Temperate Feminists:

The British Women' s Temperance Association

1870 - 1914

Margaret Barrow

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT 4

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 8

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW 12

CHAPTER TWO - CHRISTIANITY, PHILANTHROPY AND THE TEMPERANCE WOMEN 34

2.1 Introduction 34

2.2 The Christian Temperance Woman and Her Expanding Sphere 40

2.3 Conclusions 54

CHAPTER THREE - BACKGROUND TO THE WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND 58

3.1 Introduction 58

3.2 Beginnings of the Temperance Movement 59

3.3 Women's Work in the Early Temperance Movement 61

3.4 Formation of the BWTA 69

3.5 Margaret Bright Lucas and the Move to Politics 71

3.6 Lady Henry Somerset and Difficult Choices 76

3.7 The Royal Commission on Licensing Laws - Women's Voices Heard? 83

3.8 Change and Control, the Politics of Temperance 88

3.9 Conclusions 102

CHAPTER FOUR - THE MOVE TO POLITICS -
LOCAL GOVERNMENT 106
4.1 Introduction 106
4.2 Poor Law Guardians 113
4.3 School Boards 130
4.4 County and Borough Councils 143
4.5 Conclusions 164
CHAPTER FIVE - TEMPERANCE WOMEN AND THE
CAMPAIGN FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE 171
5.1 Introduction 171
5.2 EarlyLeadership 174
5.3 Margaret Bright Lucas and Progress to suffrage 176
5.4 Suffrage: A Divided Association?
5.5 Rosalind Carlisle and the Politics of Temperance
and Suffrage 203
5.6 Conclusions 216
CHAPTER SIX - DIVERSITY OR EXPANSON -
ASSET OR LIABILITY ? 219
6.1 Introduction 219
6.2 Lynching and the Willard Connection 220
6.3 The Error of Judgment 224
6.3 Inebriate Homes for Women 234
CHAPTER SEVEN - CONCLUSIONS 237
BIBLIOGRAPHY 244
APPENDICES 257

MARGARET BARROW

TEMPERATE FEMINISTS:
The British Women's Temperance Association 1870 - 1914

ABSTRACT

Of all the feminist campaigns the women's temperance movement is the most neglected. Women's involvement in the temperance movement began in the earliest days of temperance and continues to the present day linked to tobacco and substance abuse.

An impetus in women's temperance activity in the 1870s in America provided a impetus for women in Britain and resulted in the foundation of the British Women's Temperance Association.

This PhD is concerned primarily with the development of the BWTA from 1876 to the First World War and analyses its role and methods not only in the temperance movement but within the women's movement. It reassesses the role of temperance women and places them at the centre of the women's movement during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The progression from moral suasion and Christian temperance to political activism, with a membership of over 100,000 at the turn of the century, is documented. The thesis studies their progress from embracing temperance as women's work to a multi-faceted organisation encompassing temperance, suffrage and involvement in the moral and social issues of the period.

It focuses on the leading members of the BWTA, with a strong emphasis on the role of the presidents, and how they affected the association. The top down model of the BWTA was both a strength and a weakness, it opened an opportunity for the development of new policies and change. The weakness was revealed in 1893 when the association came under threat from a change of policy that resulted in a split in the organisation. The cause of this split has long been attributed to the addition of suffrage to the association's remit. This thesis proposes an alternative hypothesis based on the records of both organisations.

A careful analysis of the leading members of the association reveals the centrality of the BWTA & NBWTA to the feminist movement and its networks, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which has remained unresearched.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or institute of learning

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DEDICATION

In memory of my sister Angela (1949 - 1995).

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Sandra Holton for information on the Bright family and their activities, for the initial contact on Jessie Craigen and her lengthy and informative phone call with me on her visit to England in 1995 and emailed exchanges.

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Finally: Others include Val who "discovered" the Southport Temperance Institute and then escaped to Botswana only to find temperance women had been before her even there, Derek Fulford, Neil Jackson, Heloise Brown, and many others who have given me their time and encouragement. Finally Alice and Sophie - who viewed the whole project in a way that only Persian cats can - with complete disdain.

ABBREVIATIONS

BTL	British Temperance League
BWTA	British Women's Temperance Association
BWTJ	*British Women's Temperance Journal*
CASSILS	Central Association for Stopping the Sale of Intoxicating Liquor on Sundays
CETS	Church of England Temperance Society
COS	Charity Organisation Society
LCC	London County Council
LEA	Local Government Authority
LGB	Local Government Board
LNA	Ladies National Association
LNTA	Ladies National Temperance Association
LSB	London School Board
MWCTA	Manchester Women's Christian Temperance Association
NBWTA	National British Women's Temperance Association
NTL	National Temperance League
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
NUWW	National Union of Women Workers
STI	Scientific Temperance Instruction
UKA	United Kingdom Alliance
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union
WLA	Women's Liberal Association
WLF	Women's Liberal Federation
WLGS	Women's Local Government Society
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union
WTAU	Women's Total Abstinence Union
WVS	Women's Vigilance Society
WWCTU	World Women's Christian Temperance Union

The Author

Previous degrees and qualifications. A Fellow of the Library Association, first degree in Geography, and MA in Library Management. The Fellowship of the Library Association was a research qualification which researched into sources of information relating to women, 1870 - 1928. This was subsequently published as Women 1870 - 1928: a guide to printed and archival sources.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The history of the women's temperance movement in Britain has been "strangely neglected"[1]. The whole alcohol/temperance history of Britain is under researched, with the notable exception of Harrison, and Gutzke in his recent bibliography states that promotion of more research is one rationale for his work[2].

This thesis, positioned between temperance and feminist history, does not specifically address the alcohol/temperance relationship of women's temperance but goes beyond what Barrows and Room describe as "social history of societal responses"[3]. It studies the largest women's temperance association in the United Kingdom, the British Women's Temperance Association (hereafter referred to as BWTA) and its leaders' and the membership's responses not only to alcohol abuse and the "drink traffic" but also to the larger issues of women's place and role in society. The thesis will establish the link between the women's temperance movement and women's movement in England. Central to this is the BWTA that not only responded to the drink problem but used temperance as a means of expanding women's role in the public sphere. In contrast to an increasing awareness of the temperance/suffrage connection not only in the United States but also in Scandinavia and the former British Empire countries, the temperance/feminist link in Britain has largely been ignored in the history of both the movements[4]. This has

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[1] I am grateful to my supervisor Professor Michael Rose for directing me to this apt quotation. Amis, K. *Lucky Jim.* 1976.

[2] Harrison, B.H. *Drink and the Victorians.* 2nd Edition. Keele, 1994; Gutzke, D.G. *Alcohol in the British Isles from Roman times to 1996: An Annotated Bibliography.* 1996. p xl1

[3] Barrows, S. & Room, R. Editors *Drinking. Behavior and Belief in Modern History.* Oxford, 1991. p 17.

[4] Papers given at *"Seeing Through Suffrage"*: An International Conference given at the

been due in part to the lack of primary sources and difficulty of gaining access to those that exist, and the somewhat negative view that exists of the temperance movement.

The paucity of primary sources has contributed to the lack of literature on the subject. There is a sharp contrast in the secondary literature of the British and American movements, despite sharing some common roots. The historiography of the British women's temperance movement is slight. None of the early accounts of the temperance movement give any prominence to the role of women or discuss their participation in any depth. In the majority of histories' women are all but ignored. Burns' one volume history devotes a chapter specifically to women's role in the movement, but it is merely a chronological list of associations and societies and their foundation dates[5]. His two volume chronological history however includes the foundation of women's societies and the indices are an unusually useful tool[6]. Winskill's works are also useful but like Burns's works are written from an insider's point of view containing some biographical material[7]. Winskill's two volume history is an invaluable source containing details of regional histories, individual campaigns and other aspects of the movement[8]. His four volume history of the movement includes details of societies and individuals and is full of anecdotal matter[9]. He includes some women, though usually giving them only a reference under their husband's or father's name, making them difficult to trace. He gives personal views in his biographical details which need to be cross referenced with Harrison's

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University of Greenwich, 12th - 14th April 1996; Grimshaw, P. *Indigenous Women's Voices in Colonial Reform Narratives: Victoria and New Zealand.* Women's History Network 6th Annual Conference. University of Sussex, 13th - 14th September 1997.

5 Burns, D. *Temperance in the Victorian Age.* 1897.

6 Burns, D. *Temperance History: A consecutive narrative of the rise, development and extension of the temperance reform.* 2 volumes. 1889.

7 Winskill, P.T. *The Comprehensive History of the Rise and Progress of the Temperance Reformation from the Earliest Period to September 1881.* Warrington, 1881. 2 volumes

8 Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers.* 1892. 4 volumes

9 Winskill, P.T. *Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th century. 1897-8.* Two volumes

biographical dictionary[10]. Carter's later work, written at a time when prohibition was still perceived as the solution to drunkenness, particularly in the United States, emphasises the controversy between prohibitionists and moral suasionists in the mid-nineteenth century[11]. The controversy over his analysis of the disputes between the societies and their leaders meant that the projected second volume was never published. Rowntree and Sherwell considered temperance legislation in relation to social reform and tried not only to analyse objectively the relationship between drunkenness and poverty but also to provide a comparative study[12]. The work is particularly useful for its statistical data on alcohol consumption and its review of prohibition policies in other countries, notably Scandinavia and Germany. Harrison's detailed work on the early temperance movement makes little reference to women in the temperance movement, although it includes reference to wives provoking their husbands into wife battering by reproaching them for drinking[13]. He gives cursory reference to links between the temperance and suffrage movements. Lady Henry Somerset, the leader of the BWTA, is only mentioned in conjunction with T.P. Whitaker as being a supporter of the United Kingdom Alliance (Hereafter referred to as UKA). The second edition is an improvement on the first edition which did not even include women in the index. Longmate's *The Waterdrinkers* predates Harrison's work and is superseded by it. Like Harrison, Longmate largely ignores the role played by women in the temperance movement; a popular work, it contains no bibliography[14]. Shiman's doctoral thesis "*Crusade Against Drink in*

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[10] Harrison, B. *Dictionary of British Temperance Biography.* Society for the Study of labour History. Bulletin Supplement. Aids to Research No 1. 1973.

[11] Carter, H. *The English Temperance Movement: A study in objectives. Volume I The formative period, 1830-1899.* 1933.

[12] Rowntree, J. & Sherwell, A. *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform.* 4th Edition, 1899.

[13] Harrison, B. *Drink and the Victorians: The temperance question in England,* 1815-1872. 1971.

[14] Longmate, N. *The Waterdrinkers: A history of temperance.* 1968.

Victorian England" whilst covering much of the same ground as Harrison's work, has a greater emphasis on women's role[15]. Her book *Crusade Against Drink* is strong on the less politically motivated temperance organisations and she pursues this theme in her article on the Band of Hope[16]. Her work on women and leadership although not entirely devoted to the women's temperance movement considers temperance as a part of the women's movement in the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century[17]. However she provides no details of the links with other organisations and does not fully address the political implications of the interrelationships between various organisations[18]. She believes that the early societies were false starts. This is not supported by the discourses which show these early societies were essential for the foundation of the BWTA and its role as a pressure group. Shiman does not acknowledge the political agenda of the BWTA membership nor their determination to ensure that temperance legislation be achieved. By contrast, Kitze's dissertation provides a useful background for the study of the BWTA[19]. Unfortunately some of the papers she used, the Whittall Smith Papers, were sold and are now in America.

Women's work in the Irish temperance movement has also been largely ignored by historians. Studies of the Irish temperance movement and of Father Matthew's campaign have not considered the role of Anne Jane Carlile in Father Matthew's campaign[20]. Carlile was one of the earliest temperance workers in Ireland and England and supported Father Matthew despite their religious differences[21]. Luddy in

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15 Shiman, L.L. *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England.* PhD University of Wisconsin, 1970.

16 Shiman, L.L. Band of Hope Movement: Respectable recreation for working-class children. *Victorian Studies*, 1973, September, pp 49 - 74.

17 Shiman, L.L. *Women and Leadership in Nineteeth Century England.* 1992.

18 Shiman *Crusade Op cit.*

19 Kitze, J.L. *"Enter Every Open Door"*. Dissertation, Trinity College, Oxford. 1986.

20 For further details relating to Jane Anne Carlile - see Appendix Six.

21 Brotherton, G. Against the Flowing Tide: Whiskey and temperance in the making of modern Ireland. IN Barrows, S. & Room, R. *Drinking: Behaviour and Belief in Modern History.* Oxford, 1991; Malcolm, E. *" Ireland Sober, Ireland Free", Drink and temperance in nineteenth century Ireland.*

her study of women and philanthropy in nineteenth century Ireland notes the lack of any study on the role of women in the Irish temperance movement particularly in Malcolm's work[22]. Luddy considers the role of temperance women in Ireland and notes their commitment to the issue and their independent action. She discusses the link between philanthropy and temperance as discussed here[23]. She highlights the way in which the earliest temperance women inspired others to action. The early temperance pioneers in England provided inspiration for the formation of the BWTA.

The study of the women's temperance movement would not be complete without reference to the histories of the male organisations which, in general, excluded women. The UKA, perhaps the most political of the male temperance societies, did not encourage female membership. Women had no parliamentary vote and so could not put pressure on Members of Parliament. Dingle's work on the Alliance and its parliamentary campaigns to achieve prohibition, stresses the importance of the Liberal/temperance relationship and analyses the UKA and its members as a pressure group[24]. It is useful for its insight into the politics of temperance including difficulties in achieving a consensus on policy. The centenary history of the UKA, however, gives only an insider's view of the organisation and its achievements[25].

The Liberal/temperance political interaction was of vital importance to the male and female temperance movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and Fahey's articles on the Liberal Party and the Temperance movement are useful

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Dublin, 1986; Malcolm, E. Temperance and Irish Nationalism IN Lyons, F.S.L. & Hawkins, R.A.J. *Ireland Under the Union: Varieties of Tensions: Essays in honour of T.W. Moody.* Oxford , 1980; Kerrigan, C. *Father Matthew and the Irish Temperance Movement 1838 - 1849.* Cork, 1992.

22 Luddy, M. *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century Ireland.* Cambridge, 1995; Malcolm 1986 *Op cit.*

23 See Chapter Three

24 Dingle, A.E. *The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England: The United Kingdom Alliance 1872-1895.* 1980.

25 Hayler, M.H.C. *The Vision of a Century.* 1953.

in providing an insight into the party's attempts to solve the drink/temperance problem and why they failed[26]. Greenaway links the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century concept of the drink problem to present concerns over alcohol abuse[27]. All these consider the temperance movement merely from the point of view of the male societies. None give any prominence to the role of women or discuss their participation in any depth, they are useful though for providing the context of national politics.

The history of temperance and alcohol is more organised in the United States where historians are linked by the Alcohol and Temperance History Group. The literature of the American women's temperance movement has far wider coverage, with a strong bias to the history of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (Hereafter referred to as the WCTU). The early literature of the American women's temperance movement was based on the history of temperance nationally. Bordin remarked that "temperance historians have found women, but it has been harder for the historians of women to find temperance"[28]. This was only partly true, and, more recently, women's temperance has been studied as an integral part of women's history. Of the earlier studies, Paulson's work on the American women's campaign for suffrage is still a valuable source for information on the links with the women's temperance movement. Reference to the suffrage/temperance interaction is to be found in DuBois's work on early feminism

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[26] Fahey, D. The Politics of Drink: Pressure groups and the British Liberal Party, 1883 - 1908. *Social Science*, 1979, 54, pp 76 - 85.

Fahey, D. Temperance and the Liberal Party: Lord Peels report, 1899. *Journal of British Studies,* 1971, 10, pp 132 - 59.

Fahey, D. Drink and the Meaning of Reform in Late Victorian and Edwardian England. *Cithara,* 1974, 13 pp 46 - 56.

[27] Greenaway, J.R. The Drink Problem Back on the Political Agenda? *Political Quarterly,* 1990, Jan - March, Vol 61, no 1 pp 80 - 93

[28] Bordin, R. *Women and Temperance: The quest for power and liberty, 1873 - 1900.* USA, 1995.

in the United States[29]. These two works are a valuable starting point and highlight the similarity of the origins of both American and British women's movements.

Of histories of American women's temperance, those by Epstein, Bordin and Giele are the most valuable[30]. They disagree on the extent to which the temperance movement covered all aspects of society, but they are agreed on the central role of temperance as part of the nineteenth century women's movement. Epstein traces the movement from its evangelical roots and perceives the women's temperance movement as a secularisation of the role of the Christian woman. Whilst this thesis confirms the secularisation of Christian women in the United Kingdom there are differences in the two temperance movements. The accepted model of the American women's temperance movement considers that the temperance woman's demand of the vote for temperance would enable them to protect the home and family. This domesticity of temperance does not feature in such a prominent role in the British women's temperance movement. The membership of the BWTA was to focus on the need for the vote and political action to achieve prohibition. Giele's *Two Paths to Suffrage*, via the demand for the vote, or the more "feminine" way through a vote for temperance to protect the family, are not to be found in the British women's movement. Geile suggests that temperance women focused on the feminine and domestic, in contrast to suffragists who focused on the masculine and instrumental[31]. Evidence of the two separate paths is not to be found in the discourses of the BWTA. British temperance women fought for temperance legislation but realised that without the vote they were unable to do so effectively.

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29 DuBois, E. *Feminism and Suffrage. The emergence of an independent women's movement in America 1848-1869.* New York, 1980.

30 Epstein, B.L. *The Politics of Domesticity: Women evangelicalism and temperance in nineteenth century America.* 1987; Bordin *Op cit*; Giele, J.Z. *Two Paths to Equality: Temperance, suffrage and the origins of modern feminism.* New York 1995.

31 Giele *ibid.*

They sought suffrage to enable them to realise their aim of a temperate society, not as a means protecting the family. British temperance women wanted the vote on egalitarian principles. Chapters four and five of this thesis investigate and analyse how the BWTA sought to build a role for temperance women using the existing opportunities open to them as well as campaigning for women's suffrage.

Bordin in *Woman and Temperance* emphasises that the WCTU was a political movement and provides a useful comparison with the BWTA[32]. Both the WCTU and the BWTA were political societies but differences also existed. The greatest is, perhaps, the strong emphasis on domesticity and home protection introduced by Frances E. Willard in 1879[33]. Willard believed that the vote would enable women to obtain security in order to live without fear of the consequences of alcohol. At its extreme this has been described as a "feminism of fear" by Marilley rather than a feminism of rights[34]. No equivalent of the "feminism of fear" existed within the British movement. The BWTA did not claim suffrage to protect women, as Willard did, but on the grounds of equality. This is surprising when one considers the close relationship between Willard and Lady Henry Somerset[35]. Willard's *Home Protection* policy did not appeal to the membership of the BWTA. The British women's temperance movement claimed the vote was essential not as a protection from men and male violence but in order to achieve their rights, which included their temperance aims through legislation. This difference is further analysed in Chapter Six and Willard's influence on the association is also considered in Chapter Seven on the diversity of the BWTA and its implications.

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32 Bordin *Op cit.*

33 Leeman, R.W. *"Do Everything" Reform: The oratory of Frances E. Willard.* 1992. For further information on Frances E. Willard see Appendix Six.

34 Marilley, S.M. *Woman Suffrage and the Organs of Liberal Feminism in the United States 1820 - 1920.* 1996.

35 For further details on Lady Henry Somerset see Appendix 6.

Other literature on the women's temperance movement in the United States is extensive, but much of it refers to individual states. Dannenbaum's work on the ante-bellum women's temperance movement is useful as he investigates the parallels with the Women's Crusade in the early 1870's[36]. The spontaneous women's crusade was to influence many and resulted in women taking to the streets and smashing bars but nothing on the same scale occurred in Britain. A detailed analysis of the crusade has been provided by Blocker, who suggests that the crusade was not triggered by coincidence but was the result of temperance politics in Ohio[37]. The crusade brought about the creation of the WCTU, but the WCTU was not to incorporate the direct action of the crusade into its aims and objectives, for example, amongst the histories of state organisations Garners's thesis on the Kansas WCTU discuses the influence of Christianity, considering that the membership were "Biblical feminists", whilst British women were influenced by Christianity Garner's terminology is not an accurate reflection of their role[38].

Marilley, in studying the women's movement in Colorado, describes temperance as part of the demand for equal rights but considers that it used the" feminism of fear", as their motivation[39]. Marilley places the women's movement in a liberal context. By including the whole women's movement her work has a wider remit then either Garner on the Kansas WCTU or Cook on the WCTU in Ontario. These works demonstrate the resemblance between the WCTU in the United States and the Canadian branches. The use of liberalism, by Marilley, as a theme in

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36 Dannenbaum, J. *Drink and Disorder.* USA, Urbana, 1983.

37 Blocker, J. "*Give Thy Fears to the Winds": The Women's Temperance Crusade, 1873 - 1874.* 1985.

38 Garner, N. G. *For God, Home and Native Land. The Kansas Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1878 - 1938.* PhD University of Kansas, 1994.

39 Marilley *Op cit*; Garner, *Op cit. ; Cook, S.A. "Through Sunshine and Shadow": The Women's Christian Temperance Union evangelicalism, and reform in Ontario, 1874 - 1930. Montreal, 1995.*

early women's suffrage and temperance movement is an echo of Grimshaw's work on New Zealand[40]. It was in New Zealand that women first won the vote, in 1893. Here it was the WCTU, introduced by World Women's Christian Temperance Union (Hereafter referred to as WWCTU) missionaries, that became a driving force behind the achievement[41]. Temperance women based their campaign on a vote for protection[42]. Although not a mass movement, the membership of the WCTU was around 600 during the decade 1885-1895, and generated female solidarity based on Christian values and Willard's *Do Everything* policy[43]. Grimshaw's work concentrates on the passage of the bill, but does not focus so strongly on the WCTU; she considers the campaign to be in the tradition of British liberalism[44]. The link with liberalism in Britain became vital to the women's temperance movement, and the BWTA hoped to emulate the New Zealand women's success and combine temperance reform and suffrage. The relationship between the Liberal Party, suffrage and temperance has been neglected in the literature of the women's temperance movement, and the link between the three movements is explored in later chapters. This aspect of the women's temperance movement is an underlying theme of this thesis. Fahey's articles and Dingle's history of the UKA demonstrate the importance of the links between the male organisations and the Liberal Party but have disregarded the importance for the women's movement.

The connection between liberalism, suffrage and temperance began with Margaret Bright Lucas and was strongest under the presidency of Rosalind Howard, Countess

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40 Grimshaw, P. *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand.* Auckland, 1972.

41 Grimshaw *Ibid.*

42 Bunkle, The Origins of the Women's Movement in New Zealand: The Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1885 - 1895 IN Bunkle, P. & Hughes, B. *Women in New Zealand.* 1980.

43 Grimshaw *Op cit.* For Willard's *"Do everything"* policy see chapter on temperance women and the politics of suffrage.

44 Grimshaw *Op cit.*

of Carlisle[45]. Whilst the biographies of Lucas and Carlisle allude to their political roles they do not focus on the importance of their political interests and how they utilised their connections to liberalism and the Liberal Party[46]. No biographies of temperance women exist that give the full implications of the politicisation of the temperance campaigns. In particular early temperance women are rarely discussed in terms of political action. Early temperance women, those who provided a foundation for the BWTA, as described in Chapter Three, as are those worked in the early years of the BWTA. As discussed in Chapter Two, there is a need to consider temperance women's work in relation to the ideology of separate spheres. The ideology of separate spheres, specifically of the women's sphere is complex and controversial. It is the ideology of the separate spheres that underpins the domesticity theory of temperance women in America, and appears an ideal framework for the work of British temperance women. Whilst British temperance women did find themselves constrained within the women's sphere, as discussed in Chapter Two, they developed the role of "Christian women" as a justification for their temperance work and used it to widen their sphere of influence. Significantly they also used the construct of Christian and philanthropic womanhood as a base from which they could develop their temperance work. The ideology of separate spheres is, perhaps, best articulated in Davidoff and Hall's analysis of middle class families in the mid nineteenth century which reinforces the findings of previous studies based on American and British women's history[47]. Vickery's more recent

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[45] For further information on Margaret Bright Lucas and Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle see Appendix Six.

[46] Heath, H.J.B. *Margaret Bright Lucas: The life of a "British Woman"*. 1890; Stewart, L. & Fowler, J.A. Editors *Memoirs of Margaret Bright Lucas, President of the British Women's Temperance Association.* 1890; Henly, Lady Dorothy *Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle.* 1958; Roberts, C. *The Radical Countess: The history of the life of Rosalind Carlisle.* Carlisle, 1962.

[47] Davidoff, L. & Hall, C. *Family Fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class., 1780 - 1850,* 1987; Cott, N.F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: Woman's sphere in New England, 1780 - 1835.* USA, 1977; Welter, B. The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820 - 60. *American Quarterly,* 17, 1966. pp 151 - 174; Smith Rosenberg, C. The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between women in

historiographical review of the subject contests Hall's and Davidoff's certainty and suggests separate spheres as an ideology has "proved inadequate" for all classes and periods[48]. She suggests that there is a need for case studies of women's roles and their perceptions of their roles, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries and a debate to establish the reaction to domesticity and the private sphere[49]. This thesis suggests that temperance women, particularly the pioneers of the movement, were not working completely within the women's private sphere but operated in a "grey zone" that existed between the two spheres. This "grey zone" was to be found where the two spheres joined, notably in philanthropy and Christian endeavour. The belief in women's moral superiority enabled temperance women to appropriate philanthropy for their sphere and take advantage of the "grey zone" between the two spheres using it as a stepping stone to greater equality. Taking advantage of the "grey zone", temperance women began to form and manage not only women's temperance societies but also male societies. In this way they widened their sphere of influence into the politics of temperance, as described in chapters four and five.

Contemporary biographies of early temperance women highlight the debate on the two spheres and discuss the women's temperance movement in the context of Christian philanthropy. Lack of research has meant that these early temperance women do not have the modern biographies they deserve. Pioneering temperance women such as Julia Bainbrigge Wightman of Shrewsbury, Ann Carlile of the Band of Hope, Agnes Weston, founder of the Sailors' Rests, and Sarah Robinson, who promoted temperance in the army, have been poorly served by biographers and

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nineteenth century America. *Signs, 1, 1975, 1 - 29.*

[48] Vickery, A. Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women's history. *The Historical Journal,* 36, 2, (1993), pp 383 - 414; Davidoff and Hall *op cit*

[49] Vickery *ibid.*

historians[50]. One notable exception to this is Fahey's work on Jessie Forsyth which provides a detailed insight into the work of one virtually unknown woman. Forsyth was a member of the Independent Order of Good Templars (Hereafter referred to as IOGT) and her writings illustrate not only the opportunities available to women members of the order but also her feminism and radicalism[51]. This is, perhaps, the most important account of one women's role in the women's temperance movement[52]. Forsyth's writings provide the important details of a temperance worker who lived and worked in Britain, the United States and Australia. Her account of her temperance work in the IOGT gives a insight into the role of women in the organisation and was valuable in highlighting the range of work done by women in the IOGT. The IOGT was important to temperance women as they gave women equal rights. This was particularly important for early women temperance advocates as it enabled them to learn new skills and responsibility. Temperance women in Britain, such as Forsyth, who joined the IOGT benefited from the order's policy of allowing women to fully participate and vote in the organisation. Many members of the BWTA were also members of the IOGT, and the importance of women's role in the IOGT is expanded in Chapter Two.

The temperance/suffrage link has been ignored in the histories of the British women's suffrage campaign. This thesis will show the strong links which existed

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[50] Fletcher, J.M.J. *Mrs Wightman of Shrewsbury: The story of a pioneer in temperance work.* 1906; Sherlock, F. *Ann Jane Carlile: A temperance pioneer.* 1897; Crofton, R.H. *Jane Anne Carlile and Her Descendants.* St Leonards, 1950; Barron, T.J. "Anne Jane Carlile: a temperance pioneer". *Breifne, (Journal of Cuman Seanchais Bhreifne)* 2, 1963, 234-37; Weston, A. *My Life with the Bluejackets.* 1911; Wintz, S.G. *Our Blue Jackets. Miss Weston's life and work among our sailors.* 1894; Chappell, J. *Agnes Weston: The sailors friend.* 1935; Gulliver, D. *Dame Agnes Weston.* 1971; Robinson, S. *A Life Record.* 1898; Robinson, S. *My Book: A personal narrative.* 1914.

For further information on Julia Bainbrigge Wightman, Anges Weston and Sarah Robinson see Appendix Six.

[51] IOGT was a fraternal organisation which facilitated women's participation at all levels prior to the founding of the BWTA and continued to do so after the foundation of the BWTA.

[52] Fahey, D.M. Editor *The Collected Writings of Jessie Forsyth 1847 - 1937. The Good Templars and temperance reform on three continents.* Lampter, 1988.

For further information on Jessie Forsyth see Appendix Six.

between the two movements through the women's networks of the period. Holton's recent essay on the Bright women and their extended circle demonstrates the value of networks for early feminist; discussing their sphere of influence, contacts and role in the early feminist movement in which temperance women played a participatory role[53]. Jessie Craigen, a temperance advocate and suffrage speaker, has been studied by Holton to reveal the close connections between the temperance and suffrage movements[54]. This study of an individual woman draws attention to the overlapping interests of women and indicates the role of women as paid speakers in the temperance and women's campaigns.

In contrast to these works on previously unknown women are no biographies of the presidents of the BWTA which provide an analyis of the political aspects of their work for temperance and the women's movement. There are no works that compare with Bordin's biography of Willard or give the insight of Gifford's edited selections from the prolific diaries of Frances Willard[55]. Margaret Bright Lucas is not regarded as a significant figure in the temperance or women's movement despite her extensive activities in both movements[56]. Rosalind Carlisle was a leading figure in the WLF, and the NBWTA but no modern biography exists apart from a recent biography of the Earl and Countess of Carlisle[57]. The earlier biographies by her daughter and her son-in-law deal predominantly with her role in relation to others

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53 Holton, S.S. From Anti-slavery to Suffrage Militancy: The Bright Circle, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the British Women's movement. IN Daley, C. & Nolan, M. Editors. *Suffrage and Beyond. International feminist perspectives.* Aukland, 1994.

54 Holton, S.S. *Suffrage Days: Stories from the women's suffrage movement.* 1996.
For further information on Jessie Craigen see Appendix Six.

55 Bordin, R. *Frances Willard: A biography.* 1986.
Gifford, C.De Swarte *Writing Out My Heart; Selections from the journal of Frances E. Willard.* Chicago, 1998.

56 Heath, H.J.B. *Margaret Bright Lucas: The life of a "British Woman".* 1890; Stewart, L. & Fowler, J.A. Editors *Memoirs of Margaret Bright Lucas, President of the British Women's Temperance Association.* 1890.

