. Aug. 29, 1857, Oct. 24 1857, and Nov. 7 1857. See also the biography, G. Wilson "A. MacDonald: Leader of the Miners", A.U.P. 1982.
P. Payne (op cit) "The Savings Bank of Glasgow", Part II, pp. 157-160.

26. P. Payne (op cit) pp. 169-80.
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.
28. B. Harrison, 'British Prohibitionists 1853-72' (op cit) p. 393. See W. Meikle 'On Savings Banks, Penny Banks, and School Banks', in Transactions of the National Association for Promotion of Social Science, Glasgow, 1874, pp. 933-5.
29. W. Meikle, "The Savings Bank of Glasgow: Its origins and progress", Glasgow, 1858. P. Gosden, "Self-Help...", p. 252, and Table 8.10. See e.g. the article by Bernard Aspinwall 'The Scottish Religious Identity in the Atlantic World 1880-1914' in Studies in Church History Vol. 19, 1982, pp. 509-11.
30. Richardson Campbell, "Provident and Industrial Institutions", p. 215, and for the history of the G.S.W.R., see W. McIlwraith "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.
32. J. Brown, 'The Pig or the Sty: Drink and Poverty in Late Victorian England', International Review of Social History, Vol. 17, 1972, pp. 383, 392.
33. B. Harrison (supra) p. 338.
34. Ditto, pp. 168 and 175.
35. The best known work on the building society movement is, H. Bellman, "Bricks and Mortals: A study of the Building Society Movement and the Abbey National, 1849-1949" London, 1949, followed by J.S. Price "Building Societies: Their origins and History", London, 1958. On Chartist housing see, A.M. Hadfield "The Chartist Land Co.", Newton Abbot, 1970, and B. Harrison "Teetotal Chartism" in History, 58, 193, 1973, p. 209.
36. See N.L. Walker (ed) "W.G. Blaikie: An Autobiography", London, 1901, pp. 150-4.
37. P. Gosden, "Self-Help...", p. 154.
38. For the aforementioned cliches see e.g. Adviser, March, 1850, p. 40.
39. P. Gosden, (supra) pp. 167-171.

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.
41. See N.L. Walker, "W.G. Blaikie: An Autobiography", pp. 97-8 On Chambers' firm's proximity to 'Mushroom Row' and the rapidly altering character of the Pilrig area. W. Chambers, "Building Societies", Edinburgh 1857, p. 3, privately printed n.d.
42. e.g. parallels to Henry Mayhew's "London Labour and the London Poor" (2 Vols., 1851) and Edwin Chadwick's "Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Gt. Britain", (1842), not to mention Engels, included in this sense at least, W.P. Alison, "Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland and its effects on the Health of the great Towns", Edinburgh, 1840, J. Clelland, "The Former and Present State of Glasgow", Glasgow, 1840, and 1840's periodical press comment such as, "The Social and Moral Condition of the Manufacturing Districts in Scotland", in Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. 50, 1841, pp. 659-673. Also, J. Pagan, "Glasgow Past and Present", Glasgow, 1856, Shadow, "Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs", Glasgow, 1858.
43. Shadow, 'Midnight Scenes and City Strolls XI', in Glasgow Argus, Sat. 29 Aug., 1857.
44. D.W. Bebbington, "The Nonconformist Conscience...", p. 59.
45. James Begg, "Drink and Poverty", p. 15 and also, Shadow, "Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs", Introduction, p. 9, Bell "Days and Nights in the Wynds of Edinburgh", Edinburgh, 1849.
46. S. Mechie, "The Church and Scottish Social Development 1780-1870", Chapter 8, 'James Begg and the Housing of the Working Classes', pp. 122 and 126 especially.
47. For similar English hostility towards the casual residuum as a pollutant see, G. Stedman Jones "Outcast London", Oxford, 1971.
48. O. Checkland, "Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland", IV, p. 288. R. Vorspan, 'Vagrancy and the New Poor Law in late Victorian and Edwardian England', English Historical Review, Jan. 1977, pp. 59-81.
49. e.g. H. Dyos, "The Victorian Suburb", London, 1961, and H. Dyos & M. Wolff, "The Victorian City: Images and Realities" London, 1973.
50. J. Banks, 'Population Growth and the Victorian City', Victorian Studies, XI, 1968, p. 277.

51. 1851-61 saw a shift in population to a $\frac{2}{3}$ urban, $\frac{1}{3}$ rural nation. See G. Best, "Mid Victorian Britain 1851-70" pp. 24-5, and I. Adams "The Making of Urban Scotland", Chapter 5.

52. On Octavia Hill, the work of the Kyrle Society in Glasgow, and Edinburgh Social Union, see O. Checkland "Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland", p. 292 and for the S.P.B.T.A. interest in the Noel Park Estate of the Artisans & Labourers Dwellings Co., see S.P.B.T.A. Annual Report 1883-4, p. 27. On the Coltness Temperance cottages, see the subscription lists of S.T.L. in the 1850's. On the Houldsworths see "Stratten's Glasgow", pp. 113-4, and also P. Payne (ed.) "Studies in Scottish Business History", Chapter 10, 'Entrepreneurship in the Scottish Heavy Industries, 1870-1900' by T.J. Byers, pp. 257 and 270-1, where the author criticises John Houldsworth (1807-59) Provost of Anderston, councillor and magistrate for pursuit of reform interests to the neglect of business opportunities. For the interests of James Houldsworth in the late 19th century, involving Y.M.C.A. and the Foundry Boys, see "Glasgow and Lanarkshire Illustrated", p.110.

53. J. Tarn, "5% Philanthropy", Cambridge, 1974. 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.

54. On the Scottish Freehold Building Society (1857), see S.T.L.R. 1859, adverts, p. 11. For Begg's influence on Cranston's housing work, see H. Mein "Through Four Reigns", p. 16. For Nichol, see "100 Glasgow Men", pp. 249-252, and Appendix. On Guthrie's thrift interests see D. & C. Guthrie, "Memoir of Thomas Guthrie...", p. 277, and on Malcolm MacFarlane, mentioned earlier, see W. Logan "Early Heroes of the Temperance Reformation", Glasgow, 1873.

55. C.I.R. Report 75 'The Temperance Permanent Building Society', F. Hughes, "Into the Future: the Continuing Story of Temperance Permanent Building Society", London 1979, p. 10, Dawson Burns "Temperance History", Vol. 1, p. 372, J.P. Whitaker "The Life of James McCurrey", London 1876. On Congregationalist Thomas Hudson (1816-96) F.S.S. a founder of Temperance Permanent and associated with U.K. Temperance & General Provident Institution, see P. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. I, and on Tweedie (1821-74) temperance agent and publisher Winskill (supra) Vol. II and "The Temperance Movement" Vol. III p. 102. It also attracted Sir John Hutton, proprietor of ABC Railway Guide and a manager of the Temperance Hospital. On Phillips - B. Harrison "Drink and the Victorians", pp 190 and 379. S. Cauling "History of the Temperance Movement" p. 242 and F. Hughes (op cit) pp. 13-20.

