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DRINK AND SOBRIETY IN ENGLAND

1815-1872

A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY *

Social historians studying nineteenth-century England tend to concentrate on the work-situation, and therefore on the conflicting interests of employer and employee. Dr John Vincent, however, has recently directed attention to the popular basis of nineteenth-century Liberalism; this brings into the forefront quite different social alignments – especially when conflicts over religion and recreation are investigated. Popular radicalism “was the product of the leisure of Saturday night and Sunday morning, the pothouse and the chapel, not of the working week”. This shift in interest brings the drink question to the fore, as several scholars have already realised: “it would be hard to say why historians have not rated the effect of strong drink as the significant factor in nineteenth-century history that it undoubtedly was”, wrote Dr Kitson Clark recently; “its importance stands out from every page of the contemporary record”. W. L. Burn thought it “arguable” that the Beer Act of 1830 was “more revolutionary in its immediate social consequences than any other of the reforming age”.¹

Still, no history of the drink problem in England has yet been published; the most recent study of the temperance movement was published as long ago as 1933 (No 241). Biographers of prominent temperance reformers – T. H. Green or H. E. Manning – pay little attention to a cause which, though now unfashionable, moulded their subjects’ attitude to society. My own work in this area (Nos 242, 243, 542, 772, 828-9) by no means exhausts the field. There is no compre-

* This bibliography includes much of the material in the bibliography of my thesis (No 243) but omits all items not directly relating to the temperance question. It also includes much additional material and has been completely rearranged.

¹ J. R. Vincent, *The Formation of the Liberal Party 1857-1868* (London 1966), p. 79; G. Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England* (London, 1962), p. 127; W. L. Burn, *The Age of Equipoise* (London, 1964), p. 281. All numerical references in this introduction refer to the bibliographical list printed below.

hensive scholarly secondary work on the brewing industry between 1830 and 1886, and only one scholarly article (No 125) on the distilling industry. Research is needed on the Welsh, Scottish and Irish temperance movements, which were moulded by cultural patterns sufficiently distinctive to justify separate treatment. No individual temperance organisation has yet received a competent historian: the Band of Hope, the Church of England Temperance Society, the National Temperance League (originally "New British & Foreign Temperance Society", then, from 1842, "National Temperance Society" until 1856), the British Temperance League (originally "British Association for the Promotion of Temperance") and the United Kingdom Alliance – all these temperance organisations deserve studies in their own right. The attitudes of particular denominations – particularly of Quakers, Unitarians and Methodists, – require analysis. Studies of the role of drink and abstinence in the local community are much needed. No academic historian has yet studied changing recreational patterns in the nineteenth century. Attitudes to drink during the centuries before the temperance movement appeared need investigation. Specific problems of importance between 1815 and 1872, such as the relation between drink and crime, changing diagnoses within the medical profession and changing attitudes to public order – these also require debate. The temperance question as a whole requires study after 1872, especially the Licensing Bills of 1904 and 1908.¹

In their periodical *Current Sociology*, sociologists advance their subject by publishing critical bibliographies on specific topics. Historians need such guidance equally urgently. Furthermore sociologists, who tend to regard their discipline as cumulative, usually begin their research publications by outlining their assumptions and methods. Although these analyses can often be tedious and unfruitful, they might, if adapted by historians, help to eliminate much confusion and duplicated research. Without critical guides to the available literature,

¹ The gaps are now being filled; I myself intend shortly to publish "Drink and the Victorians", a full-scale study of the drink problem in England between 1828 and 1872. The following additional topics are now being studied: Temperance in Wales (by W. R. Lambert, University College, Swansea); Temperance in Scotland (by A. Paton, Edinburgh University); the United Kingdom Alliance 1872-1895 (by A. E. Dingle, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia); the Church of England Temperance Society (by G. Olsen, King's College, University of Western Ontario, Canada); the temperance movement in Britain and America (by Professor J. L. Clark, Southern Missionary College, Tennessee, USA); Recreational change in England 1800-1850 (by R. Malcolmson, working under Mr E. P. Thompson, Warwick University); recreation in the West Riding, 1780-1840 (by R. Storch, working under Professor J. F. C. Harrison, Wisconsin University, USA).

historical monographs are less helpful to subsequent students than they might be; the selection of research topics therefore tends to remain unsystematic. If historians more frequently produced such commentaries, the influences on their work would be made clear and likely areas of weakness would be exposed; topics for further research would therefore be more clearly indicated. This bibliography aims to help historians through an important but neglected area of nineteenth-century England.

All the items listed below were published in London unless otherwise stated. The bibliography is organised by topic, and closely follows the order in which the items are discussed in this introduction. Section A ("Drink & Society") lists items which illuminate the rôle of drink, drinksellers and the drink interest in early 19th century society. Section B ("Free Trade in Drink") lists items on the movement campaigning for free licensing, and section C ("Regulation") deals with the attempts of government to regulate and police the drink trade. Section D ("Personal Abstinence") covers the two first phases of the temperance movement – the anti-spirits and teetotal campaigns. The next phase, prohibition, is covered in Section E. The bibliography concludes with section F ("The Temperance Movement and British History") which deals with more general problems posed by the temperance movement in all its phases – its relation to religion, politics and class consciousness. Each section is divided into subsections; where necessary, these subsections are divided into themes. Classification is always alphabetical except where this introduction states that a chronological classification has been adopted.

By no means all the abundant primary and secondary literature published on drink and sobriety between 1815 and 1872 is included here. The bibliography does, however, list all the items I have found most useful while studying the temperance question in this period; it includes all the temperance biographies I have found, the publications of the leading temperance organisations, and the works of the leading temperance reformers, together with the background material needed in order to understand their situation. Less literature was published on the free trade campaign, but here again the key-sources have been included. On the rôle of drink, drinksellers and the drink interest in society, the bibliography is much more selective, but only because most of the published material is anecdotal or antiquarian in character. Very little material, published or unpublished, is available on government regulation, but all that I have found helpful is included. Section F could be extended infinitely: I have included only the outstanding items which have been helpful in this study.

More comprehensive lists of the literature appear in the subject-

indexes of the *London Bibliography of the Social Sciences*, the London Library, and the British Museum, and in the bibliographies in A. & Z. Gustafson's *Foundation of Death* (5th ed. 1888), and in Nos 25 and 237. Living bibliographies reside in the libraries of the leading temperance organisations. The best is owned by the British National Temperance League, Livesey-Clegg House, 44 Union Street, Sheffield. Also valuable are the libraries of the United Kingdom Alliance, Caxton Street, Westminster; of the British Women's Total Abstinence Association, Rosalind Carlisle House, Kensington; and of the Church of England Temperance Society, now deposited at Lambeth Palace Library. Mark Hayler's extensive private collection has been exported to Wisconsin University Library, USA. The best temperance collection in any British public library is the James Turner Temperance Collection in the Goldsmiths' Library, London University. Manchester Central Library has an interesting collection catalogued by subject. The British Museum and Bodleian Library lack many important items.