57 Surtees, V. *The Artist and the Autocrat: George and Rosalind Carlisle.* 1988.

rather than as an individual[58]. The most valuable sources are the useful entries on her in the *DNB*, in the *Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals* and in the *Biographical Dictionary of British Feminists*[59]. The biography of Lady Henry Somerset, which was written by her literary executor, is a general biography and so under-estimates her role in the temperance movement. Fitzpatrick gives a partisan view of Somerset's work particularly the controversy caused by Lady Henry Somerset's letter to *The Times* on the Contagious Diseases Acts[60]. The effect of this letter on both the women's movement and the BWTA is not fully discussed by Fitzpatrick. Despite the use of primary source material the biography contains no bibliography and the sources she used are no longer available. Resumes of Somerset's life can be found in the *DNB* and in Van Ardsel's *Victorian Britain*[61]. Somerset and Carlisle had very different personalities, and both led eventful and often difficult lives, which probably influences the access to archive material, but their roles in the temperance women's movement are deserving of wider dissemination. Their different personalities determined the role played by the BWTA under their leadership and this thesis will assess the influence of both women.

Tyrrell in his work on the World Women's Christian Temperance Union and his earlier essay on the influence of the WWCTU on the Australian temperance movement give a detailed picture of the internationalism of the women's temperance movement through the WWCTU[62]. Tyrrell's book is useful because he

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58 Henley, *Lady Dorothy Rosalind Carlisle, Countess of Carlisle.* 1958; Roberts, C. *The Radical Countess: The history of the life of Rosalind Carlisle.* 1962.

59 *Dictionary of National Biography*, 3rd Supplement; Baylen, J.O. & Gossman, N.J. Editors *Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals.* Hemel Hempstead, 1988; Banks, O. *The Biographical Dictionary of British Feminists.* Hemel Hampstead, 1990.

60 Fitzpatrick, J. *Lady Henry Somerset.* 1923; *The Times* 21st April 1897.

61 *Victorian Britain: an encyclopaedia.* Edited by S. Mitchell. 1988.

62 Tyrrell, I.R. *Woman's World Woman's Empire.* Chapel Hill, 1991; Tyrrell, I.R. Women and Temperance in International Perspective IN Barrows, S. & Room, R. *Drinking: Behaviour and belief in modern history.* Oxford, 1991.

addresses the different routes to development taken by the missions established by Leavitt on her world reconnaissance trip. Whilst he is strong on the WWCTU and the cultural imperialism of the movement he is less sure in his analysis of the BWTA and its membership. His view that the WWCTU dominated the women's temperance movement is over stated. The Melbourne WCTU and specially its journal appear to owe much to the influence of the BWTA[63]. Hyslop considers the Victoria WCTU and its membership in relation to the BWTA and WCTU and discusses the influence of women from both Britain and the USA.[64]. Work currently in progress builds on Hyslop's works and suggests that for the Victoria and Melbourne WCTU the British influence was greater than Tyrrell suggests[65]. One other area of the women's temperance movement which needs further investigation is the movement in Wales. Wales has been excluded from this thesis for language reasons. Many Welsh records are, naturally, written in Welsh and this is an area which should be undertaken by a Welsh speaker with a fuller knowledge of the culture. Lloyd-Morgan's article on temperance women in Wales links the temperance movement to suffrage, suggesting that the strong total abstinence movement and anti-suffrage stance of many men prevented them from openly supporting the campaign for women's suffrage. This contrasts significantly with the view expressed here that the membership of the BWTA was politically active, not only in the politics of temperance but also in relation to feminist issues of the period.

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[63] *White Ribbon Signal - Journal of the Victoria Women's Christian Temperance Union,* 1893 - 1902.

[64] Hyslop, A. Temperance, Christianity and Feminism: the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Victoria, 1887 - 97. *Historical Studies,* University of Melbourne, 1976, Vol 17, (66), pp 27 - 49.

[65] Tyrrell *Op cit.* Work currently being undertaken at LaTrobe University Melbourne by Anna Blainey.

This thesis attempts to fill some of the voids surrounding the roles played by women in the temperance movement. It analyses the role of "British Women" and shows that the women of the movement were not singular in their approach. The predominantly middle class membership of the BWTA used the title "British Women" to describe themselves as women working for temperance. This was a shorthand that communicated their gender and nationalism. It was a term that would emphasis the role of their association and underlined the roots of the association in Britain. The title "British Women" emphasised that the membership followed a "British" route to temperance. This was stressed when the membership believed they were under threat from Americanisation."British Women" reinforced the message of the title of their organisation which stressing a nationalism that could be identified throughout the empire. The title of the association and the term "British Women" significantly omitted "Christian". This was despite the fact that the membership of the association was, to a great extent, non-conformist and a recurring issue for some members, was the religious affiliations of Lady Henry Somerset and the Countess of Carlisle. The title "British Women" gave temperance women a distinctive identity in the temperance movement. They were active feminists and part of the wider social and moral movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The designation "British Women" identified them in the early feminist movement.

Research undertaken for the thesis has revealed the extent to which temperance women participated not only in their own organisation, the BWTA, but in the wider women's movement. They used their extensive networks in an attempt to achieve both prohibition, in some form, and women's equality. In order to attain

either they had to not only expand the "women's sphere" but also to move out of it in to the male dominated public sphere.

The membership of the BWTA began their temperance campaign by addressing the concerns of female intemperance, women's access to alcohol in gin palaces and beer shops and the easy availability of alcohol via licensed grocers. Grocer's licenses were of particular concern, as it was accepted that drink would lead to drunkenness which in turn could result in the break-up of the family. This, together with the conception that women were more vulnerable to drink and that inebriate women were almost incurable, meant that there was an accepted need for a women's national temperance society. Whilst the BWTA did address these matters its *raison d'être* soon became the achievement of temperance legislation and a temperate society. Leading members of the association believed this could only be achieved by their access to political power.

They sought out an active role that would enable them to claim citizenship. Citizenship would enable them to participate fully in the temperance movement and ensure that they had the necessary skills and qualifications to participate in decision making processes of the temperance movement. The citizenship they wished to achieve was not a citizenship within the private sphere but one that would give them equal rights with men. In order to succeed as citizens and obtain their temperance aims they needed rights. The right to freedom of speech and expression was important as they had a need for their to be voice heard in the temperance movement. They also wanted a participatory citizenship which would give temperance women the right to be politically active. They needed the right to stand for election, at both local and national level. and the right to vote. The local franchise gave them limited citizenship and enabled them to bring about the

reduction of local licenses. National citizenship would enable them participate in achieving a temperate state. Chapters Four and Five demonstrate the way in which temperance women exercised their limited citizenship for temperance. The progression of the BWTA from a moral suasion and Christian temperance based organisation to political activism is charted throughout this thesis.

Temperance remains at the centre of this thesis but it is a gendered view of temperance work as enacted by women for their own aims and objectives. Women who had been excluded from power within the male dominated temperance movement, with the significant exception of the IOGT, were able to build their own power base, the BWTA, and gain influence in an attempt to introduce temperance and other legislation.

As the temperance movement as a whole developed and refined its objectives into prohibition, in one form or another, the women's temperance movement also embraced prohibition as a political ideal. How temperance women strove to achieve prohibition ~~this~~ is a major strand of this work. The UKA and its prohibitionist supporters became adept as lobbyists, and by the time of Somerset's presidency were a political force within the radical wing of the Liberal Party. The simplicity of the demand for prohibition attracted the women of the BWTA. The idea of eliminating the dreaded "traffic" in the "demon drink" was seen as a way by which the state could prevent prostitution, poverty, crime and social degradation. By 1892 the "local option" had become official Liberal Party policy and widened the appeal of prohibition as it gave the vote to local communities[66]. The move to prohibition in the form of the local veto would have provided women with a greater opportunity to play a direct part in the introduction of temperance reform.

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[66] See Appendix One for a definition for local veto.

They could not vote in parliamentary elections for prohibition candidates but many had a local vote which they could use to good effect for the temperance cause. Despite the activism of temperance women in the campaign for women's suffrage their contribution to the fight for a parliamentary vote has been under researched. The demand for women's suffrage by temperance women is discussed in Chapter Five. Carlisle, an ardent female advocate of the local veto, supported and encouraged women to participate in local politics and in the campaign for women's suffrage as a way of effecting social change. It was her determined support for strong temperance policies and her connections with the UKA and Liberal Party that enabled her to take over from Somerset as president in 1903.

There is a strong emphasis, in this thesis, on the role of the presidents and how they affected the association is highlighted through out the theses. The top down model of the BWTA was both a strength and a weakness. It brought both opportunities and threats. It enabled new policies to be introduced from above and change to be implemented. It was also, in 1893, to result in a schism within the association and the founding of the Women's Total Abstinence Union (Hereafter referred to as WTAU). The cause of schism has been attributed to the addition of suffrage to the remit of the association and the reluctance of the membership to embrace such a radical policy. An alternative hypothesis based on the records of both organisations is proposed here[67]. A careful study of leading members of the BWTA reveals the centrality of the BWTA, and its successor the National British Women's Temperance Association, to the feminist movement and its networks of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which have remained under researched. It is argued that the leading members of the WTAU were, like those of

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[67] See Chapter Five.

the NBWTA, feminists. This aspect of their work is focused on in Chapter Six and illustrates how diversification effected the organisation and its members.

The following chapter focuses on the role of Christian temperance and philanthropy within the BWTA and how it was used by temperance women as a means of expanding their role from the women's sphere into the public sphere in the early days of the women's temperance movement[68]. The woman's sphere could be both repressive and restraining, but it was also liberating in that women could push against the restraints as a way of expanding their role.

As the history of the temperance movement, specifically the women's movement, is almost unknown Chapter Three provides a brief outline of the history of the women's temperance movement. It describes the expansion of temperance women's sphere of influence and how it provided the basis for their move into political activity. It also assesses temperance women's development into political activity within the temperance movement at both the local and national level. They forwarded their temperance aims and objectives by participating in the politics of temperance; in doing so temperance women increased their political awareness, and combined temperance politics with those of the women's movement.

Chapter four explains the role of temperance women in the politics of temperance from within local government. It demonstrates how temperance women began by targeting the "softest" option, poor law guardianship, expanded into school board membership and finally attempted to gain influence in local government. The addition of suffrage to the remit of temperance women is discussed in Chapter Five. The strong links between suffrage and the BWTA are described as well as the part played by the friendships and networks of the presidents and members of the

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[68] Davidoff, L. and Hall, C. *Family Fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class 1780 -1850.* 1987.Vickery, A. Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English Women's History. *The Historical Journal,* 36, 2, (1993) pp 383 - 414.

association. It also considers the cause of the split within the BWTA three years after Somerset became president. Chapter Five focuses on some of the other issues added to the association's remit and the effect they had on the association. It will analyse one of these controversial issues and raises the question of the effectiveness of such diverse campaigns and their relevance for the association. Finally conclusions are presented, arguing that temperance women were both central to the women's movement and to feminism. It brings to women's history a previously little known, but large, group of women who through their temperance work participated in women's movement. Temperance women sought out the political options open to them and exploited them not only to forward their aim of a temperate society, but to achieve citizenship and to claim full enfranchisement as a right.

CHAPTER TWO

CHRISTIANITY, PHILANTHROPY AND THE TEMPERANCE WOMAN

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will consider the influence and the part played by religion and philanthropic activities in the early women's temperance movement. In order to do so it will give a brief outline of the early relationship between temperance and organised philanthropy and religion, and of the significance of both for women. It will review the existing literature on women in religion and philanthropy in England, and briefly examine the role played by both in women's temperance in other countries particularly in the USA and in the British Empire.

The origins of the temperance movement were secular and it was shunned by the Church of England and non-conformists alike during its early anti-spirits days. The popularity of temperance expanded as a result of the introduction of teetotalism or total abstinence. Moral suasion meetings which claimed many, often temporary, converts, led to the foundation of societies and associations which spread from the north of England[1]. It began to be viewed as a moral campaign and gained support particularly amongst the non-conformist faiths[2]. Although from 1840 -1860 the Established Church took little or no notice of the movement, by the 1860s the link between temperance and Christianity had been established, numbers of teetotal clergymen were expanding rapidly and in the 1870s denominational temperance

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[1] Manchester Temperance Society was founded in 1834 by R.B. Grindrod, other early temperance societies included the Philanthropic Society of Total Abstainers in Liverpool and the Warrington Total Abstinence Society founded in 1834. Winskill, P. *The Comprehensive History of the Rise and Progress of the Temperance Reformation in the United Kingdom for the Earliest Times. Warrington, 1881.*

[2] Harrison, B. *Drink and the Victorians.* 2nd Edition, Keele, 1995.

societies were being established[3]. It was this link with the churches that was the key to women's organised participation in the movement. Women were perceived as having responsibility for moral welfare within the home and the moral education of their children. It was they who taught the children the Bible and heard their prayers, and encouraged them in a Christian way of life. By the mid-nineteenth century, women in large numbers had become active in church life. Obelkevich and Heeney suggest that at this time they formed the greatest part of the congregations[4]. Women were to be found teaching in Sunday Schools, raising money for missions, both at home and abroad, organising Bible Societies and delivering tracts[5]. All these activities were considered women's work and part of their sphere. Religion and its associated philanthropic activities became central to many women's lives and, as Heeney states, religion was "women's domain"[6]. A relationship existed between the private sphere of contemplative religion and of the Christian family, philanthropic work and missionary activities undertaken by women from within the home. These frequently involved fund-raising and crucially enabled women to participate in more public activities whilst still being linked to the home. The amount of mission work undertaken by women suggests that the private sphere for women was not as closed as has been suggested and that through evangelical Christian belief women were able to participate in the public sphere[7].

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3 Harrison *Ibid.*; Burns, D. *Temperance in the Victorian Age.* 1897;
Church of England Temperance Society was founded originally in 1862, but was to have name changes before becoming the CETS. Society of Friends Temperance Society was founded 1841, the Congregational, Baptist, and Wesleyan societies were founded in 1874,

4 Obelkevich, J. Religion IN Thompson, F.M.L. *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950.* Cambridge , 1993. Volume 3; Heeney, B.I. Women's struggle for Professional Work and Status in the Church of England, 1906-1930. *Historical Journa*l, 1983, Vol 26, pp 329 -347.

5 Prochaska, F.K. *Women and Philanthropy in the 19th Century.* Oxford, 1983; Rendall, J. *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860.* 1985; *Ipswich Temperance Tracts* published by the Ipswich Temperance Society in the 1840s.

6 Heeney 1983. *Op cit.*

7 Davidoff, L. & Hall, C. *Family Fortunes. Men and women of the English middle class 1780 - 1850.* 1987.

There is as yet no full analysis of women's participation in church and religion for this period in England. Heeney's works on the women's movement in the Church of England are the exception[8]. The collection of essays edited by Malmgreen provides glimpses rather than the full picture of women's activities and roles in Christianity, whilst Isichei's *Victorian Quakers* emphasises the male rather than female role and Valenze's work on female preaching deals with an earlier period[9]. Valenze's study recorded a background of women's preaching in which to place the enthusiasm with which some women took up the temperance campaign in the early days. The role played by Quaker women in the feminist movements of the nineteenth century and their religious beliefs is touched on by many, but there is, as yet, no complete record of their work. The part played by women in the Society of Friends at this time, and their role in social and moral issues deserves greater attention. The lack of consideration of Quaker women in Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* has been analysed by Michaelson and her article provides a background to women in the Society of Friends in the late eighteenth century[10]. Watts provides a valuable insight into the lives of Unitarian women in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Her study of the education accorded to Unitarian women and its contribution to gender equality in the faith helps explain the high profile of such women in the temperance movement[11].

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8 Heeney, B.I. *Women's Movement and the Church of England.* Oxford, 1988; Heeney, B.I. The Beginnings of Church Feminism: Women and the Councils of the Church of England. IN Malmgreen, G. *Religion in the Lives of English women, 1760-1930.* 1986.

9 Malmgreen, G. *Religion in the Lives of English women, 1760-1930.* 1986; Isichei, E. *Victorian Quakers.* Oxford, 1970. Valenze, D.M. *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female preaching, power and popular religion in Industrial England.* New Jersey, 1985; Brown, E.P. & Stuard, S.M. *Witnesses for Change; Quaker women over three centuries.* 1989.

10 Michaelson, P.H. Religious Bases of Eighteenth Century Feminism: Mary Wollstonecraft and the Quakers. *Women's Studies*, 1993, Vol 22, No 3, pp 281 - 296.

11 Watts, R. Knowledge is Power - Unitarians, gender and education in the eighteen and early nineteenth centuries. *Gender and Education*, 1, 1, 1989, pp 35 - 50; Gleadle, K. *Early Feminists Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movement.* 1996.

In her comparative study, Rendall provides valuable background information on the significance of the evangelical movement to feminism in both the United States and Britain[12]. Davidoff and Hall illustrate the place of religion in the lives of the middle classes from 1780 to 1850[13]. Whilst there are valuable articles on individual aspects of women's role, the wider implications of the work undertaken by women in the faiths of the nineteenth century is often missing[14].

The North American studies of the links between Christianity and the women's movement have been made and have emphasised those between evangelism and the women's temperance movement[15]. The attraction of the Women's Christian Temperance Union for women in the United States and Canada, in particular, has been well considered[16]. Indeed, in her essay on the state of research into Methodist women in the late nineteenth century, Gifford considers that Frances Willard, long time president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in the United States is but one part of women's activities in North America[17]. Willard's high profile in the temperance movement and her *Do Everything* policy has obscured the activities of other women.

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12 Rendall, J. *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860.* 1985.

13 Davidoff, L. & Hall, C. *Family Fortunes. Men and women of the English middle class 1780 - 1850.* 1987.

14 Milbank, A. Josephine Butler: Christianity, Feminism and Social Action. IN Obelkevich, J. et al Editors *Disciples of Faith: Studies in religion, politics and patriarchy.* 1987; Dayton, L.S. & Dayton, D.W. Women as Preachers: Evangelical precedents. *Christianity Today*, v19, May 23, pp 4-7; Dayton, L.S. & Dayton, D.W. "Your Daughters Shall Prophesy" Feminism in the Holiness movement. *Methodist History*, 14, 1, 1976, 4, pp 67-92.

15 Thomas, H.F. & Keller, R.S. Editors *Women in New Worlds: Historical perspectives on the Wesleyan tradition.* USA, Nashville, 1987; Brouwer, R.C, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian women and India Missions, 1876-1914.* Toronto, 1995; Epstein, B.L. *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, evangelism, and temperance.* USA, 1981.

16 Epstein *Ibid*; Bordin, R. *Woman and Temperance: The quest for power and liberty, 1873 -1900.* USA, 1990. Bordin, R. *Frances Willard: a biography.* USA, 1986; Marilley, S. Frances Willard and the Feminism of Fear. *Feminist Studies* 19, No 1, (Spring 1993), pp 123 -146; Mitchinson, W. The WCTU: 'For God, Home and Native Land': A study in nineteenth century feminism. IN Kealy, L. Editor *Not an Unreasonable Claim: Women and reform in Canada, 1880s - 1920's.* Canada, 1979; Cook, S.A. *"Through Sunshine and Shadow" The Women's Christian Temperance Union, evangelicalism and reform in Ontario 1874-1930.* Montreal, 1995.

17 Gifford, C.D. Sisterhoods of Service and Reform: Organised Methodist women in the late nineteenth century. An essay on the state of the research. *Methodist History*, 23, 2, 1985, pp15-30.

The literature of philanthropy reflects the dual approach, of an individual's action and the passive contribution of financial donations, and much of the more recent literature acknowledges that motivation was less than altruistic in the nineteenth century which ever method was used. Prochaska's chapter in the *Cambridge Social History* provides a good starting point for the background of philanthropy[18]. Recent studies include Bremner who uses literary sources to good effect in attempting to reveal the nature of philanthropy of the nineteenth century[19]. Martin in his work on the philosophy of philanthropy, explores the way in which philanthropy contributes to "morally desirable relationships" and provides a philosophical framework from which to consider the actions of many in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries[20]. Himmelfarb's work on poverty and compassion gives another insight into the values of the Victorians[21]. She considers that social conscience began to take the place of religion as the driving force of philanthropy. The two had often gone hand in hand but as the fervour of evangelical reform diminished so philanthropy became increasingly secular. Both made similar demands on the individual in terms of time and energy, particularly as philanthropy became increasingly institutionalised.

Social historians of philanthropy are agreed on the widespread nature of philanthropic endeavours in the nineteenth century, although opinions differ on the value of many of the undertakings to the recipients. Women were an integral part of the philanthropic movement and their role in nineteenth century England is recorded in Prochasksa's excellent study, which investigates the causes they espoused, their motives and methods[22]. Their work was often of debatable value to

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18 Prochaska, F.K. philanthropy IN Thompson, F.M.L. *The Cambridge Social History of Britain. Volume Three Social Agencies and Institutions.* Cambridge, 1990.

19 Bremner, R.H. *Giving: Charity and Philanthropy in History.* New Brunswick, 1994.

20 Martin, M.W. *Virtuous giving: Philanthropy, voluntary service, and caring.* USA, 1994.

21 Himmelfarb, G. *Poverty and compassion. The moral imagination of the late Victorians.* USA, 1991.

22 Prochaska, F.K. *Women and Philanthropy in 19th Century England.* Oxford, 1980.

the recipients as they attempted to transplant middle class ideals and morals into working class situations. Luddy discusses the role of women in philanthropic work in Ireland and highlights the different influences the two faiths in Ireland had on Irish women's activities[23]. In particular she draws attention to the role of the religious women in the Catholic church and the restrictions which this imposed on other catholic women. She perceives that temperance was an integral part of the women's philanthropic movement, a case that this chapter will argue.

A wider view of women in philanthropy is taken in McCarthy's *Lady Bountiful Revisited* which includes essays on women's philanthropic work in the USA and beyond[24]. In it, not only is the history of women's work in the USA discussed, but the social and political context of women's philanthropy in Russia, France, Mexico and Britain also covered, thus illustrating the universality of women's interest in the welfare of women and children. Like Luddy 's study, this contributes to and illustrates the way in which philanthropy enabled women to wield public power through their organisations and the work they did. The philanthropic woman was often also a Christian evangelical woman of the early nineteenth century. Her work provided a link to the emergence of the political woman of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Such women played a pivotal role in the continuous development from the private to the public sphere. Welter's and Cott's articles on middle-class women in America are a useful background to their status in the philanthropic movement[25]. Boylan, Ginsberg and Hewitt have provided insight into the role philanthropy played in the women's movement in the United States[26]. Their

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23 Luddy, M. *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century Ireland.* Cambridge, 1995.

24 McCarthy, K.D. Editor *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, philanthropy and power.* New Brunswick, 1993.

25 Cott, N. *The Bonds of Womanhood; Women's Sphere in New England, 1780 - 1835.* USA, 1977.

26 Boylan, A. M. Women in Groups: An analysis of women's benevolent organisations in New York and Boston, 1797-1840. *Journal of American History,* 71, (1984), pp 497 - 523; Ginsberg, I.D.

studies paint a complex picture of the range and type of women's philanthropic work that was repeated in Britain, covering work motivated by evangelical zeal leading to radical secular work which brought women into the political aphere.

In her study of women's early philanthropic organisations in Boston and New York, Boylan identifies three distinct strands, benevolent, reformist and feminist which contrasts with Luddy's study of Irish women's philanthropy which reveals two, benevolent and reformist[27]. The philanthropic work within the temperance movement and by the temperance women described draws on both models.

2.2 THE CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE WOMAN AND HER EXPANDING SPHERE

There is a need to assess the role of "Christian Woman" and whether women were able to invent a new role for themselves that combined their sphere of home, religion, and moral concern with philanthropic activities outside the home. The part played by "Christian Women" in the temperance movement needs to be considered as does the question as to whether temperance was perceived by the Churches as philanthropy. To achieve this the discourses of temperance need to be examined to discover if temperance work was found to be a suitable vehicle for women to undertake in doing the Lord's work. Christian and philanthropic approaches should have allowed women to adopt a new and extended sphere whilst retaining their existing role of guiding the family to God and caring for their home life. In the temperance movement, there was the opportunity to both re-inforce women's role in the home and family and simultaneously provide an opportunity for women to move into a more expanded sphere. This can be seen to have been achieved in the USA where the American model of *"For God, Home and Country"* under the

Women and the Work of Benevolence. New Haven, 1990; Hewitt, N.A. *Women's Activism and Social Change,* Rochester, New York 1822-1872. USA, 1984.

[27] Boylan *Op cit.*

banner of *Home Protection* was pioneered by Frances Willard[28]. Although the importance of the Christian basis of the women's temperance movement in England was to decline towards the end of the century, Christian belief remained central to it and continued to shape its organisation. This chapter suggests that it was the importance of Christianity in the temperance movement which made the first step from the private to the public sphere possible. This became the foundation on which women in the temperance movement were able to expand into the public sphere. The connections and networks they developed through the social organisations of Christianity and the temperance movement were to enable them to expand into philanthropy and then into the political arena[29].

The organisation and place of religion in society in the late eighteenth century provided the impetus which enabled the expansion of women's sphere from home and hearth to local government by the mid-nineteenth century and, in the second half of the nineteenth, to the demand for the parliamentary vote. The growth of non-conformity and evangelical faith both within and without the established church was having a crucial effect on women. Evangelicalism with its emphasis on conversion, and on the individual's spiritual life, contained the belief that men and women were no different in the eyes of the Lord but that their work was in different spheres. This encouraged women to reconsider what was within their sphere. Another result of the rise of non-conformity from dissent during the first half of the 19th century was that the non-conformist sects became organised pressure groups for reform. The change to clergy whose job was to care and instruct as well as conduct services meant a sense of community developed that

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[28] Bordin *Op cit.*; Epstein *Op cit.*; Bordin, R. *Frances Willard: A biography.* USA, 1986; Willard herself "Women in the pulpit" opposing the Methodist leadership, in USA, in their move to keep women from that leadership.

[29] Chapters Four and Five show how temperance women participated in both local and national politics.

encompassed women and children[30]. This was in contrast with the traditional role of the vicar and his wife organising and dispensing both faith and charity, the move into community has been articulated by Kitson Clark[31]. Although changes occurred within the Church of England, these had also been stimulated by the rise of non-conformity and subsequent decline in membership.

The earliest philanthropic work undertaken by women was narrow both in its range and scope and in the majority of cases related to religion and moral causes. This is not surprising as all denominations emphasised the importance of charity in a Christian way of life. As women were the guardians of morals in the home, it began to be easy to perceive them as having an interest in the morals of others outside the home, in particular those of women and children. As a result it became acceptable for them to take on the role of workers for charity, indeed it became a duty for them to concern themselves with those less fortunate than themselves. Service, duty and self-sacrifice were necessary to the Evangelical "Christian Woman" so philanthropy became an important part of the way of life of the "new" evangelical woman. The rise of a wealthier middle class who could afford to employ domestic servants, gave women more leisure time which could be filled with philanthropic works as a logical progression to the ideal of the "Christian Woman". Christian women began to consider that the inclusion of religion and its promotion in the community was within their sphere. Thus, by the early 19th century, they began by raising money for mission work, philanthropic causes and organisations including temperance organisations which could be considered as doing the Lord's work[32]. Their early philanthropic ideals were often those of their male counterparts, as they

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30 Davidoff, L. & Hall, C. *Family Fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class.* 1987.

31 Kitson Clark. G. *Churchmen and the Condition of England, 1832 - 1885; A study in the development of social ideas and practice from the old regime to the modern state.*1973.

32 Prochaska *Op cit.*

sought to preserve the middle-class values by their activities and attempts to impose these values on the working classes. Davidoff and Hall describe the divisions between the philanthropy of men and that allowed to women in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries[33]. Men had a greater range of causes they could espouse. For women the situation was unclear as there was a continuing debate as to the type of work women could undertake.

Christian philanthropic work became accepted and incorporated into women's sphere. As they moved from the private to the public sphere they began by working within their local environment, helping in the expansion of missions and distributing tracts[34]. Sunday school teaching and district visiting became female roles[35]. Empowered by their success in these Christian activities they began to organise themselves into separate local societies that were exclusive to women. Not all agreed with women's new role. Wilberforce did not believe that women should undertake work for the anti-slavery movement, but as Corfield shows graphically in his work on Elizabeth Heyrick, he was unsuccessful in this[36].

Women such as Elizabeth Fry believed only women could work successfully with women and therefore it was necessary for them to undertake philanthropic work with all types of women even if this meant visiting dangerous and unsuitable places,

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33 Davidoff & Hall *Op cit.*.

34 Balfour, C.L. *Working Women of the Last Half Century. The lesson of their lives.* 1854.
Brouwer, R.C. *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian women and India Missions 1876-1914.* Canada, 1990.
Some expanded their sphere even further by travelling with their missionary husbands and often became equal partners in the mission, they shared not only the work but the hardships and suffering. The role played by women in overseas missions has been reassessed by Brouwer who highlights the differences in the scope and opportunities available to women at home and in missions and dispels some of the stereotyping of women missionaries as religious zealots.

35 Heeney, B. 1983 *Op cit.*

36 Corfield, K. Elizabeth Heyrick: Radical Quaker. IN Malmgreen, G. *Religion in the Lives of Englishwomen 1760 - 1930.* 1986; Anon *A Brief Sketch of the Life and Labours of Mrs Elizabeth Heyrick.* Leicester, 1862.
Anti-Slavery became a female concern and an early female reformist movement. Women organised their own societies and undertook a popular anti slave grown sugar campaign.

such as prisons, in order to effect reform. These early philanthropic societies had the advantage that they enabled their members to meet others engaged in the same type of work and more crucially to exchange information and ideas. This became a transitional period in which women moved from the home to philanthropy and temperance activities. This is described as a "grey zone" in this thesis.

Boylan proposes that through philanthropic endeavours Christian women invented another role for themselves, that of the "Christian Woman"[37]. If this is so, the idea of Christian women would also be applicable to women in the temperance movement. Boylan's portrayal of the Protestant's evangelical ideal woman as being virtuous with a stress on deeds and action is based on research on American women in the early nineteenth century. It is a relevant model for considering English women working in the temperance movement in the 19th century. The evangelical woman in both cases needed to be God fearing, pious, nurturing, aware of social problems and capable of helping to solve them. It was these attributes that were perceived by temperance women to be necessary for work in the movement; to be God fearing, pious and nurturing was demanded of Christian women within the home and family, whilst it was the ability to solve problems which enabled women to take their activities into the public sphere. Women were keen to rid themselves of the image of "do gooders" or "Lady Bountiful" and to be seen to be not only achieving results for the Lord but gaining a sphere in which they could use their power and influence to convert others to the temperance way of life. Whilst Boylan applies her model specifically to Sunday School teaching, it fits women's role in many activities including the temperance movement of the nineteenth century. For many women in the temperance movement their role was a Christian one, which enabled

[37] Boylan, A.M. Evangelical Womanhood in the Nineteenth Century: The role of women in Sunday Schools. *Feminist Studies*, Vol 4, No 3, pp 62 - 80.

them to "rescue" and "save" by bringing women and men back to God through the message of temperance. Thus the idea that as Christian women undertaking Christian philanthropic work they were empowered to move outside the home without being seen to be taking on political activity became vital to them. However their work was not always approved of by the Churches to the disillusion and disappointment of many.