56. T. Hughes (supra) p. 15. On Balfour's crash - P. Gosden "Self-Help" p. 172 and B. Vincent (ed.) "Haydn's Dictionary of Dates and Universal Information" London, 1904, (23rd edit.) pp. 192 and 128-34. The London General Bank (1882), Liberator (1868) and a

56. 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.
57. P.P. 1871 XXV Royal Commission on Friendly Societies - Phillips QQ6112-3, quoted in Gosden "Self-Help" p. 156.
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.
59. P. Gosden "Self-Help...", p. 157.
60. See the S.T.L.R. advertisements throughout the 1860's. For Gemmill, see the Biographical Appendix.
61. e.g. A. Sommerville "Autobiography of a Working Man", 1848, MacGibbon & Kee, 1967, "Footprints of the Creator" London, 1849, "Testimony of the Rocks", Edinburgh, 1869, "Essays Historical and Critical", 1882.
62. See I. Adams, "The Making of Urban Scotland", Industrial Towns', pp. 87-104.
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.
66. As in Revd. J. Kirton's "Buy Your Own Cherries", pp. 9-14.
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,

- and 351, G. Best, "Mid Victorian Britain, 1851-70", pp. 112-3, J. Treble, "Urban Poverty in Britain, 1830-1914", London, 1979, Chapters I and II pp. 13-50 and 51-90.
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.
 70. P. Gosden, "Self-Help...", p. 162, and p. 164, for the Building Socs. Act of 1894.
 71. F. Hughes "Into the future...", pp 16 and 19, Richardson Campbell "Provident and Industrial Institutions", p. 204.
See E.W. Brabrook, author of "Provident Societies and Industrial Welfare", 1898, p. 64, quoted by Gosden in "Self-Help...", p. 179.
 72. See J. Butt, 'Working Class Housing in Glasgow, 1851-1914', in S.D. Chapman (ed.) "The History of Working Class Housing", Newton Abbot, 1971.
 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.
 75. See J. Kellett "The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities", 1969, O. Checkland, "Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland", pp 293-4.
 76. Priests were exceptions to this list - see Drummond & Bulloch "The Church in Victorian Scotland...", pp. 64-80.
 77. Early examples of this theme included, W. Logan, "The Moral Statistics of Glasgow", pp. 33-41. "Drinking and Lawlessness", pp. 8-13. "Crime in Gt. Britain and Ireland", statistical tables of criminal offenders committed for trial, convicted and acquitted, were in this period a feature of the League's Almanac - just as extracts from police returns and from the annual reports of the prison commissioners for Scotland were in the Scottish Temperance Annual from the 1890's onwards.
On the criminal classes K. Chesney "The Victorian Underworld", Penguin, 1970. On drink and crime see Chapter 8.
 78. G. Best, "Mid Victorian Britain", pp. 294-5.
 79. A.K. Chalmers (ed.) "Public Health Administration in Glasgow: A memorial volume of writings of J.B. Russel", Glasgow, 1905, p. 189.
 80. R.Q. Gray, 'Thrift and Working Class Mobility in Victorian Edinburgh', in A.A. MacLaren "Social Class in Scotland: Past and Present" pp. 128-142. E. Gauldie, "Cruel Habitations", London, 1974.
G. Best (op cit) p. 45.
 81. S.T.L.R. 1903, p. 71.

82. O. Checkland, "Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland", p. 295. S.T.L.R. 1904, p. 102. For Alexander Murray C.A., J.P., D.L. (18 - 1915) see "Who's Who in Glasgow", 1909, p. 156, and his obituary in the Glasgow Herald of 14.6.1915, summarised in the Biographical Index.
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.
84. For an indictment of philanthropy as a major factor in delaying housing reform see, A. Wohl "The Eternal Slum", London, 1977.
85. S.T.L.R. 1914, pp. 42-44, 'Drink and Poverty' and 'The Housing Problem'.
86. J.A. Banks, "Prosperity and Parenthood" pp. 104-5. G. Best (op cit) Chapter 2, 'The Making of Livings', pp. 101-111, and pp. 109-110, as implied by B.G. Orchard's "The Clerks of Liverpool", 1871. Scottish levels whilst not so high probably shared the same, or a similar, span of differentials.
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.
92. A. Briggs & J. Saville (ed.) "Essays in Labour History 1886-1923", London, 1977, F. Matthews - 'The Building Guilds', pp. 284-315.
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.

96. See Tarn "5% Philanthropy: an account of Housing in Urban Areas between 1840-1914", Cambridge, 1973.
97. See the essay by M.A. Simpson in ^{M.A.} Simpson and T.H. Lloyd (eds.) "Middle Class Housing in Britain", London, 1977.
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.
101. Insurance. For somewhat oblique references to this phenomenon - S.D. Chapman, 'Business History from Insurance Policy Registers', in Business Archives, Vol. 32, 1970. H. Cockerell & E. Green, "The British Insurance Business, 1547-1970", London, 1976, W.H. Marwick, "Scotland in Modern Times", p. 119, G. Best, "Mid Victorian Britain", p. 97, S.G. Lythe & J. Butt, "An Economic History of Scotland", Blackie, 1975.
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.
104. B. Supple, "The Royal Exchange Assurance Co.: a History of British Insurance 1720-1970", Cambridge, 1970, p. 221.

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	"	"	"
107. Cockerell & Green p. 93, S.T.L.R. 1859, pp. 1-5, 1862, p. 181, and 1863 advertisements section, on Life Assoc. of Scotland.
108. Cockerell & Green p. 81, and S.T.L.R. 1859, p. 6, on Caledonian. S.T.L.R. 1859, p. 9. Trustees included A.F. Bayford DCL, Kensington, Chas. Gay, Finchley, Edward Masterman, the London banker, and a relation of John M., the City of London member 1841-57 (according to Boase (op cit) p. 178) Francis Piggot M.P., and Thomas Winkworth director of the Commercial Bank of London. Its secretary was John Phillips of N.T.L., and its Glasgow manager A. Livingston of S.T.L. Its physician in the Glasgow area, Charles Ritchie, was perhaps related to Provost Andrew Ritchie M.D. of Pollockshields, a League official in the late 19th century.
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.
114. Ditto, p. 94. Globe records are with Royal Insurance, Liverpool and the Guildhall Library, London.
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,

S.P.B.T.A. 1874, advertisements, and M.D. Steuart "The Scottish Provident Institution, 1837-1937", Edinburgh, 1937.

I am indebted to the Glasgow office of the S.P.I. for their helpful comments.

117. K. Fielden, 'Samuel Smiles and Self Help', Victorian Studies, Dec. 65, 155, p. 161.
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:
- | | | | | |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|
| Manufacture | 1851 | 1861 | 1871 | 1881 |
| | 36.5 | 35.0 | 34.7 | 33.8 |
| Agriculture | 22.7 | 20.1 | 17.3 | 14.2 |
- 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 aforementioned 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).

122. See 'What to do with 1/- Saved', in Adviser, Oct. 1850, pp. 152-3. S.T.L.R. 1857, advertising.
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).
Revd. 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.
124. S.T.L.R. 1859 and 1860, advertising p. 10.
Ditto 1875.
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.