This bibliography begins in 1815 because only the ending of the Napoleonic Wars could give full rein to the latent contemporary concern with problems of public order, social reform and poverty; the campaign for free licensing therefore began to prosper after that year. The bibliography ends at 1872 because by that date free-trade had run its course, the government had survived the most difficult licensing crisis of the century, and the platforms of the moral suasionist and prohibitionist movements had been firmly laid. In 1872, the Gothenburg scheme for municipal management was beginning to be discussed in England and the temperance debate was shifting to new areas: compensation, municipalisation and nationalisation. Furthermore, by 1872 the basis of the temperance movement's support had begun to shift, with the gradual accession of support from religious, social and political leaders who had previously opposed it.

There is a mass of statistics on the temperance question; most of these are valueless as an indication of changes in drinking habits because they deal only with drink passing through legal channels, at a time of changing fiscal policy and varying police enforcement. Most of this has been collected by G. B. Wilson (No 3). Consumption statistics are valuable in this period not so much for their own sake as for the reactions they provoked. Engels himself was misled by the consumption figures for spirits:¹ while they seemed at first sight to indicate a massive increase in consumption during the 1820s, in reality they

¹ F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (Tr. & Ed. W. O. Henderson & W. H. Chaloner, Oxford, 1958), p. 142, n.2.

merely reflected the diversion of spirits from illegal to legal channels owing to the fiscal reforms of Huskisson and Robinson. Census material gives valuable information on the number of licensed drinksellers and manufacturers in particular localities. Local historians could probably shed much light on the nineteenth-century drink question by investigating the number, location and functions of drinking places in their area. Parliamentary papers do not include any statistical material which reliably indicates the incidence of drunkenness at particular times or in particular places before 1872. Politicians and temperance reformers often deplored this. In 1876 the Bishop of Carlisle, consulting the House of Commons debates on the licensing question, was struck with "the extreme uncertainty which often existed as to the facts of the particular question under consideration". H. A. Bruce in 1872 complained that "nothing was more puzzling than the statistics of drunkenness, for if he was to judge by his own observation and by what others had told him of their experience, he would say that in the last fifty years there had been a marked improvement in this respect and in the general conduct of the people. But if, on the other hand, he were to look to statistics, the picture was by no means reassuring".¹

Bruce's complaints were echoed by parliamentary committees, most of which published statistical appendices to their reports. The most thorough inquiry before 1872, the 1852-3 Public-Houses committee (No 199), complained that "there are no sufficient statistics to enable the average amount of drunkenness in the United Kingdom to be stated with any approach to accuracy".² The Lords' committee in 1877 asked Joseph Chamberlain whether there was any relation between figures for drunkenness arrests and the incidence of drunkenness in particular areas. Chamberlain had considerable experience of local government, and had himself investigated the temperance question closely before waging his parliamentary campaign for the Gothenburg scheme; his rejoinder is therefore worth considering. "There is absolutely no law whatever", he replied; "the variations are not to be accounted for in any way". It was impossible to draw any conclusions from arrest figures, he said: "if to-morrow it were necessary for any purpose, I could undertake to have the statistics for Birmingham made ten times as bad as they were before; just one turn of the screw would bring in ten times the number." Changes in the area of police administration complicate the London picture during the period. The committee concluded in 1878 that "there appears to be no

¹ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, Vol. 230, c. 722 (30 June 1876); Vol. 211, c. 489 (8 May 1872).

² Parliamentary Papers, 1854, XIV (231), p. xiii.

constant direct connection between the number of public-houses and the drunkenness of the various districts".¹

The arrest statistics are of course interesting for their sheer volume, though there is no means of isolating out "repeaters". Where police registers of arrests survive, as at Sheffield, some idea can be gained of the social class of drunkards arrested. But although statements were often made about the changing incidence of drunkenness within particular social classes, there is no way of assigning specific portions of the "national drink bill" to particular social classes. Furthermore mere consumption is no proof of drunkenness: consumption could increase at the same time as drunkenness was declining. Temperance reformers occasionally posted census-takers outside drinking places; these produced huge figures for the number of customers entering the house – very useful for propaganda, but again not allowing for "repeaters", or for those who were merely buying for home consumption. Nor did these observers cover all the drinking-places, legal and illegal, in the area. If H. A. Bruce in 1872 had succeeded in carrying his proposals for public-house inspectors, an informative body of reports on the drink problem might have survived, as with factories and schools. Unfortunately for the historian, the Lords threw out his proposal. But the basic difficulty is simply the difficulty of defining "drunkenness" and of recording its incidence except by a rigorous system of police supervision which most societies (and certainly nineteenth-century England) would find intolerable.

If one wishes to calculate the number of abstainers in the period, again there are serious obstacles. Many abstainers were not connected with the temperance movement at all. Furthermore, the membership of temperance societies fluctuated sharply, and a larger proportion of the population was influenced by them than would be indicated by figures for the strength of the movement at any one time. The number of pledge-signers by no means indicates the number of consistent abstainers, for the pledge was often taken for short-term periods only. "It is not very creditable", said Dawson Burns in 1862, "that every attempt to obtain a general body of reliable facts in regard to the membership of Temperance Societies – in other words, a Temperance census – has ended in failure."² The hard core of the temperance movement can be investigated from subscription-lists in the annual reports of leading temperance organisations. But these rarely list

¹ Parliamentary Papers, 1877, XI (171), QQ. 2363-5; 1878, XIV (338), p. 585.

² Proceedings of the International Temperance & Prohibition Convention, 1862, p. 281; cf. National Temperance League, Annual Report 1860-1, p. 19; Temperance Spectator, 1 May 1861, p. 74.

donations under 5/-; the mass membership of the movement (which perhaps gave nothing at all) therefore remains obscure.

The historian of the temperance question between 1815 and 1872 therefore lacks precise information about the changing incidence of drunkenness, at a time when the intensity of feeling on the subject made personal observation and comment peculiarly unreliable. His studies are therefore forced to concentrate on attitudes and opinions about drunkenness, and cannot relate these to real changes in its incidence. In retrospect, it is clear that the level of drunkenness has dramatically declined in Britain since 1815, and that this decline was greatly accelerated during the first World War. But the introduction of beershops in 1830, Gladstone's wine licence schemes of the 1860s, the decline of home brewing, the increasing efficiency of the drink industry in the use of its raw materials, changing fashions in the strength of intoxicants, changes in the functions and interior structure of drinking places, new fiscal policies and fluctuating police enforcement – all of which occurred between 1815 and 1872 – make it impossible to decide whether the decline began in these years. Nor would one necessarily expect the decline to be directly related to the rise of the temperance movement; for the religious, political and social connexions of the temperance reformers severely limited their influence on drinking habits; and their restrictive licensing policies, often linked with puritanical and sabbatarian attitudes, may well have increased the evil the movement was ostensibly attacking. Still, the dilemmas of the temperance historian are not unique; changing patterns of crime and sexual morality are equally difficult to assess, yet this is no reason for completely ignoring such important areas of human conduct. Indeed, historical debate on these areas may itself reveal methods as yet undiscovered for overcoming the difficulties posed by the scarcity of the evidence.