Women working alone found that even though they were working in the Christian spirit they were not encouraged in their work. Jane Anne Carlile, the widow of a Presbyterian minister, despite having contacts with the Christian community found that in her temperance work she met with the "serious obstacle of the coldness, apathy and indifference of Christian people"[38]. Her experiences were not unique and no woman no matter how "Christian" was beyond criticism. This was not unique to temperance, women's work of district visiting and Sunday School teaching was described as "a kindly pious effort"[39]. The transition from Christianity through philanthropy and temperance provided difficulties for women but they continued to add temperance to their work as individuals. Women who linked temperance to other social causes included Mary-Anne Rawson of Sheffield, Mary Carpenter, Hannah Kilham, Marie Hilton and Mary Bayley[40]. In general the aim of such women

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38 Sherlock, F. *Anne Jane Carlile: A temperance pioneer.* 1897; Crofton, R.H. *Anne Jane Carlile and her Descendants.* St Leonards, 1950. For further information on Anne Jane Carlile see Appendix Six.

39 Heeney, B. 1983 *Op cit.*

40 Manton, J. *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets,* 1976; Schupf, H.W. Single Women and Social Reform in Mid-nineteenth Century England: The case of Mary Carpenter. *Victorian Studies*, xvii, 1974, pp 301 - 317; Tyrrell, A. "Woman's Mission" and Pressure Group Politics in Britain 1825 - 60, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library,* 63, 1980 - 81, pp 194 - 230; Harrison, B.H. *Dictionary of Temperance Biography.* Coventry, 1973; Balfour, C.L. *A Sketch of Mrs Hannah Kilham.* 1853; Burns, D. *Temperance in the Victorian age.* 1897; Female Intemperance Report of Meeting of the BWTA *Temperance Record*, 1878, No 1143 7th February p 86; Report of BWTA meeting *Temperance Record*, 1878, No 1153 , 2nd May; Hilton, J. D. *Marie Hilton.* 1897; Hilton, M. *Our Homes in Danger.* n.d.; Hilton, M. *Women's Responsibilities in Relation to Temperance.* 1878; Bayley, M. *Christian Aspect of the Temperance Question.* 1863; *Women's Signal*, 1896, Vol 5, 30th April, pp 273 - 274. For further information on Mary-Ann Rawson, Mary Carpenter, Hannah Kilham, Marie Hilton, and Mary Bayly see Appendix Six.

was to encourage the individuals they worked with to abstain and become teetotallers.

One such woman who dedicated herself to temperance, in the 1850's, was Mrs Wightman, the wife of a Church of England clergyman. The publication of her book *Haste to the Rescue* in 1859, telling of her experiences as a temperance worker in Shrewsbury amongst the working classes, encouraged other Christian women to individual efforts, and facilitated the formation of local ladies associations[41]. The book undoubtedly drew attention to the problem of drunkenness in the working classes, and was intended, in the author's own words, "chiefly for the educated classes" to stir them into both action and prayer for the cause[42]. Her aim was for middle-class women to convert the drunkard to both temperance and Christianity, for without the strength of Christianity she believed they could not sustain the temperance way of life. The fact of the wife of a clergyman writing to her sister a record of her work was bound to emphasise its deeply Christian nature as well as illustrating to other women the part they could play in converting men to a Christian way of life by temperance. There is no doubt that her status as a clergyman's wife had helped her gain influence over other women particularly when she approached them in her work. Like so many other women her early Christian activities, teaching Bible classes and visiting the poor and the sick, enabled her to expand into temperance. She was inspired by Catherine Marsh, an evangelical mission worker, and Mrs Bayly, and began prayer meetings specifically for women after reading *Ragged Homes, and How to Mend Them*[43]. Many Christian women were inspired by works such as these to

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41 Wightman, J. B. *Haste to the Rescue.* 1859; Ellison, H.J. *The Temperance Reformation Movement in the Church of England.* 1878; Fletcher, J.M.J. *Mrs. Wightman of Shrewsbury.* 1906. For further information on Julia Bainbigg Wightman see Appendix Six.

42 Wightman *Op cit .*; Marsh, C. *English Hearts and English Hands, The railway and the trenches. 1858*; Bayly, M. *Ragged Homes and How to Mend Them.* 1860.

43 Bayly, *Op cit.*

venture into new areas of Christian endeavour and to develop different ways of spreading the Christian and temperance message, linking it with the reclamation of the "drunkard" and making temperance a vehicle for Christian endeavour.

Women such as Julia Wightman had to tread a careful path, for, by including prayers and Bible readings, they ran the risk of being accused of assuming the role of an ordained man. Julia Wightman was aware of this to such an extent that if there was an ordained man in the audience or congregation she would rarely speak[44]. In order to maintain authority, Christian women had to ensure that they did not move too far into the male sphere.

The lines between the two spheres were not distinct and, despite the caution showed by Julia Wightman, she was criticised for allowing women to sign the pledge[45]. She was told that she would make Chartists out of the lower classes by the development of a working man's hall which provided educational facilities as well as religious instruction and non-alcoholic drinks[46]. Despite being an ideal Christian upper middle class woman, her work in temperance was met with indifference amongst others of her class. It was also considered unwomanly for her to hold such a public position, so active in the public sphere. The whole basis of Wightman's work was in the tradition of Christian missionary and philanthropic work. She travelled with tracts and frequently engaged casual acquaintances in conversation, using every opportunity to put forward the temperance message and the importance of the Bible[47]. Her early work had included founding a home for fallen women. She disliked the existing scheme in the Shrewsbury Home, with its compulsory two year residence and regimes of solitary confinement and hair cuts on admittance. She later

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44 Fletcher *Op cit.*

45 Wightman *Op cit.*

46 Fletcher *Op cit.*

47 Wightman *Op cit.* ; Fletcher *Op cit.*.

started a ragged school. In the introduction to *Haste to the rescue* she refers to her work as "from the beginnings a RELIGIOUS [sic] one"[48].

Wightman considered that mission work alone was not sufficient, and that all such activities had to be linked to the Church of England. Miss Ellice Hopkins, speaking about her own work with the Societies for Friendless Girls, inspired Wightman to form an association for Friendless Girls. Mrs Wightman ensured this was linked to the Shrewsbury Diocese. Similarly the Shrewsbury Working Men's Hall which she built from the money she made from *Haste to the Rescue"* was used for Bible classes as well as for a library and a ragged school. She was later to declare that "Unsectarian work is spiritual lawlessness"[49] . As with many other women, Wightman's motives are difficult to interpret. Biographies were written by admirers and manuscript sources are slight. It is, however, certain that the Christian faith of such women was the basis of their work. Yet there is no doubt that they expanded women's role in the temperance movement and became role models for other women.

One inspired woman was Agnes Weston, a committed Christian. She did not favour the Established Church as Wightman had but welcomed all no matter what denomination[50]. In 1873 she took over the naval temperance work started by the National Temperance League and opened a Rest Home for sailors together with Sophia Wintz[51]. Her overall aim was to make the navy sober, a difficult task in the days of daily rum rations of 1/8 pint[52]. The Rest Home was teetotal but she accepted

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48 Wightman *Op cit.*.

49 Fletcher *Op cit.*

50 Weston, A. My *Life with the Blue Jackets.* 1911. For further information on Agnes Weston see Appendix Six.

51 Wintz, S. *Our Blue Jackets: Miss Weston's life and work among our sailors.* 1890.

52 Harrison, B. *Drink and the Victorians.* 2nd Ed., Keele, 1995.
When the rum ration was originally introduced it was half a pint of rum and water and a gallon of beer. In 1825 it was halved and in 1850 halved again. By 1861 tea, cocoa, coffee or lime juice could be substituted.

all who came sober or drunk, with or without faith. She aimed not to preach either temperance or Christianity. As a consequence she ran the Institute, which had developed from Rest Home, and its Gospel Hall separately. She organised gatherings for sailors, their wives and children, as well as Bible classes, temperance and prayer meetings within the hall provided by the Institute. The Institute had a refreshment bar, dormitories, baths, and billiard room amongst its other facilities. Her philanthropic work extended to the widows and children of sailors who were in general ignored by the navy. It included the running of women's clubs for wives, and organising bazaars to raise money, a portion of which was used to pay for Victoria Jubilee nurses who were available for maternity and district nursing. There was a lack of compulsion in linking temperance with religion. Neither was necessary to use the facilities she provided. This was in contrast to the social control aspect of much of the other temperance philanthropy which was aimed not only at saving but at ensuring a conversion to God and a moral way of life that included temperance.

The high regard with which she was held by other organisations, in particular by the National Temperance League, was typified by the merger of the Royal Naval Temperance Society and NTL. *The Temperance Record*, organ of the NTL regularly reported both the meetings she held and her work with the navy. Her articles frequently appeared in the journal. Her work attracted interest and she received donations from a wide range of individuals. Her non denominational stance earned her a donation of £1,000 from Mrs Langworthy, a wealthy widow from Manchester, who had previously taken a great interest in Weston's temperance work with sailors and who only supported such nondenominational causes. The money was to enable the expansion of the Sailors Rest[53]. What Agnes Weston provided was a haven for

[53] *Manchester Guardian*, 22nd August 1891.

sailors in each port, a scheme which had been originally suggested by J.S. Buckingham as early as 1837[54]. The philanthropic skills of Agnes Weston and Sophia Wintz not only benefited the sailors but also the Royal Navy who had fewer inebriated sailors. Weston's and Wintz's endeavours provided an alternative to bars and brothels. Harrison claims that the religious element of the fight for temperance in the institute meant it could not have been a really effective alternative, but the open door policy of Agnes Weston did provide penniless sailors with a roof over their heads, and facilities that were not available elsewhere[55]. For this reason it was certainly popular with many in the navy.

She was not alone in seeking to bring sobriety to the armed forces. Sarah Robinson worked with the army, based mainly at Aldershot, providing predominately secular and philanthropic activities despite her always had a strong Christian faith[56]. In contrast to Agnes Weston, Sarah Robinson believed that other temperance organisations did not induce a belief in Jesus, "Whilst under the influence of the Gospel" men did well but if they joined such organisations as the Independent Order of Good Templars, she believed they ceased to attend Bible readings and so did not have the moral strength to continue to resist the lures of drink[57]. Like Wightman, Robinson had been influenced by Catherine Marsh's work[58] . Robinson began by attempting to rescue and reclaim "lost girls" during the course of which work she visited brothels[59]. She also under-took hospital work, and canvassed for the Lancashire Distress Fund. As a devoted Presbyterian she could not rely on support from the established church in England and indeed was opposed by it. Her strong

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54 Harrison, B.H. *Drink and the Victorians. Op cit.*

55 Fletcher, J.M.J. *Mrs. Wightman of Shrewsbury.* 1906.

56 For further information on Sarah Robinson see Appendix Six.

57 Robinson, S. *The Soldiers Friend.* 1913.

58 Marsh *Op cit.*

59 Robinson *Op cit.;* Gulliver, D. *Dame Agnes Weston.* 1971; Weston, A. *My Life Amongst the Blue Jackets.* 1909.

convictions meant that she rejected government financial assistance for a home for soldiers when a condition that no Bible classes be held there was put upon the offer[60]. The Church of England Chaplaincy who had requested the home felt it could not accept her religious beliefs and it was subsequently prohibited by Archdeacon Wright, the principal military chaplain, despite the pleas of an influential committee of high ranking officers in the army[61]. This was not the first time she had experienced a lack of co-operation from the Army's Chaplaincy. In 1863 whilst establishing her mission, only one chaplain supported her. He was banned by the Chaplain General from attending the opening services[62]. Much of her work, though, was philanthropic in nature but always undertaken with the intention of saving souls. Pioneering temperance supporters such as Bayley and Marsh provided the inspiration for later women such as Wightman, Weston, Robinson and others. All these were women of faith who were active in Christian charitable work ranging from missionary visiting in Notting Hill to reforming the living conditions of the navy. There is no doubt that they drew their inspiration and strength from the Bible and the need to do the "Lord's work" and that Christian temperance and philanthropy was a result. This was true also for Catherine Booth, wife of William Booth in the late nineteenth century, who became involved in work with drunkards and believed that drink was keeping the working class from God[63].

Christianity was becoming central to the movement as an increasing number of women joined the cause. In doing so they started to found, organise and administer their own societies. Many of these were to be based in the Christian faith and preaching temperance became a part of a Christian way of life for women. Some

60 *Englishwoman's Review*, 1881, Vol 12, September 15th, pp 392 -398.
61 Robinson *Op cit.*
62 Robinson *Op cit.*
63 For further information on Catherine Booth see Appendix Six.

societies were modelled on Mrs Wightman's in the 1860s. They were often small and based on one locality. Miss Harford Battersby founded such a society as a counter attraction to the Newport Fair, combining temperance with "Bible readings and the word of God"[64]. The underlying philosophy was that poverty induced by drink destroyed family life, and that it was women's duty to take up temperance work in addition to guiding their own families to abstinence. Thus women were working for temperance both within and outside the home.

One event of the 1870s was to have a profound affect on women's temperance work and to transform the way in which it was undertaken. This was the "Women's Crusade" in the USA of 1873/4[65]. The Crusade appears to have begun spontaneously after a routine temperance meeting for women held in Ohio, when women took to the streets and marched on saloons, singing hymns and praying as they marched. The Crusade spread rapidly with women taking to the streets in towns and cities. This "Whisky Crusade" was widely reported, and descriptions of the women's actions appeared in British newspapers as well as being extensively covered in the temperance press[66]. The *Temperance Record* a supporter of women's work, published long and detailed accounts of the Crusade, as did the *Good Templar Watchword*[67]. The *Temperance Record* did not wish women to imitate their American colleagues but encouraged Christian women to take up the work, commenting that "We further see the testing and convincing power of religion" and remarking that " the prime lesson in these incidents teaches is [sic] the power and

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[64] Balfour, C.L. *Women's Work in the Temperance Reformation:* Being papers prepared for a ladies conference held in London, May 26 1868. With an introduction by Mrs S.C. Hall. 1868. For further information on Clara Lucas Balfour see Appendix Six.

[65] See also conclusions

[66] *The Times* 25/2/1874, and through out April 1874; *Daily Telegraph* 4/4/1874

[67] *Temperance Record,* 1874, No 928, 17th January, p 32, 1874 (the first report): No 934, 28th February, pp 109 - 110: No 935, 7th March, p 117: No 940, 11th April p 179: No 941, 18th April. p 188, No 947, 30th May, p 259; *Good Templar Watchword*, 30th April 1874, p174 - 6, 6th August 1874, p 133.

influence of women"[68]. The responses by women to the "Women's Crusade" varied. Wives of working men in Manchester addressed a large crowd at the Knott Mill fair-ground; in Glasgow women formed a Ladies' Temperance Prayer Union following the visit of Mrs McCartney from Ohio; and in Dundee wives of "clergymen and leading citizens" presented a petition of 8,000 women's signatures to the licensing authorities requesting reductions in the number of licenses issued[69].

Although the reports in newspapers had been mixed, the *Daily Telegraph* considered that such a crusade involved "grotesque distortions of Divine worship" that "to an Englishman seem calculated to bring religion into contempt"[70]. Temperance women considered that the movement could only expand but American techniques were not necessary to achieve this expansion[71]. The more favourable reports encouraged women to consider ways in which they could undertake God's work, and encourage others to do so.

This Crusade was to end the transitory phase of the women's temperance movement in the United Kingdom. Women's networks were expanding and enabling temperance women to meet others working in Christian temperance. In particular, Quakers, Unitarians and the Independent Order of Good Templars had built up female networks of philanthropic activities prior to the establishment of the BWTA. Following the Crusade, English temperance women had an increasing awareness of the part they could play in the temperance movement and formed the BWTA[72].

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68 *Temperance Record* 7th March 1874, p109.

69 *Good Templar Watchword,* 16/4/1874
King, E. *Scotland Sober and Free.* The temperance movement 1829 - 1979. Glasgow, 1979.

70 *Daily Telegraph*, March 1874.

71 Tyrrell, I.R. *Woman's World / Woman's Empire.* 1991 Cites Margaret Bright Lucas "It is hardly likely that we can through the streets and kneel at the doors of gin palaces" but does not reference the quote.

72 National British Women's Total Abstinence Union *The British Women's Temperance Association, its Origin and Progress: A jubilee sketch.* 1926. For further information on Margaret E. Parker and Eliza Stewart see Appendix Six. Further details on the founding of the BWTA are given in

CONCLUSIONS

The second temperance revolution had been underpinned by faith and religious belief, and women were able to use this as a way of participating in the temperance movement which they believed belonged to their sphere. The deep religious motivation of some women working for the cause and the harnessing of it was a predominant feature of the women's temperance movement of the (1860s and early 1870s) prior to the founding of the BWTA. That the religious beliefs of temperance women frequently provided the motivational drive for individual women working alone and shaped the type of work they undertook has been shown in this chapter. Work in philanthropic temperance has also enabled temperance women to build on their existing domestic skills of management of resources, accounts, supervising staff and managing buildings. To these they added new skills of negotiating purchases of property, writing reports, reporting to committees, often male, and planning. This brought them firmly into the public sphere as they recruited suitable staff, found premises or accommodation and raised the money required for their endeavours and as a result developed their administrative skills. Initially temperance women realised that by working in societies and associations women were able to create a new role for themselves, as evangelical women[73]. This evangelical role was to continue for some for a long time and in some respects was to "haunt" the BWTA in later years[74]. Having been a Christian, predominantly nonconformist, based movement, the transition from piety to philanthropy and finally to politics was not

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Chapter Three.

[73] Boylan, A.M. Boylan, A.M. Evangelical Womanhood in the Nineteenth Century: The role of women in Sunday Schools *Feminist Studies*, Vol 4, 3, pp 62-80; Boylan, Women in Groups: an Analysis of Women's Benevolent Organisations in New York and Boston, 1797 -1840. *Journal of American History*, 71, 3, 1984, pp 497 - 523.

[74] Castle Howard Archives, J23/145 *Letters and Circulars from National Office.*
See Introduction p 17.

achieved without resistance to changes. In the 1890s the association was to split over the working methods and the political role of the association[75]. Two strands that emerged from the split, were the evangelical or Christian temperance approach and women's temperance work as a political force, although they were not always mutually exclusive.

It is suggested that Boylan's model of women shaping their own lives around religious convictions and choosing roles and work that reinforced this new image was only part of the process for temperance women. Temperance women fit Boylan's model as it allows for women undertaking temperance activities as a way of adapting their lives to do the Lord's work in public. They could attend meetings for the cause, where they could speak in public safely surrounded by like minded women. Such meetings were often given a further stamp of respectability by being chaired by clergymen. Women could expand beyond their sphere of home and family by raising money for the movement, or undertaking visiting and mission work. The combination of temperance and Christianity became particularly suited to women widening their sphere. By instructing and teaching Gospel temperance, women were often able to choose and interpret text and bring to it their own experience of Christianity, temperance and other Christian work. In doing so they could both ensure the prominence of the Christian role of women and promote women's role in the movement.

The advent of Gospel temperance inspired women to combine missionary and temperance work. This was later institutionalised by the WWCTU whose international missionaries were part of the North American campaign to convert the world to Christianity and temperance[76]. Many the missionary women, who included

[75] The split in the BWTA in 1893 is discussed in further detail in Chapter Four.

[76] Skidmore, P. Missions and Women's History: A tale of "Reflex influences". *Canadian Review of American Studies*, 1992 Special Issue, Part II, pp 301-307.

British women, had previous experience of home mission work[77]. They developed a stoic independence through the strenuous travelling involved in their work. They personified the ultimate Christian womanhood, and preached a message that combined Christianity and temperance, whilst travelling and working in extreme conditions in their own right[78].

Whilst Boylan's model accounts for these missionaries it cannot account for the involvement of such activists as Margaret Bright Lucas, the Sturges, Priestmans and others. These women, predominantly Quaker, already had extensive networks and connections outside of the home. Although Christians their work was often of a political nature. They actively supported the Chartist movement, anti-slavery movement, the campaign for the abolition of the corn laws and by the 1870s the campaign for the vote. Yet these women were involved in the temperance movement, where the majority of women were not considered to be politically committed.

The position is complex. The "grey zone" was a transitory phase which can be difficult to interpret, for temperance women were to be found in both the private and public spheres. Some women linked temperance to domesticity, as described by Bordin in her work on the WCTU, whilst others linked temperance, Christianity and philanthropy to form a base which they could develop into political action in order to support their temperance aims. The connection between temperance and religion was to provide a bridge into the public sphere for women. The movement of temperance women supposes that the spheres of private and public are not as rigid

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77 Tyrrell, I.R. *Woman's World / Woman's Empire.* 1991.

78 *Ibis.*; Flemming, L. A. Editor *Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and social change in Asia.* Connecticut, 1989; Grimshaw, P. *Paths of Duty: American missionary wives in nineteenth century Hawaii.* Honolulu, 1989; Hill, P.R. The World their Household: American woman's foreign mission movement and cultural transformation. IN Hunter, J. *The Gospel of Gentility: American women missionaries in turn of the century China.* New Haven, 1984; Thomas .; Brouwer, *Op cit.*

as Davidoff and Hall describe. There is the "grey zone" which linked the two. It is in this zone that temperance women expanded issues of domesticity, to enable them to seek the power to advance temperance in the public sphere. They did this by claiming their right to political power and citizenship in order to fight the drink trade. They continued to seek out opportunities to further widen their sphere of influence and to gain the political power they believed they needed to achieve their temperance ambitions. It was this ambition which was to result in temperance women becoming politically active in Liberal politics, campaigning for the vote and seeking election to local government.

The following chapter gives an overview of the early women's temperance campaign and the founding of the BWTA. It also highlights the role played by the members of the BWTA and how they became part of the "male" temperance movement and moved from a "domestic temperance" to "political temperance". It is designed to act as a precursor to the research presented in later chapters. Describing on how temperance women developed as feminists and sought access to power to bring about a temperate society.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORY OF TEMPERANCE WOMEN - UNITED KINGDOM

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The politics of temperance are various and cover a wide spectrum of diverse topics ranging from issues such as licenses for public houses to the campaign for the local direct veto, with the related issue of compensation, which were fought for within the House of Commons. This chapter will analyse the role and involvement of women in the wider temperance movement and their methods during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and will discuss the influence of the leaders and prominent members of the women's national temperance societies on the campaigns for temperance and prohibition legislation.

In addition it will also consider the methods used by temperance women to forward the aims and ideals of temperance and how they developed and diversified. The implications for women in their fight for citizenship and enfranchisement are addressed. This chapter outlines the participation of women in the politics of temperance and provides the background for the later discussion on how temperance women used the political opportunities open to them to forward their temperance aims. It demonstrates the range of issues they embraced and illustrates the influence of the presidents on the organisation and policy of the association.

3.2 BEGINNINGS OF THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

Excessive drinking had by 1830, and the passing of the *Beerhouse Act*, become part of the British way of life[1]. The lowering of the tax on distilled spirits from seven shillings to two shillings and ten pence had taken place in 1823[2]. This together with good grain harvests meant that spirits replaced the traditional ales and wines. The 1830 Act removed the monopoly of magistrates to license public houses and in doing so created a free trade for the brewers[3]. The act attempted to wean people off cheap gin and other adulterated spirits to "less harmful" beer. Small brewers sprang up marketing ale and beer as milder than spirits, and drunkenness increased. As a temperance measure it had failed as did anti-spirits societies[4]. Philanthropists and others became increasingly dismayed at both the amount of drunkenness and its effects caused by unrestricted sale of beer. The campaign against drink in the form of the temperance movement and teetotalism began as the full consequences of heavy drinking became obvious. The two, temperance and inebriety, were to exist together as opposite sides of a coin for a century.

The organised campaign against drink existed from its introduction in Scotland in the 1820s through to the First World War. The effectiveness of the movement was to vary. Numerous societies and associations were founded to combat the evils of drink and to campaign against the easy and wide spread availability of alcoholic beverages. During this 80 year period there were a considerable number of governmental commissions set up to investigate drink, its availability, consequences and effects and latterly to consider its prohibition[5]. Alcohol and its consequences

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1 *The Beerhouse Act 1830* 1 Will IV C 64;

2 Harrison, B.H. *Drink and the Victorians.* 2nd Ed. Keele, 1994.

3 *The Beerhouse Act Op cit*; Mathias, O. Brewing, temperance and politics. *Historical Journal*, 1958, 1, 2, pp 97 - 114

4 Carter, H. *The English Temperance Movement: a study of objectives.* 1933.

5 See Appendix 2 for a list of Commissions and Committees relevant to temperance.

became a major concern of reformers, philanthropists, churchmen, industrialists and politicians[6]. The results of alcohol were widespread and affected all levels of society. Drunkenness was to become an issue for both men and women of all classes. As with other social and moral problems the industrial areas of England, particularly Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the West Midlands were most affected. Consequently the temperance movement like many other reform movements in the nineteenth century began in these areas. The campaign did not function in isolation but had connections with other reform organisations. Many of its leading members were active in other reform movements. It has been described as one of the more important influences on social attitudes in Victorian England[7].

From the start of the movement, women had a role to play and soon began to form their own organisations. Although the men's movement spawned many different organisations unity of philosophy was difficult to achieve, but one female organisation was to dominate. The BWTA was founded in 1876, and though far from being the first female temperance organisation, it was to become the most powerful. At its heyday at the turn of the century its President, Rosalind Howard, Countess Carlisle, was to claim a membership of over 100,000[8]. It was to have influence not only with women but also in the temperance movement as a whole. Its leading members, like those in the men's societies, had interests in the other social and moral reform movements of the late nineteenth century and many members were active in the women's issues of the first wave of feminism. This thesis concentrates on the BWTA, its leaders, and the work they advocated.

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6 Harrison, B.H. *Drink and the Victorians.* 2nd Ed. Keele, 1994.

7 Harrison, B.H. *Drink and the Victorians.* 2nd Ed. Keele, 1994; Harrison, B.H. *Biographical Dictionary of the British Temperance Movement*. Society for the Study of Labour History, Bulletin Supplement: Aids to Research, Temperance Biography, 1973; Mathias *Op cit.*

8 Castle Howard Archives, J23/150 *Finance Salaries and Staff 1902 - 1919*; Castle Howard Archives J23/151 *Membership Statistics.*

3.3 WOMEN'S WORK IN THE EARLY TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

The beginning of women's work, for temperance is hazy and the date is constantly being pushed back. That women were teaching or preaching temperance in the late eighteenth century is certain but the extent of this activity is still being researched. Mrs Trimmer not only advocated temperance in her school but taught it in the late eighteenth century[9].

The first temperance society organised by women for women is attributed to Miss Allen and Miss Graham of Maryhill in Glasgow[10]. They had been inspired by John Dunlop, the founder of a temperance society in Greenock in 1828, and founded an anti-spirits society on the 1st October 1829[11].

By the late 1830s temperance spread and links between Chartist movement and temperance were forged. Female chartists became active in the women's temperance movement in the same way as Livesey had encouraged women to support the Anti-Corn Law campaign in *The Struggle*[12]. Female temperance Chartist societies were formed, most notably the East London Female Total Abstinence Chartist Association, and Mary Smith of Leeds proposed a National Female Anti-Tobacco and Temperance Association[13]. Radical women began to support the temperance movement. One female temperance society in Manchester, the

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9 Trimmer, Mrs *The Oeconomy of Charity or, an Address to Ladies Concerning Sunday Sschools: The establishment of schools of industry under female inspection; and the distribution of voluntary benefactors to which is added an appendix, containing the Sunday-schools in old Brentford.* 1787; Trimmer, Mrs *The Oeconomy of Charity; or, an Address to Ladies; Adapted to the present state of charitable institutions in England: with a particular view to the cultivation of religious principles, among the lower orders of people.* 1801. 2 Volumes.

I am grateful to Dr. Joyce Goodman for directing me to these references.

10 *Temperance Record*, 1879, No 1221, August 28th, p 547 Footprints of fifty years; Burns, D. *History of Temperance in the Victorian Age.* 1897

11 Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement.* 1891. Volume 1; Definition of terms are given in Appendix One

12 Rendall, J. *The Origins of Modern Feminism:Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780 - 1860.* 1985; Schwarzkopt, J. *Women in the Chartist Movement.* 1991; *The Struggle* 1842 - 1846.

13 Schwarzkopt *Op cit.*; Rendall *Op cit.*

"Go-a-head Females", spoke of teetotalism as a means of "raising the low and grovelling", their motto was "Onward and upward[14]". The connections between temperance and radical women continued, notably Elizabeth Pease and Anne Knight supported the temperance movement as they had the anti-slavery movement, Chartism and universal suffrage[15]. A link between temperance and suffrage was to develop within the BWTA in the late nineteenth century[16].

As the temperance movement developed so female temperance societies were formed. Shortly after the founding of the Glasgow women's society a group of women in Blackburn formed a women's committee of the Blackburn Temperance Society, a moderationist society, but within five years the Blackburn Female Temperance Society was founded. Despite these organisations and the Ladies Association of Ipswich, founded in 1837, the majority of the women's early temperance campaign was undertaken by individual women, or in small female groups. One of the earliest women to undertake this work, was Jane Anne Carlile who came to temperance through prison visiting[17]. She was visiting women in Dublin prison before Elizabeth Fry's famous visit to the gaol. She developed her temperance activities, founding a society for sailors at Poolbeg, Dublin in 1830. Four years later she founded a mixed society, for men and women. Both these organisations were moderationist rather than total abstinence[18]. She was to sign the abstinence pledge after being challenged by women prisoners to practice what she preached to them[19]. She continued her temperance work, travelling to Glasgow where she addressed a

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14 *The Manchester Temperance Reporter and Journal of Unseful Literature,* , 1849, Vol 1, No 1, pp 2 - 3.

15 Further information on Elizabeth Pease is given in Appendix Six.

16 This will be discussed in Chapter Five.

17 Burns, D. *Temperance History. A consequential narrative of the rise, development and extension of the temperance reform.* 1900. Volume 2 Mrs Carlile and the Band of Hope p 424; Sherlock, F. *Anne Jane Carlile: A temperance pioneer.* 1897.