126. For the directors based at 1 Adelaide Place, London, (now the site of a huge Y.M.C.A. complex), i.e.
Samuel Bowly, the Quaker see Harrison, op cit, pp. 94, 107, 135, 159, 166, 181, 197, 211, 307, 349, and 351, on
Richard Barret see ditto, p. 94, 107, and 140.
T.B. Smithies " " p. 151, and 259,
John Taylor " " p. 276 and Winskill, op cit, Vol. II, pp. 482-3,
Benjamin Whitworth " " p. 225, 241, 257, and Winskill Vol. II, p. 534
Robert Warner (1815-96)" Winskill, op cit, Vol. II, p. 520,
Vice Admiral Sir W. King Hall K.C.B. (1820-86) of N.T.L., see Winskill, op cit, Vol. II, pp. 130-1,
J.T. Pritchett (1803-94) " " " " " " p. 344.
The Institution's Secretary was the aptly named Thomas Cash (1827-1901), son of the Quaker temperance reformer William Cash (1792-1849). On the Cash family, see Harrison, op cit, p. 70, and Winskill, op cit, Vol. I, p. 206.
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", (cited earlier). 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.
 On R. Smeal Jnr., see P.O. Directories, 1880, p. 896 For an example of the mobility of English teetotal accountants, see Winskill, op cit, Vol. I, p. 433, on the career of Alderman Benjamin Grime (1824-95) of Oldham. On Robert Blyth C.A., F.F.A., see "Who Was Who in Glasgow", p. 20.

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.

131. See the article by B. Aspinwall 'The Scottish Religious Identity in the Atlantic World 1880-1914', in Studies in Church History, 19, 1982.
 (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. Highet'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 (d. 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.

133. Cockerell & Green, op cit, Chapter 5, 'The Financial Framework of British Insurance', pp. 64-65 especially.
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, (1855-1922) 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 McLintock, a chartered accountant, Bailie J.P. Maclay of Maclay and McIntyre shipbuilders, Provost McPherson of Grangemouth, and Dr. Neil Carmichael.
Edinburgh - Prof. W.G. Blaikie, Prof. Calderwood, David Lewis, Jas. Tod of Eskbank House, Dalkeith, and George Watt, an advocate.
Dundee - Dean of Guild Henderson, Lt. Col. P.G. Walker J.P., jute manufacturers.
Aberdeen - Alexander S. Cook, merchant and temperance historian, and John Leith and Thomas Ogilvie - both manufacturers.
Belfast - Revd. R.S. Lynd, Forster Green, merchant, C. Diamond M.P., (Monaghan) Wm. Johnston M.P. (Belfast) the Revds. Charles Seaver DD, Henry Montgomery and George Cron, Wm. Scott, merchant, J. Acheson MacCullagh M.D., and the Mayor of Londonderry.
Manchester - Councillor Alexander McDougall Jnr. J.P., Alderman Alexander Forrest of the Holt Town Oil Works, and the Hon. J. Roby M.P., Eccles.
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.

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.
147. P. Gosden, "The Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875", Manchester, 1961, p. 3.
148. W.H. Marwick, "Scotland in Modern Times: a Survey of Economic and Social Developments since 1707", London, 1964, p. 63.
149. Taken from the Post Office Directories of Glasgow, 1870, 'Friendly Societies', pp. 88 et seq.
150. O. Checkland, "Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland", Section VII, 'The Benevolent Societies', pp. 21-27, especially Table 3, p.25, quoted from the "Handbook of Glasgow Charities", Glasgow, 1881.
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, 1962, 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.
157. See the comments of the Secretary to the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies made in 1873 and quoted in P. Gosden, "The Friendly Societies in England...", p. 1. Also, comments in The Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, Dec. 1912, pp 278-9.
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.
160. e.g. L.O.A.S. Loyal O.A.S., chosen quite deliberately. D.H. Hague, "An Historical Sketch of the L.O.A.S." n.d. c 1970. I am indebted to Mr. Johnstone, Manager of L.O.A.S. Bath St., Glasgow for access to the archives of the Order.
161. See P. Gosden, "The Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875", p. 20, on links to the Baptist and Independent Methodists especially.
162. S.T.L.R. 1910, pp. 48-50, see R.L. Greenall in S. Bell (ed.) "Victorian Lancashire", David & Charles, 1974. R. Roberts, "The Classic Slum - Salford Life in the first quarter of The Century", Manchester U.P., 1971, pp. 16-20, 29, 36 and 49.

163. i.e. "foundation of the edifice of working class thrift" - R. McKibbin, 'Working Class Gambling in Britain, 1880-1939', Past and Present, 82, 1979, p. 161.
164. Richardson Campbell, "Glasgow District 40 - a Jubilee Retrospect of 1923", I.O.R., 1923, p. 1, 'A Sketch of the Order'.
165. e.g. 'Pledge and Declaration taken by the Members of I.O.R.' a report of the verdicts taken at the H.M.C. at Edinburgh in 1897, and the Board Meeting of 1899 in the Rechabite and Temperance Magazine 1902 and September 1903, p. 204 (henceforth cited as R.T.M.) R. Highet, "A History of the Rechabites, 1835-1935", I.O.R., Salford, 1935, p. 345.
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.
169. Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, (hereafter cited as R.T.M.) April 1897, p. 41, 'Friendly Society Origins and Principles'.
170. R. Highet (supra) p. 49. Richardson Campbell, "Rechabite History" p. 92. e.g. Greig was I.O.R.'s activist around 1840-1 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.
171. S. and B. Webb, "Industrial Democracy", 1902 edition, p. 8.
172. P. Gosden, "The Friendly Societies in England...", pp 17, and 29-33.
173. Richardson Campbell, "Rechabite History", p. 156, for lectures on "Abstinence and Rechabatism 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.

174. See Highet (op cit), p. 214 and 283.
The I.O.R. membership included men like George Troup of Banner of Ulster, and later North British Daily Mail.
R. Highet, "History of the Rechabites, 1835-1935",
'The Independent Order of Rechabites to Daniel O'Connell M.P.'
pp. 79-84. Links between Scotland and Ireland are described
p. 61. Richardson Campbell's own career is interesting in this
connection, see "Glasgow District 40 - A Jubilee Retrospect of 1923".
175. Excerpts from the Minute Book of "Nazarene" tent, Port-Glasgow,
1839-46, entry dated 8.12.1841.
176. R. Highet, "History of the Rechabites...", pp. 60-62.
R. Campbell, "Rechabite History...", pp 157-159.
177. R. Highet, (supra) pp. 97-8. (The Neisons were also social
investigators of the 1850's). See "Glasgow District 40 - A
Jubilee Retrospect of 1923".
178. P. Gosden, "Self-Help: Voluntary Associations in the 19th Century",
pp. 80-84, and on the Friendly Societies Acts, P. Gosden,
"The Friendly Societies in England...", Chapter VII, pp. 185-196.
179. See the "Sons of Temperance of North America Centennial, 1842-1942",
New York, 1942, pp. 1-16, 35, and 169.
180. Revd. J. Dawson Burns, "Temperance History...", Vol. 1, p. 454,
and Vol. 2, p. 103 and 120.
181. Rechabite Gazette , June 1877. I am indebted to Mr. William Reid
and his staff for access to the Rechabite archive at I.O.R. Bath
St. Glasgow.
"Bonnie Dundee Souvenir", Dundee District I.O.R., 1925, p. 40.
See also "Glasgow District 40 - A Jubilee Retrospect", 'The
Formation of the District'.
The Rechabite Gazette, 8 Dec. 1877, p. 1.
R.T.M. June 1884, p. 116. R.T.M. May 1884, p. 100.
See the article by Bro. H. Sheppard, D.C.R. of the Belfast
District in R.T.M. August 1884, p. 165.
R.T.M. January 1886, p. 52, 'How Best to Promote the Extension
of I.O.R.', by Robert Dunnachie, P.D.C.R., Glasgow.
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.
183. R.T.M. July 1886, p. 187.
184. L.O.A.F. Reports, 1880-1893, Annual Report 1884.