If nineteenth-century attitudes to the drink question are to be understood, it is essential to provide some background: to outline the functions performed in society by drink, drinksellers and the drink interest. Historians are now interesting themselves in questions of diet (Nos 4-9), but they tend to concentrate on food rather than on drink, and also to ignore changing preferences among working men with sufficient funds to buy only one of the two. Much remains to be written on the increasing popularity of non-intoxicating drinks in the period: nor is there any adequate secondary work on the growth of the mineral water trade. Drinking customs were catalogued usefully by John Dunlop (Nos 22-3), but they need to be related to the character of human interactions in the society as a whole – to be studied in the manner of the social anthropologist. The importance of rituals, cere-

monial and tradition in working-class life has been stressed in Dr Hobsbawm's *Primitive Rebels* (Manchester, 1959), but they have yet to be thoroughly analysed.

Work-discipline is well covered in Nos 26-35, though such discussion has not yet been related to the temperance movement. Drinking-patterns in nineteenth-century England must be compared with those of other industrialising nations; the literary evidence, on which the modern historian has to rely, must be assessed critically – for much of it was produced by writers who knew little about working-class life. Sociologists and anthropologists are becoming increasingly interested in cross-cultural studies of drinking habits. Some of these are stimulating for the historian and are listed below (Nos 36-45). The history of domesticity, and of the functions of the home has not yet been investigated, though Ivy Pinchbeck (No 48) has much of interest to say. The attack on drunkenness in the nineteenth-century took the form of defending women against men, and it is not surprising to find many women active in the temperance movement (see Nos 46-50, 770). There is a vast literature on the urban environment in the period, though it seldom sees developments from the working-class viewpoint. Nos 60 and 69 are valuable from this angle; the list is not exhaustive, but merely includes some of the most useful studies. Many more appear in Ruth Glass's excellent bibliography (No 56). Little of academic interest, though much of an anecdotal and antiquarian nature, has been written on the social roles of the nineteenth-century drinking-place. Nos 73-5 are by far the best; its transport functions are superficially discussed in No 78; its rôle in recruiting the army appears in Nos 79-80; its functions as a labour exchange are excellently covered in No 81. Nos 82-3 discuss its hospitality towards friendly societies. Nos 84-6 cover its important recreational functions, but are in themselves thoroughly unsatisfactory. Research in this sphere has yet to begin. The same applies to the whole subject of recreation in the nineteenth-century (Nos 87-99): the decay of the fair, the rise of the music-hall, the decline of brutal sports, and the growth of mass entertainment have a host of consequences for political, economic and religious history. Nos 94 and 96 are valuable, however, for discussing changing attitudes to popular recreation.

Much was written in this period on the use of alcohol as a medicine. Before 1872 few doctors supported the temperance movement: real progress was not made until Dr B. W. Richardson embraced the cause. Naturally the early temperance movement had to prove that hard work and good health were compatible with teetotalism. The items listed chronologically (Nos 100-123) constitute only a fraction of this literature. As for the drink industry, though brewing in the eighteenth-

century is well covered (Nos 129-132), there is a serious gap in the Victorian period for both brewing and distilling. Little has been written on the nineteenth-century "drink interest", though many surmises have been made about it. J. R. Vincent (No 142) gives a few voting figures, but many pollbooks fail to give the occupation of voters or even the direction in which votes were cast. Although they may sometimes indicate the hard-core of the drink-interest in any one locality, they cannot indicate the relative influence of particular drinksellers or manufacturers. How far their votes were given for trade reasons, to appease customers, or from traditional allegiance is difficult to discover. A still more serious criticism is that pollbooks cannot assist where voting habits were not occupationally determined. They do not indicate religious allegiance or temperance sympathy, which can be elicited only by the local historian wielding his trade directories, temperance literature, and original census returns. Pollbooks in themselves show the political allegiance of only the leaders of *one* side in the nineteenth-century battle between drink and sobriety. Two books (Nos 137, 141) deal with the elimination of corruption from British elections, but they ignore the moral and social forces lying behind this development. The temperance movement was prominent here, and progress can be attained only by adopting an approach similar to that of R.K. Merton in his study of the "boss" system in American politics (No 140). Trade journals (Nos 143-151) are informative, but unfortunately do not exist continuously before the 1860s, except for the *Morning Advertiser*, organ of the licensed victuallers, and the *Era*, after 1838 their weekly paper; both these publications aimed to be national newspapers rather than mere trade journals.

Between 1800 and 1868, free trade was the up-and-coming licensing reform policy. The "age of reform" demanded an attack on the publicans' monopoly; its main motive seems to have been the attack on privilege rather than the attack on drunkenness. The campaign intensified after 1815, and its publications have been listed chronologically (Nos 152-168). It was greatly assisted by Sydney Smith's article of 1826 (No 158) several parliamentary inquiries (listed chronologically) provided ammunition (Nos 169-175) which in 1830 helped to secure the Beer Act. England was rapidly covered with beerhouses set up under the authority of the Excise, and independently of the local magistrates. The political manoeuvring behind the Act can be studied only from MS sources (Nos 176-9). Only public statements are obtainable from *Hansard*, which for several reasons is an unsatisfactory source. In the 1830s the existence of much fuller reports in the *Mirror of Parliament* shows that *Hansard* did not print all that was said in a debate. But *Hansard* has another limitation for historians of

the drink question. As long as parliament remained an exclusive club, the opinions expressed there did not directly reflect opinion in the country. Furthermore parliament was concerned only with those aspects of human activity which at that time involved legislation. The debates on the 1830 Beer Act, on the 1834 drunkenness report, on the Sunday Trading Bill of 1855, and on Gladstone's budget of 1860 show that while discussion in the country increasingly centred on the debate between moral suasionists and prohibitionists, parliamentary discussion centred almost exclusively on the debate between free traders and regulationists. Debates on prohibition did not begin till 1864.

A more general defect of this source is the fact that, like the many volumes of division-lists for the period, it records only the public position taken up by statesmen in speeches and divisions, and rarely reveals their motives. "Local Option" was taken up by many radicals largely for political reasons; it is therefore essential to read between the lines, and to attend more closely than did the temperance historians to the arguments used by the opponents of restriction. Bagehot described how, in the reform debates of 1867, "neither party, as a party, could speak out".¹ Even more was this so with the drink question, where intense pressure was exerted from both sides on MPs and parties. Again, *Hansard* says nothing of the atmosphere of debates; why, for instance, the pioneer temperance reformer J. Silk Buckingham always received such a hostile reception when trying to speak. Only a newspaper account informs us that H. A. Bruce was an unimpressive orator and that before the 1872 Permissive Bill debate huge supporting petitions were carted into the house, sometimes by two MPs together.² Nor do division lists necessarily indicate the numbers attending a debate. Sir Wilfrid Lawson noted in 1870 that in Permissive Bill debates the division bell caused MPs to rush out of the house so as to avoid alienating their constituents by committing themselves on so thorny an issue.³ In 1872 Bruce had to appeal to the House for an honest vote, so that the true prohibitionist weakness would become apparent: "he hoped the House would give an honest vote on this occasion, and that those only would vote for the second reading who were ready to support the measure to the end."⁴ *Hansard* does not reveal how a speech was delivered, nor what was the precise

¹ W. Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (2nd ed., Doubleday paperback, n.d.), p. 16.

² For Buckingham, see my article (No 772); for Bruce, *Manchester Examiner & Times*, 6 Apr. 1871; for the petitions, *Daily News*, 9 May 1872, p. 4.