18 Crofton, R.H. *Anne Jane Carlile and Her Descendants.* St Leonards on Sea, 1950.

19 *Op cit.*

meeting, probably of women and children, in 1840. Despite their religious differences she supported Father Matthew and his crusade in the 1840s. She was in favour of a women's role in the temperance movement and linked drink to prostitution. She believed that to reclaim prostitutes it was necessary to convert them to temperance as it was alcohol that caused their downfall. The link between drink and prostitution was to last as an issue well into the twentieth century. The drunken woman was at odds with the nineteenth century ideal of family and home, suggesting that drink led to immorality and the destruction of the family.

Although Carlile was one of the best known of the early women speakers on temperance, she was not alone. According to Burns, from 1837 "it had become less uncommon for ladies to address general temperance meetings"[20]. Clara Lucas Balfour was lecturing by 1841, and was already a "household name in every part of the Kingdom" for her "public lecturing and her temperance novels"[21].

As the century progressed women became less constrained by the social norms which forbade them the opportunity of speaking in public as more women challenged the rules. Mrs William Fison, the agent of the Ladies National Temperance Association, attended the Social Science Congress and the British Science Association in 1861 and she formed branches of the LNTA in Dublin and in Bath[22].

One of the greatest influences for women's temperance work was Julia Bainbrigge Wightman[23]. She has been credited with preparing the ground for the foundation of

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20 Burns, D. *History of Temperance in the Victorian Age.* 1897.

21 *The Temperance Record,* 1878, No 1163, July 11th, p439 - 440. Obituary; Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers.* 1891. Volume 2 p 202. Further information on Clara Lucas Balfour is given in Appendix Six

22 Burns, D. *History of Temperance in the Victorian Age.* 1897.

23 Chapter Two has described her role as a Christian woman who worked within the grey zone between the private and public sphere.

the Church of England Temperance Society[24]. Wightman inspired other women, both locally and nationally, to take up the temperance cause not only as their sole activity but also an addition to their existing work. Wightman was fortunate in her timing in two respects[25]. Firstly she was working at a time of an evangelical revival (1850's) which was more receptive than the previous decade had been to temperance work. Secondly the distribution of her book, *Haste to the rescue,* by the non-sectarian NTL to all Anglican clergy. This generated a wider audience for her views[26]. The book was published soon after the religious census of 1851, when the Church of England became concerned about numbers. It was perceived that non-conformist churches were growing in strength as a result of their evangelical missions and that temperance was a factor in their recruitment of members. The NTL began about this time to address its message to both the Church of England and the medical profession in order to gain their support for the campaign. Wightman's book became part of its campaign to attract the support of the former[27]. At St Alkmond's Total Abstinence Society Wightman brought Christianity and temperance together. The society predated the foundation of the Church of England Temperance Society but she affiliated to CETS following its foundation.

Other women also began temperance work in the 1860s and 70s, one notable temperance woman working alone was Eleanor Dunbas Battersby of Shropshire who founded the Lilleshall Temperance Society[28]. Several women attempted to introduce temperance in the armed forces, an area where drunkenness was legendary. Agnes

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24 Wightman, J. B. *Annals of the Rescued.* 1861; Ellison, H.J. *The Temperance Reformation movement in the Church of England* . 1878; Fletcher, J.M.J. *Mrs Wightman of Shrewsbury: The story of a pioneer.* 1906; Marsh, C. *Work Among the Navvies at the Building of the Crystal Palace.* n.d.

25 Fletcher *Op cit.*

26 Wightman, J.B. *Haste to the Rescue.* 1859; *Haste to the Rescue* was written in the form letters to her sister telling of her experiences. The work served to inspire other women to individual efforts. *Haste to the Rescue* is credited with enabling religion to be introduced into temperance work.

27 Olsen, G.W. "Physician Heal Thyself" *Addiction*, Vol 89, 1994, pp 1167 - 1176.

28 *Eleanor D. Harford Battersby - Brief Memorials of her Work, with Photograph.* Drayton, Shropshire, 1884.

Weston opened a sailor's retreat in Portsmouth and later in Devonport and her counterpart in the British Army, Mrs Darvell, founded the Aldershot Mission Hall and Soldier's Home. On Darvell's death, Sarah Robinson took over and later became known as the "soldiers friend"[29]. Both placed their work firmly in the Christian temperance tradition but undertook different paths to achieve their aim of reducing drunkenness, and promoting temperance in the services[30].

Agnes Weston, who claimed to be inspired by Catherine Marsh, founded the Royal Navy Temperance Society, and worked in conjunction with other temperance organisations. Her work became so successful that she was to claim that over 10,000 sailors were total abstainers in the navy, one in six[31].

Sarah Robinson's work, like Weston's, was part of a new era for temperance women, they founded , organised and developed societies whose sole purpose was to convert men to teetotalism. The were some differences between the two women, whereas Weston was a superb fund raiser and administrator, Robinson took on much of the day to day work personally. She went on manoeuvres in a caravan to Dartmoor, selling food and coffee in order to counteract the brewers, who followed the troops selling beer. Both women provided much needed facilities for members of the armed forces and drew attention to the plight of men returning home with nowhere to go or to stay in comfort upon landing in Britain, after returning from abroad.

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[29] Weston, A. E. *My Life with the Blue Jackets.* 1909; Weston, A. E. *Temperance Work in the Royal Navy.* 1879; Chapple, J. *Agnes Weston: The Sailor's Friend.* 1935; Gulliver, *Dame Agnes Weston.* 1971; Wintz, S. *Our Blue Jacket: Miss Weston's life and work.* 1890; Robinson, S. *A Life Record.* 1898; Robinson, S. *The Soldier's Friend.* 1913; Robinson, *My Book: A personal narrative.* 1914. Further infomation on Agnes Weston and Sarah Robinson has been given in Chapter Two p 48 - 51.

[30] For further details on Christian temperance have been given in Chapter Two

[31] *Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Issues*, Vol 13, 15th November 1882, p 513 -4. This will in all other citations be referred to as the *Englishwoman's Review*; *Woman's Signal*, Vol 4, no 103, p 379.

These two high profile women were not the only ones active in temperance reform. Other women expanded women's role in temperance as they established temperance missions and societies within towns and villages; Elizabeth Ann Lewis was typical of such women[32]. She worked in the tradition of moral suasion and used the testimony of reformed drunkards to good effect. Her society was a plain and simple organisation on the model of the societies of the 1840s[33]. Lewis worked mainly in the slums of Blackburn and realised the appropriateness of this type of temperance work. In common with the pioneering societies she stressed the financial advantages of temperance rather than the soul saving techniques of the Christian temperance movement.

In the 1870s women were becoming more readily accepted in temperance work and social reform movements, and the number of women's temperance societies was expanding[34]. The Birmingham Ladies Temperance Association founded in 1853 was not only still active but expanding. It could boast over 200 women attending a conference on the medical aspect of total abstinence[35]. The Ladies Total Abstinence Association was founded in London providing laundry work for inebriate women, and the Christian Workers Temperance Union was founded by Lady Jane Ellice in 1876[36].

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32 Hawkes, A.G.C. *Women at Work - Mrs Lewis of Blackburn* (Reprinted from *Wings*, December 1893.)

A BWTA Worker at Home: The Lees Mission Hall Blackburn. (Reprinted from *White Ribbon* May 1902.); Burnett, W.H. *Sunlight in the Slums.* Manchester, 1888; Moss, W.E. *Book of Memoirs. Blackburn,* 1951; Moss, W.E. *The Life of Mrs Lewis, the "Drunkard's Friend.* 1926. Further information on Elizabeth Anne Lewis is given in Appendix Six.

33 Shiman, L.L. *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England.* 1988.

34 An article in the *Reading Temperance Messenger* reprinted in the *Temperance Record* stated the "In all efforts for the social reform the influence and co-operation of women is essential to success". *Temperance Record,* 18th August 1875, p 477 Women and the temperance movement".

35 *Temperance Record,* 1875, 18th August 1875, p 480.

36 Burns, D. *Temperance History: A consecutive narrative of the rise, development and extension of the temperance reform.* 1890.

Although these early women's organisations have been described by Shiman as false starts to the main thrust of the early women's temperance movement, they provided women with the confidence to found the BWTA[37]. Without the earlier experiences of pioneering temperance, women would have had no knowledge base from which to develop the BWTA. The networks discussed in the previous chapter evolved from the early temperance work of women both as individuals and as members of related societies. One organisation in particular was to play a major role in the formation of the BWTA, the IOGT. The contribution of the IOGT to the women's temperance movement has long been accepted. Burns's earlier analysis that the national women's temperance movement owed much to the arrival in this country, in 1868, of the IOGT has been supported by Shiman. Formed originally in Utica, New York in 1851, the Templars made provision for women, in both America and Britain, within the organisation. Templars claimed to be responsible for "joining sisterhood and brotherhood" by allowing women to join as equal members[38]. Women were not only equal members but more importantly voted within the organisation and were able to develop roles as officers. Women were encouraged to take an active role as Templars and could stand for office in Grand and Sub-ordinate Lodges[39]. Jessie Forsyth, a member in Britain, the United States and Australia, was to claim in 1915 that the IOGT was the first suffrage society on the basis of its granting women the right to vote in their proceedings[40].

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37 Shiman *Op cit.*

38 Fahey, D.M. *Temperance and Racism - John Bull, Johnny Reb and the Good Templars.* Kentucky, 1996.
I follow David Fahey's terminology in referring to the IOGT as Templars.

39 Burns, D. *History of Temperance in the Victorian Age.* 1897.

40 Forsyth, J. What the Temperance Movement had Done for Women IN Fahey, D.M. *The Collected Writing of Jessie Forsyth 1847 - 1937: The Good Templars and temperance reform on three continents.* Lampeter, 1988.

This change of emphasis, from assistance to participation, had a liberating effect on the women's temperance movement as women were able to participate fully in temperance reform. It was no longer necessary to work for others in a society or to found a separate organisation to become fully active and be able to formulate policy and methods. It liberated women from being assigned to "women's sections" as in CETS or delegated to such "female activities" as organising teas, bazaars or work with children. In consequence many joined the IOGT in America and Britain. The pull of the Templars was strong, though the trappings of ritual and regalia of the Order were often at odds with the membership, many of whom were Quakers[41]. Templar women used the journal of the IOGT to their advantage. The *Good Templar Watchword,* was supportive of women's temperance and political aims and its letters column was used constructively by women to develop their role within the temperance movement[42]. The journal became a forum for women to exchange ideas and information and enabled them to state their case for women's suffrage. One vital element for women was the network of branches that existed enabling women to have direct contact with other groups and members.

The Templars were not universally tolerated. Many in the temperance movement, particularly those temperance organisations with strong Church of England connections, felt that the Templars did not place enough emphasis on the Christian element and too much on rituals[43]. The Templars were the zealots of the temperance movement. By the late 1870s they had approximately 3,500 lodges, over

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41 McCullough, C. "It wasn't my cup of tea, drinking": a study of an early twentieth century temperance society in the North of Ireland. *Ulster Folklore*, 37, 1991 pp 23 - 29. Provides a valuable eye witness account of the ritual of the Lodges in the early twentieth century and gives an insight into the workings of the IOGT.

42 *The Good Templar Watchword* correspondence from April to August 1874.

43 Miss Robinson at a Ladies meeting of the National Temperance League claimed "that once they became Good Templars they ceased to attend Bible class and other religious gatherings, and when they moved from one station to another temperance itself often ceased with them and they fell back into drunkenness" - *Temperance Record*, 1878, No 1158, 5th June, p 290

100,000 members and were holding over 18,000 public meetings annually. All members were pledged teetotallers and prepared to support an aggressive stance in the fight to control alcohol and its consequences. British Templar women were to become active members within the BWTA.

3.4 THE FORMATION OF THE BWTA

The opportunities for Templar women to speak and to gain confidence within the IOGT attracted many temperance women to its membership[44]. Templar women were to be instrumental in the founding of the BWTA. Mrs Eliza Stewart, a leader of the Women's Crusade in Ohio, was invited to Britain by Margaret Parker of the Dundee IOGT[45]. Stewart began her visit in Scotland and was responsible for the foundation of the Scottish Christian Union of Temperance Workers. Stewart also visited England, where she met the leading women temperance activists, at a NTL meeting on women's work in Newcastle. Whilst in Newcastle, she attended the 1876 National Convention of the IOGT. It was at a meeting directly after the IOGTs National Convention, that an organising committee was appointed to arrange meetings, and draft the constitution and objectives of the BWTA . Mrs Parker became its President[46]. The objective of BWTA was:

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[44] *Women's Penny Paper*, 1890, Vol 2 February 8th Obituary; *Wings,* 1897 Vol 9, No 1, January, pp 1 - 3; *Margaret Bright Lucas a Retrospect*; BWTA *Memoir of Margaret Bright Lucas.* 1890.

[45] Parker, C. *Margaret Eleanor Parker. A memorial,* Bolton, 1906; Parker, M.E. *Six Happy Weeks Among the Americans.* Glasgow, 1876; Further information on Margaret Parker is given in Appendix Six.

[46] Other members of the BWTA included: Mrs Parker was president, Mrs Henry Richardson as Treasurer and Mrs S.C. Hall, Mrs Bright Lucas, Mrs Scholefield, Mrs Benson, Mrs Mawson, Mrs H. Chapman, Mrs Goudie, Mrs Robb, Mrs Temperly, Mrs Porter, Mrs Crisp, Mrs Turner, Mrs Whiteman, Mrs Postlewaite, Mrs D Sturge, Mrs Jones, Miss Eliza Wigham, Mrs Stewart (of Glasgow), Mrs Henry Richardson,

Mrs Parker, Mrs Bright Lucas, Mrs Stewart, Mrs Woyta, Mrs Wellstead and the Misses were appointed to the First International Women's Convention in Philadelphia June 1876.

The British Women's Temperance Association, Its Origin and Progress. A jubilee Sketch. 1926.

By the first public meeting Mrs Bright Lucas had become the treasurer, and the executive committee was supplemented by Mrs Hilton, Mrs Tisall, Mrs Gregson, Miss Ellice Webb, Mrs Sheldon, Mrs Burns, Mrs Firth, Mrs Smeal, and Mrs Fitzgerald. Its list of speakers was, Mrs Parker, Mrs Woyta,

"To form a union or federation for women's temperance societies existing in various districts within the United Kingdom, and to promote the formation of others in the belief that by combined effort and united forces and funds much greater work can be effected in the extension of the cause of temperance, in the control and ultimate suppression of the Liquor Traffic, and thus in the moral and religious elevation of the people"[47].

Temperance women in the North East predominated in the early work, and formed the first branch. Mrs Scholfield of Newcastle supported the affiliation of branches and encouraged societies to join[48]. Membership of the association became open to any woman's temperance society which adopted a total abstinence pledge. Societies became affiliated on the payment to general funds of not less than twenty shillings. It was open to women who had signed or would sign a total abstinence pledge, the fee was 2/6 for adults and 1/- for girls per annum[49]. In its infancy the BWTA acted primarily as an information provider for women's temperance societies in the United Kingdom. Most of the requests received by the association were for speakers, advice or publications.

The association consolidated its underlying Christian foundations. It held prayer meetings at its larger public and annual meetings which were chaired by clergymen[50]. Politics were not ignored for in its first year the BWTA was to enter the field of temperance politics passing a resolution in favour of a Permissive Bill in order that

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Miss Robinson, Miss Weston and Miss Docwra.
BWTA *Minute Book*, 1876 - 1894.

47 BWTA *Executive Committee Minute Book* 1876 - 79.

48 Winskill, P.T. *Temperance Standard Bearers of the 19th century. 1897-8.* Two volumes

49 BWTA *Minute Book Op cit;* Further information on Mrs Mary Schofield is given in Appendix Six.

50 Castle Howard Archives, J23/160 *BWTA Electoral Policy.*

women's voices should be heard[51]. Permissive bills, although not prescriptive, would enable ratepayers to ban drink in their district if there was a two-thirds majority. Permissive bills were supported by the UKA, the largest prohibition society in the United Kingdom, as they were supported by a wider range of temperance organisations than many other bills introduced.

At its first annual meeting the BWTA discussed the political issue of grocers licenses and the need for their abolition to prevent women from being able to purchase alcoholic liquor with their groceries. This was an issue that would become a plank of the BWTA's work for temperance.

In 1877, Mrs Clara Lucas Balfour was appointed president. The emphasis remained a Christian one. At her first meeting in the chair a motion was passed calling upon women "to engage in temperance is as coming from God", reinforcing temperance as a moral and Christian crusade[52]. Balfour was well known for her Christian and temperance writings and for lecturing on temperance. Her value to the association was that she reinforced the moral and Christian aspects of temperance work as well as appealing to the more radical woman through her writings on women. She was to die within a year of being appointed president and was succeeded by Margaret Bright Lucas[53].

3.5 MARGARET BRIGHT LUCAS AND THE MOVE TO POLITICS

Lucas, like Margaret Parker, was both a Quaker and a member of the IOGT. The association began widening its scope and BWTA speakers were beginning to expand their range of activities. They sent out a circular letter resulting in meetings given by

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51 It was through Permissive Bills that temperance activists hoped to achieve prohibition by the local veto. A definition of local veto is given in Appendix One.

52 BWTA *Minute Book Op cit.*

53 Further information on Margaret Bright Lucas is given in Appendix Six.

Miss Tod at Miss Buss's North London Collegiate School[54]. By 1878, the BWTA, was becoming financially secure, they could afford to pay a secretary, look for permanent committee rooms and discuss their organisational plan. There was a desire on the part of some members to reorganise on the Society of Friends model, of groups of local societies in geographical areas working together, but a consensus could not be reached.

The association began to advocate a more political approach and adopted petitions as a simple and practical form of political action. Petitions were also adaptable as they could be used for both local and nation-wide campaigns, they only required the collection of signatures and could be easily organised. Mrs Molley, an American, proposed that "a petition for presenting to Parliament for a Sunday Closing Bill to close public houses on Sunday in England "should be "extensively circulated" and 70,000 signatures were collected[55]. Increasingly petitions were directed at those with the power to take action, mainly magistrates at Brewster Sessions. The reports of this type of action enabled women to expand their sphere within the temperance movement. The *Good Templar Watchword* considered that petitions gave women an opportunity to have their opinions heard[56].

Early in Lucas's presidency the executive became based in London, as this enabled "them to watch the progress of any bills passing through Parliament"[57]. By 1880 the association had expanded to such an extent that executive meetings were required weekly rather than monthly, and there were 136 affiliated women's temperance societies[58].

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54 BWTA *Minute Book* 8th November 1877. Further information on Miss Isabella Todd is given in Appendix Six.

55 BWTA *Minute Book* 1876 - 79 29th November 1878; BWTA Minute Book 1879 - 80.

56 *Good Templar Watchword,* 16th April 1874.

57 *Temperance Record,* 1879, No 1211, 12th June, p 372.

58 BWTA *Minute Book* 1879 - 80. The BWTA had three major areas of support, Edinburgh with 31 branches, Yorkshire 12 branches and 45 branches in Belfast.

There were some differences within the British women's temperance movement, Scottish branches became independent in nature and used more direct action than English branches. This was an historical difference. Following the publicity given to the Ohio Women's Crusade, a Ladies Temperance Prayer Group had been formed in Glasgow to emulate the Ohio women's example of praying in the streets. These prayer groups spread rapidly in Scotland and continued with this approach to temperance work. This contrasted with Lucas's quoted remark that it was "unlikely that we can go through the streets and kneel at the doors of gin palaces"[59]. The American model of taking to the streets remained a strong influence in Scotland. This was due in part to Mrs Parker's regular visits to the United States and her subsequent dissemination of new ideas. In 1879 the Edinburgh branch had been on the point of leaving the BWTA over the lack of the word "Christian" in its title[60]. Mrs Lucas visited the city and appears to have eased the situation: they sent two guineas and stated they wished to be affiliated with London[61]. This, however, was to be a continuing issue and in the early 1880s the Scottish branches became part of the BWTA, Scottish Christian Union. A coolness between the two associations continued for several years and there was considerable discussion over the Berwick branch when it wished to affiliate with Edinburgh. Eventually the executive notes that they "have to let them go"[62]. In England not all women's temperance societies wished to affiliate to the BWTA. The Manchester Women's Christian Temperance Association (Hereafter referred to as MWCTA), a large and well organised society, which pre-dated the BWTA was not keen to affiliate[63]. The MWCTA, a fiercely

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59 Tyrrell, I.R. *Woman's World and Woman's Empire: The WWCTU in international perspective 1880 - 1930.* 1991.

60 BWTA *Minute Book* 1879 - 80 22nd October 1879.

61 *Ibid.*.

Ibid..

62 BWTA *Minute Book* 1879 - 80, 25th March 1879.

63 *MWCTA Annual Reports* 1875 - 1888.

independent society, initially consulted Rebekha Hind Smith, its first president on the advisability of affiliation to the BWTA. The association decided against affiliation as it saw no benefit. When it did affiliate "in accordance with the earnest wishes of some members of the committee in the hope that material benefit may accrue" it did so on its own terms[64]. It retained its "own name, as well as perfect liberty of action, whilst expanding the sphere of our sympathy and influence".

Despite such reluctance the BWTA continued to expand, though communications between the London based executive committee and the connected branches became increasingly difficult[65]. The main difficulty was obtaining feedback from branches. In an attempt to rectify the situation Mary Jessop Docwra proposed that:

> " ... estimates as to the cost of issuing a small monthly periodical under the auspices of the BWTA, and prior to the first issue that branches should guarantee to take a sufficient number to cover the expenses of printing and publishing"[66].

The BWTA wanted to widen its remit, to organise and inform members of petitions and campaigns relating to temperance issues. A journal would have provided a focus for disseminating this type of information. The demand for a journal was assessed but the lack of demand from the branches meant that it would not be economically viable. Only 700 individuals wished to subscribe. The Scottish centre was also considering publishing its own journal which would have reduced demand[67]. Two years later in 1882 the BWTA were offered the *Crusade*, an IOGT journal, for their

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64 *MWCTA Annual Reports Op Cit.*

65 "Connected" branches were not directly under the control of the executive, and, perhaps more importantly did not pay as much in fees.

66 BWTA *Minute Book* 1877 - 80, 8th April 1880; Further information on Mary Jessop Docwra is given Appendix Six.

67 BWTA *Minute Book* 1877 - 80, 19th September 1880.

organ but declined the offer. In 1883 The *British Women's Temperance Journal* was published[68].

As they moved away from purely Christian temperance techniques they added "women's temperance issues" such as campaigning for the abolition of grocers licenses' at both local and national level. Grocers' licences were seen as a way in which women could obtain alcohol without having to visit a pub and provide a temptation to the weak. Lucas further widened the remit of the association by drawing the membership's attention to the *Representation of the People Act* of 1884 and in particular the amendment to the bill for women's suffrage. Lucas believed that with the parliamentary vote they could more effectively further temperance reform by supporting candidates who were in favour of temperance reform. Lucas, a long time supporter of women's suffrage, encouraged the membership to support it by keeping it on the agendas of meetings, but without being seen to be forcing the issue on the membership[69]. She continued to expand the association slowly, not only in numbers but also in its scope. It was due to Lucas and other leading members that members were becoming aware that without political power they could not achieve their temperance aims. Her political awareness enabled her to understand that the politics of temperance were within the capabilities of women. She believed that women had been held back from more active temperance reform work by the prejudices of society and their voice had been "silenced by the church[70]". Lucas believed that women should not "limit within any narrow preconceived notion of our own" the work women could do for

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68 Kitze, J.L. *"Enter Every Open Door": the British Women's Temperance Association. 1876 - 1900.* Dissertation, Trinity College, Oxford University. 1986.

69 See Chapter Five on temperance women and suffrage.

70 BWTA *Memoir of Margaret Bright Lucas, President of the British Women's Temperance Association.* BWTA

temperance[71]. Under Lucas's presidency the BWTA remained united. The schisms and dissent amongst the male societies were not echoed in the BWTA. Temperance women had found their voice in the temperance movement and were determined to use it in order to have an influence. Realising that they achieved more united than as individuals, they appeared to have little difficulty in doing so with Lucas at the helm. She appears to have been able to the move the association forward into politics without disturbing more hesitant branches. By the time of her death, a core of women had come to believe that legislation was "a most important factor" and Christian temperance activities were no longer their main weapon in the fight for temperance[72]. Lucas's death in 1890 was a great loss the BWTA who sought a leader who would give the association prestige and continue their temperance aims and objectives.

3.6 LADY HENRY SOMERSET AND DIFFICULT CHOICES

Lucas was succeeded by Lady Henry Somerset, who answered the association's need for a titled lady as president[73]. Other nominees were also titled, Lady Sebright, Lady Rachel Howard and Lady Biddulph[74]. Somerset's previous temperance activities were of local rather than national standing. She had begun mission work near her home at Eastnor Castle and had gained some national recognition for her work with Welsh miners, which had included preaching temperance[75]. Nominated by Hannah Whitall Smith, Somerset was comfortably elected, but even at her election there was

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71 *Ibid..*

72 *Englishwoman's Review*, 1885, Vol 16, 15th June, p 278.

73 Further information on Lady Henry Somerset is given in Appendix Six

74 BWTA *Minutes of the Special Meeting 12th February 1890.* 1890
For further information on Lady Biddulph see Appendix Six.

75 Fitzpatrick, K. *Lady Henry Somerset.* 1923. p 135; Chappell, J. *Noble Work by Noble Women.* 1893. p 46

disquiet that she might wish to be more than the figurehead they anticipated[76]. She inherited an expanding association with a membership that viewed its work from many perspectives but was unanimous in its prime aim of promoting temperance.

Shortly after her election the press began to question her sincerity for the temperance cause, ownership of public houses caused concern amongst the membership and she was forced to send out letters explaining her position. She claimed that she could not sell the public houses as they were held in trust for her son. There was further concern when within 18 months of her election she left Britain for a visit to both the WCTU and its world organisation the WWCTU in the United States[77].

On her return from the United States, where she met Frances Willard, Somerset attempted to form a temperance alliance in order to bring the organisations together to ensure that temperance would be on the agenda prior to the 1892 parliamentary elections[78]. To further this aim, Somerset sent out a call to "temperance societies and workers throughout the land" to call Sunday temperance meetings of all temperance organisations in their area. She believed that by uniting temperance activiests would be able to ensure that there would be a majority of members who would support "immediate and efficient temperance legislation"[79]. She had some success in raising support from male as well as female organisations and

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76 Further information on Hannah Whitall Smith see Appendix Six.

77 Fitzpatrick *Op cit.*; Kitze *Op cit.*

78 Bordin, R. *Frances Willard: A biography.* 1986; Gordon, A. *The Beautiful Life of Frances E. Willard.* USA, 1898; Temperance and prohibition papers: Woman's Christian Temperance Union Series, *Notes to Researchers.* Ohio [undated].

79 Temperance and prohibition papers: Woman's Christian Temperance Union Series, Scrapbook 59 *Temperance activity in Great Britain and Frances Willard's arrival in England;* Reprint of a letter from Lady Henry Somerset: The general election and temperance legislation and addressed to temperance societies throughout the land, 1892.

Temperance and prohibition papers: Woman's Christian Temperance Union Series, Scrapbook 59 T*emperance Activity in Great Britain and Frances Willard's Arrival in England:* Scrapbook 64 *Frances Willard in England, 1893*; Manchester Public Library, Archives Department, M286/30/ - *BWTA Report of the Annual Council 1892.1982;* Temperance and prohibition papers: Woman's Christian Temperance Union Series, Scrapbooks, 59 and 64 *Op cit.*

press reports of the meetings were to be found in numerous local and regional papers with reporting of Somerset's presence and speeches[80].

It is certain that Somerset brought temperance organisations together if only for the demonstrations, and brought the activities of women for temperance to the fore at meetings as well as gaining considerable publicity for herself as a leading temperance worker. She also ensured that the BWTA became more central in the temperance movement and at the forefront of the campaign for temperance legislation. As a result women and their organisations were becoming part of a predominately male temperance movement[81]. She was in part attempting to emulate Willard who had put the WCTU high on the temperance agenda in the United States.

Overall the campaign combined the fervour of evangelical meetings with political rhetoric and the need to publicise the cause. The aim of the meetings was to ensure that the direct or local veto, then advocated by Somerset, should be featured in speeches during meetings[82].

Temperance women were becoming part of the decision making process of the temperance movement. They were no longer simply interested in concerns relating to women but involved in the national politics of temperance. The association participated in the massive Hyde Park demonstration of June 1893 in support of the Direct Veto. Somerset determined that the BWTA should have a strong presence to enable it to be viewed as at the centre of the movement[83].

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80 Temperance and prohibition papers: Woman's Christian Temperance Union Series, Scrapbooks, 59 and 64 *Ibid.*.

81 Temperance and prohibition papers: Woman's Christian Temperance Union Series, Scrapbooks, 59 *Op cit.*

82 Dingle, A.E. *The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England.* 1980.

In some respect this had less to do with her campaign than with temperance politics, Liberal party policy, and the National Liberal Federation. As a member of the executive committee of the Women's Liberal Federation she would have been aware that the WLF supported the Veto. She was in effect killing two birds with one stone by featuring it so strongly. She was furthering both her own temperance ambitions and the policy of the Women's Liberal Federation.

BWTJ, 1882, Vol 10, No 2 p 34

83 She sent out circulars to members stating that she was "desirous of a large contingent" and

Following the campaign of 1892/3 which had featured the local veto, the BWTA had, like the other temperance organisations, hoped for an early bill but it was to be three years before Harcourt's bill was ready to be introduced. The BWTA was a strong supporter of the veto and Somerset warned her membership that the drink trade was preparing to attack. She claimed that "no work too arduous on the part of those bent on defeating the party who were standing by the local veto", and in support of this a resolution was passed "that no measure of temperance reform would be efficient unless the principle of local option were embodied in it"[84]. She believed that "anything that brings us in close touch with Parliamentary action, anything that forces our views, temperance principles on members of parliament, ought to be adopted by us as part of our temperance work"[85].

Through these intensely political temperance campaigns and their other activities temperance women were beginning to claim their right to citizenship. Somerset was aware of this and encouraged the membership to ask themselves "What is my relation as a citizen, as a Christian, as a mother to these wider governmental questions that touch the right of the maintenance of the evil in my own city, town or country?"[86]. Her address was carefully worded to encompass the whole range of the membership. She did not believe that women fulfilled their duty as citizens unless they faced this question. She had moved the centre of the association's methods from the moral to the political. She had ensured that the association was at the heart of temperance politics. Just as she had achieved this, in 1893, the association became divided. At the annual meeting of 1893 the organisation split over a number

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that "British Women" should be in the procession to precede the event.

[84] *Woman's Signal,* 1895, Vol, 4, 28th March, p 206 National British Women's Temperance Association - conference in Leeds.