185. For the L.O.A.F.'s origins see P. Gosden, "The Friendly Societies in England", pp. 36-39, his source being "An Historical Sketch of the Order", Annual L.O.A.F. Directory, 1890.

186. P. Gosden, "Self-Help: Voluntary Association in the 19th Century", p. 101. P. Gosden, "The Friendly Societies in England", pp. 26 and 46. By 1876 Manchester Unity of Oddfellows had 508,013 and the L.O.A.F. 491,196 members. In 1872 the Orders ranked thus:

Grand United Order of Oddfellows	71,000
Order of Druids	57,000
Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds (Ashton Unity)	46,000
National Original Oddfellows	35,000
Ancient Imperial Oddfellows	40,000

 (All figures are for the U.K. inclusive). L.O.A.F. Annual Reports 1883-1900, Annual Report 1883 p. 4. The L.O.A.F. and the A.O.G. both met in Hamilton Road. Annual Report 1891, p. 5 - U.K. court funds at 1890 amounted to £4,019,293, District funds to £532,672, totalling £4,551,965. Annual Report 1900, p. 1 - By 1900 Glasgow court and district funds were £61,745 and £9,198 respectively.
 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.

187. D.H. Hague, "Historical Sketch of the L.O.A.S.", pp. 1-5. L.O.A.S. was formed in 1826 at Friendship Inn, Ashton under Lyne, Lancs. By March 1829 it spread to Oldham, Rochdale, and Ossett.

188. R.H. McKinnon and J.S. Johnstone, "The First Century: An Historical Review of Glasgow District L.O.A.S.", Glasgow, 1970, pp. 1-3.

189. D.H. Hague, "Historical Sketch of the L.O.A.S.", pp. 6-7 on the Greenock Conference of 1891. L.O.A.S. remained however a branch society with minimal centralisation. C. Brown and J. Taylor "Friendly Societies", Cambridge Institute of Actuaries, 1944, Chapter II, 'Types of Societies', pp. 9-12.
 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, Gt. 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 Gt. 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 illfeeling. 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 593 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 110 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. $\frac{1}{3}$ 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

- 196 of Friendly Societies placed I.O.R. first for numerical progress. Over 1888-1890 the three largest orders, i.e. Oddfellows, Foresters, and Shepherds, opened 202 lodges/courts to I.O.R.'s 425. R.T.M. July 1892, p. 165, and Dec. 1894, p. 267. In 1893 21% of all newly registered societies were I.O.R.'s - R.T.M. Oct. 1894, p. 219. By 1903 this proportion was 25% - S.T.L.R., 1905, p. 83.
197. G.B. Wilson, "Alcohol and the Nation", p. 257. Revd. A. Craib, "Benefit Societies and the Working Classes", Dumbarton, n.d. pp 12-13. For descriptions of the centralised societies see, P. Gosden, "The Friendly Societies in England", pp. 50-52.
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.
199. Shipyards - See R.T.M. Dec. 1884, p. 265, and "Glasgow District 40 - A Jubilee Retrospect of 1923", where 'Sketch of the I.O.R.' mentions I.O.R.'s links with the firm of Randolph & Elder, also R.T.M. Jan. 1895, p. 21 for connections with the Allan and Henderson families, and R.T.M. Oct. 1894, p. 237 for mention of the "Sir A. Maclean" and the "Anchor Line" tents. P.T. Winskill's "Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th Century", Vol. II, p. 258 notes similar links in connection with the Order in Newport, Monmouthshire. Engineering - See R.T.M. Dec. 1884, p. 265 on the background of Richardson Campbell, described in P.T. Winskill (as above) Vol. I, p. 193 and given in full in the Biographical Appendix. See also R.T.M. Nov. 1891, p. 343 and June 1901 for references to the Hydepark Locomotive Works. Ironworks - e.g. R.T.M. Jan. 1892, p. 23 on Bro. John Jasper, "The Ironman, or celebrated teetotal forgerman and iron workers friend", formerly of Lawmoor Ironworks, also P.T. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers...", Vol. II, p. 178 on I.O.R. connections with Gartsherrie and the Firhill Ironworks. Collieries See R.T.M. Nov. 1892 for details of support at Millburn Colliery, Larkhall, July 1900, p. 167 on Ayrshire miners' support, and Feb. 1895, p. 46, on I.O.R. meeting in Bothwell Colliery Hall. Also R.T.M. Feb. 1895, p. 50, for a statement of the way in which the miners' strike effectively halted the Order's progress in 1894-5. Ropeworks - See "Bonnie Dundee Souvenir", Dundee, I.O.R., 1925, p. 40 on I.O.R. pioneers, especially p. 50 on Bro. W.S. Young. Cotton works - See R.T.M. Jan. 1897 references to the "George A. Clark" tent at Paisley, and R.T.M. Nov. 1902, p. 264 to James Coats. P.T. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers...", Vol. II, p. 187, reveals similar links with the cotton industry in the Salford area. Bakeries - especially Co-operative model ones, see R.T.M. Aug., 1901, p. 165. Printworks - see the biographical details of George Rowe, and John McNeill of Belfast (compositors) in Winskill, Vol. II, p. 392 and 216, also Vol. II p. 246 on G.T. Miller (Edinburgh binder). Masons - See R.T.M. Dec. 1887 on the initiation of the former Arbroath stonemason Revd. D. Ritchie Kay, of London Rd. U.P. Church, Edinburgh. Carpenters - See R.T.M. Sept. 1893, p. 206, and also P.T. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers...", Vol. I, p. 497. Tailors - See the article on Bro. William Turner of Port-Glasgow, winner of the National Federation of

Foreman Tailors' Society gold medal for the best set of patterns of 1891, in R.T.M. Oct. 1891, p. 289, reprinted from Tailor and Cutter. See also P.T. Winskill "Temperance Standard Bearers", Vol. II, p. 187 on Andrew Law, a Kendal official of I.O.R. (Cranston of course was a teetotal tailor, and the Glasgow Co-operative Tailors were subscribers to Glasgow teetotal societies). For the work of Sir Isaac Pitman (1813-1897) see P.T. Winskill (as above) Vol. II, p. 327. R.T.M. Jan. 1893, p. 11 refers to the "Phonetic Ever-Circulating Society" within I.O.R. which was written entirely in Pitman's shorthand by members who like the C.C.C. staff (and indeed men like Keir Hardie) were desperately keen to perfect this skill. So too does R.T.M. Feb. 1894, p. 41. See P.T. Winskill (as above) Vol. II, p. 315, on J.W. Penney of the Essex I.O.R., editor of the Rechabite Ever-Circulator, and a professional shorthand teacher. The promotion of shorthand by middle class temperance reformers was in some cases too allied to the movement for spelling reform espoused by some of Harrison's sample of U.K.A. supporters. See Brian Harrison 'British Prohibitionists 1853-1872, a Biographical Analysis', International Review of Social History, Vol. XV, 1970, Part 3. See R.T.M. July 1900, p. 167, for comments on a new tent at Corkerhill in May 1900 entitled the "Glasgow and South Western" and also R.T.M. April 1898, p. 96, on the "Rosebery" tent's interest in railway telegraphy etc.