³ *Alliance News*, 29 Oct. 1870, p. 349.

⁴ *Hansard*, Third Series, Vol. 211 (8 May 1872), c. 492.

significance of a particular division for MPs. It therefore by no means reveals the whole story of proceedings in parliament.

Similar complaints can be made of select committees and royal commissions on the drink question.¹ The Webbs have already exposed the inadequacies of committee-evidence from the viewpoint of the social reformer and the social historian. If evidence is well-prepared, it may not be sincere; if it is spontaneous, and elicited by unexpected quick-fire questions it may be ill-considered. The evidence, once obtained, is scattered about inefficiently, whereas sustained academic and private research would often have been more effective. A further defect, from the nineteenth-century historian's viewpoint, is that most of these inquiries deal primarily with the licensing question, and only incidentally with questions of drunkenness or abstinence. Allowance must also be made for bias in the selection of witnesses, and for the intimidating atmosphere in which they often found themselves. Many valuable glimpses of bias in a parliamentary committee can be obtained from Francis Place's scathing attacks on the 1834 drunkenness committee (No 272) in the Place Papers. These committees are, however, valuable for the incidental details revealed, and for the views expressed by their more prominent witnesses – Francis Place and John Finch (No 272); Nathaniel Card, founder of the United Kingdom Alliance (No 211); Cardinal Manning (No 213) and Joseph Chamberlain (No 214).

Magistrates, clergymen and others in authority began attacking the beershops immediately after 1830; their repetitive and often naive complaints were regularly brought before the government (e.g. in Nos 188, 194). They were attacked mercilessly until control was given to the magistrates in 1869 (listed chronologically, Nos 185-197). Apart from the Webbs (No 184) no historian has discussed the campaign for free-trade in drink; the Webbs, however, do not sufficiently allow for the partisan nature of the attack on the beershops. A good case could in fact have been made out for the beershops, but it never found articulate or influential exponents. Free trade had its last fling in Gladstone's budget of 1860, when he tried to free the trade in wine. Free trade notions had strongly influenced the report of the 1852-3 committee on public-houses (No 199) and Gladstone throughout his lifetime diverged from many nonconformist Liberals by retaining his faith in free trade in drink. His negotiations in 1860-1 show him in his prime, for no other nineteenth-century statesman in this sphere combined such wide-ranging vision with such close mastery of detail. By the early 1870s, however, the free-trade policy had been discredited,

¹ I have discussed this more fully in my article (No 772).

though a few Liberals like Auberon Herbert (No 206), and William Rathbone (No 207) still believed in it. Discussions of nineteenth-century *laissez-faire* usually ignore the early defeat of free trade notions in this important sphere.

Sabbatarian and temperance pressure forced governments to appoint several inquiries into the licensing question between 1847 and 1899 (listed chronologically, Nos 210-5); opening-hours were steadily reduced during the century, with minor setbacks in 1855 and 1874. The 1871-2 licensing controversy has to be studied in private papers, but unfortunately the Aberdare family papers contain very little not already in the British Museum in another form. Much of Bruce's important correspondence must have been destroyed, and the memoir published by his widow (No 221) ignores his extraordinary incompetence as revealed in the diary of the Earl of Kimberley (No 224), who piloted the 1872 Bill through the Lords. Kimberley's private papers apparently survive, but their owner seems to be inaccessible to students. Unfortunately for Bruce and all governments concerned with the drink question at this time, opinion was mobilised by extremists – drinksellers and teetotalers – and there were no powerful organisations to help the government pass moderate legislation. The campaign for “moderate” government regulation therefore inspired relatively little literature. Nor do the biographies or private papers of nineteenth-century statesman discuss the problem extensively before 1872; their interests lay rather in questions of religion, culture and diplomacy. Apart from Brougham, no prominent politician identified himself with licensing and temperance reform until Sir William Harcourt embraced local option in the 1880s. The drink question before 1872 intensely concerned much humbler circles and only occasionally impinged on Home Secretaries and Chancellors of the Exchequer. No correspondence seems to survive on the formation of Home Office licensing policy in the Home Office Papers in the Public Record Office; Home Office letterbooks during the 1871-2 crisis are remarkably uninformative. There is more on public order – on the effects of the beershops, the 1855 riots and the consequences of the 1872 Licensing Act. Yet Gladstone after the discrediting of free trade was uninterested in the drink question; Bruce received no help from him during his difficulties of 1871-2. There is therefore very little published literature on this aspect of the question.

On the temperance movement however there is, if anything, too much material. There are several histories (Nos 228-41), but these were all written by temperance reformers, and are seldom entirely fair to opponents of teetotalism, to the drink interest, or even to temperance

reformers whose precise viewpoint was conceived as heretical. Temperance historians were uncritical of their movement's basic assumptions, too ready to write within a biographical framework, too little concerned with sociological and ideological factors, too limited in the range of sources they quarried, and often too anxious to please acquaintances. Furthermore, by the time that they were writing, the temperance movement had become respectable, and evangelical attitudes had become acceptable; consequently the histories do not explain why the early movement provoked such hostility from those in authority and from the general public. Indeed no historian of the movement has so far explained why so excellent a cause inspired such bitter hostility; the answer is not to be found solely in publicans' self-interest. Temperance reformers were attacking far more than mere drunkenness, and their opponents knew it. No historian can dispense with Dawson Burns' *Temperance History* (No 237), an invaluable source-book, superbly indexed. But it is no more than a chronology and catalogue of events and names. P. T. Winskill's *Temperance Movement & its Workers* (No 238) is little better, and Henry Carter's history (No 241) is really a well-documented tract using historical analysis as a weapon against the prohibitionists of the 1930s. Only now, with the decline of the movement and the growth of purely academic interest in it, can its history be written with relative objectivity.

Both Dawson Burns and P. T. Winskill knew enough to write the type of "temperance history" we now need; they could have fully discussed their movement's political aims, social and religious outlook, internal schisms, personal rivalries, local jealousies. But unfortunately historians writing for a temperance audience would not feel it necessary to describe what was common knowledge. Thus we lack detailed descriptions of temperance meetings and of the temperance society's routine problems. Not surprisingly, the most observant accounts of temperance meetings come from two outsiders – Thomas Wright and Sir George Head (Nos 69 and 507). Winskill and Burns aimed to promote "the cause", not to write scholarly history, and as active members of their movement they had to avoid giving offence. No informed and perceptive observer commented on the movement unhampered by considerations of tact. Although a few glimpses of the hidden reality can be obtained (e.g. in Nos 433, 437, 490), the movement produced no Mark Rutherford. Historians must agree with Robert Lowe's comment in 1872 on Greville's memoirs: "I like reading books that ought not to have been printed."¹ Such works

¹ Lowe to Granville, 6 Nov. 1872, Granville Papers, Public Record Office, London, 30/29/25.

reveal those aspects of a society which its members sought to hide from each other and therefore from posterity. However disinterested the pioneers of any reforming movement, self-interest in its many forms often motivates their followers. These motives are seldom discussed in official publications, though they are occasionally hinted at. Discussing the controversy between "long" and "short" pledge teetotalers in the 1830s, the *Temperance Spectator* noted that "the real cause of a quarrel rarely appears on the surface, and in this case the pledges were the ostensible cause of the dispute; but the real cause was of another kind."¹ The same might have been said about the bitter antagonism between J. B. Gough and F. R. Lees raging in that very year (Nos 577-8). "The secret history of popular agitations", wrote the *National Sunday League Record* in June 1856, "would not be an un instructive chapter in the chronicles of the time in which they arose and triumphed; but such a history would, in many instances, be scarcely flattering to the originators, and might detract from the assumed disinterestedness, if not the common honesty, of some of those who had dared most for the success of such enterprises."