[85] *BWTJ*, Vol 10 No 6, p 67 Report of the Annual meeting, 1892. She advised branches to organise sub-committees to question candidates on their views on temperance and women's suffrage.

[86] *Woman's Signal, 1895,* Vol 4, 28th March, p 206 National British Women's Temperance Association - conference in Leeds.

of issues[87]. The reason for the split has, until now, been attributed to Somerset's support for the campaign for women's suffrage and her attempts to make suffrage part of the remit of the BWTA. In fact, the schism which occurred was mainly due to Somerset's attempt to make the association a multi-issue organisation on the American model and to her close relationship with Frances Willard. It was considered that Somerset was embracing Willard's *Do Everything* policy.

The annual meeting in 1893 was lengthy and debated a wide range of issues. There is no doubt that many were fearful of Somerset's ambitions for the association. The two factions were irrevocably divided and the majority of the executive committee left the BWTA and immediately formed the Women's Total Abstinence Union (hereafter referred to as the WTAU). As a result of the split, Somerset lost some of her most politically able women, including Docwra[88]. She also lost control of *Wings,* the organ of the BWTA, which was owned by the majority of her executive committee. The BWTA changed its name to the National British Women's Temperance Association (hereafter referred to as the NBWTA),

Despite the split the political department of the NBWTA arranged a pro-veto meeting in the same month but wished it to

> "emphasise the religious aspect of the demand for temperance legislation, and we earnestly plead that the members of the Metropolitan branches of the BWTA to mark their sense of the deep religious importance of the need for temperance"[89].

It would appear that not all were prepared to readily embrace the move to political action, preferring politics to be wrapped in religious rhetoric.

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87 The causes of the split within the BWTA are described and analysed in Chapter Five on temperance women and the campaign for women's suffrage.

88 *Wings,* 1894, Vol 12, No 7, July pp 86-7; *Wings*, 1901, Vol 19, No 2, February, pp 20 - 21 Obituary.

89 The Metropolitan branches were perceived to be amongst the most radical in the association.

Despite this, Somerset continued to encourage political activism within the association. She published guidelines for members on their participation in the election. Branches were expected to form committees to assess which candidates they should support. The questions to be put to prospective parliamentary candidates required support of the *Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill*, opposition to compensation and support of women's suffrage[90]. The liquor traffic bill was considered important as it provided that, on a requisition of one-tenth of ratepayers of a locality, a poll of ratepayers could be held on the local veto.

A plan of action was outlined for the NBWTA branches and individuals, which included working with agents, identifying and volunteering women to canvass, organising carriages and women to undertake addressing envelopes. An editorial, in the *Woman's Signal,* reinforced Somerset's message that considered that "never had an occasion which might more fitly [*sic]* teach women new duties than the present political crisis"[91]. Miss Gertrude Steward, superintendent of the Suffrage Department, encouraged members when she wrote in the *Women's Signal* that it was "of the uppermost importance that the question of women's suffrage should be pressed forward, as the woman's vote - when she gets it - will greatly affect the temperance question"[92]. Branches were also urged to send a deputation to candidates to ensure that they would be prepared to support woman suffrage.

Somerset had not succeeded in convincing all the membership of the NBWTA of the need for the association to be involved in political issues. In order to achieve a politically active membership she had previously attempted to rectify their lack of

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90 *Bill to Establish Control Over the Traffic in Liquor,* 1893-94 (233) iv 207; *Woman's Signal,* 1895, Vol 4, 11th July, p 24; *Bill to Enable Localities, by Direct Vote to Prevent the Issue of lLquor Licences* 1893-94, (48) iv,

91 *Woman's Signal,* 1895, Vol 4, 11th July, p 25.

92 *Woman's Signal, 1895,* Vol 4, 28th November, p 349.

knowledge by organising a "School of Methods[93]. She did not make attendance compulsory but it was deemed highly desirable that members should attend. Amongst the "classes" were sessions, described by Somerset as a "drill on parliamentary usage", which were thought to be the best way of "preparing local branches to utilise time at all meetings and conventions"[94]. These were intended to enable women to acquire the skills necessary to manage meetings effectively and perhaps more importantly in a way that would enable the new policies adopted by Somerset to be implemented. She followed this up with a scheme devised to enable the majority of the association to be come *au fait* with the parliamentary procedures. A regular programme was organised and instructions went out to branches on how to conduct these sessions. All delegates who had attended the Annual Council of the association were given a copy of "elementary parliamentary rules" for use with their branches[95]. The plan was that they would return to their county associations and branches and educate the membership. This was intended to assist women in gaining a greater interest in planning the strategies of the movement as a whole.

The association under Somerset's presidency was becoming more politically astute. As the temperance movement became split between the modernists, who supported a referendum on the reduction of public houses, and the extremists who would not settle for less than the local veto, women's political skills were necessary.

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93 *Presidential Addresses of Lady Henry Somerset Delivered Before the Council of the British Women's Temperance Association in May 1890-1891-1892.* 1893
This had been circulated to members in 1893 to "show how consistent has been my policy" by Lady Henry Somerset.

94 *BWTJ,* 1892, Vol 10, No 6, June, p 66.

95 *Ibid..*

3.7 THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON LICENSING LAWS - WOMEN'S VOICES HEARD?

The debate on temperance continued until, in 1896, a Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws was established[96]. The increased prominence of women in the temperance movement was reflected in the women called to give evidence[97]. These were Mrs Rebecca Crawford, Miss Harriet Mary Johnson, Mrs Alice Hawkes and Lady Henry Somerset[98]. Somerset as the president of the NBWTA gave substantial evidence. She answered over 640 questions, covering homes for inebriate women, distribution of public houses, the increase of female drunkenness, grocers' licenses and the employment of women in bars[99]. Her answers to some of the questions were to bring her into dispute with her membership. When questioned by Sir Algeron West regarding her opinions on teetotalism and prohibition, her answers were considered to be unsatisfactory by the NBWTA and the WWCTU. When asked "Would you wish to make everybody a teetotaller?", her reply, that she did not wish to" interfere with anybody who chose to take alcohol in moderate quantities", greatly disturbed the association[100]. Her secondary comment that she believed ".... in the present exigency people can do a great deal more good by adopting very radical means of getting rid of an evil which is wide spread" would have caused them to believe that she was not whole hearted in her support of the temperance cause and certainly not of prohibition and the local veto[101]. She also indicated that she was in favour of a permissive prohibition but not in favour of

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96 The membership of the Royal Commission and their affiliations is given in Appendix Seven.

97 NBWTA *The National British Women's Temperance Association: A Jubilee sketch.* 1926.

98 Further information on Mary Johnson and Alice Hawkes is given in Appendix Six.

99 *Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws.* 1897-99 Cmnd 8355-6, Cmnd 8523, Cmnd 8693-6, Cmnd 8821-2, Cmnd 8979-80, 9379, 9379-I.

100 *Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws.* 1897-99 Minutes of Evidence Volume III Question 31,638

101 *Ibid..*

making teetotalism compulsory by Act of Parliament[102]. Worse of all, perhaps, she stated that she did not think "simply drinking was wrong" nor was she in favour of any law for prohibition[103]. The concern over her answers was not felt by the NBWTA alone. Both the WCTU and the WWCTU were horrified at her responses. Despite being thanked at the annual council by a "standing vote" where Laura Ormiston Chant praised her as "splendid and strong"; She was to be further criticised by these organisations until her resignation in 1903[104]. She was saying the unthinkable in prohibition terms.

When answering question on other issues her answers were sounder. Her opinions on barmaids were predictable. She supported the American and South Australian approach of not employing barmaids and believed that attractive barmaids were used to lure male drinkers into pubs, evidence which corroborated that given by Mrs Anne Hawkes[105]. Mrs Hawkes of the WTAU had already given evidence on the situation in Ireland and reported on shop keepers' licenses, selling beer from carts and prohibition[106]. She differed radically from Somerset in her view on the latter. Hawkes as representative of the WTAU took a much firmer stand than Somerset. She wished to see intoxicating liquors removed from public houses and clubs, and the abolition of the manufacture and importation of alcohol and when asked "In fact you would like to see alcohol entirely abolished she replied "I certainly should".[107]. Although the WTAU believed itself to be a non political organisation, and did not

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102 *Op cit.* Question 31,639.

103 *Op cit.* Question 31,636 and 31,702.

104 NBWTA *The National British Women's Temperance Association: A Jubilee sketch.* Compiled for the Jubilee meeting of the Annual Council of the BWTA. NBWTA, 1926; Further information on Laura Ormiston Chant is given in Appendix Six.

105 *Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws,* Minutes of Evidence Volume III *Op cit.* Questions 31,515 - 31,523 and Mrs Hawkes evidence Questions 27,479 - 27,483, 27,507 - 27,513, 27,526 - 27,540 and 27,545 - 27,551.

106 Shop keepers licences were considered a particular evil in Ireland.

107 *Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws* Minutes of Evidence Volume III Questions 27,552 - 27,555.

subscribe towards any political party, its members were nevertheless politically active as Hawkes' evidence shows. Some of the membership may have still relied heavily on Christian temperance techniques but Hawke's evidence illustrated their political activity and, in her approach, the giving of evidence within a political framework is discernible. Hawkes provided data for the commission and used the facts and figures to illustrate her evidence. Taken overall, her evidence compares very favourably with Somerset's which tended to focus more on her home for inebriate women than on her grasp of the politics of temperance. Somerset's evidence was however reported sympathetically and described as a very important contribution to the practical reform, by the cautious *Westminster Gazette*[108].

Representing the women's associations in Ireland was Mrs Rebecca Crawford who gave evidence on the Irish equivalent of grocer's licenses. Crawford pointed out in her evidence that in Dublin "almost universally the public houses and grocer's shop are one"[109]. She was critical of the custom of distributing Poor Law tickets for medical relief in public houses. She claimed that this arose from many of the guardians being publicans and using public houses to distribute all poor law relief[110]. She had also been entrusted to give evidence on behalf of the Philanthropic Reform Association and the Police Aided Children's Clothing Society on the issue of children being allowed in public houses and the carrying of messages to public houses.

That these women were allowed to present evidence is not exceptional in so far as they represented the women's organisations. They were in the main questioned on what were perceived as women's concerns, those of grocers licenses, female

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[108] Cutting of *Westminster Gazette* 26th May 1897; Temperance and Prohibition Papers: WCTU Microfilm. Scrapbook 73 *"Conventions, meetings, etc.", attended by Frances E. Willard.*

[109] *Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws* Minutes of Evidence Volume III Question 60,773.

[110] *Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws* Minutes of Evidence Volume III Questions 60,778 - 60,783.

drunkenness, inebriate homes for women and relating to children. Despite the greater emphasis on the women's sphere, it is true to say that both Somerset and Hawke were also required to address the major temperance political issue of prohibition. The women called to give evidence represented the political opinions of their organisations.

The commission could not agree on the final report. Eventually two reports were submitted and accepted[111]. Both agreed on a reduction in the numbers of licenses as a strategy for combating drunkenness amongst the working class. The main difference between them was over compensation for the loss of licenses. The majority report proposed full compensation for the loss of licenses whilst the minority supported the withdrawal of licences without compensation. The majority report was unacceptable to either side, whist the minority report became the focus of Whittaker's attempt to unite the temperance movement. He was unsuccessful in this as disagreement arose within the movement which had become an assortment of charismatic and idiosyncratic leaders, myriad societies and a multiplicity of policies making even a semblance of unity impossible. Even the two national women's organisations were different in respect of their leaders and policies. Such a top down organisation as the NBWTA, was completely in Somerset's hands, and she ensured they supported the reduction of licences by Act of Parliament and the "Manifesto". The WTAU with its single issue campaign strategy had no need of such a leader and its regulations prohibited individuals standing for president for more than a single year. The WTAU was firmly in favour of the direct local veto and no compensation whilst Somerset was to become part of Whittaker's manifesto group, much to the dismay of Carlisle[112]. The two organisations were a microcosm of the temperance

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111 *Royal Commission on the Liquor Licensing Laws,* 1897-9 34-9, Cmnd 8355-6, Cmnd 8523, Cmnd 8693-6, Cmnd 8821-2, Cmnd 8979-80, 9379, 9379-I.

112 Fawcett Library, Autograph Letter Collection *Letter from Rosalind Carlisle to Mrs Harvey of*

movement as a whole, that as societies they could not agree on policy and were incompatible.

By the turn of the century, Somerset had what was considered an unconventional approach to prohibition. After the publication of Rowntree's and Sherwell's classic study of temperance and social reform, she became convinced that the Scandinavian experiments had much to recommend them[113]. She greatly admired this report which set out to consider temperance legislation which treated alcohol abuse as a social problem as opposed to a weakness of character. Rowntree and Sherwell had investigated the actual extent of intemperance to provide a comparison to other countries. They investigated what was spent on drink in other countries and the relationship of the expenditure on drink to average family earnings. These were issues that had been previously discussed but not in such depth. The report investigated the options for solving the "Drink Problem", prohibition in its various forms, state monopoly and high license, and the "Scandinavian experiments"[114]. Sherwell and Rowntree considered that the "solution" was a scheme of local management carried out under strict statutory safe guards. They considered any profits should be used for the provision of effective counter attractions. Their report was not popular as they were highly critical of the American prohibition laws and their espousal of disinterested management was rejected by the prohibitionists. Their solution was deeply unpopular within the temperance movement. Despite this, in the 1899 annual report of the NBWTA, Somerset called it "remarkable"[115]. She was to continue being out of step with her membership and as a consequence the

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the Yorkshire Union of the NBWTA 17th January 1904; Roberts, C. *The Radical Countess. The history of the life of Rosalind Countess of Carlisle.* Carlisle, 1962. Further information on Rosalind Countess of Carlisle is given in Appendix Six.

113 Rowntree, J. & Sherwell, A. *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform.* 1899.

114 *Ibid..*

115 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 23rd NBWTA Annual meeting 1898 - 1899*. 1899. p 91.

later years of her presidency were difficult. Her successor, Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle was to accuse her of "making the BWTA a battleground"[116]. Eventually it was her support of Rowntree's and Sherwell's work that led to her resignation from the NBWTA in 1903. Despite her difficulties and the memberships' suspicion of her Somerset had managed to move the BWTA, and from 1893 the NBWTA, into the main stream temperance movement and enabled women's voices to be heard. The NBWTA had become increasingly prominent in the temperance movement, which benefited her successor.

3.8 CHANGE AND CONTROL, THE POLITICS OF TEMPERANCE

Rosalind Countess of Carlisle, a powerful woman with decided ideas, was described as having "the eloquence born of deep conviction" and the "great advantage of having four gifted daughters of the same mind as herself"[117]. She brought to the association considerable experience of Liberal politics, suffrage work and temperance activism and was to remain as president until 1921. She considered the association as part of her political remit and turned it in to a strong lobbying association committed to the implementation of the Direct Veto or Local Option. Tyrrell has described her as an "odd choice as the supreme commander of a group of Methodist women" due to her agnostic beliefs in her later life[118]. The BWTA and NBWTA were much more than a group of Methodist women. They included Quakers and non-conformists of all types, and by 1903, when Carlisle became president there was a substantial minority of suffrage women amongst its leading members. Carlisle had considerable

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116 Fawcett Library, Autograph Letter Collection, *Letter from Lady Carlisle to Mrs Harvey 17th January 1904*

117 NBWTA 1926 *Op cit.*

118 Tyrrell, I.R. *Woman's World, Woman's Empire. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in international perspective, 1880 - 1930.* 1991; Correspondence via email with David Fahey of Miami University, Ohio on Carlisle's religious beliefs.
Roberts, C. *Op cit.*

advantages over any other candidates for the post. She was extremely well known in temperance circles for her opposition to disinterested management and support for the veto. She was also a staunch Liberal, a supporter of women's suffrage, an excellent organiser, politically astute and wealthy. She had connections with other temperance societies and with women in other organisations and societies within and outside the temperance movement as the sources used in this chapter indicate. Perhaps most importantly she had the ability and experience to manage such a large organisation[119]. Carlisle was highly experienced in the politics of temperance. She was the obvious choice to unite and rationalise the association[120].

The final years of Lady Somerset's presidency had not been easy and Carlisle had increasingly played a prominent role in the society. Following the report of the Royal Commission on Licensing Laws, Carlisle, like Lawson, condemned compensation, and strongly objected to non-commercial, disinterested management, this put her at odds with Somerset. It was Somerset's support of the Manifesto that was to cause her resignation as president of the NBWTA. The need for a strong leader who would support a no compensation policy persuaded Carlisle to agree to succeed Somerset.

It was inevitable, after she realised that Somerset was no longer fully committed to prohibition, that Carlisle should begin to take increasing control of the society before being formally elected. Upon her election, reorganisation began and a new style of management was introduced, which was welcomed by some[121]. Carlisle's election, as president, was not universally acclaimed. In June the Eastbourne branch

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[119] NBWTA sources give the membership in 1903/4 as 99,212 (J23/151), in 1906 as over 100,000, and in 1914 as 165,000. Castle Howard Archives, J23/151, *Membership Statistics 1904* and J23/145 *Letters and Circulars from National Office, 1903 - 1919, Part Two.*.

[120] Her role in the suffrage movement is given in Chapter Five.

[121] Castle Howard Archives, J23/145 *Letters from National Office 1903 - 1919;* Castle Howard J23/431 L*etters from Florence Balgarnie.*

wrote protesting that it "did not nominate Lady Carlisle"[122]. Others were more receptive to her presidency. Later Balgarnie on her return from two years abroad wrote of "an expression of delight to find you president of the BWTA and to hear how you have stirred up all branches"[123].

It quickly became obvious to the membership that there was a new and dynamic management style in action. Carlisle had very little in common with her predecessor[124]. She immediately set about reassessing both the number and work of the existing departments under the remit of a special committee on departments[125]. The changes were swift and involved a sudden change of emphasis from the all embracing policy adapted by Somerset who had based her work on Willard's *Do Everything* policy to a highly focused political temperance society.

Changes were desperately needed to the system of departments. Under Lady Henry Somerset's presidency, the departments had expanded greatly and included some of dubious relevance even to the expanded programme of temperance work[126]. Departments were originally formed to specialise in specific aspects of temperance work. Each department was run by a "superintendent" these performed the role of a organising secretary for the departments.

Carlisle was obviously determined to make her priorities known and reorganise and strengthened the association to enable it to become an influential force for temperance and political reform. She was also cautious as to whom she appointed. Superintendents were vetted by her as she wanted "care in the appointment of

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122 Castle Howard Archives, J23/145 *Letters from National Office 1903 - 1919.*

123 Castle Howard Archives, J23/145 *Letters from Florence Balgarnie;* For further information on Florence Balgarnie see Appendix Six.

124 NBWTA 1926 *Op cit.*

125 NBWTA *Minute Book* 1897- 1904; NBWTA Minute *Book* 1897- 1904, Minutes of the meeting of the National Executive Committee 3rd June 1903

126 Departments included prevention of cruelty to animals and food reform. Others reflected Frances Willard's influence on the association including anti-opium, and the prevention of the sale of drink to native races.

superintendents"[127]. It was part of her strategy to make political issues a major part of the Association's platform, this was reflected in her remarks to the sub-committee meeting she considered it was

> "advisable to appoint a strong Sub-Committee to deal with all political questions and that the suffrage department shall form a section of the same"[128].

These comments encapsulate her approach to the association and its role. It would under her presidency be run and function as an efficient, political association that would encompass both temperance and women's claim for suffrage. She continued with issues and campaigns of a purely temperance nature which appeased those who wished the primary influence and purpose of the association to be temperance.

The NBWTA was thrown into both local and national politics as well as internal turmoil by the appointment of Carlisle. The politics of temperance were firmly in her grasp.

Having become President just prior to the passing of Balfour's 1904 Act, which had conferred a vested interest on the annual drink license, she began to oppose vested interest strongly. As a result she mobilised her resources, sending out in one month over 4,400 pamphlets against the Act[129]. In 1904 planning began for the next election and she held a special meeting to reconsider electoral policy[130].

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127 Castle Howard Archives, J23/155 - 60 *NBWTA Papers relating to the Departments.*

128 NBWTA *Minute Book* 1897- 1904 Minutes of the meeting of the Special Committee on Departments 15th July 1903

129 Roberts *Op cit.*

The Licensing Bill (Passed Act Cap 23) Bill 1904 to Amend the Licensing Acts of 1828 - 1903. It amended the Licensing Act of 1902 (Cap 23) in respect of the extinction of licences and the granting of new licenses.

130 Carlisle proposed the following resolution:

"that this council instructs the NEC to draw up a list of questions embodying the Electoral Policy of the NBWTA and recommends that efforts should be made by the branches to obtain pledges from Municipal and Parliamentary candidates that if elected they will by voice and vote further the objects of the NBWTA and this council further urges the branches and their individual members to give their strenuous help towards securing the election of such councillors and MPs as are pledged of the essential principle of the NBWTA" which was accepted.

In April 1904 a special meeting was called to "consider the action to be taken in reference to the Government Licensing Bill"[*sic*][131]. Carlisle wanted the NBWTA and WTAU to co-operate in joining the London auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance's joint committee organising the demonstrations in London. Some branches were pleased to see this strong approach to the *Licensing Bill* for they had became concerned at an attempt by Lady Henry Somerset to influence opinion within the association. Carlisle's prohibitionist platform would appear to have been popular[132]. Following her election Carlisle had written to Somerset on her position on the reduction of licenses in a typically robust manner. She informed her that it needed "resolute faith in one's heart to keep up one's courage in face of impending government legislation when grave internal dissension are *(sic)* forced upon us within our ranks" and castigated her for the splits within the ranks that Somerset's actions had produced.

> "If only you could have seen the uncompromising opposition that your scheme arouses amongst the temperance bodies, I believe you would not have risked playing us into this side conflict, when the task of blocking the government proposals called for the most united action between all sections of reformers. That unity your scheme cannot command, for even the Peelites shrink from several of its provisions"[133].

Castle Howard Archives, J23/155- 160 *NBWTA Papers relating to the Departments*.

131 NBWTA *Minute Book* 1897-1928.

132 She received a letter complaining "That a past leader should be influencing the branches in this way when we should be a strong, united and determined front and declare "No compensation, no compromise" in capitals. Here in Hull we know Lady Henry and her gospel of compromise only too well, and the mischief is done..."

Castle Howard Archives, J23/145 *NBWTA Letters and Circulars from National Office 1903 - 1919*

133 Castle Howard Archives, J23/200 *Letters from Lady Henry Somerset to Rosalind Carlisle 1894 - 1914.*

The Peelites were supporters of Lord Peel (1829 - 1912) and his report. Peel was chairman of the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws. He began as a impartial chairman but during the course of the Commission became a convert to temperance reform. He produced the minority report which became the focus of Whittaker's proposed reforms. Peel suggested a substantial

Somerset replied to this letter pointing out she was not alone and that

"some of the most eminent amongst the temperance ranks, and

those who have spoken upon the Alliance and every other platform"

were all supporters of the Manifesto[134]. The two women were opposite in their temperaments and methods of working and increasingly others became involved in the debate. Agnes Slack wrote to Carlisle that the proposals "of Lady Henry and Mr Whittaker are going to make havoc with temperance legislation and I deplore them simply intensely"[135]. Carlisle organised all her campaigns tirelessly, sending out pamphlets on the local veto and against the employment of women in bars. She even refused to attend the Yorkshire County meeting because of the views of Mrs Harvey, who supported Somerset[136]. Not only was Carlisle condemning Balfour's Act and passing resolutions for the reversal of the Act, she was preparing for the general election and combined both where ever possible[137]. The WTAU was also active in the political issues affecting the temperance movement. They, too, had condemned Balfour's Act believing that it would give the drink trade a "stronger legal status". Their journal, *Wings,* contained a powerful editorial on the act considering it would give the drink trade the scope for "audacious claims" for compensation but also that the legislation would protect the brewer, depriving the licensing magistrate

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reduction of the number of licensed premises and only limited compensation.

134 Castle Howard Archives *J23/200 Letters from Lady Henry Somerset to Rosalind Carlisle 1894 - 1914.*

135 Castle Howard Archives J23/146 *Letters from Miss Agnes Slack 1903 - 1919.* Further information on Frances Slack see Appendix Six.

136 Carlisle wrote to Mrs Harvey "It is not desirable for me to come to the County Conference if there was consternation amongst your leading women, as I did not wish to get mixed up in any strife", She also condemned Somerset's tactics "to circularise her manifesto" and declared that she would oppose them in the debate over the manifesto which she considered "deplorable"

Fawcett Library, ALC *Letter from Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle to Mrs Harvey 17th January 1904;* Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers.*1891; Castle Howard Archives, J23/178 *Letters from Mrs Harvey of Leeds.*

137 NBWTA *Report of the NBWTA Annual Council 1904.* 1904.

The 1904 annual council passed a resolution pledging itself "to use every effect to obtain the reversal of the licensing Act in such ways as shall a) Restore the full discretionary powers of the magistrates and extend the same b) Put an end to the vested interest of licensing created by the act".

of the discretionary power to refuse to renew licenses on the grounds of "non-requirement"[138].

They were reacting in a similar manner to the NBWTA but they kept the Christian element of their work by ending with a plea for prayer. The membership at large contained active workers for Christian temperance, but the leaders were as committed to political methods as Carlisle. It is not surprising therefore that Carlisle called for a joint action, since the bill posed a considerable threat to the temperance movement. Women had long relied on magisterial discretion to achieve a reduction in the number of licensed premises using vigilance and connections to achieve their aim.

The WTAU produced a resolution similar to that issued by the NBWTA. Both societies reacted in a similar manner to the threat of this bill. They were galvanised into political action. As the bill progressed *Wings* emphasised political aspects of its work and even bemoaned the lack of a vote[139].

Carlisle made an approach to the WTAU suggesting that they should work together to fight the bill. This only resulted in further difficulty such as to who should chair the meeting, an issue which appeared to raise more problems than any merger could solve[140]. The WTAU wanted to remain independent but it was prepared to join with the NBWTA on the Women's Temperance Platform, though under its own

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138 *Licensing Act 1904* Cap 23; *Bill to Amend the Licensing Acts 1828 - 1902 in Respect to the Extinction of Licences and the Grant of New Licences 1904* (150) ii 593.

This removed the right of magistrates to withdraw licenses except in cases of misconduct or the unsuitability of the premises, thus removing the right which temperance organisations, particularly women's associations of over supply of licensed premises in a specific area. They exalted the membership to "protest ....at public meetings, by memorials to the government and to our local members of parliament, by circulation of suitable literature, by letters to the press and to back all these by earnest prayer....".

Wings, 1904, Vol 22, No 1, January, pp 8 - 9.

139 "every patriotic voter should write to his member of parliament and every women (voteless alas!) should do her part by seeing to it that her men-friends do theirs".

Wings, 1904, Vol 22, No 2, February, p 23

140 *Ibid..*

name and with its own speakers[141]. The WTAU was proud of its identity and of their single issue society. Their members were a highly politicised organisation, and like the NBWTA had contacts with the WLF through their leaders and such members as Florence Balgarnie, and Anne Richardson[142].

In 1904 the WTAU had been a separate, solely temperance, organisation for ten years. They were active in campaigning on temperance issues, preparing temperance related questions for parliamentary candidates. Local temperance groups of both organisations were always alert to the discretion vested in local magistrates and often sought at Licensing Sessions to prove the non-requirement of a license based on numbers of existing licenses. The following chapter will discuss in further detail the work undertaken by temperance women in local government and how they used this to influence to forward temperance reform. When Balfour's Bill was passed, one avenue that had been open to women to have an effect for temperance had gone. Women temperance activists had considerable experience in challenging the renewal of licensed houses and had done so effectively. Despite the determination of the WTUA to remain a separate and different organisation the debate continued, and there was a desire by others to reunite the two societies. J.H. Wilson, having spoken to the WTAU on the licensing bill, considered that any immediate unification was unlikely. He informed Carlisle that there was little chance of a merger as the NBWTA included, "so many other things with the temperance work, which is the radical difference between the two societies"[143]. Another attempt was made the following years (1905 - 06) by Carlisle to establish links between the two societies

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141 "every year confirms us in our decision to confine ourselves (as a Union) to temperance work. ..... Surely there is room for both societies". *Wings*, 1904, Vol 22, No 7, July, p 93

142 Further information on Anne Richardson see Appendix Six.

143 Castle Howard Archives J23/145 *Letters and Circulars From National Office 1903 - 1919 Letter from J.H. Wilson ;* Castle Howard Archives. J23/148 *Reports of the National Executive Committee 1906 - 1911*

such as amalgamating NBWTA and WTAU branches in the same area, via Mrs Crosfield[144]. This approach only confirmed the WTAU's determination to remain a separate organisation "Every year confirms us in our decision to confine ourselves (as a union) to temperance work alone"[145].

With the coming of the 1906 election, Carlisle immediately urged "branches of the BWTA to endeavour to secure from each Parliamentary candidate pledges to support the reversal of the licensing act of 1904, Sunday closing, abolition of grocers licenses and the direct popular veto". Even so there continued to be difficulties with the influence still held by Somerset over the association. Bertha Mason had expressed her concern over this matter to Carlisle[146]. Carlisle believed that the membership would not support Somerset's manifesto stance but she did not take any chances and urged "It is better to keep her ignorant of our procedure"[147].

With the return to power of the Liberal party two schools of thought appeared. Sir Wilfred Lawson M.P. for Carlisle and the Countess of Carlisle were both prohibitionists and supported the direct veto, whilst others including Sir T.P. Whittaker and Lady Henry Somerset supported a reduction of licenses[148].

After the election, the temperance societies were quick to remind the incoming Liberal government of the presence of the temperance lobby. Carlisle was to work fervently for the introduction of the direct/local veto trying to gather the Women's Liberal Federation to her cause as policy was being formulated. In this she failed and

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144 Castle Howard Archives J23 190 *Letters From Mrs Crosfield.* Further information on Mrs (Jane?) Crosfield is given in Appendix Six.

145 *Ibid..*

146 Further information on Bertha Mason see Appendix Six.

147 Castle Howard Archives J23/145 *Letters and Circulars From National Office.*

148 There were 50 or so Labour members elected, the majority of whom were reputed to be abstainers.

she castigated them as "not robust enough in fighting radicalism and they are afraid of displeasing official Liberals"[149].

Such was the tardiness of the Liberals that the WTAU began to develop an interest in the elected Labour Party members believing that they would be likely to support temperance[150]. The NBWTA proposed a resolution expressing regret at the Prime Minister's slowness in bringing forward a bill:

> "of parliamentary franchise for women and presses upon him the immediate necessity for this reform in view of the immense importance of the temperance legislation which is soon coming before Parliament[151]".