200. On the A.S.E. and the A.S.C.J. see B.C. Roberts, "The Trades Union Congress: 1868-1921", London, 1958, where p. 93 describes their benefits. For the A.S.E. see also pp. 38, 121, 151, 194, 290-8, and 316, and for the A.S.C.J. see pp. 15-18, 36, 52, 79, 191, 250 and 290. See also A.E. Musson "A History of British Trades Unions: 1800-75", London, 1972, p. 17. Richardson Campbell of the I.O.R. highlighted the membership of the following in his "Provident and Industrial Institutions" pp. 206-7 -
Union membership at 1886

Amalgamated Engineers	52,019
Boilermakers and Iron shipbuilders	26,776
Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners	24,979
Operative Cottonspinners	15,527
Ironfounders	12,035
Operative Stonemasons	10,483
Railway Servants	9,609

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.

204. J. Vincent (ed.) "Autobiography of a Beggar Boy..." p. 24.
P. Gosden, "The Friendly Societies in England..." pp 71-93.
205. S.T.L.R. 1908, pp 89-90, 'Independent Order of Rechabites - A New Chief Ruler', also S.T.L.R. 1909 article pp 99-102 "Independent Order of Rechabites". Dunnachie was the first ever Scottish H.C.R. in 1895. R.T.M. Oct. 1906, p. 223 his brother W.J. Dunnachie was a successful mine manager in South Africa, whilst sisters were married to the Revd. Adamson of Galashiels and R.W. Taylor, a well known Arbroath businessman. R.T.M. Aug. 1891, p. 248. Duncan Kirkwood the 1904 H.C.R. was also a Glasgow man, being born there in 1847, but was the Belfast representative - R.T.M. Jan. 1904, p. 1. R.T.M. Jan. 1896, pp 1-2. Dunnachie was very mobile. When first on the Board he resided at 170 Whitehall St., Dennistoun. By 1889 however he had removed to 69 Cadder St., Pollockshaws East. - R.T.M. Oct. 1887, p. 269 and Sept. 1889, p. 271. R.T.M. Jan. 1900, p. 1-2. On Main, R.T.M. Dec. 1899, p. 304, Jan. 1908, p. 1, and his obituary on the 15th July 1909. R.T.M. Dec. 1902, 'Notes'.
206. R. Highet, "History of the Rechabites..." Appendix A, p. 496.
207. For Temple... R.T.M. 1897, 'Report of the 37th H.M.C.', and obituary in R.T.M. Sept. 1903, p. 218, also, C.H. Dant, "Archbishop Temple, P.C., D.D., LL.D." Scott, London, 1903, pp. 107-124, 176-82; especially Chapter xiii, 'Embarked Upon the Work of Temperance'. W.F. Aitken, "Frederick Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury", London, Partridge, 1901, Chapter VII, 'The Primate and Temperance Reformer', pp. 152-60.
On Macrae - R.T.M. Feb. 1893, pp 25-6 and the Biographical Appendix. Macrae, mentioned earlier, was the son of an Oban minister, an I.O.G.T. leader, author of various temperance novels, and joined the I.O.R. in Dundee in 1885. He was noted for talks on his experiences in America, "ecclesiastical satire, and his "Reminiscences of George Gillfillan". A U.P. minister from 1873, he was identified with the movement for creed reform. For Hamilton, R.T.M. Nov. 1900, 'Rechabite Portrait Gallery'. Born like Bro. White in Larkhall in 1869, he was educated at St. John's Academy, Hamilton, Glasgow University, and the Evangelical Union classes of the Revd. Dr. Morison, and was ordained in 1894. He worked for the Band of Hope in Ayrshire, was a member of Troon School Board, and was a keen cyclist. On Arnot, Revd. W. Arnot "Autobiography" (op cit), and the Biographical Appendix.

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,

- Auld Killie, Bound Volume, 1893-1895, Sept. 1, 1893, p. 9.
'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".
214. R.T.M. Dec. 1884, p. 265, on John Lyon of Belfast's conversion of Richardson Campbell to Rechabism, also C. Oakley "Our Illustrious Forebears...", p. 203. "James Shaw", Maryhill met in the Conservative Rooms Garbraid St., R.T.M. June 1902, p. 167. The Motherwell Post Office Directories for 1894 referred to the "H.M. Stanley", tent, headed by William Russel, George Boyle and William Wilson. Airdrie I.O.R. also met in the Orange Hall - R.T.M. June 1900, p. 119. Cameron Corbett and Chisholm were both interested in "Union" Glasgow as were Dr. Brown and Commissioner Rolls - R.T.M. Dec. 1892, p. 281. J.G.A. Baird was connected with "Pride of the West" - R.T.M. Feb. 1896, p. 50. For Unionist interest in local philanthropy in general see the Cameron Corbett Papers, Glasgow University Archives.
215. Most were initiated when already M.P.s unlike Shackleton. R.T.M. June, 1902, p. 167, 1905 p. 46 and Sept. 1902, p. 223. e.g. On Rallie of Gateshead, R.T.M. Jan. 1892, p. 14.
216. R.T.M. Jan. 1900, p. 2, for Bro. Andrew Bennet Sen.'s links with "radical temperance candidates", and R.T.M. April 1907, 'Obituaries', for his son's prominence in the Liberal Cabinet of the Glasgow Parliamentary Debating Society, and the South-Side Branch of the Young Scots Society.
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.
219. R.T.M. June 1888, p. 140 on Sunday Closing and Local Veto and opposition to the Local Government Bill's provisions. On temperance politics - R.T.M. Jan. 1889, p. 13, Sept. 1893, p.205, 1894, p. 114, Dec. 1894, p. 267, and Oct. 1894, p. 219. On the National Council of the Free Churches see, D.W. Bebbington, "The Nonconformist conscience: Chapel and Politics 1870-1914", London, 1980, p. 72.
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. Highet "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 1900 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.
222. See W. Hanna (ed.) 'Sermons by the late Thomas Chalmers', Vol. IV, 'Posthumous Works', p. 387, Employers and beverages - Rechabite Gazette, 10 Feb., 1878, p. 6.
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.
224. H. Pelling, "A History of British Trade Unionism", Penguin reprint 1981, pp. 21, 23, 35, 55, 66-72, and 96. B.C. Roberts, "The Trades Union Congress: 1868-1921", London, 1958, pp. 35-6, 128, 133, and 175. See R.T.M. 1906, p. 233. 'Trades Unions and Friendly Societies',

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, nor 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.
- 226. R.T.M. May 1894, p. 101.
- 227. R.T.M. Sept. 1893, p. 143, and 1906, p. 233.
- 228. R.T.M. June, 1896, p. 125.
- 229. Bailie, Wed. Jan. 22, 1873, article 'Sic Vos Non Vobis etc.'
- 230. R.T.M. autumn and winter 1894, and Feb. 1895, p. 50.
- 231. R.T.M. Sept. 1897, p. 266.
- 232. R.T.M. Aug. 1896, p. 193.
- 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.
- 234. R.T.M. Aug. 1896, p. 193.
- 235. R.T.M. 1911, p. 155.
- 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.