The virtual absence of manuscript material interposes further difficulties. Such correspondence is all the more required because the mood of nineteenth-century radicals differed so markedly from that of the modern social reformer. The latter aims to raise living standards through improvements in state machinery and budgeting, rather than through shaking off the state altogether. Nineteenth-century radicals were far more concerned with questions of personal morality and religious belief; it is difficult for any historian in the 1960s to think himself into such an alien mentality. No manuscript collections survive at the headquarters of temperance organisations, apart from minute books designed to conceal as much as they reveal. The British National Temperance League, the United Kingdom Alliance and the Western Temperance League all possess MS Minutes (Nos 339, 341-2, 556) but these were often cast in stereotyped form, or were even largely written up before the meetings they record took place. It is curious that these organisations should have preserved only the least interesting of their papers. The United Kingdom Alliance, for instance, must have corresponded with many prominent politicians, but none survives. One explanation may simply be that for many years the British Temperance League had no fixed headquarters, that the United Kingdom Alliance headquarters moved from Manchester to London, and that the London-based National Temperance League amalgamated with the provincial British Temperance League: important documents may well have

¹ *Temperance Spectator*, Dec. 1859, p. 181.

been lost or destroyed during moves. With valuable letters from Cobden, Wilson, Bright and other leading supporters still extant, Anti-Corn Law League history will thus always be better documented than the history of the longer-lived temperance movement.

The early movement grew out of the Anglo-American philanthropic connexion (Nos 244-7). From 1829-1834 it attacked only spirit-drinking, but thenceforward teetotalism moved triumphantly South from Preston, and the anti-spirits movement, organised from 1831 as the British and Foreign Temperance Society, rapidly withered away and died in 1848. Its short life ensured that it never received a sympathetic historian, and teetotal historians regarded it patronisingly as a misguided attempt rapidly superseded. Its virtues have therefore hitherto gone unrecorded; yet it pioneered many arguments later used by the teetotalers, roused public attention to the seriousness of the drink problem, and unlike the teetotalers was careful not to frighten off the influential by extremist statements. Some of its attitudes re-entered the temperance movement via the Church of England Temperance Society in the 1870s. It issued the earliest temperance periodicals (Nos 265-70, listed chronologically), and introduced into the temperance agitation the techniques used so successfully by Exeter Hall in the anti-slavery movement. Its history can now be read only in its formal publications (Nos 248-64, listed chronologically), periodicals and annual reports (No 266). The British Museum holds an almost complete run of its periodicals, but the only complete set of annual reports survives at Livesey-Clegg House. Its life was so short that its leaders rarely acquired admiring biographers (Nos 273-4), but its efforts did at least secure the first parliamentary inquiry into drunkenness (No 272).

Although somewhat obscured by later controversy, the earliest years of teetotalism are well-documented. Livesey's biography (Nos 279-280) is informative and his early periodicals (Nos 275-8) are revealing. Academic interest in the Liverpool Owenite John Finch (Nos 281-7) ensures that a personality whose unorthodoxy excluded him from sustained discussion in the temperance histories will not now be forgotten; he played an important part in introducing teetotalism to Preston. Several other publications (Nos 288-95) give further details on early Preston teetotalism. Works of local history (e.g. Nos 296-7) and Preston's newspapers (Nos 298-300) show the early movement as viewed by outside observers, but there were complaints as late as the 1880s that the Preston pioneers had not told the whole story, and that they had underestimated the importance of nonconformist and scientific pioneers in Blackburn. Preston continued to influence the teetotal movement after it had spread else-

where through the later pamphlets (Nos 301-6) and periodicals (Nos 307-9) of Joseph Livesey, and through the annual reports (Nos 310-1) of its prison-chaplain, Rev. John Clay (No 312), who made pioneering attempts to link the crime-rate with social conditions and customs. His reports are scarce, but several are in Manchester Reference Library. They provoked much discussion in temperance circles and elsewhere (e.g. Nos 313-4).

National teetotal organisations rapidly appeared, largely owing to the pioneer London temperance reformer J. S. Buckingham (Nos 319-321). No adequate biography of him has yet appeared, and temperance historians never explained how his campaign for temperance legislation in 1833-5 was frustrated largely by his own personal idiosyncrasies and radical views. The full story appears in *Hansard*, the *Parliamentary Review* and Buckingham's other published works (Nos 315-8), national newspapers and the Brougham Papers. In the absence of adequate MSS and secondary works, the history of national teetotal organisations must be written from their periodicals, especially from their annual reports; many were written primarily to attract funds and to impress annual meetings. Resignations of prominent officials, changes of policy fundamental to the organisation's history, and organisational problems were usually omitted; only occasionally with philanthropic bodies as in the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, which had a peculiarly voluble set of critics, did these controversies reach the printed page.¹ There is no reason to think that the temperance movement was any less eager to conceal such embarrassments. When the former Chartist Henry Vincent gave an important speech in 1844, at an Exeter Hall meeting called to raise funds for Father Mathew, his speech was not included in the report published by the leading London temperance periodical, and had to be published separately by his admirers. The balance-sheets and subscription-lists in these reports, however, could hardly conceal important aspects of the organisation's history, and they deserve much more attention than they usually receive. Subscribers can be analysed in detail with the aid of local directories, pollbooks, newspaper obituaries and original census returns, and computers can assist in analysing the pattern of donations. The annual reports (Nos 322, 326, 329, 335, 346, 359 and 367) were usually published separately, but sometimes appeared only in the movement's periodical. This applies to the earlier reports of the National and British Temperance Leagues. A complete run of the National Temperance League reports from 1856

¹ E.g. RSPCA, 1857 Annual Report, pp. 23, 25; cf. 72nd Annual Report, pp. 208-9.

survives at Livesey-Clegg House. Annual reports of the Church of England Temperance Society are scarce, and in the 1860s were often bound in at the back of the Society's *Magazine*.