Eventually in 1908, after a two year delay, the Liberal government did introduce its licensing bill. It included a direct local option but temperance was no longer central to Liberal policy. The bill contained a number of temperance measures but could not satisfy all factions. There would be the right for compensation after 14 years for the loss of licenses. This was to be financed by a tax on licensed houses in England and Wales. This did not fully satisfy either of the national women's organisations. The WTAU was the more pragmatic and passed a resolution expressing a "cordial welcome" to the bill approving of its main features[152]. They called for the federated societies to "arouse public opinion in favour of the bill" and drew up a list of ways in which its members could participate - "A few ways in which women can assist to pass the government licensing bill"[153]. They suggested that individuals should write

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149 Letter written to her daughter in July 1898, cited in Roberts *Op cit.*

150 "It is a well known fact that the majority of the Labour Party members are total abstainers" and hoped that they would be a force for temperance, particularly following Keir Hardie's signature on an agreement not to take intoxicating liquors while on duty in the House.
Wings, 1906, Vol 24, No 4, April, p 51

151 Castle Howard Archives, J23/148 *National Executive Committee 1906 - 1911*

152 *Wings*, 1908, Vol 26, No 1, January, p 45

153 *Ibid.*.

to their M.P.s and encourage others to do so, as well as addressing as many meetings as possible to sympathetic groups[154]. Under the guidance of Anne Richardson, their president, they also participated in demonstrations to the Exchequer together with the UKA to urge the principle of local control veto[155]. These instructions together with similar instructions sent to societies urging them to work for the bill were part of their political campaign to support the bill.

The lack of a temperance bill concerned Carlisle and in her usual meticulous manner she began campaigning for one. She sent delegates to the National Union of Women Workers in an attempt to place temperance at the top of the agenda. The resolution she drafted related to the effect of drink on children, blaming alcohol for the "current rate of infant mortality"[156]. She was to keep up the pressure on the branches prior to the publication of the bill. There was a constant stream of circulars seeking confirmation that the bill would contain the local veto[157]. When the bill was published in 1908 the veto was not the central tenet, but merely one part, of an omnibus bill. The supporters of the veto had lost their power and could no longer influence the Liberal government[158].

Unable to support compensation for loss of licence, Carlisle focused her campaign on other elements of the bill, national Sunday closing, exclusion of children and the direct local veto and sent a "whip" to this effect[159]. The association was at this time completely under Carlisle's control. Nothing was done in her absence from meetings, decisions were made and strategy planned only with her presence, and

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154 *Wings,* 1908, Vol 26, No 6, June, p 78

155 British Library of Economics and Political Science, Department of Archives, Miscellaneous Collections 0250, *Papers of Arthur James Sherwell.*

156 Castle Howard Archives, J23/147 *Printed minutes of the subcommittees*

157 *Ibid..*

158 Fahey, D.M. The politics of drink: pressure groups and the British Liberal Party, 1883 - 1908. *Social History,* 54, 2, Spring 1979, pp 76 - 85.

159 Castle Howard Archives, J23/148 *National Executive Committee 1906 - 1911*

without her the association would have had little influence. To obtain her aims Carlisle brought to meetings the well thought out and carefully drafted resolutions that would be passed at annual meetings. She had two routes through which she could hope to gain influence for her temperance work. She had some power as president of an organisation of over 100,000 members and was able to use her co-operate with Lawson, the chairman of the UKA. This influence was greatly diminished because of the problems faced by the Liberal government with a Conservative majority in the House of Lords[160]. Any legislation passed was unlikely to be passed by the House of Lords, and the 1908 Bill was to be rejected by the Lords.

The WTAU continued to urge its members to be active in opposing application for new licences, particularly in view of an anticipated increase in the number of applications prior to the publishing of the 1908 Bill[161]. They issued guidance on how best to challenge new applications and requests for renewal. This type of work was the foundation of the women's temperance movement for both societies.

In January 1910 the Liberals called a general election which resulted in the two major parties almost being tied and the Labour Party winning 50 seats[162]. A further election in December of the same year also failed to give a workable majority to either major party[163]. The government's emphasis was on the Irish problem and the House of Lords after 1910, but the NBWTA under Carlisle continued to be proactive in pressing for temperance reform and continued to do so in a muted manner until the out break of the First World War. Carlisle was not to achieve her

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160 The Conservative majority in the House of Lords was to defeat the temperance bill. In the years following the Liberal Party was too busy with the major issues of Home Rule and the powers of the House of Lords for Lawson's influence to be of any consequence.

161 *Licensing (Amendment) Bill 1908* (133) iii 103; Amended 1908 (368) iii 143; Amended 1908 (374) iii 185.

162 1910 January election Conservative 273, Liberal 275 and Labour 50

163 1910 December election Conservative 273, Liberal 271 and Labour 42

aim of a direct veto, although legislation during the First World War was to result in severe restrictions in the sale of alcohol in the Carlisle experiment[164]. Carlisle had always considered that, by rejecting the disinterested management of the Gothenburg scheme, she was supporting prohibition through the veto. The veto was for her simply the first step on the road to prohibition, the NBWTA proposed a resolution expressing regret at the Prime Minister's slowness in bringing forward a measure

> "of parliamentary franchise for women and presses upon him the immediate necessity for this reform in view of the immense importance of the temperance legislation which is soon coming before Parliament[165]".

Carlisle had firmly brought temperance and suffrage together in this resolution and following the successful campaign for the vote, in New Zealand, that linked suffrage and temperance she believed that temperance was an issue "which so vitally affects the welfare of women and children of this nation"[166]. This was an unusual stance for Carlisle. She normally called for the enfranchisement of women on egalitarian terms[167]. Unlike Somerset she would not settle for any compromise on the local veto and despite having "an aristocratic" view of alcohol she remained president of the NBWTA until her death in 1921 when her daughter Lady Cecilia Roberts took over the presidency[168].

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164 The town rather than the Countess.
Rose, M.E. The success of social reform? The Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) 1915 - 21. IN Foot, M.R.D. *War and society: Historical essays in honour and memory of J.R. Weston 1928 - 1971.* 1973.

165 Castle Howard Archives, J23/148 *National executive committee 1906 - 1911*

166 *Ibid.*.

167 Carlisle's campaign for the enfranchisement of women is described in Chapter Five.

168 Carlisle continued to serve wine, but not beer or spirits, at her table following her conversion to abstinence. When she became president in 1903 she ceased serving wine. Henly, D. *Rosalind Carlisle, Countess of Carlisle.* Carlisle, 1958.

A difficulty of her presidency was the uncertainty of her temper and her demand for complete loyalty and unanimity amongst her executive committee in supporting her ideas. She did not share Somerset's admiration of the WWTCU, and when Somerset resigned from the Union she did not want the NBWTA to contribute to a memorial to Somerset. Others considered that it would be "awkward if all the affiliated countries contributed and England alone refuse to join"[169]. Carlisle also refused to attend the Boston WWCTU meeting in 1906 on the grounds of her illness[170]. Her daughter and husband attended in her place. Illness also prevented her from attending the Glasgow meeting of the WWCTU[171].

Her presidency was not always easy. The domineering aspects of her personality were becoming more obvious and her ill health was to prevent her from being fully active. She began to make repeated attempts to resign on grounds of her ill health. How much of this was genuine cannot be assessed but her daughter claims that there is room for doubt as to the severity of her ailments[172]. She certainly appears to have wanted to be asked to continue in her position as president. On one occasion she resigned and refused all enticements to remain as president so that the association went so far as to order a scroll thanking her for her work which annoyed her so much that she wrote to the Secretary, Gertrude Hunt, saying that "they should wait for news of her death before writing her obituary"[173].

That temperance women had participated in politics is indisputable but their influence was focused through the major associations the BWTA (later NBWTA) and after 1893, to a lesser extent, by the WTAU. Both organisations continued in

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169 Fawcett Library ALC *Letter to Mrs Harvey from Hannah Whitall Smith*

170 Henly, D. *Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle.* 1958. p 95

171 Henly *Op cit*

172 Henly, *Op cit.* pp 99 - 106

173 Castle Howard Archive J23/145 *Letters and Circulars from National Offices Part 3 1912 -1919.*

temperance politics during and after the First World War. They were eventually to merge in 1924 in order to harness their joint experience and provide a woman's prospective on temperance work.

3.9 CONCLUSIONS

Women played a vital role in the political temperance campaigns over the period researched. By doing so they had become an integral part of the wider women's movement and its search for equality. The founding members of the BWTA, under the leadership of non-conformists and Quakers, had moved in a steady but determined manner to politics in order to achieve their aims and objectives.

The power of the BWTA, and after 1893, the NBWTA, had come from its presidents, each of whom had influenced not only the management of the association but also its approach to temperance reform and how it defined its political attitude. The WTAU, a single issue society, was managed differently, appointing its presidents annually.

Prior to the founding of the BWTA, women had little influence and even less power in forming the strategy of the temperance movement. Women were not visible in the politics of temperance. The input from the male temperance movement was to encourage women to work within their sphere, but even this was criticised in some quarters[174]. When temperance women saw an opportunity to move into the public sphere they did so quickly and efficiently. Politically active women, including Margaret Bright Lucas, Isabella Tod, Catherine Impey, Mrs Scholfield of Newcastle ensured that the membership became conversant with the methods of local and national politic[175]s. They encouraged the branch membership to develop political

[174] For example Julia Bainbrigge Wightman and the reaction to her solidly Christian temperance approach to her work described in Chapter Two.

[175] Further information on Isabella Tod and Catherine Impey is given in Appendix Six.

activity, even if this was often at a low level. They organised petitions and present them, as this could be undertaken by local branches, whose members knew the area and were able to gather support for their cause. Women in cities were especially active in this area of work, notably Mary E. Phillips of Tottenham and members of the Manchester WCTU who regularly attended licensing sessions and reported many successes in their annual reports. Branches worked mainly at the local level, with the NBWTA responsible for forming national policy. Temperance women used every opportunity to exercise their increasing political skills for the temperance cause.

A leadership, top down managed, organisation such as the BWTA inevitably found that it was vulnerable to having change pressed upon it. The election of Somerset as president was to bring the association to the centre of temperance politics but she relied too much on her personal appeal to the membership and made too many ill judged decisions on the subject. Her support of disinterested management was to be her last error of judgement[176]. Even though temperance women were called to give the evidence given to the Royal Commission, they were not welcomed in the "male" political temperance organisations. In their evidence to the Royal Commission there is no sense of the double disadvantage that these women laboured under, their exclusion from the male centred offices of power and the lack of a national franchise. The women's temperance movement became increasingly political but some women were concerned that under Willard's influence the movement would claim the vote for *Home Protection* rather than on egalitarian terms. The largest and most powerful temperance organisations, notably the UKA, were unsympathetic to women. These had become the high table of the temperance politics with

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[176] The debate over here attempt to add other political, social and moral issues to the remit of the BWTA are discussed in the following chapters.

members of parliament and spheres of influence. Male temperance societies, with a few exceptions, excluded women because they were politically powerless.

Carlisle was an exception to this and she was, perhaps, unfortunate in her timing in taking over the women's association as the temperance movement's links with the Liberal Party through the United Kingdom Alliance were weakening and her influence therefore diminished. While As other temperance organisations could no longer influence the government the NBWTA was in a more difficult situation. Its membership did not even have a national franchise they could exercise in favour of temperance reform.

From the beginning of the women's temperance movement they perceived that their lack of power meant that they could not easily attain their aims and objectives. They began to seek out routes that would enable them to forward their aims. They began by using Christian temperance methods to expand their sphere and with the opening up of local politics developed a dual approach.

This chapter has briefly outlined the early days of the women's temperance movement and given a skeleton outline of the largest women's temperance organisation. It also gives a short history of the BWTA in order to provide a chronological background to this thesis. The issues alluded to here will be discussed and analysed in later chapters and will illustrate the route temperance women took and how they combined the aims of temperance and feminism. They will demonstrate how central temperance women were to the women's movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Chapter Four discusses and analyses the part played by temperance women in local government. It charts their progress from poor law to the first female temperance Mayor. Chapter four will also describe how the political work of temperance women in local councils, was

supported at national level. It will demonstrate how temperance women became increasingly politically active. Throughout the following chapters the role of temperance women in the women's movement as a whole is described and reinforces the benefit of the women's networks. Temperance women were not insular and it was through women's networks that they were able to gain experience and integrate within the wider women's movement.

CHAPTER FOUR

A BRIDGE INTO THE POLITICAL: TEMPERANCE WOMEN AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

4. 1 INTRODUCTION

Temperance women realised that the Christian/philanthropic approach to temperance reform would not achieve their ambition of a temperate society. They recognised that in order to have influence they needed to widen the scope of their temperance techniques and to gain access to political power. In order to succeed they sought political opportunities that would enable them to develop the "the two paths to equality" suggested by Giele[1]. Unlike the American movement the British women's temperance movement was not to combine its temperance and feminist ideals under one organisation. The British women preferred to develop a two pronged attack to achieve the political power requisite to bring about an equal and temperate society, which they believed would benefit women.

As feminists they realised that women had some access to power over local issues. This realisation came about through careful readings of existing legislation and frequently through testing the rights that existed, with women standing for election themselves. It was not a high profile campaign but rather

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[1] Giele, J.Z. *Two Paths to Women's Equality, Suffrage and the Origins of Modern Feminism.* 1995.

a quiet exchange of information and knowledge that was disseminated through the women's networks.

The election of women to local government boards and councils was for temperance women the bridge between Christian temperance and the politics both of women's suffrage and the parliamentary politics of temperance legislation.

This chapter will analyse the participation of temperance women, in particular the membership of the BWTA, in local politics. It views the role of temperance women through another lens which reveals the range of their feminist activities. It also analyses how their participation in local government issues to enabled them to expand their temperance work and simultaneously the women's sphere.

The progression of temperance women's involvement in local politics is considered. Temperance women began by focusing on the role temperance women played as poor law guardians. Although this enabled them to have some influence on temperance issues it was limited. They gained more through their membership of school boards and attempted to put scientific temperance instruction on the curriculum. Finally as elected members of local boroughs and county councils they sought the local option veto and temperance. This chapter will also describe the effect this work had on them both as individuals and as members not only of the temperance societies and organisations but on other institutions and societies. The focus is on the role of temperance women played in local government politics, It will assess the

degrees to which it widened their sphere of influence, gave them a sense of citizenship as well as an awareness of the responsibilities.

The chapter begins with a brief background sketch of the complicated system of local government districts and how the reorganisation of this system provided opportunities for women to participate in different aspects of local government.

Local government in England had developed throughout the first half of the 19th century in an *ad hoc* manner, thus creating anomalies. Central government had, as a consequence, to rationalise some of these which had arisen out of rapid industrialisation and the consequential expansion of towns and villages. Large towns were created by the industrial revolution that still had, in local government terms, only parish status. In 1832 such towns gained MPs and under the *1835 Municipal Corporations Act* were given, or were able to apply for, borough status. The third *Reform Act* in 1884 aimed at the complete overhaul of local government. The result was a reorganised local government structure based on new boundaries. Between the 1835 act and the 1884 *Reform Act* many controlling bodies had been established including poor law unions, local government act districts, and school board districts. The latter two related to geographical areas rather than to the individual boards, which could cover areas as small as parishes. These local government bodies together with the various rural authorities, ecclesiastical parishes, and London vestries, formed an assortment of authorities which had differing

electorates, voting procedures, and qualifications for office. It became a complex web of boards and committees[2].

At the same time as local government was expanding, many women of the middle classes became increasingly active in evangelical and philanthropic activities and began to seek a wider role for their expanding skills. These acquired skills included experience of committee meetings, and knowledge of accounts for those organisations which they supported.

The constituency of the BWTA, the non-conformist and liberal middle class, meant that the association was moving to a more central role in organised political action as its members realised the part women could play on local boards and what they could achieve in the way of temperance reform.

The BWTA constantly used its conferences to disseminate information and to encourage its membership, to make the most of the possibilities that presented themselves. Papers of the conference were printed and distributed by several branches to their membership, and/or to all women voters. They were also reported in *Wings,* the *Woman's Signal* and in the BWTA/NBWTA annual reports. This was also a way of educating women for their civic responsibilities and allowing them to exert their citizenship so that they might attain an equality that would result in their enfranchisement. The necessity for this type of information dissemination can be illustrated by the

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[2] Keith-Lucas, B. *English Local Government in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries.* 1977

Hollis, P. *Ladies Elect Women in English Local Government.* Oxford, 1987.

reports of branches who used the information to the advantage of the temperance cause.

Many aspects of women's philanthropic activities such as workhouse visiting, working class housing, sanitary reform and education were moving out of the philanthropic sphere and becoming part of the responsibility of local government. The active middle class feminist woman perceived them as being within her new and expanding sphere of influence. The activities in which such women began to participate were allied to domestic and moral issues. They were perceived to be an extension of their existing domestic sphere. These women were increasingly aware that they could not only vote in the local elections but could participate and influence the work of institutions. This way they could achieve change as members of governing bodies. In order to undertake this form of political activity women had to have electoral qualifications in their own right, most commonly in the form of owning rateable property. This restricted the numbers who were eligible and often such qualified women were sought out and attempts were made to persuade them of the value of becoming active in local politics. There was an increasing number of political roles available to suitably qualified women. They became eligible to be members of London vestries, school boards, and to act as poor law guardians, and later to be elected as members of rural and urban district councils, and town and county councils, including London County Council[3].

[3] Hollis *Op cit.*

By 1900, within 25 years of the first woman being elected as a poor law guardian, there were over 1,000 women members of Poor Law Boards[4]. This is a remarkable achievement in itself, considering the voting qualification restrictions placed on them until the Local Government Act of 1894. By 1900 the total number of Guardians was well over 27,000. Women were therefore almost inevitably outnumbered by men who were not always sympathetic to either their presence or their aims and objectives[5]. Some boards, such as Gateshead and Saffron Waldon had more than one woman member[6].

These electoral successes were achieved by women exploiting the stereotype of woman within the domestic sphere rather than by contesting her sphere. They reinforced the idea that women had the knowledge and instinct for issues related to the home and children. Management qualifications were gained from running and organising large households and their families. This often involved supervising considerable numbers of servants and the experience reinforced their suitability. Domestic management included all the facets necessary, account keeping, personnel management and financial skills, and they understood the effect local government and its laws had on the home and the domestic sphere. They emphasised this approach as part of their role and sphere, and that their participation in local politics was in order to be able to influence the decisions made by local boards and

4 Hollis *Op cit.*
5 Hollis *Op cit.*
6 Castle Howard Archives, J23/370 *Women's Local Government Society 1894 - 1910*

authorities that affected the home and children as well as being able to help exercise domestic economic control[7].

As opportunities for women to work on local bodies arose so did an increased interest in women's expanding role. Periodicals were published aimed at women undertaking, or even being interested, in these new and exciting opportunities and activities. The *Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* and the *English Woman's Journal,* began publication and carried news and information of women's activities in the public sphere[8]. They covered a range of topics from women's education and new employment opportunities to the opening of local politics and the campaign for the vote. The *Englishwoman's Review,* a major source of information on women's increasing role in local government, supported the campaign to promote women as Poor Law Guardians, covering the failures as well as the successes. It targeted articles at encouraging women into these new roles and more importantly informing them of the type of work that was being undertaken by women and what could be achieved. It also stressed the importance to women of the campaigns for higher education for women and woman suffrage. It published reports on a whole range of activities for

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7 The "boarding out" scheme enabled women to take on the role of visiting homes where children were boarded. The male guardians did not wish to continue these homes inspections and delegated that task to their spouses. Once elected as guardians women were also able to advise on such domestic issues as diet and ensure that the food was purchased was used in the workhouses, and hopefully, restrict or ban alcohol.
I am grateful to Prof. Michael Rose for the above information.

8 *Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* 1866 - 1910
Englishwoman's Journal 1858 - 1864

women in their widening role. It also included reports of temperance women who were taking an increasing part in the women's movement[9].

4. 2 POOR LAW GUARDIANS

Female temperance activists began by becoming poor law guardians which they hoped would give them a role in restricting the use of alcoholic beverages within the workhouses. They considered alcohol a waste of ratepayers' money and an encouragement of pauperism. The ability to restrict the use of alcohol motivated other temperance women to take a more participatory role. The new feminist press included articles written by women undertaking such activities to further encourage others to take up the challenge. As a result, through these journals women were able to share experiences and gain encouragement from others.

In 1832, a Royal Commission to inquire into the administration and working of the poor laws was established. This resulted in the 1834 *Poor Law Amendment Act* which was amended in minor ways in 1844[10]. The acts provided for uniting of parishes into Poor Law Unions, and for full time, salaried officials under the jurisdiction of an elected voluntary Board of Guardians.

Middle class women had begun visiting the poor in an organised way in the late eighteenth century. By the 1850s some women began to expand into a

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9 *Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* 1866 - 1910

10 *Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834* (4 and 5 Wm IV c. 76)
Poor Law Amendment Act, 1844 (7 and 8 Vic c. 101)

more political role and sought to gain influence into the workhouses. They began by visiting workhouses. One woman, Louisa Twining, became famous for the reforms that she achieved in workhouses and used her writings on her experiences to publicise[11]. Her books became training manuals for others[12].

The Workhouse Visiting Society, originally a sub-committee of the Social Science Association, with Louisa Twining as its general secretary, was to play a major and positive role in encouraging women to visit the workhouse[13]. There was never a lack of middle class recruits but Twining was particularly keen to recruit more lower middle class women. The Workhouse Visiting Society enabled women to exchange information and experiences, and provided advice on how female visitors should behave in the course of their work. Its aims were to "promote the moral spiritual improvement of workhouse inmates". At its peak it had 340 members who had gained access to workhouses in London and the provinces.

Twining campaign for a greater role for women in workhouses. She gave evidence to the Select Committee on Poor Relief in 1861 and informed the members that in order to gain any power women had to be elected guardians. It was not to be until 1875 however that the first female guardian,

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11 Further information on Louisa Twining is given in Appendix Six.

12 Twining, L. *Workhouses and Women's Work.* 1858. Twining, L. *Workhouses and Pauperism, Women's Work in the Administration of the Poor Law.*1898; Twining, L. *Recollections of Life and Work: Being the autobiography of Louisa Twinning.* 1893; Report of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, Central Committee. *Report of the Executive Committee Presented at the Annual General Meeting held in Westminister Hall, 11th July 1893.* 1893.

13 Twining, L. *Workhouses and Women's Work.* 1858.

Mrs Merrington was elected to the Kensington Board. A member of the CETS, Twining attempted to draw temperance women into poor law work. Many responded seeing it as an extension of temperance work. Twining actively campaigned against drink in the workhouse and published a pamphlet against the tradition of drink for the inmates at Christmas[14]. She considered that drink was "the main cause of four of our most costly institutions - hospitals, workhouses, lunatic asylums and prisons"[15].

Twinings primary intention was to encourage women to undertake work as Poor Law Guardians and she actively supported the Society for Promoting the Return of Women as Poor Law Guardians. She supported temperance societies in her work and whilst proclaiming that "we do not even ask all to become total abstainers" it is obvious that she believed many would benefit from being abstainers[16].

The BWTA saw membership of poor law boards as an opportunity not to be missed and began to encourage women to come forward to act as guardians to help spread the temperance message. In order to encourage them to participate, information needed to be disseminated both on the qualifications required to stand as guardians and on what the work entailed. This role the BWTA, as a national organisation, could undertake through its temperance lecturers. Qualified temperance women had originally been instructed to vote for temperance candidates whether male or female, but this was no

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[14] Twining, L. *Christmas Beer in the Workhouses.* 1891.

[15] Twining, L. *A Few Words About Working Men's Clubs and Temperance Societies.* 1879.

[16] Twining, L. *A Farewell Letter to the Members of Mothers Union.* [1882?].

longer regarded as sufficient. Suitably qualified women were urged, as temperance advocates, to stand for election as guardians. Descriptions of temperance women's increasing participation on poor law boards began to appear in journals. Helen Taylor discussed the influence of women in the temperance movement and promoted the idea of men and women to working together. She also believed that women should be on Boards of Guardians as well as on the management committees of hospitals and infirmaries.[17].

Encouragement came from the top. Margaret Bright Lucas during her presidency of the BWTA, urged women to participate as poor law guardians. She emphasised that the work benefited women and children and enabled temperance women to introduce temperance into the workhouses. Members began to undertake this dual temperance/poor law guardian role with varying degrees of success. Further advice and motivation was given by other leading members of the association. Isabella Tod, describing the place of women in the administration of the Irish Poor Law, included the importance of having women on boards of guardians[18]. Tod believed that women had two responsibilities as guardians. Firstly towards the poor and helpless and secondly to the ratepayers to act with "careful economy". This was within the "woman's sphere" and reflected their domestic economy in

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[17] Taylor, H.B. Influence of Women on Temperance. *Englishwoman's Review,* Vol 8, 15th February 1877, pp 53-57.

[18] *Englishwoman's Review*, Vol 12, 1881, 15th November, p 480 - ; Tod, I. *Women as Poor Law Guardians,* 1882; *Englishwoman's Review* numerous articles and items written by and recording her activities.

Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers.* 1891.

the home. Women were well equipped to undertake the "constant supervision and checking of expense" that was an essential part of the duties of guardians. Importantly Tod's article helped to clarify the qualifying rules, advising how women living under the same roof could ensure that the name on the rate book was that of the woman willing to undertake poor law guardianship.

As a consequence temperance women became more active, especially in North East England. As early as 1875, there were at least 2 female temperance guardians in the area, Mrs Nicholson of Sunderland and Mrs Spence Watson of Gateshead. Mrs Scholefield of Newcastle saw the potential of working within local government and in particular as a Poor Law Guardian for temperance reform. In 1879, she led a deputation of women to the Newcastle Guardians protesting at "supplying the inmates of the workhouse with beer" but they received a disappointingly mixed reception[19]. Undeterred she continued her campaign and following a resolution passed by the BWTA Newcastle branch she brought the matter again before the Board this time more successfully[20].

It was publicity following successes such as these that made the BWTA leadership begin to realise the benefits for the women's temperance movement of encouraging suitably qualified women to act as Poor Law Guardians.

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19 Winskill *Op cit.*
20 Winskill *Op cit.*

However it was not always an easy task to recruit suitable women as not all qualified temperance women were even voting for guardians let alone standing as candidates. Florence Balgarnie reported by way of encouragement that in the North "temperance women made good use of their votes for Poor Law Guardians"[21]. She was also to make a plea for temperance women to come forward as Guardians[22].

Slowly temperance women began to participate and Laura Ormiston Chant and Eva Muller were amongst the founding members of the Society for Promoting Women as Poor Law Guardians in 1881[23]. In Hull the BWTA branch petitioned poor law guardians to restrict the use of alcohol in the workhouses[24].

With temperance women on boards the provision of alcohol in the workhouse was to become a constant battle. The persistence of the temperance women and their demands that alcohol be withdrawn from work houses gained them the reputation for hard campaigning against drink. Many, because of their anti-drink stance, were considered more judgmental and case hardened than some men[25]. They did have some effect on the boards and out of 68 unions surveyed, by Twining, 16 gave no intoxicating drink, and 14 offered alternatives to beer at Christmas[26].

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21 *BWTJ,* Vol 5, No 6, June 1887, p 63

22 *BWTJ* Vol 5, No 10, October 1887

23 Hollis *Op cit.* For further information on Eva Muller/ Eva Mclaren see Appendix Six. She is listed under her married name Eva McLaren.

24 BWTA, *The Seventh Annual Report of the BWTA, 1882 - 83.* 1883 p 90

25 Hollis *Op cit.*

26 Twining, *Christmas beer Op cit.*

As well as hostility to their temperance aims, women had to face the general hostility of male guardians to their female counterparts. It was accepted that female guardians were not always popular as some men on boards believed that it was not fitting for "ladies to meet gentlemen on terms of equality and decide important questions of finance and general local government"[27]. Women became used to being unwelcome on many Boards and this did not discourage them from becoming poor law guardian[28]. Despite this, some men did actively begin to encourage women[29]. Support for women guardians came from Dr Milson Rhodes, chairman of the Chorlton Board of Guardians who believed that if boards could attract "ladies like Miss Octavia Hill and Miss Mason they would be a great acquisition"[30]. Articles did, however seek to reassure readers that there was a place for "a quiet, efficient lady member whose heart is in her work, and who brings her feminine perspicacity and judgement to bear on it"[31]. Women in their "middle life" were thought to be suitably qualified to act as poor law guardians by the *BWTJ* and "British Women" urged their reticent colleagues to take up the work[32]. Twining also used *The Englishwoman's Review* as her forum, encouraging women to work for the smaller country unions where they were needed[33]. She gave advice on

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27 Hollis *Op cit.*

28 *Englishwoman's Review,* Vol 14, 1883, 15th March 1883, pp 97 - 104 (Louisa Twining?) The Duties of Women as Guardians; *Englishwoman's Review*, Vol 14, 1883, February 15th, pp 86-7; *Englishwoman's Review*, Vol 14, 15th November 1883, pp 510-511.

29 Proceeding of the Poor Law Guardians, *13th Annual Poor Law Conference for the North-Western District Conference.* October 1887. p191; *Englishwoman's Review*, Vol 18, 1887, 15th October pp 468-9

30 Proceeding of the Poor Law Guardians, *13th Annual Poor Law Conference for the North-Western District Conference.* October 1887. pp194

31 *Ibid.*.

32 *Ibid.*; *BWTJ*, 1888, Vol 6, No 1, January p 11

33 *Englishwoman's Review,* Vol 18, 1887, 15th September, pp 385 -396

small but effective reforms that could be implemented including temperance[34]. Ormiston Chant encouraged the women of Southport to elect their first female poor law guardian as it was, " it conscientiously carried out, a truly Christian work"[35]. The notion that temperance ideas could be brought into the workhouse remained an attractive one. Mrs Scholefield wrote that "total abstainers would find here a side sphere of usefulness open to them, particularly in keeping a strict watch on the amount spent on intoxicants in the workhouses" and like many others she stressed the domestic nature of much of the work[36].

The presenting of the political role of a poor law guardian as a task for which women were necessary in order that it be done well was to continue to be linked with the temperance message, even though temperance was only reaching a small part of the population. Workhouse inmates accounted for about 2% of the population by the 1880's[37]. This form of activity blurred the boundaries between the philanthropic, the domestic and the political and was internalised by women who would not normally have undertaken political activities. The BWTA, long considered a reactionary body was one of the associations that were responsible for widening women's sphere through their activities as poor law guardians.