- R.T.M. Aug. 1896, Glasgow District Supplement, p. 193, article by 'T.C.S.'. Acting as individuals, some English Rechabites for example presented paid up shares in local model-lodgings houses to the Order. For Scottish interest in housing see Sir A. McGregor, "A History of Public Health in Glasgow" plus A. Gibb, "Glasgow - the Making of a City", London, 1983, pp. 119, 121, 127, 130-7, 143-7, and I. Adam, "The Making of Urban Scotland", London, 1978, Chapters VII and VIII. Also, W. Walker, "Juteopolis: Dundee and its textile workers", p. 357 on the Scottish Prohibition Party and the housing question.
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 hydropathic 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.
239. R.T.M. Nov. 1892, p. 256. On emigration's decline as a solution to labour supply problems see, C.S. Loch (ed.) "Methods of Social Advance: Short studies in social practice by various authors", pp. 88-96, 'Emigration and Want of Employment', by John Martineau. Over 1883-98 emigration declined from 91,000 to 14,000 p.a. Wilson, "Alexander McDonald...", p. 113. See Hight (op cit) p. 435, 'Adult Membership in Districts Abroad, 1885-1910'. On Canada, see R.T.M. Sept. 1905, 'Report of the

H.M.C.' On Scots' societies, C. Harvie, "Scotland and Nationalism: Society and Politics 1707-1977", p. 96.

240. R.T.M. Nov. 1898, 'Notes', 'A New Day for Rechabatism'.
241. See R.T.M. Jan. 1891 'Notes', Apr. 1891, p. 94, and March 1896, p. 70, respectively. For the Rechabite Musical Assoc., see May 1892, p. 117, and for the Kirkintilloch Band Sept. 1899, p. 191. On the Musical and Dramatic Assoc., with a chorus of 80 and a full orchestra and bookings at the "Corporation Recitals", see Jan. 1894, p. 19 and Feb. 1894, p. 48. Poor audiences at Bridgeton were complained of in R.T.M. March, 1893, p. 70. I.O.R. Glasgow, and even I.O.R. Kilbarchan's use of professional entertainers is mentioned in R.T.M. Dec., 1896, p. 69, and Dec. 1901, p. 323. On attendance R.T.M. April 1900, p. 95. There were Rechabite Bowling Clubs at Edinburgh and Gateside Pit, Sanquhar, - R.T.M. Dec. 1903, p. 312. For typical Rechabite excursions R.T.M. Aug., 1892, p. 191 and Sept. 1894, p. 215. Alloa I.O.R. met in Greenside Mission Chapel (R.T.M. Apr. 1893, p. 143) "Triumph", Glasgow in a United Presbyterian Mission, (Apr. 1895, p. 94), Bothwell I.O.R. in the Douglas Presbyterian Mission Hall, (June 1909, p. 119) and Jedburgh in a Home Mission Hall. (unspecified). The Edinburgh missionary Peters was also connected with the I.O.R. - see R.T.M. Jan. 1892, p. 20. Rechabites were hostile to raffles and dancing. On William Thomson, scientist and antiquary given a presentation by the Order e.g. - R.T.M. July 1895, p. 148. The I.O.R. emblem won a gold medal at an unspecified exhibition at Paris, according to R.T.M. Sept. 1901, p. 220, and was later loaned to a Milan exhibition.
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 Highet (op cit) p. 115-119.

243. "Bonnie Dundee Souvenir", p. 39. On resuscitation of female Rechabitism in the 1870's - Rechabite Gazette, 3, July 1877, p.2. "Scottish Bluebell" met every fourth Mon. in the North British Buildings, Coatbridge, its Secretary being Mrs. Richardson Campbell, and had been established by tent officials of "Scottish Welcome". See R.T.M. March 1886, p. 55. R.T.M. Sept. 1887, p. 219 and 226. No male tent paid "funeral only" - see R.T.M. Sept. 1893, p. 211.
244. R.T.M. Sept., 1889, p. 249 'Report of the High Moveable Conference'.
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. 231, 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.
249. R.T.M. 1889, p. 2. 'Juvenile Rechabitisim: Past, present and future', by T. Cunliffe (an editor of R.T.M.). Also, 'Juvenile Temperance Benefit Societies and their Relation to Band of Hope Effort', a paper by H. Wells Smith a Past High Superintendent of Juvenile Temples to the Portsmouth Band of Hope Union, and reprinted in R.T.M. Nov. 1903.
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'.
252. Early district strength is described in Rechabite Gazette, June 1877, p. 1, and Nov. p. 2, and in R.T.M. Aug. 1886, p. 194, Jan. 1887, p. 43, and Sept. 1887, p. 206. No juvenile figures

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

Year	Number of U.K. Districts	Juvenile Members
1883	33	6,816
1884	40	10,229
1885	53	14,544
1886	57	21,107
1887	63	23,022
1888	66	27,410

See also R.T.M. 1887, p. 215, Sept. 1897, p. 214-6, and Sept. 1901, p. 218 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. Sept. 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.

253. On infanticide and malingering, R.T.M. Jan. 1889, p. 34, and K. Chesney "The Victorian Underworld", Penguin reprint, 1982, pp. 418-9, on the Infant Life Protection Act of 1872 and N.S.P.C.C. (1884).
254. On legislation and the resultant reorganisation of juvenile work, R.T.M. Sept., 1895, p. 223, Jan. 1897, p. 32, and July 1897, p. 129. For reduction of the age of entry R.T.M. Nov. 1896, p. 260 and May 1905 extra on the Glasgow decision to admit from birth. R.T.M. Sept. 1905, 'Report of the High Secretary of Juvenile Temples to the High moveable conference of August 1905' - Glasgow membership had risen from 12,290-14,466 over 1902-4, the 2nd largest increase of any juvenile district. R.T.M. 1902, p. 118 on the new conferences.
255. R.T.M. Sept. 1906, p. 201 'Juvenile Progress'. Scottish Temperance Annual 1908, pp 49-50, 'The Results of Our Juvenile Work', by Richardson Campbell. Also R.T.M. Sept., 1906, p. 108, 'The Order's Progress in 1905' by R. Shepherd, S.T.L.R. 1910, p. 78 'The Rechabite Order in Scotland'. See R.T.M. 1911, p. 215, 'Report of the 44th High Moveable Conference' for membership decline in areas like Belfast, (down 342) Dundee, (219) Northumberland, (468) Gwent and East Glamorgan, (254) and South Monmouth, (298). For the London membership, see R.T.M. 1913, p. 214, 'Report of the 46th High Moveable Conference', and ditto p. 212 for the debate over the pledge age. Glasgow boosted its adult figures 1900 on by transferring children to the adult lodges at 14 not 15 - see R.T.M. June 1900, p. 115.