Though very repetitive and unselfcritical, temperance periodicals contain much essential information. There are rich collections in the James Turner Temperance Collection and at Livesey-Clegg House. Many are missing from the British Museum and Bodleian Library, largely because they were often published outside London and by ephemeral bodies. Nos 323 and 325 catered for the British Temperance League; Nos 327-30 and 333-8 (listed chronologically) for the National Temperance League and its London predecessors; Nos 343-4 for the Western Temperance League; Nos 351-2 for the Rechabites; Nos 353-4 and 357 for the Band of Hope; and Nos 362-3 for the Church of England Temperance Society. Band of Hope literature is particularly inadequate. Its official history (No 358) is very superficial and un-critical; its periodicals unfortunately say more about how meetings ought to be organised than about what really occurred in them. The organisation's relationship with the denominations and with chapel life in general is difficult to discover. Its periodicals were intended for children, and therefore print stories, verses and propaganda, without concerning themselves with the movement's structure and personalities. Similar criticisms apply to the *Church of England Temperance Magazine*, organ of the pioneer Anglican teetotalers, but in its later form it became more informative. The London Temperance League, founded in 1851 but amalgamated with the National Temperance Society in 1856, was one of the few temperance organisations to be without a periodical; its annual reports, however, are kept in the British Museum. Many ephemeral periodicals (Nos 368-74) unconnected with particular temperance bodies were published; except for the *Temperance Star* (No 373), few are of much interest. National newspapers, quarterlies and organs of particular groups are of course essential for understanding outside attitudes to the temperance movement and important incidents in its history which attracted outside attention – such as the 1834 “drunken committee”, the 1855 Hyde Park riots, the 1860 Budget and the 1871-2 licensing crisis. The periodicals of contemporary social movements – for example, the *League*, *Anti-Bread-Tax Circular*, the Lord's Day Observance Society's *Quarterly Publication*, the *Free Sunday Advocate*, *Bee-Hive* and *Shield* are valuable for enabling historians to isolate out what is common to all nineteenth-century movements and what is peculiar to the temperance movement.

Local historians could do much to salvage surviving minute-books of local temperance societies. Copies survive for Rochdale, Leeds,

Derby, Aberystwyth and Mere (Nos 375-9) but the minute-books of the crucially important Preston Temperance Society have apparently been lost. Monographs are much needed on the interaction between the temperance society and local recreations.¹ The periodicals of local temperance organisations (e.g. Nos 380-93, though there are many more) will be invaluable in any such inquiry, together with the locally published annual reports (e.g. Nos 394-9); unfortunately, few of the latter reach the high standard of argument attained by Plint's reports for the early Leeds society. A few histories of local temperance activities have been written, though they suffer from the defects common to all temperance histories written from within. Nos 401 and 406 are, however, of a higher standard than the rest. Most are scarce, and are seldom found in national libraries. Any academic history of a local temperance society must of course use local newspapers for an outside view – especially for striking incidents like the Macclesfield Bible Society incident of 1857 and J. R. Stephens' disruption of the 1867 Staleybridge Sunday Closing meeting.

No historian of a reforming movement can afford to neglect the personalities and careers of its leaders. Unfortunately no cache of MS temperance material has so far appeared. No correspondence of any prominent temperance advocate has survived – the W. E. Moss collection at Livesey-Clegg House being of little value. Obituaries of the temperance reformers Henry Vincent, Edward Grubb and J. H. Raper record the existence at that time of extensive MSS which have since vanished. Discussing (in No 239) the pioneer female temperance reformer and friend of the Carlyles, Mrs C. L. Balfour, Dawson Burns tantalisingly noted that “awaiting publication there exists a deeply interesting autobiography, and a selection of her letters”; these valuable documents have never appeared. Before the 1870s most leading temperance reformers were relatively humble men, whose correspondence was presumably not thought worth retaining. A collection of Father Mathew's correspondence survives in Dublin (No 465), but the items I have been allowed to see are of little importance. It is a great misfortune that the private collections of, say, Joseph Livesey, J. S. Buckingham, Henry Vincent, F. R. Lees, Samuel Pope and other leading temperance reformers do not survive. Still, much biographical literature was published. Abstainers showed great interest in the personalities of their leaders; biographies were published not only as memoirs but also as brochures for itinerant

¹ I am co-operating with Mr Barrie Trinder in a study of the temperance movement in Banbury between 1830 and 1860.

advocates. They were the equivalent in the temperance world of the spiritual biography in the nonconformist world and of the self-help biography in the world of the labour aristocracy. P. T. Winskill's *Temperance Standard Bearers* (No 411) is invaluable, not so much for the details it includes on over 7,000 abstainers, but because it usually gives their date of decease, which can then be followed up in local newspapers; these often print substantial obituaries, for by the 1870s many temperance pioneers had become prominent local personalities. Dictionaries of temperance biography (e.g. Nos 231, 235-6, 239) indicate the leaders of the movement; further research is needed, however, for any systematic analysis of their characteristics – their political views, social attitudes, other interests, parentage, source of income and religious belief. About the movement's rank-and-file, however, silence reigns, and it is difficult to obtain details even from closely studying local newspapers. A few early registers of pledge-signers give the occupations of new recruits (e.g. No 375) but how long did they remain active members?

The published biographies and autobiographies (Nos 411-97) can at their best be most revealing (e.g. Nos 279-80, 416, 432-3, 439, 456, 495, 497), but they are sometimes unequalled in their absurdity and un informativeness (e.g. Nos 415, 422, 435). They often omit what would now be seen as vital details – the advocate's family life, source of income, political and religious views. Too few of the early teetotal advocates had the sense of humour, self-confidence and intelligence to write as revealing a self-portrait as Thomas Whittaker (No. 495). Too few temperance biographies resemble Fred Atkin's sketch of Richard Horne (No 446) in really trying to make the reader understand what the man was like, warts and all. Many temperance reformers were decided "characters" and deserved the penetrating analysis which Joseph Taylor gave to J. J. Faulkener the Oxford radical grocer and temperance reformer of the 1850s. "I will not say my friend affected singularity", wrote Taylor, "but. . . he was more singular than many around him."¹ Only a marked independence could have enabled such men to take the lead in resisting Anglicanism and Aristocracy. It is worth studying the writings of temperance reformers outside the temperance sphere, for these indicate the complex of attitudes and ideas into which temperance fitted. It was difficult for contemporary writers to analyse such interactions, but longer perspective lends advantage to the historian. The writings of J. S. Buckingham, H. S. Sutton, F. W. Newman, John Dunlop, John Finch and Joseph Livesey are especially valuable for this purpose. Adequate scholarly biographies

¹ *Temperance Star*, 12 Aug. 1870, p. 3.

are still needed, however, for Joseph Barker, J. S. Buckingham, John Cassell, Joseph Cowen, Hugh Mason and Samuel Morley. Several temperance reformers later joined the prohibitionist movement and are therefore listed later (Nos 588ff.).

The temperance movement published mountains of propaganda on all aspects of the question – religious, medical, political, economic. No attempt is made here to list it all. Selections of its oratory (Nos 498–512), its conventions (Nos 514–5), its arguments (Nos 516–41) and its tracts (Nos 542–6) have been included. Many public debates and temperance orations were published. Sir George Head (No 507) gave an excellent account of the atmosphere at an early teetotal meeting, and the controversies within the Kendal and Leeds societies in 1836 (Nos 510–1) reveal the class antagonisms lying behind the struggle between teetotalers and “moderationists”. F. R. Lees was perhaps the most vigorous teetotal controversialist, and many of his debates were published (e.g. Nos 501, 509, 537, 652). The tendency of the temperance movement – with its temperance halls and official hierarchy – to acquire many of the characteristics of the denomination is revealed in its special temperance hymn-books (e.g. Nos 498, 508). The formal temperance oration culminated in the speeches of J. B. Gough (Nos 504–6) but there was always an undercurrent of hostility in the movement to these largely recreational speeches. Among historians only Dr Kitson Clark (No 502) has discussed the style of early Victorian public speaking. Temperance conventions were sometimes held (Nos 514–5), and their proceedings were often published; so also were the papers of temperance reformers who managed to force their way into the Social Science Congress (No 513). Some temperance propaganda consisted in assertions by the well-to-do that abstinence in the poor would solve all social problems (e.g. Nos 516–9), but much of it was less arrogant and appealed to a zeal for moral improvement which seems genuinely to have pervaded certain sections of the working class at this time (Nos 520–41). The temperance movement connected itself with the building society movement, which in its early days appealed to moral idealism as much as to financial self-interest (Nos 547–8). Arguments were occasionally gathered into compendia, like Peter Burne’s *Teetotaler’s Companion*, filled with statistics and arguments ready sharpened for use by teetotal advocates in their combats with the foe (Nos 103, 521–2, 527, 538). Apart from reports of meetings, orations, and pamphlet literature, the tract was a favourite medium, published in very large quantities (Nos 543–6). My own brief study of the tract (No 542) by no means exhausts the subject, which deserves further research as a contribution to the study of “public opinion” and class relations.