The qualifications required for guardianship continued to be articulated to the BWTA membership through its journal, enabling women to consider if

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34 *Ibid..*
35 *Iibis.*
36 *BWTJ,* 1888, Vol 6, No 1, p 11
37 Rose, M. *Relief of Poverty, 1834 - 1914.* 2nd Ed. 1986.

they were eligible for election as guardians and to be aware of the procedures[38]. Further details were always available from the BWTA head office from Mrs Atherton who welcomed "any lady who is willing to allow herself to be nominated"[39]. Scholefield's message was reiterated by others, including Mary Hopkins of Scarborough wrote of :

> "the need for temperance principles and feminine influence is very great"[40]. She warned of the difficulties and admitted that she felt her presence was not wanted on the Board but that having visited the workhouse and obtained information regarding the "women's province", she felt there was "less resistance to her"[41].

Another problem for women undertaking poor law guardianship was that some women found the work to be of an unpleasant nature, Hopkins commented that work could be "the opposite of pleasant". As with other correspondents, she offered encouragement to those considering the work, "Both as abstainers and as women there is a very wide door of usefulness open to us on the Poor Law Boards" she remarked, stressing the womanly nature of the work, "above all in caring for the children and sick in the infirmaries"[42]. Others found the work difficult and Mrs Evans described it as "most unpleasant"[43]. Ormiston Chant made women aware of the difficulties

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38 *BWTJ*,1888 Vol 6, No1 p 11
39 *Ibid.*
40 *BWTJ*, 1888, Vol 6, No 2 p 21
41 *Ibid.*
42 Hollis , *Op cit.*; *BWTJ* 1888, Vol 6, No 2 p21
43 Hollis *Op cit.*

of poor law work, "Only a woman who was sensible, practical and wise, should dream of coming forward for election, for there were sad and painful and terrible details in the work....."[44]. Temperance women were, however, responding to the call. In Birmingham in 1885, two temperance women (Miss Cadbury and Miss Stacey) were elected as poor law guardians[45].

Following Somerset's election as president in 1890, the *BWTJ* once more stressed the fact that any women who owned property, leased houses and paid rates were citizens and as such should exercise their privileges as voters in the elections open to them[46]. The 1891 BWTA conference at Grimsby was devoted to the role of women as poor law guardians and members of school boards. The principal speaker was Mrs Shaen who followed the COS view of pauperism being caused by idleness considering that, "we must learn to realise the fact that whoever gives a penny to a beggar, gives an additional blow to a man who is down"[47]. This view was became increasingly challenged and discredited by working men guardians who considered low wages, especially amongst the rural working classes were more to blame[48].

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44 *Englishwoman's Review*, Vol 18, 1887, 15th June, p 268 Report of Southport Women's Liberal Association 6th June 1887.

45 *Englishwoman's Review*, Vol 16, 1885, 15th November, p 502.

46 *BWTJ*, 1891,Vol 9, No 10, pp 114 - 115.

47 WCTU Scrapbook 63 *Programme for the United Temperance Conference February1893.* Hollis *Op cit.*; *BWTJ,* Vol 9, No 11, 1891, pp 123- 126. Further information on Mrs Shaen is given in Appendix Six.

The NUWW was founded as a philanthropic and religious organisation for women to come together to share their experiences in their philanthropic endeavours. The NUWW developed into an organisation to which societies could affiliate, and believed it was of paramount importance that women should be on local government boards and councils where ever possible. NUWW held conferences to which the the affiliated societies could send delegates according to their membership. It became a means by which women could move from voluntary philanthropy to public service as an elected member of a board. It became, like the women's temperance movement, a less threatening route to political activity.

48 *Reports of Poor Law Conferences 1894* onwards.

Shaen believed it was the duty of women to become active both on the Boards of Guardians and School Boards "I would earnestly press" she said "upon those women who possess the required qualifications, the duty of seeking out and undertaking such labours, as a paramount necessity"[49]. At the Grimsby conference she also sought to encourage others, Shaen emphasised the domestic nature of the work and stressed the opportunities for women[50].

She also discussed the realities of the work, the difficulties of public opinion against women undertaking public duties and the inevitable reluctance with which men received women as members of Boards of Guardians. Under Somerset's Presidency, Shaen became superintendent of the "work to promote the return of women as poor law guardians, members of school boards etc.". The department's aims were to

> "endeavour to secure the return of temperance women upon the various governing boards throughout the country, and to influence those women who have been already elected to further the principles of total abstinence by their words and actions."[51]

The *British Women's Temperance Journal* increasingly became not just a temperance organ for women, but a forum for more radical members to air their views on the direction in which the association should be going. A letter simply signed "A British Woman" on the" political position of women"

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49 *BWTJ,* Vol 9, No 11, 1891, pp 123- 126.

50 *Ibid.*

51 BWTA *First Annual Leaflet of the National British Women's Temperance Association. Origin and History, Statement of Methods, Lists of Officers Departments etc. 1893-4.* 1893.

commented that, despite their lack of political power due to being disenfranchised, they "are however citizens" as they can "exercise their privileges as voters in elections for poor law guardians". It is no doubt that temperance women believed that the local franchise had empowered them to participate as citizens. The use of the local franchise by women formed the basis of their campaign for full citizenship in the form of the national franchise. The atmosphere was beginning to thaw for women on poor law boards, by 1891 women were attending the Poor Law Conferences as delegates[52].

Eva McLaren replaced Shaen as superintendent and the department widened its scope becoming a "department of work amongst women voters, and women who have votes for school boards, and other public bodies"[53]. It was run in liaison with Bertha Mason and with Mrs Emily C. Servante as its treasurer[54]. McLaren participated in a delegation to the President of the Local Government Board to urge for the appointment of women members to the Royal Commission for the Relief of the Aged Poor[55]. Their request was not granted but Mr Fowler (President of the Local Government Board) expressed sympathy with their views.

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52 Poor Law Conferences, *Annual Conference of the Central Poor Law Conference held December 1891.* 1891.

53 NBWTA *The National British Women's Temperance Association - a jubilee sketch.* NBWTA, 1926; *BWTA First annual leaflet Op cit.*

54 *BWTA First annual leaflet Op cit.* For further information on Emily Servante is given in Appendix Six. See also Chapter Five on temperance women and the campaign for women's suffrage.

55 Women's Liberal Federation *Sixth Annual Report of the Executive Committe.* 1893.

Two schools of thought emerged within the BWTA. There were those who wished to use the Poor Law Boards simply as a way to prevent inebriety and to further the cause of prohibition and those who realised the political potential for women in establishing and exercising the full rights of citizenship available to them. During debates within the BWTA in the early 1890s, "seeking the election of temperance candidates as poor law guardians" was high on the agenda of the programme of work to be undertaken, and was not deemed to be a contentious issue by either side[56]. The association had no hesitation in notifying members via its journal of the dates of the relevant elections. It also drew its members attention to the lowering of the rating qualification, and encouraged women to become guardians "in the interests of the poor and of the community"[57]. Temperance women were applauded for undertaking political activity not only in using their vote for poor law elections but also for standing as candidates. Following the split in the BWTA in 1893, both organisations were to continue to encourage women to undertake the role of poor law guardians. The Women's Total Abstinence Union stressed its commitment to strictly temperance issues, but, at its first conference, included a paper on "Women as poor law guardians" [58].

Work on poor law boards became a badge of honour for temperance women and the WTAU continued to use its journal, *Wings,* to promote the work. Branches and regions became proud of their successes in achieving

56 *Wings*, 1893, Vol 11, No 3, March, p 176

57 *Wings*, 1893, Vol 11, No 2, February, p 164

58 *Wings,* 1893, Vol 11, No 12, December, p 270. Further information on Mrs Finley is given in Appendix Six.
Wings, 1897, Vol 15, No 5, May, pp 57 - 59.

elected guardians amongst their members. The Yorkshire region, for example, pointed out that "they had been instrumental in getting ladies elected to seats on Boards of Guardians and Parish Councils" and described themselves as having a "progressive spirit"[59].

In 1894, the *Local Government Act* opened up poor law guardianship to more women when the property qualification was abolished[60]. The work became more political as working men sought membership of the boards. The number of women on poor law boards rose dramatically, and many more came forward for election. In the north of England more women were elected, over seventy in Lancashire, over eighty in Yorkshire and began to include working class women such as Mary Brown of Burnley[61]. Despite the increase in numbers, women still found that they were joining a male bastion which the male members treated like a club. When Walsall guardians realised that following the 1894 Act that they might be joined by women they considered that good workhouse management might end if such a thing were to happen in Walsell. The mayor of Walsall, much to the annoyance of the *Women's Signal*, declared that he would not allow his wife or daughter to undertake such a task[62].

Poor law guardianship now attracted temperance women from a wide spectrum of backgrounds. It had initially appealed to more radical or high

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59 *Woman Signal,* 1895, Vol 3, March 28th 1895, p 206; *Local Goverment Act, 1894* (56 and 57 Vic. c.73).

60 Hollis *Op cit.*

61 Hollis *Op cit.*. Further information on Mary Brown is given in Appendix Six.

62 *Woman's Signal* 17th November 1894

many lesser known women became guardians. Jenny Foster-Newton, the daughter of a city merchant, sat on the Richmond Board and attended the Metropolitan and South Eastern District poor law conferences, continuing as a guardian until 1925[63]. Catherine Impey was the daughter of a seed merchant. Her membership of the Society of Friends and of the IOGT meant that she was used to public speaking, and so did not have that particular fear to overcome as did many of her contemporaries. Mrs Bousfield of Bedford, a clergyman's daughter was a member of the Bedford Board of Guardians[64]. It was no longer simply the leading temperance activists who became poor law guardians. Sylvia Holliday Wilson became a member of the Blackpool Board of Guardians, Mrs Wordin did the same in Halstead, and Alice Jackson is presumed to have worked in Rotherham[65]. Grace Haddow represented the WTAU in Margate[66]. Both the NBWTA and the WTAU continued to actively encourage their members to become poor law guardians up to the First World War. In 1902 a leading article in *Wings* wondered why "Total abstinence societies take so little interest in local boards of guardians"[67].

Under Carlisle's presidency (from 1903), temperance women were increasingly expected to participate in local government and poor law boards

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63 Hollis *Op cit.*; For further information on Jenny Foster-Newton see in Appendix Six

64 *Wings*, 1901, Vol 19, No 5, May, p 57-8. Mrs Bousfield - biographical sketch. For further information on Mrs Bousfiels see Appendix Six,

65 *Wings*, Vol 15 1897, No 7 July, p 98. For further information on Sylvia Holliday and Alice Jackson see Appendix Six,

66 *Wings*, 1897, Vol 18, No 5, May, p 58.

67 *Wings*, 1902, Vol 20, No 5, May, p 62 Temperance and the Poor Law.

were still part of the remit. Bertha Mason was appointed as Superintendent of the department for the return of women to all local governing boards and remained so for 12 years. During this time she continued trying to attract more women to the work. She urged branches to take an active part in the spring triennial elections of guardians in 1907 and reported the successes in the annual report[68]. Amongst these successes were Long Eaton where two members were elected, Preston, Lancashire and Richmond, Surrey where temperance women had headed the poll, and in the North Metropolitan London area there were nine women elected of whom five were members of the NBWTA. Batley had seen its members elected by using "improved election techniques"[69]. The election of temperance women to poor law boards became a central tenet of the three women's temperance associations, BWTA, NBWTA and WTAU. From the 1880s to the outbreak of the First World War temperance women were active on poor law boards as a way of forwarding temperance ideals and their claim to citizenship.

Election to poor law boards was however in many ways the "soft option" of political activity. In 1902 the WTAU admitted as much claiming in its journal that "Guardian elections excite so little interest that it is easy work generally to get in one's own candidates"[70]. By the twentieth century the NBWTA was having a massive campaign to encourage women to vote at these elections for temperance candidates and for branches to nominate women for

68 NBWTA *Annual report 1907-08*. NBWTA 1908. p105.

69 *Ibid.*

70 *Wings*, 1902 Vol 20, No 5, May, p 62

election. Guardianship was seen as an effective way of widening the remit of temperance women, as an extension of their temperance work. It was also believed that elected temperance women on boards could not be ignored as they could also be on voluntary philanthropic committees[71].

The top down management of the temperance associations meant that advice and information could be disseminated through conferences and meetings. By the turn of the century the two spheres of the public and the private could no longer be perceived separate but were interconnecting. For temperance women this process had begun through their work in the public sphere of poor law boards using their private sphere skills. Whilst much was made of temperance women becoming poor law guardians, the amount of influence they had on the consumption of alcohol was small and restricted. The value to them lay in the experience it gave them of boards and their workings. What they did achieve in the way of temperance reform gave them an awareness of other opportunities which existed. Temperance women also began to be elected to School Boards where the potential for change was greater. They realised that they could influence what was taught in schools and could campaign for temperance education to ensure that children were made aware of the consequences of alcoholic drink.

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[71] *Wings*, 1894, Vol 12, November, p 142
Prochaska, F.K. *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England.* 1980.

4.3 SCHOOL BOARDS

It was the Newcastle Commission's report of 1861, which criticised teachers, and proposed more inspection and testing by attendance and examination, that was to lead to the establishment of school boards[72]. The commission's report disappointed the radicals who moved for a select committee for the large cities. The Liberal government of 1868 looked to local government to rectify the situation. The town councils were perceived to have not only the finances required but also the power and authority to reach the educationally deprived. The 1870 Education Act (known as Forster's Act) allowed the voluntary schools to remain unchanged but where there was a proven deficiency of school accommodation, or where a majority of electors demanded it, school boards could be created[73]. Elections to them were to be held on a triennial basis. Their size would vary with the population of the town or rural parish, and they had the powers to build and run schools. A cumulative vote was brought into the election process to protect minorities, often nonconformists. Membership of boards was by election and open to male and female with no set qualification. Any adult male or female could stand for election to the board, it was anticipated that clergymen would stand for election under this system in order to protect the voluntary sector, particularly the Church of England and Roman Catholic schools. What was not foreseen was that women would benefit from the cumulative vote, nor

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[72] – *Report of the Commissioner's Appointed to Enquire into the State of Popular Education in England,* (The Newcastle Commission)

[73] *Elementary Education Act 1870* 33 and 34 Vic c. 75; Hollis *Op cit.*

that women would take to the work so swiftly. Women immediately stood for office, and in 1870 two were elected to the London School Board, Elizabeth Garrett and Emily Davies[74].

Unlike the women elected to poor law boards, these women did not face much hostility from the male members of the boards. This was due in part to the fact that the boards were newly established and women were elected to them from the beginning. Although many would have previously worked together male members had not already established themselves into cliques, nor had they developed a gentleman's club culture as they had done on the poor law boards. Some did actively discourage women, notoriously in Salford when at the 1897 school board elections the clergy circulated leaflets stating that women could not stand for election[75].

Radical and politically motivated women began to put themselves forward as candidates for election to the school boards as soon as they became aware that women were eligible to stand. The *Englishwoman's Review* encouraged women to stand for election to school boards in the same way as it encouraged them to become poor law guardians. Similarly the short lived *Women's Penny Paper* in the early 1890s gave publicity to this opening for women. Both journals listed those who were standing as candidates as a way of publicising the names and wards of women candidates, so making women more aware of the opportunities open to them. It was hoped that eligible

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74 Hollis *Op cit.*.

75 Hollis *Op cit.*

women would at least vote in the elections, if not stand themselves. From the 1890s temperance journals supplemented this advice, and encouraged women to stand for election.

Those women who were elected to school boards built up networks, as women poor law guardians had done, these networks exploited the "grey zone" between the private and public spheres. The more mature women had existing connections and networks, some going back to the Anti Corn Law movement and the repeal of the *Contagious Diseases Acts* campaigns[76]. Martin has studied women who worked for the London School Board[77]. Many of her observations can be applied to temperance women; for they had similar family, professional and temperance connections which combined to provide them with an effective political network. These feminist networks enabled them to exchange information and experience and were an integral part of women's expansion of their sphere of influence.

Temperance women were not as numerous on school boards as they were on poor law boards but they did stand for election and become members. Frequently the same women held office on both boards simultaneously. Those that did stand and were elected saw the potential for introducing temperance education and teaching into schools. This gave them the potential of influencing large numbers of children, often at risk of succumbing

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[76] Holton, S.S. From anti-slavery to suffrage militancy: The Bright circle, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the British women's movement. IN Daley, C. & Nolan, M. *Suffrage and beyond. International feminist perspectives. New Zealand,* 1994; Hollis *Op cit.*

[77] Martin, J. Entering the arena: the female members of the London School Board, 1870 - 1904. *History of Education*, 1993, 22, (3), pp 225-240.

to alcohol. Their work on school boards widened their temperance remit. Compared with the poor law boards, the school boards were to be relatively short lived; and the 1902 *Education Act* brought about the extinction of over 2,500 boards[78]. One of the implications of the *Education Act* was to replace them with 328 Local Education Authorities. This was to lessen the influence individual women could have on local schools or in an area. It also reduced their ability to make an impact on specific local issues as following the 1902 act Local Education Authorities were no longer responsible for such small geographical areas; this was particularly true of rural areas. After the 1902 act, women had to stand for local authority elections or be co-opted if they wished to have a voice in the administration of education.

These early temperance women relied for support and help on their contacts and connections within the women's movement. Van Arsdel details the three election campaigns of Florence Fenwick Miller, a leading member of the women's movement and journalist, who was first elected in 1876[79]. Though the opportunity for temperance women to "make a difference" on school boards was short lived, it gave them a chance to pass on the temperance message to children at an impressionable age and to influence syllabuses in schools to include temperance teaching. Temperance women used their

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79 Van Arsdel, R.T. Victorian Periodicals yield their secrets: Florence Fenwich Miller's three campaigns for the London School Board. *History of Education Society Bulletin*, 1987, v38, pp 22-42; Van Ardsel, R.T. *Florence Fenwick Miller: Feminism and the Woman's Signal 1895 - 1899.* Unpublished manuscript in the Fawcett Library; Carver, R.N. The work of Kate Ryley on the Birkdale School Board, 1889 - 1902. *History of Education Bulletin*, 1987, No 38, pp 43 - 50; Hollis *Op cit.*. For further information on Florence Fenwick Miller see Appendix Six,

local franchise to vote for those candidates who supported temperance. They had become aware of the importance of this vote for the furtherance of temperance. They were pressed, not only by the BWTA but also by feminist journals, notably the *Women's Penny Paper.* Temperance women tried to ensure that those elected to any local government position recognised the importance of temperance in education in schools. Women became charged with a mission to ensure that temperance legislation was introduced and that temperance education was a way to achieve this. They carefully vetted the candidates for the school boards and voted only for those who supported temperance education. In addition they could ensure that the teachers employed were themselves total abstainers.

The BWTA recognised the importance of the introduction of temperance into schools and its effect on the temperance cause. Papers on the topic were given at the quarterly and annual conferences. These aimed to educate the members on the qualifications required and procedures . They were also intended to inform and recruit women not only to use their votes but to ensure temperance advocates were elected to school boards. They also encouraged "British Women" to stand for election. Mrs Atherton spoke strongly on this issue at the 1881 annual council and in doing so began a debate on the issue. Whilst Miss Grimwade considered that much of what had been said was "hardly met the case of the public school ..... in Ipswich" but despite this, the idea of temperance instruction in schools was well

received by the membership[80]. "British women" quickly perceived the advantages of training the young early to abstain from alcoholic drink. It would, they believed, prevent broken homes, crime and pauperism.

Individual branches took up the challenge of ensuring that temperance was taught in schools, and the North Shields Branch was congratulated on their efforts[81]. Again it was the North East that led the field in temperance and political reform. The retirement of two guardians in Bristol gave Helena Richardson the opportunity to stand for election on a temperance ticket. She did not get the official support of the Liberal Party due to her staunch temperance stand and she had to undergo a tough campaign, but was elected, possibly on a sympathy vote[82]. She stood again, in 1880, but despite her efforts to reduce the time spent by girls on needlework and her use of her casting vote to stop children without fees being excluded from schools, once more she did not get the official support of the Liberal Party[83]. This went to Emily Sturge, one of three women selected by the National Education League to present their views on the Bristol School Board in 1880[84]. Emily Sturge was elected and re-elected in 1883, 1886 and 1892. Her work on School Boards was symptomatic of her desire to see women take an increasing and

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80 BWTA *Annual Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the BWTA 1880 - 81.* 1881 p 67; *Wings,* 1893, Vol 11, No 12, December p 270 Obituary; BWTA, *Annual Report of the Fifth BWTA Meeting 1880 - 81.* 1881 p 67. For further information on Harriet Grimwade see Appendix Six,

81 BWTA *Annual Report of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the BWTA 1883 - 1884.* 1884;

82 *Hollis Op cit.*

– For further information on Helena Richardson see Appendix Six

83 *Englishwoman's Review*, 1880, Vol 11, 14th February, p 79.

84 For further information on Emily Sturge see Appendix Six.

active interest in the welfare of the community. By the time of her sudden death in 1892 she had developed an interest in technical teaching and was in the middle of establishing a new training school for cookery[85].

Despite these examples, and the encouragement given them by Margaret Bright Lucas, the membership of the BWTA appears to have been more hesitant in joining school boards than taking on the role of poor law guardians[86]. It is possible that they were daunted by the thought of standing for election, though many had stood for election as poor law guardians. Some may of been wary of becoming too involved in party politics or sectarian disputes, but many active temperance women who were members of Women's Liberal Associations would not have been deterred. One reason could be that, as the century progressed, the number of temperance and other campaigns that temperance women supported increased. This may have meant that the number of campaigns they were involved in caused them to spread themselves too thinly. Whilst this may have contributed to the relatively small numbers of temperance women on boards, the tighter organisation of the Liberal women, nonconformists, and, later, working men meant that consensus candidates stood who were endorsed by many factions including the temperance campaign. Mrs Sarah Wilson in Sheffield, Ethel Leach at Yarmouth, Edith Lupton of Bradford and Mrs Spoor of West Hartlepool were temperance supporters who did not stand on a temperance

[85] *Englishwoman's Review*, 1880, Vol 11, 14th February, p 79; *BWTJ*, 1892, Vol 10, p 84 Obituary; Hollis *Op cit.*

[86] *BWTJ*, 1891, Vol 9, p 123

ticket but *never-the-less* supported the cause in their work[87]. Temperance education became an issue for school board elections, and was included in individuals manifestos[88].

From Lucas's presidency onwards, temperance women were encouraged to stand for all the institutions open to them. It was believed, by Mrs Atherton of the BWTA executive committee, "to be women's duty as British women to allow themselves to be nominated and to stand for the election on school boards, vestries and as poor law guardians"[89]. Support for other candidates was helpful and members were informed of the "desirability" of women taking part in the selection process of suitable candidates for school boards[90]. Temperance women became more active on boards with encouragement from headquarters, and those who participated frequently did so with zeal. Mrs Wintringham who in 1891 had been on a school board for six years supported the introduction of Bands of Hope into schools and ensured that temperance principles were taught to children[91]. Harriet Grimwade was to defy the Liberal caucus and stand as an independent, promising to introduce cookery classes for girls, possibly to provide them with the skills to keep their husbands at home rather than in the pub[92]. She took what was the

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87 *Women's Penny Paper,* 26th April 1890, p 320; BWTA *Annual Report of the BWTA, 1893-4* , 1894. p , 37. For further information on Sarah Wilson, Ethel Leach and Elizabeth Spoor see Appendix Six.

88 Ruth Homan included the statement "I have always advocated the teaching of temperance principles in the Board Schools" in her printed manifesto.

89 *Englishwoman's Review,* 1885, Vol 16, June 15th, p 38

90 BWTA *Annual Report of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the BWTA 1888 - 1889.* 1889.

91 Carver, R.N *Op cit.*

92 *Wings,* 1893, Vol 11, No 12, 1 December p 270 Obituary
Hollis, *Op cit.*

classic route of temperance women into local politics and so to participatory citizenship. A citizenship which started with the teaching of Bible classes, expanded into temperance, philanthropic work and then the challenge of local politics.

Under Somerset's presidency, with the programme of expansion, there was impetus in the campaign to get temperance instruction into schools. Even at the troubled annual meeting of the BWTA in 1893 the subject was discussed, Mrs Cameron presiding over a meeting on the subject[93]. The move from rescuing and reclaiming individuals by total abstinence was almost complete. and had given way to a more "scientific approach" more fitting for the new "scientific age". For temperance women this meant that techniques and methods needed to change.

By the 1890s, it was no longer sufficient to rely on prayer, the pledge and conversion. The BWTA now required its membership to assist in securing the return, if not of its own members, then of election candidates who favoured temperance teaching. Branches were instructed to write to prospective candidates soliciting their views on temperance instruction. Those who replied favourably were to be helped in their election campaigns. The foundation of the Metropolitan Union was intended to strengthen the co-ordination between branches to enable them to have a more effective way of working[94].

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[93] BWTA, *Addresses and Reports and Minutes of the 17th Annual Meeting of the BWTA, May 3rd - 5th 1893.*1893.

[94] BWTA, *Annual Report of the 16th Annual Meeting of the BWTA 1891 - 92.* 1892.

Active temperance women hoped to introduce a syllabus that would include "physiology, chemistry and hygiene" to be studied as well as "heredity[95]". Science, it was argued, had become the "handmaid of reform, as well as religion" and scientific investigation was the "friend of Christianity rather than its enemy"[96]. Scientific temperance instruction (Hereafter referred to as STI) was now another tool temperance women could use to bring about temperance reform and school boards were a way of ensuring that this happened[97]. Members aimed for

> "One generation trained to know the alcoholics are the enemy of clear brains, and that happy lives mean a wineless dinner table, the sacramental altar free from temptation, the polling booth dedicated to temperance, the publican placed under the ban of the law"[98].

Despite some opposition to the expansion of the remit of the BWTA into politics and the subsequent split in the movement, the membership of both the WTAU and the, now renamed NBWTA, were active in school boards. The WTAU saw the work as a purely temperance activity and published both the qualifications necessary to stand and what school board work entailed[99]. It did not perceive it to be a party political issue, despite the increasing involvement of political parties.

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95 *Presidential addresses of Lady Henry Somerset delivered before the Council of the British Women's Temperance Association in May, 1890 - 1891 - 1892.* 1893.

96 *Ibid.*

97 See Appendix One.

98 *Presidential addresses Op cit.*

99 *Englishwoman's Review*, 15th November 1883, p 521.

Amongst the membership of the WTAU were a number who on school boards, including Mrs Eliot Yorke, of the Hound School Board, Mrs Anne Cowan a member of the School Board management committee in Nottingham and Mrs Vause, who sat on the Rawmarsh School Board near Rotherham[100]. Some women who stood for election to School Boards had prior experience in education. Miss Connell, national organiser of the Northern WTAU, and on the Gateshead School Board from 1885-1894, had previously run a private school as well as being employed as a teacher in Gateshead[101]. Connell was active in promoting the introduction of temperance into elementary schools, and held meetings for teachers in York on STI, and on the value of a temperate way of life being taught in schools[102]. Mrs Mary Hunt of Massachusetts under the auspices of the WCTU had developed a new scheme of scientific temperance that could be offered to schools. Many in the NBWTA wanted to imitate the WCTU scheme so that every child would leave school having passed an examination on the principles of scientific temperance[103]. The Association saw formalised STI as a way of reaching a much larger audience for temperance. Temperance readers

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100 *Wings*, 1893, Vol 12, No 2, February, p18; *Wings,* 1894, Vol 14, No 12, December pp 161 -162; *Women's Penny Paper,* 1890, April 26th p 320; *Wings,* 1894, Vol 14, No 12 December pp 161 - 2. For further information on Mrs Eliot Yorke, Anne Cowan, and Mrs Vause see Appendix Six.

101 *Wings*, 1902, Vol 15, No 7 July, p104 Obituary; Hollis *Op cit.*; For further information on E.L. Connell see Appendix Six.

102 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - Women's Christian Temperance Union) Microfilm Edition *Scrap Book 64 Frances Willard in England 1893.*

103 Under Mary Hunt's scheme in the United States all teachers in schools would be required to pass an examination in the subject. In American it was known simply as STI. *BWTJ*, Vol 9,1891 p 126.

and syllabuses began to be developed and disseminated throughout the NBWTA. These documents were sent out to branches and utilised to the full by active members. It could be also introduced into mothers and other meetings in an informal manner. What was developed for school instruction could be adapted for other purposes.

The disbanding of school boards at the end of 1903 and the transfer of education administration to local councils meant that "British Women" had to redirect their efforts. It was hoped that temperance would be incorporated into a range of topics rather than simply taught as "temperance". The subjects thought appropriate were religious instruction, physiology and political and domestic economy. Scientific temperance was often proposed and supported in temperance journals but there is little evidence of its wide spread success. It certainly never achieved the take up rate achieved by the WCTU in both the United States and Canada, where it was seen as a method of ensuring temperate nations[104].

Although the greatest effort was put into the triennial elections for board members, the NBWTA and WTAU always kept the issue of temperance work on school boards to the fore. By the late 1890s, the NBWTA had a department of work amongst women voters which was able to provide suitable literature for all aspects of temperance women's work for local

[104] Cook, S.A. Educating for Temperance: The Women's Christian Temperance Union and Ontario children, 1880 -1916. *Historical Studies in Education,* Vol 5, No 2, pp 252- 277. Zimmerman, J. "The Queen of the Lobby": Mary Hunt and Scientific Temperance and the dilemma of democratic education in America, 1879 - 1906. *History of Education Quarterly,* Vol 32, No 1, Spring 1992, pp 1 - 30.

government. Increasingly the emphasis was moving towards a politically active organisation. "The necessity is for the NBWTA to make its influence felt in all local elections" stated its annual report in 1899 encapsulating the new philosophy at the turn of the century[105]. The NBWTA perceived that the "Drink trade" was seeking to have its representatives elected to local government for the "express purpose of advancing its own interests". British women were being made aware of the threat to temperance and of the necessity of their undertaking duties and responsibilities at local elections. Citizenship increasingly required action from individuals if they wished to counteract the "trade". Bertha Mason's call in 1898 to temperance women to act "by straining every nerve and using every legitimate means in their power to secure the return to all local bodies of candidates pledged to promote temperance, purity and other social reforms" illustrates the change of the methodology used by the NBWTA[106]. Reports of the School Boards were scrutinised and failures as well as successes were recorded. The aim became "to introduce scientific temperance teaching into all board and national schools in England", and a further impetus to STI occurred when Mary Hunt visited Britain in 1903. The introduction of STI unfortunately coincided with the abolition of the school boards in 1903 so temperance women could no longer promote the system in schools through the boards. The STI aims of

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105 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 23rd Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1898-99.* BWTA, 1899. p 136.

106 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 23rd Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1898-99.* BWTA, 1899. p 137.

the association had to be re-thought. The change coincided with Carlisle becoming president and she was to further develop the role of temperance women in local government. She strongly supported the idea of forwarding STI as a campaign organised by the NBWTA, and encouraged the membership to take up local government work in order to achieve their aims.

School Boards had a relatively brief existence but temperance women used them for their own agenda; that of making the next generation teetotallers. The school boards provided a link between poor law guardianship and the political world of local councils and boroughs.