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:

Order	England	Scotland	Ireland	Total
I.O.R.	59	9	2	70
Shepherds	49	11		60
Foresters	39	4		43
Oddfellows (M)	38		2	40
" (Gr.Un.)	37			37
" (Nat.Ind)	34	9		43
Sons of Temp.	29			29
Sons of Phoenix	28			28

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 $\frac{1}{3}$ 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.

261. J. Treble, 'The Attitudes of Friendly Societies towards the Movement in Gt. Britain for State Pensions 1878-1908', International Review of Social History, Vol. XV, 1970, Pt. 2, pp. 266-299. B.B. Gilbert, "The Evolution of National Insurance", London, 1966, pp 166-7.
262. B. Harrison, 'Two Roads to Social Reform: Francis Place and the Drunken Committee of 1834', Historical Journal, XI, 1968, pp 272-300.
263. Adviser, Oct. 1850, p. 151. J.R. Hay "The Origins of the Liberal Welfare Reform 1906-1914", p. 15 (Several friendly societies had a more 'international' outlook than Gosden in "The Friendly Societies in England...", p. 12, suggests). See R.T.M. Jan. 1901, p. 15, 'The German Accident Insurance Law', 1902 'Old Age Funds in Germany', and 1903, pp. 40 and 104. See also, Richardson Campbell, "Provident and Industrial Institutions", pp. 226 and 232.
264. Treble, (op cit) p. 268.
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 1900 s - (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 thrifless 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'.
267. C.L. Mowat, "The Charity Organisation Society 1869-1913", London, 1961, pp. 137-44 and 158-9, Gilbert, (op cit) p. 561.

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.
270. On the Federation, R.T.M. March 1889 article 'The Friendly Societies Federation', and R.T.M. April 1889 report on 'The Conference of Friendly Societies'. R.T.M. 1906, p. 233. On the amendments to the Friendly Societies sought, see e.g. R.T.M. May 1894, p. 102. See R.T.M. May 1894, p. 101 on the 1894 Conference. Pressure for thrift education in schools was a feature of Yorkshire friendly society co-operation - R.T.M. 1909, p. 160. On sports, R.T.M. June 1896, p. 148 and on the Scottish Friendly Societies Journal R.T.M. Nov. 1896, p. 263. The Glasgow Evening Times column was remarked upon in R.T.M. Jan. 1902, p. 23.
271. Hostility to the Prudential, notwithstanding links with the Anti Corn Law League and Sir George Green, surfaces in R.T.M. March 1900, p. 50, and also in Scrymgeour's newspaper, The Prohibitionist. On slate clubs, R.T.M. Oct. 1900, 'Fall of a Slate Club Trustee', in R.T.M. Aug. 1904 for an article on 'Dividing Societies', R.T.M. Dec. 1905, p. 306 for 'Dividing Friendly Societies', and the 'extra' on 'Dividing Societies' in R.T.M. 1909. Rechabites consistently denounced these and their financial instability, and regarded their members as an inferior species as the nickname, "slaters", denoted.
272. Such strikes of course dated back to the 1860's - N.P. Howard, 'Strikes and Lockouts in the Iron Industry and the Formation of the Ironworkers' Unions 1862-1869', International Review of Social History, XVIII, 1973, 3, pp 396-428. I am indebted to Mr. Pillings, Secretary of the Iron Trades Employers' Insurance Association Ltd., Glasgow, for access to source material pertaining to this group. Iron Trades Employers' Association Record, bound volume 1872-1900, 1871-2, p. 4-5, and adjacent copy of Sir Benjamin Brown's "Suggested Rules for Subsidising Employers whose Workmen are on Strike", p.p. 1871, pp 157-162. Ditto, 1872, p. 12 on subsidies, 1873 on "enquiry notes", 1873 p. 25 on the "Registry for Workmen", and 1872, p. 14 on the aforementioned Boards, seen as "enabling bosses to remain bosses". See Record (supra) years 1872, p. 15, 1874, p. 30, and 1873, p. 25 respectively.

Iron Trades Employers' Association Record, 1899, pp. 164-167. David Harris, head foreman at Sir William Arrol's Bridgeton works was a trustee. The Executive Council included George Brown, foreman sawmiller with John Brown of Clydebank, and Henderson. Its Central Committee comprised employers and foremen. Members could only appoint delegates to the shop club's A.G.M., although the Trustees were always equal numbers of employers, foremen, and under-foremen. It was advanced in the sense that it had sought registration under the 1896 Friendly Societies Act and had a pension scheme. 'Friendly Societies and Contracting Out', in R.T.M. May, 1904, p. 102. R.T.M. May 1897, "Report of the National Conferences of Friendly Societies", 'Compulsory Insurance'. Andrew Bennet, 'The Shop Clubs Act', in R.T.M. Jan. 1903, p. 6. R.T.M. June, 1900, p. 102. R.T.M. Jan. 1903, p. 7. Rechabite criticisms of shop clubs were given in full in R.T.M. Jan. 1899, pp. 26-7, 'Employers' Shop Clubs - A General Statement', and ran to 14 counts. R.T.M. Jan. 1903, pp. 6-7, Feb. 1903, p. 27, and May 1903, p. 102.

273. B.B. Gilbert, 'The Decay of 19th Century Provident Institutions and the Coming of Old Age Pensions in Gt. Britain', Economic History Review, Vol. XVII, 3, p. 559. R.T.M. Jan. 1911, p. 10 'Among the Friendly Societies', for example expressed worries about the numerical strength of the friendly societies, even although the temperance friendly societies were still doing well.
274. R. Hay, 'Government policy towards labour in Britain 1900-1914, some further issues', Scottish Labour History Society Journal, 10, 1976, p. 42, page J.A. Hobson.
275. R.T.M. July, 1909, p. 34 'State Insurance and Friendly Societies'. On the ill effects of delay, - R.T.M. 1911, p. 127, 'The Sickness and Invalidity Bill', By a Member of the Board of Directors. Brown and Taylor (op cit) "Friendly Societies", pp 17-20. Report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, "The Friendly Societies", H.M.S.O., 1974, p. 29-34, '100 Years Ago...'. 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 Vict. 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. 1910, 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.
278. Compare R.T.M. May 1913, p. 104, where the Rechabites quoted from James O'Grady M.P. and John Ward M.P. on "insuring their babies with the Death Hunter for the capitalist institutions", and the I.O.R.'s own descriptions of bureaucracy and the vested interests to the views of these progressives for example on democracy and the 'trust question' in R. Hofstadter, "The Progressive Movement 1900-1915", Prentice Hall, N.J. 1963, pp. 20-7, 141-4, 161-8, and 178.
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.
280. For the Webbs' "English Local Government", Vol. I, 1906, pp 56-57.
281. On the Rechabite attitude to the "Wet Friendly" see the article by Dr. Carpenter of Croydon 'Temperance Benefit Societies and

Some of their results', in R.T.M. 1887, pp 8-11, R.T.M. 1897, Notes, 'Wet Rents', R.T.M. 1904 'Amongst the Friendly Societies', on 'The Loyal Order of Shepherds', 1906, p. 234. 'Oddfellows' A.M.C. At Bradford - Lodge Meetings in Public Houses', July 1909, 'Notes', 'Wet Rents', R.T.M. 1910, p. 79 'Friendly Societies and Licensed Premises', R.T.M. Dec. 1914, p. 253, 'The National Conference of Friendly Societies and Meetings on Licensed Premises', and May 1914, p. 142, 'Amongst the Friendly Societies', where the I.O.R. were disappointed to learn that the English Commissioners had allowed the wets a 5 year stay of execution. On the I.O.R.'s independent action see R.T.M. 1911, 'Report of the 44th High Moveable Conference', The National Insurance Bill, pp. 232-235.