When the United Kingdom Alliance was founded in 1853, prohibition was launched in England, and the temperance movement took a new direction. Unfortunately Mark Hayler's history of the Alliance (No 549) is an uncritical and somewhat disorganised exhortation to further effort, rather than an objective history. Studies of American prohibitionism are of far better quality (Nos 550-3) and can be used for comparative purposes. With the Alliance as with the temperance movement as a whole, there is a serious lack of MS material. The Brougham Papers provide isolated glimpses of Alliance leaders writing private correspondence. Letters from Samuel Pope, T. H. Barker and G. W. Hastings show not only the strength of philanthropic hostility to the Alliance, but also the zeal of Alliance leaders for their cause, and their genuine belief that they enjoyed working-class support. Letters in the Howell Collection (No 554) reveal the practical consequence of this belief – the generosity of Alliance leaders to the Reform League. The MS minute-books of the Alliance survive after 1871 (No 556), and although these reveal no surprises up to 1875, they may well contain riches later; they do at least give an insight into the daily running of the organisation.

The Alliance published vast quantities of propaganda (e.g. Nos 557-76, 580-1, 583, 646-73). Its annual reports (No 562) were very long and listed its subscribers *in extenso*, often (conveniently for the historian) sorted regionally. Its periodicals (Nos 557-61) are invaluable. In its early years it had to establish its platform (Nos 563-74); F. R. Lees (Nos 569-70) was entrusted at first with this task, and there was also an important debate between Samuel Pope, the Alliance secretary, and Lord Stanley in 1856 (No 571). The Alliance to its dismay found itself attacked in J. S. Mill's *Liberty*, extracts from which were placarded by the publicans. It was therefore forced into formally defending state regulation of morality. Its supporters were usually opposed in other spheres to any connexion between church and state. Furthermore, in the 1850s *laissez faire* notions had not yet been challenged by intellectuals of T. H. Green's stature. Nevertheless, Alliance supporters attacked Mill on several occasions, and not without effect (Nos 563-5, 568, 574). The Alliance also began early to brandish the reports of prohibitionist congresses in the face of the public (Nos 575-6).

So successful was the Alliance in the 1850s that many temperance reformers feared it would replace by purely political activity the efforts at individual reclamation made by the original temperance societies. Bitter antagonism between the Alliance and the National Temperance League lay behind the Gough-Lees controversy of 1858-9 (Nos 577-8, 582), and Joseph Livesey who at first supported the Alliance withdrew when he saw how it was damaging the moral suasionist

movement he had created. The result was the exchange of pamphlets between "moral suasionists" and "legislative compulsionists" (listed chronologically, Nos 579-81, 583-4) which Henry Carter (No 241) ably discussed. If we only possessed the MS correspondence of the Alliance in these years, or frank accounts of it by those who knew its inner workings, interesting policy debates would no doubt be revealed. The antagonism between London and Manchester which influenced the Anti-Corn Law League recurred in the Alliance. J. R. Taylor (No 663) hints at the disputes rife among London prohibitionists in the 1860s, but these were never openly discussed in Alliance publications. Some hints at internal disputes were revealed by its bitter foe, James Taylor, secretary of the National Union for the Suppression of Intemperance. He was probably the "teetotal Churchman" who in the *Manchester Courier* accused the Alliance of being "nothing more or less than a Radical organ". He may also have been the "Manchester teetotaler" who revealed in the *Temperance Star* that "it has been several times discussed" by the Alliance executive whether it would not be better to ally with the Liberal party;¹ no hint of such discussion appears in the Alliance propaganda of these years. Taylor's criticisms reveal the firm limitations on the type of remedy for the drink problem which the Alliance regarded as acceptable. Its dislike of increasing the powers of church and magistracy is revealed in its bitter hostility to the moderate but authoritarian programme of Taylor's National Union for the Suppression of Intemperance – a body which attracted a much greater degree of aristocratic and Anglican support, and which was pursued by the Alliance with undying hatred. The Alliance was authoritarian only in a very limited sense: its reform did not involve increasing the powers of the traditional authorities, and it never interested itself in the details of enforcement. It was primarily concerned that the state, through a public act, should declare for sobriety. The reasons for the bitter enmity between the Alliance and the National Union were never explained and can only be surmised. Taylor had at one time been active in the Alliance and aspersions on his character were made by T. H. Barker, the Alliance secretary. Why he resigned was never explained. All that will probably be known of the story is set out in Nos 585-7.

Prohibition required a more sophisticated defence than moral suasion. Several prohibitionists were prominent intellectuals of their day. F. W. Newman provided prohibitionist argument of the highest quality; T. H. Green himself actively supported the Alliance, and the "constructive" Liberalism which is often associated with him can be

¹ *Manchester Courier*, 15 Sept. 1868, p. 7; *Temperance Star*, 4 June 1869, p. 183.

found in Alliance periodicals as early as the 1850s. The career of Cardinal Manning suggests that the degree of state intervention which many mid-Victorians tolerated in personal morality prepared the way for their later acceptance of state intervention to promote social welfare. Prohibitionist biographies are of relatively high standard, especially Nos 588, 593, 596, 606, 609, 625, 644. The most serious gap is the lack of an adequate biography of F. W. Newman; the memoir by Sieveking (No 636) could hardly be worse. None of his biographers has yet used the important sequence of letters he wrote to E. Sargent (No 634) which clearly reveal the largely political motivation of his prohibitionism. Purcell's *Manning* (No 625), like the other biographies, fails to give his temperance activities their due prominence in shaping his social outlook. The Manning Papers contain a valuable letter from Gladstone on his attitude to the licensing question in 1868, and Manning's correspondence on temperance matters with the Irish bishops. But there are no startling revelations about Manning's temperance activities in the books of memoranda with which he took such trouble in his last years.¹ Good as G. W. E. Russell's *Lawson* is (No 609) it does not make use of the important letters he wrote to Chadwick, Bright and Gladstone. Unfortunately, Lawson's own MSS were destroyed by fire. A modern study of this interesting late-Victorian radical is much needed. Equally desirable would be an adequate study of the Trevelyan family by a historian well acquainted with their Northumberland connexions (No 642). Only the most significant items of the vast prohibitionist output are listed (Nos 646-73). The Alliance also issued tracts (Nos 668-70, 672), though on a less grandiose scale than the moral suasionist organisations: its appeal was primarily to parliament, not to the individual. A valuable collection of early Alliance ephemera is kept in a series of bound volumes at Alliance House.

The temperance question as a whole must be seen in historical perspective – a difficult task when adequate studies of dissent in the period are lacking, particularly of dissent in its political aspects; no adequate study even of the Liberation Society has yet appeared, let alone of other crusades largely dependent on dissent – Josephine Butler's movement, for example, the Complete Suffrage Union and the Peace Society. The religious historiography of nineteenth-century England has hitherto concerned itself primarily with exchanges of letters between church leaders, with denominational histories, and

¹ On Manning, see A. E. Dingle and B. H. Harrison, „Cardinal Manning as Temperance Reformer”, to be published in: *Historical Journal*, 1969.

with analysing the attitudes of religious leaders to problems of poverty. Too rarely is religion studied in action at the community level; too rarely is the religious organisation seen as a small "society" with internal strains and recurring organisational problems.¹ No study exists of changing religious attitudes to moral crusades in the nineteenth century; yet in the 1860s there seems to have been a marked and so far unexplained change in the attitudes of Anglicans – especially evangelical Anglicans – to the temperance movement. Sectarianism, schism, revivalism and secularism preoccupy sociologists of religion but are only beginning to interest historians of religious institutions in nineteenth-century England. Their respective relevance to the history of the temperance movement is apparent from the shrewd article on temperance literature in the *Saturday Review*, 25 Dec. 1858, p. 641, from the history of the conflict between teetotalers and moderationists, from the accounts of early teetotal meetings, and from Holyoake's critique of the movement.

The nineteenth-century temperance movement shares that "protesting mentality" which characterised so many nonconformists of the day. The rigid adherence to principle, the suspicion of government compromise, the desire for "clean hands" all influenced the temperance attitude to state intervention (Nos 674–8). State intervention in the drink trade has not yet been brought into the recent academic discussion of nineteenth-century attitudes to the state (No 679). The movement's close ties with the religious public are apparent from the comments of its most formidable critic, G. J. Holyoake – formidable if only because he shared so many of its ostensible aims (Nos 652–3, 680). While the temperance movement was *avant garde* during the years before 1880 – in its desire to force religion out of theological dispute and into concern with social problems (thus unconsciously accelerating one phase in the advance of secularisation) – it always carefully avoided identifying itself with the secularist movement. For a religious outlook common to its supporters see H. S. Sutton's curious book (No 681). A few studies of nineteenth-century nonconformity have been listed (Nos 682–90, 713–15), and also some relevant sociological studies (Nos 716–21, 836), but much more work remains to be done. The attitude of particular denominations to the temperance question requires study; the teetotal attempt to argue that the Bible advocated teetotalism aroused great hostility (Nos 708–12). Although many Methodists supported the temperance movement from the start, the Methodist Conference declared against it in 1841, and thereby

¹ Raphael Samuel's "Catholic Church and the Irish Poor", presented to the 1966 Past & Present Conference on Popular Religion, adopts a fruitful approach.

provoked much controversy (Nos 692-703); more items are listed by M. S. Edwards (No 704) and a few historians (Nos 704-7) have commented on the dispute. After the 1860s, however, the movement relied less exclusively on dissent. Fear of the slums caused many Anglicans to interest themselves in the movement (Nos 722-43), and they often imitated nonconformists in temperance mission-work. Several church reports were published (Nos 722-5), clearly influenced by the fear of the vices rampant on the great city – fears which Chevalier (No 726) has so ably discussed. Prominent mission promoters were Mrs C. L. Wightman (Nos 740-2), G. W. McCree (No 735), G. M. Murphy (No 469), R. W. Vanderkiste (No 739), and T. Guthrie (Nos 443-4, 728). At least two Anglican mission-workers, however, found it better to drink (Nos 729, 737).

The temperance movement, especially in its prohibitionist phase, must also be seen as a pioneer in evolving the “democratic” pressure-group, and therefore in originating the modern political party. The problems common to nineteenth-century “cause groups” deserve comparative analysis (Nos 744-70); sociologists and political scientists have conducted important research in this area. They have ably discussed evolving techniques of propaganda and recurring problems of organisation. The neglected but important comparative study of the relationship between the social reformer and his environment is also now attracting the attention of historians (Nos 759, 763, 764).

Perhaps the most important context in which to discuss the temperance movement however is in relation to the evolution of the labour movement, if only because temperance is seldom discussed by “labour historians”. There were points both of attraction and repulsion between working men and the temperance movement. Francis Place bitterly attacked the select committee on drunkenness in 1834 (Nos 771-74), yet the aims of himself and the LWMA (Nos 775-6) for the working class resembled those of the teetotalers – indeed the two coalesced for a short time in Teetotal Chartism (Nos 778-94). The official histories of the temperance movement ignored Teetotal Chartism because it linked temperance with particular political views and even with revolution. The leading Teetotal Chartist, Henry Vincent, has never received an adequate biography (No 787). Teetotal Chartism deserves study as one of the transitional movements bringing certain sections of the Chartist movement into closer accord with mid-Victorian Liberalism. Its history must be studied primarily from the “moral force” Chartist periodicals (Nos 778-82). It is particularly important to follow up the activities of old Chartists after 1848 if their connexions with mid-Victorian Liberalism are to be analysed (Nos 784-94, 829). J. R. Stephens, however, diverged from the common pattern and in his

later years vigorously denounced the temperance movement (Nos 783, 790). It is of course essential to relate the temperance movement to changing viewpoints on social welfare (Nos 795-6); its historical significance before 1872 can be understood only in the light of the clash between individualists and socialists at the end of the century. Even in non-socialist circles, however, temperance restriction was not always popular (Nos 797-9). The history of the opposition to socialism will, when it is written, necessarily devote a chapter to the battle between teetotalers and socialists from 1880 to 1920 (Nos 800-17, listed chronologically). There were, however, in Liberalism and Socialism, elements of anarchism with which the demand for personal abstinence had close affinities; many Liberals and Socialists favoured minimising the power of the state over the individual by reducing the individual's demands upon society (Nos 818-21).

It is very difficult for the historian to penetrate the realities of working-class life in this period – dependent as he is largely on literature prepared by observers quite as ignorant as himself. The few working men's autobiographies (Nos 822-5) are valuable, but of course unrepresentative. A few studies which discuss working-class attitudes to morality have been listed (Nos 826-36), together with some penetrating and highly relevant sociological studies of social class (Nos 837-41). The fruitfulness of informing historical research with insights derived from sociological investigations of social class appears clearly in J. R. Gusfield's sophisticated studies of the American temperance movement (Nos 550 and 754). In general, however, the historiography of the nineteenth-century drink question suffers from the silence of the inarticulate – of the rank-and-file members of the movement, and perhaps more important, of the ordinary pubgoer whose conduct was in itself a defence of the beershop and an indictment of the temperance movement. No such witnesses appeared before parliamentary inquiries, none wrote books or spoke at public meetings unless in the most stereotyped manner. In the last analysis, the historian of this aspect of nineteenth-century England must therefore reconcile himself to a large degree of ignorance.

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