282. R.T.M. Feb. 1912, extra 'The National Insurance Act of 1911', pp 30-31. R.T.M. Sept. 1911, 'Report on the National Insurance Scheme', pp 228-9. (the pages which followed outlined precisely why Rechabites should make the effort to do so). On utilisation of other social reform agencies to recruit for I.O.R. see R.T.M. 1912, p. 168, and May 1912, pp 80-81. For a list of the 20 or so temperance friendly societies all competing under the Insurance Act, see R.T.M. 1913, p. 79, 'The New Era and its Problems - Our Competitors'.
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 Hight, (op cit) p. 424. 'The Transition Stage - H.M.C. in a Fog', R.T.M. Oct., 1913, pp 280-281.

286. In June 1913 the statement of voluntary membership was as follows:

England	165,389
Scotland	55,830
Wales	29,369
Ireland	<u>3,240</u>
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'.
287. Brown & Taylor (op cit) "Friendly Societies", pp. 22-3, and Chapter X, 'Friendly Societies Since The Advent of National Insurance', p. 89 et seq.
288. "Scottish Temperance Convention Papers", Dundee, 1898, p. 109 in 'A Scottish Burgh and the Liquor Traffic', by James Winning of Paisley. Similar comments, pertaining to Airdrie, appeared in the article, 'Remarkable Ten Years' Record', by Provost James Knox J.P. in the S.T.L.R. 1911, pp. 82-84.
289. Quoted from S.T.L.R. 1910, pp. 48-50, 'Rechabites' 75th Anniversary'.
290. Dr. Ferguson's description of himself appears in, W. Adamson (ed.) "The Life of the Revd. Fergus Ferguson MA DD" London, 1900, p.1.
291. Bebbington (op cit) p. 387.
292. G. Ahern 'A History of Mystery - The Tradition of Esoteric thought in Western Culture', in Times Higher Education Supplement, 11.2.83, p. 11.
293. 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.
294. B. Harrison "Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain", Oxford, 1982, Chapter V, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', pp. 217-259, and P. Köhler and H. Zacher "The Evolution of Social Insurance 1881-1981", Pinter, 1983.
295. H. Levy "Drink - An Economic and Social Study", p. 218, and " " "Industrial Assurance", London, 1937.
296. R.Q. Gray 'Thrift and Working Class Mobility in Victorian Edinburgh', (op cit) p. 137, and C.H. Lee 'Modern Economic Growth and Structural Change in Scotland: The Service Sector Reconsidered', Scottish Social and Economic Research, 13, 1983, pp. 7-8, 14-15, 17-18.

297. 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. Vincent (ed.) "Autobiography of a Beggar Boy", Introduction, pp. 23-26. 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.
298. For an indication of the architecture produced by the thrift movement see the descriptions of Glasgow banks in J.K. M'Dowall "The People's History of Glasgow", Glasgow, 1899, pp. 66-69, and also local insurance company buildings in "Tweed's Guide to Glasgow", Molendinar Press reprint, Glasgow, 1973. 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 Arnot, who chose to be a gardener rather than a clerk out of a "decided contempt for money-making" "Autobiography of the Revd. Wm. Arnot", 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, Arnot'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/-).
299. J.K. M'Dowall "The People's History of Glasgow", p. 25, "Report of a Committee of the Institute of Accountants on Various Matters Relating to the law of Bankruptcy", Glasgow, Hedderwick, 1855. On the City of Glasgow Bank and its demise, see W.H. Marwick "Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland", Clifton (reprint) 1973, pp. 56, 76, 78, 83, 123, and 186. 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:

1860	445	35% of total English	1890	339	8.6%
1876	482	49 and Welsh	1896	317	7.7
1880	582	58 bankruptcies.	1899	297	7.3
1885	362	9	1900	341	7.8

The U.K. total for 1902 was 4749, according to "Haydn's Dictionary of Dates and Universal Information", 23rd edit., London, 1904. The high proportion of Scottish bankruptcies over the period 1860-1880 reflected trade depressions and the prevalence of fraud in joint stock ventures.

On the Small Debt Court as a symbol, note its inclusion in "Tweed's Guide to Glasgow" amongst other Glasgow landmarks. J.K. M'Dowall "The People's History of Glasgow", p. 38.

301. B. Hilton's unpublished paper, "Thomas Chalmers - Political Economist". The authoritative work on the economic impact of the "Great Depression", remains, T.J. Byers "The Scottish Economy During the Great Depression of 1873-1896", unpublished Glasgow University B. Litt thesis, 1963. See also J.B. Brown (op cit) p. 382.
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.
304. W.H. Marwick "Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland", pp. 80-84, 'The Migration of Capital',

- S. Checkland "The Upas Tree: Glasgow 1875-1975 and after" pp. 14-15, this was doubly important given the Clyde's "heavy producer-goods industrial economy", (see pp. 9-12).
B. Lenman "An Economic History of Modern Scotland, 1660-1976", and C. Harvie "Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707-1977", London, 1977, pp. 107 *et seq.*
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.
Sherwell & Rowntree "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform" London, 1899, p. 15.
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), pp 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.
306. M.E. Loane "The Next Street but One", London, 1907, p. 80. 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".
R.Q. Gray "Thrift and Working Class Mobility in Victorian Edinburgh", (op cit) p. 132, G. Best "Mid-Victorian Britain", pp. 256-263.

308. Gray, (op cit) p. 138.
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.
310. Nettle ford's work is quoted from D. Fraser "Urban Politics in Victorian England", Leicester U.P., 1976, p.170. For C.S. Loch's view that the housing needs of the 'best sort' be attended to first, see C.S. Loch "The Dwellings of the Poor", London, C.O.S., 1882, p. 14.
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 Sty: 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

The laws of changeless justice bind
The oppressor with the oppressed
And close as sin and suffering joined
We march to fate abreast.

See echoes of Chalmers' "Political Economy of the Bible", (especially pp. 8-17) in Rechabite use of eve imagery - 'The Emblem of the Order', R.T.M. Jan. 1902, pp 32-33. Rechabite and Temperance Magazine, homily 'Obstacles', in July, 1895, p. 146, and 'Social Amelioration', in March 1897, p. 51. Agar's prayer was "the glorious independence found mid-way between extreme poverty and exceeding riches". R.S. Neale "Class and Ideology in the 19th Century", London, 1972, introduction. J.B. Brown 'The Pig or the Sty: Drink and Poverty in late Victorian Britain', (op cit) pp 381 and 394.

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.