4.4 COUNTY AND BOROUGH COUNCILS

The Local Government Act of 1888 together with the County Electors Act provided for the establishment of County Councils and, most importantly for women, defined the franchise in respect of county councils, "Every person shall be qualified to be elected and be a councillor who is qualified to elect to the office of councillor"[107]. At the first reading of the bill, Ritchie was asked if women were eligible to vote[108]. He replied that "women, as regards their eligibility to be elected as members of County Councils, will be in the same position as they are with respect to election as councillors under the Municipal Act 1882. Though they may vote at elections, they are not qualified

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[107] *Local Government Act, 1888* (51 and 52 Vic c 41); *County Electors Act 1882*, (52 and 52 Vic c 10)

[108] C.T. Ritchie M.P. was President of the Local Government Board in the Conservative government of Lord Salisbury.

for election as councillors"[109]. The Electors Act extended the franchise for borough councils by the inclusion of ten pound occupiers thus opening the way for the working class men and for women[110]. The position regarding women was unclear however and, in late 1888, a number of prominent women Liberals formed The Society for Promoting Women as County Councillors with Eva McLaren as its treasurer[111]. They began to seek candidates for election to county councils to test the water and approached a number of women, including Millicent Garrett Fawcett, asking them to stand for election, particularly for the next LCC elections. Fawcett refused, but Lady Sandhurst stood successfully for election although its validity was challenged[112]. There were many views as to what experience women required to be "local government women". Experience of poor law guardianship, school board work and preferably experience of the COS was considered essential, as was six months living in a university settlement[113].

At Lindsey in Lincolnshire Mrs Massingberd, a committed temperance worker stood for election whilst Mrs Harriet McIlquham stood in Tewkesbury to test the eligibility of married women as councillors[114]. Mrs Massingberd's campaign was widely publicised in the feminist press and was described as being talked about "in the railway carriages, in the markets and

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109 Hollis *Op cit.*

110 *County Electors Act, 1888* (51 and 52 Vic c 10)

111 Two temperance activists were amongst the founding members, Mrs Sheldon Amos and Eva McLaren. The Society for Promoting Women as County Councillors became the Women's Local Government Society.

112 Hollis *Op cit.*

113 NUWW, *Report of the Conference Report, Leeds*, 1893; Brownlow, J. *Women's Work in Local Lovernment.* 1911.

114 *Women's Penny Paper,* 1889, Vol 1 No 14, 26th January 1889, p3

in all the countryside"[115]. Despite this and a bitterly hard campaign Massingberd lost by 20 votes. Mrs McIlquham was to collect only 30 votes but established a precedent for married women. These women were not working in isolation but were supported by many others in the women's movement and through such organisations as the NUWW.

The women's battles through the courts to be registered and allowed to stand for election were supported by the WLGS which had strong links with the suffragists, and the WLF. The Countess of Aberdeen was the President of the WLGS. The executive membership represented many of the interests of the women's movement, including Florence Balgarnie, Eva McLaren, Mrs Sheldon Amos and Mrs Massingberd, all members of the BWTA, Women's trade unionism was represented by Mrs Browne, and there was a link with the National Union of Women Workers through its local branches. The dual aims of the WLGS were to increase the number of women elected to councils and increase the number of women able to vote[116].

At the same time, women's sections of political parties were formed[117]. Temperance women joined the WLF from a desire to become more proactive, to put temperance on the political agenda and to highlight their disenfranchisement and the consequences of it. Many worked hard supporting Liberal candidates at local and national level. This support was to become increasingly conditional for many women. Temperance women, who

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115 *Ibid.*; For further information on Mrs Massingberd see Appendix Six.

116 Hollis *Op cit.*

117 The Primrose League was founded in 1883 and the WLF in 1886. Walker, L. Party Political Women: A comparative study of Liberal Women and the Primrose League, 1890 - 1914. IN Rendall, J. Editor *Equal and Different: Women's politics, 1800 - 1914.* 1987.

had begun by supporting temperance candidates, began to be dissatisfied with some candidates' stances on woman suffrage and increasingly called for suffrage to be a test question[118]. The lengthy debate over the issue was to try the patience of Liberal suffragists and temperance women alike. Many women were members of both organisations and information was passed through the resulting networks.

As a result "British Women" became active in canvassing on behalf of both total abstainers and Liberal candidates for local government. Members then informed local branches of the most suitable candidates. Some even took women voters to the polls in their carriages. The membership of the BWTA was beginning to become fully participant in the electoral process. The Bootle branch believed that "the return of the temperance candidates was admitted by both political parties to have been due in a great measure to the energy and enthusiasm of the "British Women". They had followed up on their previous years work when Alice A. Johnson "brought over 20 women up to the polling both", whilst the Heckmondwike branch of the Yorkshire Union vetted candidates for the school board[119]. Their efforts in the county council elections of 1884 appear to have been successful, illustrating the effect "British Women" could have on local elections. They canvassed eligible women to vote, and specifically to vote for temperance candidates. In Eastbourne they had united with the Temperance Council. Holloway claimed

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118- See also Chapter Five on suffrage politics.

119 BWTA, *Annual Report of the 14th Annual Meeting of the BWTA 1888 - 89.* 1890 p 34; BWTA *13th Annual Report of the BWTA 1888 - 89.* 1890 p 3, Further information on Alice A. Johnson is given in Appendix Six.

that every attempts was made to engage all members in canvassing led by Elizabeth Ann Down[120]. In Stoke Newington they supported the temperance candidate and secured his election, widely circulating Mrs Malpas's leaflet as did other branches[121].

Temperance women continued to progress and for the 1892 LCC elections they actively undertook to educate themselves for citizenship, in order to enable them to influence the result of the elections in favour of the temperance movement. Increasingly articles appeared in the association's journal on women's political position and their need to exercise their citizenship[122]. They realised the necessity of learning about the powers, policy and work of the London County Council in order to participate effectively. They began by inviting Alderman Fleming Williams to speak on the opportunities available to them as temperance activists in the forthcoming LCC elections[123]. He outlined the way in which women could use their vote for temperance and emphasised the need to encourage women who had the vote to exercise their franchise[124].

Fleming Williams' lecture illustrated the new opportunities available for their work in London, and informed them that "two things are necessary to secure for you the power you want, knowledge and an organisation to apply that

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120 *Wings,* 1894, Vol 12, No 11, November, p 143; Winskill, P.J. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers.* 1891.

121 *Annual Report of the 13th Annual Meting of the BWTA 1888 - 89.* pp 30 - 34; Malpas, Mrs *The Election of County Councillors.* n.d.

122 *BWTJ,* 1891, Vol 9 particularly October issue

123 *BWTJ,* 1892, Vol 10, No 1, January p 32-3

124 *BWTJ, Ibid..*

knowledge"[125]. Temperance women had the organisation in the BWTA and were now attempting to acquire the knowledge. He described the role of the County Council in relation to matters of temperance concern, licensing theatres and music halls and described the procedures put in place before the renewal of licences for these establishments could be authorised. He encouraged them to be not only Poor Law Guardians but to work within the "asylums" and industrial schools in order to further their cause. He encouraged their participation in the election process and demonstrated how they could ensure their influence on the forth coming local elections for temperance reform. Three specific approaches were identified, canvassing women voters to vote for the temperance candidates, preparation of test questions for the candidates and the formation of a vigilance committee[126].

It was later decided, by the leadership of the BWTA, that members should organise drawing room meetings in the districts to "talk over the County Council elections". Drawing room meetings were a tried and tested method for many societies and organisations and were regarded as a safe and non threatening option for temperance recruitment and fund raising events. They could therefore be adapted easily to educating women to their political rights in the perceived safe and friendly environment of the home.

The Alderman probably had a vested interest in this. He would have hoped to gain votes, even to have interested some of the more apathetic women who may not have been using their vote or those who did not realise that

125 *BWTJ, Ibid.*
126 *BWTJ, Ibid..*

their potential for political influence for the temperance cause was an achievement. The participants were impressed by this "free education" and the encouragement to become political considering the "suggestions so great that it was decided to hold an adjournment meeting ..... the following week"[127]. At this meeting Alderman Williams expanded his coverage answering questions from members on the powers, policy and work of the London County Council. These were obviously basic but vital questions for these women, many of whom would have had little knowledge of the structure and administration of the LCC.

Armed with their new knowledge, representatives were appointed to the metropolitan districts who in turn would form committees, interview candidates, attend meetings of electors, ask questions and arrange meetings of women electors in drawing rooms, school and mission halls. A deputation of women was organised to attend Mother's Meetings and other women's groups where women who had the local franchise might be found and encouraged to vote for temperance candidates. A meeting formulated a list of test questions to be put to candidates for the county elections, covering temperance and other issues. This list included questions relating to expired licenses and compensation for liquor sellers, but also, perhaps more importantly to them, women's voting rights and their eligibility to stand as councillors[128]. Other areas of concern were the introduction of a police force, housing and adequate supplies of water, all of which interested

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127 *BWTJ, Ibid.*

128 This was listed as the first question.

temperance women. These ideas developed into a programme of nine questions to be put to prospective councillors and were adopted at the quarterly meeting. They were to become the official policy of the BWTA, and were printed and circulated widely to branches[129]. The idea was to select one of these carefully worded questions and simply ask the question of the candidate. Politics had suddenly become a part of the role of the "British Woman" . They realised that there was a role they could play in local politics, and had been aware that many members would be eligible to vote. Advertisements in the association's journal regularly appeared for explanatory leaflets which described the qualifying requirements for registration on the electoral rolls for local councils. The meeting of the Metropolitan Union of the BWTA, after the LCC elections, was reported as being better attended than was usual, and reports from branches which had participated in the local elections were received. As ever it seems that branches reacted in different ways. The majority of branches reporting had taken political action but in varying form. Many had simply written to local candidates or encouraged eligible women to vote in the elections. Some branches were proactive, for the North Hackney branch had interviewed the candidates and canvassed the lady electors, whilst the Norwood, Tulse Hill and Brixton Branch had printed its own manifesto inviting all voters to support the temperance work done by the Council and put up bills throughout the borough. Others were less so, Mrs Atherton who had taken

[129] BWTA *Annual Report of the 16th Annual Meeting of the BWTA 1891 - 92.* 1892 p 12.

the female electors to the polls personally. This was all new work for temperance women and the reports of their work in *Wings* were enthusiastic and show a decided change of emphasis in their methods[130]. They were expressing their claim to citizenship not only through their temperance work but as women. For temperance women this was illustrated by Miss Docwra's remarks whilst chairing the meeting with Alderman Fleming that she could "never separate the duties of a Christian and a citizen"[131].

From this start temperance women began to systematically organise themselves, identifying those women who were eligible to vote, and encouraging them, not only to vote, but to use their vote in all possible elections for the furtherance of temperance.

The number of women enfranchised for local election increased when in 1894 the *Local Government Act* enabled more women to both vote and be elected. The opportunity for women to have a far greater role in local government was immediately seized[132]. The new openings were publicised and enabled women to understand fully the opportunities and duties available to them. Eva McLaren published her *Duties and Opportunities of Women...* to make information more widely available[133]. In it she articulated both the rights of women to participate in the various local elections, and the duties such work entailed. This was an invaluable document, encouraging all to "do their duty for their country by taking their fair share of the work of local

130 *Wings,* 1893, Jan - March.

131 *Wings,* 1893, Vol 10, No1, January p 32 - 33

132 *Local Government Act 1894* (56 and 57 Vic c 73)

133 McLaren, E. *The Duties and Opportunities of Women with Reference to Parish and District Councils Paper Read at a Conference Held at Rhyl, March 1894.* 1894.

administration"[134]. The WLGS was to publish numerous pamphlets on all aspects of women's work in local government, from Cochrane's pamphlet on women's work to improve sanitation and housing in rural districts to Beatrice Webb's pamphlet *From Westminster Women to Women of Westminster* to illustrate what could be achieved[135].

Women on London vestries had responsibility for sanitation and the environment, including housing. This remit included street cleaning, addressing the problems of inadequate sanitation, poor water supply, non-existent food hygiene, and pollution in all its aspects. They were also able to have an educational role in teaching women domestic hygiene. All this was lost to temperance women when vestries were reformed and lost their female members[136]. Women continued to be elected as poor law guardians, and to parish and district councils, in the 1890's, but were still unable to stand for election to the LCC.

Local council work continued to be on the agenda of the NBWTA. after the split. Resolutions were continuously proposed to encourage more temperance women to participate and to keep an awareness of the work that could be accomplished. Test questions were formulated to be put to candidates for the LCC which included "Will you endeavour to secure women the right to serve in council?", proposed by Mrs Lamb and seconded

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134 op cit

135 Cochrane, C. *How Women as Councillors May Improve Sanitation and Housing in Rural Districts.* 1904; Webb, B. *From Westminster Women to Women of Westminster.* 1894.

136 Hollis op cit

by Mrs Athey.[137]. Bertha Mason invited the NBWTA to send a delegate to a meeting to consider the possibility of organising a local conference with the object of obtaining support for Mr Courtney's Bill for the removal of disabilities imposed upon women by the *London Government Bill*[138]. For the 1898 elections for town councils and Boards of Guardians, a circular letter was sent out from the Department of Work Among Women Voters to

> "do their utmost to secure, wherever possible, the selection and election of candidates pledged to support temperance and purity."[139]

Speakers were available to branches holding meetings "for the purpose of education of women voters to a sense of their civic duties and responsibilities"[140]. Again it was the North East which was most active, sending in their report of "good work done in County Council and Urban District Councils elections". Bertha Mason was disappointed however in the general response of branches and considered that

> "No department of work can be more important, seeing that local governing bodies deal with matters which effect not temperance alone, but the social, *physical* and moral welfare of the whole nation."[141].

In 1901 the NBWTA was still agitating for reform and Mason wrote to the Subcommittee suggesting that the NBWTA should become more pro-active

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137 NBWTA *Minutes of Sub-Committee 19th January 1898.* 1898.
138 NBWTA *Minutes of Sub Committee October 1898.* 1898.
139 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 23rd Annual Meeting of the NBWTA1898 - 99.* 1899. p 137
140 *Ibid..*
141 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 23rd Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1898 - 99.* 1899. p138

in its campaign to achieve the election of women to the LCC. Her offer to enclose a series of questions in her letter to the branches was taken up. This included once more the question relating to women's eligibility to stand for election, "Will you endeavour to secure to women the right to serve on Local Councils and Borough Councils?"[142]. It also included a somewhat more radical question on working conditions[143].

By the early 1900's the situation was already deteriorating as women had lost their place in Vestry work in London in 1899. Their right to work in education on school boards was transferred to county and borough councils in 1904. Through the efforts of the WLGS some women were to be co-opted directly on to education committees but a particular loss was their direct access to the management of education with the ending of school boards[144].

The 1894 Act had allowed women to be councillors on parish, urban and rural district councils[145]. Unfortunately as smaller administrative units grew they changed their status and once they became borough councils the elected women lost their seats much to their regret. The Fabian Tract on women as councillors, claiming that women were needed to address public sanitation and housing, described the frustration felt by women in this deteriorating situation[146]. The NBWTA was aware of the forthcoming loss

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142 NBWTA *Minutes of Sub-Committee, January 1901.* 1901.

143 "Will you endeavour to maintain fair conditions for all workers", *Op cit.*

144 The London School Boards ended in 1904, and provincial boards in 1903.

145 *Local Government Act, 1894* (56 and 57 Vic, c. 73)

146 Fabian Society, Fabian Tract No 93 *Women as Councillors.* 1900.

of their access to education and passed a resolution, proposed by Mason and Mrs Bright Clark,

> ".....This committee urges the government to introduce without delay a bill to amend the Constitution of the County and Borough Councils, so as to enable women, married and single, to be elected to and serve on these councils".

Attempts were made to persuade women to take alternative roles in local government. Henrietta Barnett made a plea for more women in local government at the NUWW conference in Manchester[147]. Women began to stand for election to local councils as a result of such pleas, amongst them temperance women, Mrs Sheldon Amos who stood in Marylebone and Mrs Evans for St Martin in the Fields[148].

When Rosalind Countess of Carlisle became president, 1903, she used her influence to form a department for Scientific Temperance Education. This was to co-ordinate the campaign following the loss of women's role on school boards had meant a set back[149]. Despite these set backs the WLGS was gaining strength and the NBWTA was represented on the WLGS by Bertha Mason and Hannah Cadbury.

The disbanding of school boards resulted in local government elections having a greater importance for the NBWTA and its membership. Now they

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147 NUWW *Proceedings of the NUWW Conference in Manchester.* 1896

148 *Women's Penny Paper,* 1888, Vol 1, No 5, 24th November, p 5. For further information on Mrs Sheldon Amos and Mrs Evans see Appendix Six.

149 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 27th Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1902 - 03,* 1903.

had to push their STI aims via the local education authorities, and they passed a resolution urging that

> "some special teaching should be given in regard to the dangers arising from ordinary as well as the excessive use of intoxicating drink as evidenced by statements made by leading physicians..... They do not venture to suggest that the subject should be introduced as a fresh subject, but in connection with one already taught, e.g. *hygiene*"[150].

There had been some progress on STI. Miss Hawker had achieved a resolution passed at the Ealing Education Committee that instructed head teachers to include hygiene and temperance in their oral lessons[151]. Other successes included Horsey Borough Education Committee which had issued a "hygiene" syllabus which included instruction "on alcohol"; and Miss Roylston at Devonport who had ensured the introduction of a temperance reader into senior departments of the school[152].

Under Carlisle's leadership the participation of women in local elections grew, and over 70 branches reported active political work. Lists of women voters were compiled, and the West Dulwich branch had 48 female canvassers at work. Many were new to the work and many "found it grew in interest as they went on"[153]. Some of the most timid and reserved women

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150 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 28th Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1903 - 04.* 1904. p 31

151 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 29th Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1904 - 05,* 1905. pp 92 - 94

152 *Ibid.*

153 *Ibid.*

did the best work. ..... The result was a distinct gain of many temperance candidates"[154]. Bertha Mason proposed a resolution for the NBWTA annual general meeting "believing that the co-operation of women is essential to all local governing bodies, heartily supports the *Local Authorities (Qualification of Women) Bill ....*"[155].

With the loss of school board branches were urged to co-operate with other organisations to work for the election of candidates who would support "temperance and morality"[156]. In order to encourage, educate and appeal to the membership for workers a conference was held for members of the branches of the Metropolitan Union women in the London area. A great emphasis was placed on educating women voters to

> "a sense of power and responsibility and of securing the return to all local governing bodies of candidates pledged to promote the interests of temperance and moral reforms"[157].

Through the early years of the Twentieth century the membership of the NBWTA was to continue to work to educate women voters to their responsibilities to use their vote to the best advantage. Despite the increased activity of temperance women in local government, Mason considered that:

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[154] NBWTA *Annual Report of the 28th Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1903.* 1903 - 04 p 39.

[155] Castle Howard Archives J23/145 Part 2 *Letters and Circulars from National Office; Qualification of women (County and Borough Councils) Act 1907* (7 Edw. VII c 33).

[156] NBWTA *Annual Report of the 28th Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1903 - 04,* 1904. p 95.

[157] *Ibid.* p 96. This work was closely allied to their activities in the politics of temperance (See Chapter Three).

"branches are still absolutely asleep, or quite indifferent with regard to their civic duties"[158].

Newcastle upon Tyne continued to be extremely active in local government work declaring in the annual report of its branches that

"We mean to go forward in this work, doing our utmost to get candidates favourable to temperance principles into our Town Council"[159].

In order to encourage more participants the NBWTA once more began to publicise the qualification and duties of local government work. Following the return of a Liberal government in 1906, the President of the Local Government Board (John Burns) was sympathetic to the claims of women to stand as councillors[160]. By 1906, the NBWTA was calling on women again to come forward to stand for election to the governing bodies for which they were eligible. This was vital as they had been disappointed at the failure of the *Local Authorities (Qualification of women) Bill* and expressed this in a resolution for

"..His Majesty's Government to speedily bring in a measure to enable women to serve on County and Borough Councils and in this way make it possible for them to be directly

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158 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 29th Annual Meeting of the BWTA 1904 - 05.* p 101.

159 *Ibid.*

160 John Elliott Burns 1858 - 1943 . A labour leader and politician he represented Battersea on the LCC 1889 - 1907, and in Parliament 1892 - 1918. He refused to join the ILP and became associated with liberals. President of the Local Government Board 1905 - 14. He aroused hostility by action over the Poplar Board of Guardians in 1906 and opposed the poor law reforms recommended by the Royal Commission of 1909; *Dictionary of National Biography* 1941 - 1950.

elected on those bodies which are responsible to [*sic*] the administration of education"[161].

In August, 1907, the *Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Act* was passed and welcomed by many organisations and societies. Single women became eligible to stand for election as councillors or aldermen of a county or borough council and for metropolitan boroughs[162]. A letter from the NBWTA thanked the government for passing the act but regretted the exclusion of married women. Inspired by Carlisle, who believed that all women should be eligible to stand for election, they tempered their gratitude by requesting an amendment bill allowing married women the same rights[163]. Despite these reservations and the short period of time between the passing of the act and the elections two executive members of the NBWTA, Harriet Johnson and Rose Dolton, stood for election[164]. Other notable temperance women standing were Mrs Richardson (a widow) of Hull and Miss G.E. Morgan of Brecon[165]. The NBWTA was also delighted to hear that Miss Margaret Ashton was standing against a candidate who was a brewer and an owner of tied houses[166]. Ashton received the full support of the Manchester Women's Christian Temperance Union whose members were "in the thick

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161 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 30th Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1905 - 06*. 1906.

162 *Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Act 1907*(7 Edw VII) c33)

163 NBWTA *Minutes of Subcommittee 1907*. 1907.

164 For further information on Miss Harriett Johnson and Miss Rose Dolton see Appendix Six.

165 For further information on Miss G.E.F.Morgan of Brecon see Appendix Six; *BWTJ*, 1890, Vol 8, No 7, July, pp 123 - 4; NBWTA *Annual Report of the 35th Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1910-11*. 1911; *Banner of Hope*, 1911, January , p 4.

166 For further information on Margaret Ashton see Appendix Six.

of the fight and rallied round Miss Ashton"[167]. Despite the lack of success, the NBWTA considered its members had come forward to "fulfil their duties as citizens"[168]. This activity inspired others and there was an increase in the number of members of the NBWTA who were elected as poor law guardians. Relations with the WLGS became strained when, in 1909, they approached the NBWTA to co-operate in organising a conference to forward women as candidates in the London County Council elections of 1909. Following this a resolution was passed

> "That the NEC does not see its way to co-operate with the WLGS unless women candidates are pledged to a programme which includes temperance reform.".

Bertha Mason was instructed to "secure the inclusion" of temperance in the circular which the WLGS was to distribute[169]. This was typical of Carlisle's methods. She knew the value of the NBWTA and its large membership and was attempting to force the WLGS's hand. She succeeded when the WLGS made an attempt to appease Carlisle and the NBWTA by including in their leaflet "an item of temperance reform"[170].

As a single issue organisation, the WTAU could not be actively involved in the campaign for women to become councillors. They could and did encourage women to question candidates on their position on the

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167 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 32nd Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1907 - 8.* 1908. p 104.

168 *Ibid..*

169 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 34th Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1909 - 10. 1910.* p 34

170 *Ibid.*

temperance issue. Members of the WTAU were informed through their journal, *Wings,* of the LCC elections, and were strongly encouraged to ensure that they supported "those candidates who are pledged to maintain the policy which in the past has earned the gratitude of all temperance reformers[171]".

Both organisations had the same temperance agenda, the difference between them was that by the early 20th century the WTAU was a single issue organisation. Any support of temperance candidates at local government elections was done as individuals not as a society.

Temperance women were supportive of the LCC. Its record of allowing licenses to lapse in connection with the Street Improvement Schemes, and its efforts to provide recreational spaces that were free from alcoholic drink caused the London United Temperance Council to claim that "the County Council has done more for temperance in 18 years than the House of Commons in half a century"[172]. The women's temperance organisations were keen to ensure that this work should, at the least, be continued and if possible expanded. For the LCC elections of 1910, the NBWTA formed a committee of 18 women who represented the London Union of the NBWTA. They planned their campaign carefully, sending out a circular letter to all branches. This urged them to hold meetings for women and women voters to be canvassed. In addition, branches were circulated with a prepared list of speakers, male and female. In October 1909, a conference was held in

171 *Wings*, 1906, Vol 24, No 1, p 3.
172 Quoted in *Wings*, 1907, Vol 25, No 2, February, p 23.

Caxton Hall, chaired by Eva McLaren with Bertha Mason, Mrs Thomas Wiles, Mrs Herbert Stead and Sir John Burns as speakers. The NBWTA did not just focus on London but continued to campaign nationally for women's equality in county and borough councils. During the campaign over 20,000 copies of leaflets were distributed by branches, and a letter was sent to all clergy and ministers in London calling on them to use their influence for the progressive temperance policy of the LCC[173].

The opportunities for furthering the temperance cause by women had expanded. Women could, by 1911, be councillors on County, Borough, Town, Urban or Rural District Councils as well as poor law guardians. Their influence grew as they tried to introduce STI in schools and ensure that teachers had been trained to teach it. They could sit on watch committees to withhold licenses from "places of amusement", be elected to housing committees and hope to provide housing for single women on the same lines of Ashton House founded in Manchester in 1907[174].

For all that the years leading up to the First World War were disappointing ones for the NBWTA. Their hopes of temperance legislation had been dashed in 1908 - 9 when the *Licensing Bill of 1908*, the *Veto Bill for Scotland*, *Sunday Closing Bill*, and *Closing of Public-houses on Election Day Bill* had all failed to reach the Statute Book[175]. Not even Carlisle's attempts to revive the

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173 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 35th Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1910 - 1911.* 1911.

174 *Ibid.*; Hollis op cit.

175 *Licensing (Amendment) Bill 1908*, (133) iii 143; *Veto Bill for Scotland, 1906,* (55) ii 699; *Sunday Closing Bill 1908,* (67) v. 207; *Licensed Premises (Election Days) Bill 1909*, (12) iii 449.

issue met with any success. Carlisle, herself, was increasingly "unwell" and needed to recuperate in Germany for long periods of time. The association turned their efforts from national temperance legislation to individual efforts at the local level to bring about change. The introduction of a temperance syllabus in the West Riding of Yorkshire was some comfort for them but they put ever greater efforts into ensuring that all women who were eligible to vote were registered and used their franchise[176]. They supported those challenging brewers or publicans in local elections, including Elizabeth Bannister in Westcliffe on Sea[177]. Other NBWTA successes were Margaret Bunney who was returned as a member of Hendon Urban District Council, and, Miss Edridge, in Wolverhampton was co-opted on to the Education Committee despite having narrowly failed to be elected to Wolverhampton Council[178].

In 1911 a resolution at the NBWTA Annual Council acknowledged the value of women's place in local government and how temperance women were able to promote temperance and moral issues through their work. Temperance women who were elected found the opportunity not only to attempt to get scientific temperance in schools, but to withdraw licenses from places of amusement. "British Women" were still exhorted to stand as poor law guardians as over half of the unions were without a single woman on their boards. The NBWTA called for a government bill "to provide that a

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176 NBWTA *Annual Report of the 35th Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1909 - 10.* 1910 p 56;

177 *Op cit* p118; For further information on Elizabeth Bannister see Appendix Six.

178 *Ibid.*

residential qualification shall suffice for men and women candidates for county and borough councils" [179]. A minor victory was achieved when the school syllabus for alcohol studies was approved by the LCC but it was not compulsory; this concession was only achieved following an extensive campaign organised by a sub-committee. Little new ground was broken in the years just prior to the First World War but temperance women had established themselves as part of local government and like many other women were becoming increasingly frustrated over the lack of a national franchise for women.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has strengthened the hypothesis which proposed that temperance women were part of the women's movement and suggests they were central to the movement from the mid nineteenth century to the First World War. They played a part in all aspects of local government work open to women and were an integral part of the networks of women that existed to further women's work in local government. Their centrality in women's role in local government was a continuation of their move from Christian temperance work to philanthropy. The progress they made from philanthropy to local government and their participation in it was a key part of their search for, and claim to citizenship. This inevitably led to their participation in the demand for Parliamentary enfranchisement.

[179] Castle Howard Archives J23/147 *Printed Minutes of Subcommittee 1907 - 1919.*

The temperance women who took part in local government work had almost without exception two common factors. They came from a solidly philanthropic background and were supporters of the women's suffrage campaign. Women such as Foster-Newton ran a mothers' home, did voluntary work accompanied women to court, acted as self-appointed probationary officers and befriended young women at railway stations. She was to become a Vice President of the Women's Liberal Federation, and worked for women's suffrage. This was in addition to her temperance activities when as a poor law guardian she banned drink in her workhouse, sold coffee in the streets and campaigned for better water supplies. She was to remain a poor law guardian until 1925[180].

The same was true of women who stood for election to local councils, Mrs Massingberd was a candidate for Lincolnshire County Council, losing by 20 votes. She was also an ardent temperance worker regularly giving papers to BWTA meetings, and an executive member, not only of the local Women's Liberal Association, but also of the Central National Society for Women's Suffrage. A frequent speaker for women's right to stand as County Councillors, she encouraged temperance women to emulate her attempts to be elected[181]. Her campaign became a colourful one and was reported in the *Women's Penny Paper* [182]. Her various activities were wide enough for her to become a member of the special appeal committee formed by Mrs Fawcett

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180 Hollis op cit; *Women's Penny Paper,* Vol 3, 15th November 1890, pp 49 - 50; Castle Howard, Archives J23/ 193 *Letters from Miss J.L. Foster Newton*

181 *Women's Penny Paper*, Vol 1, No 12, 1st December 1888, p1.

182 *Ibid.*.

to act as a link to women's organisations[183]. Massingberd was to support Lady Henry Somerset's progressive party in the debate over suffrage being added to the BWTA agenda[184]. A "household word for temperance", she founded the Pioneer Club in 1892 which became popular with feminist, such as temperance workers[185]. Temperance women such as her were central to the women's movement, they had connections with all aspects of it and formed a large and supportive women's network.

This activity grew naturally for temperance women from their Christian temperance perspective, as they gained awareness of politics. They did not necessarily perceive themselves to be central to the women's movement but were aware that they were increasing opportunities when they presented themselves, and in doing so developing additional skills and confidence with each new role.

As described above they were to begin to educate themselves for local politics. This attempt at education for local government participation was successful in empowering women to appoint representatives in the metropolitan districts who would form their own committees to educate other women. They interviewed candidates, arranged meetings of women electors, and sent deputation's to attend Mother's Meetings and other organisations which might contain women electors. Questions were

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183 Report of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, Central Committee. Report of the Executive Committee presented at the Annual General meeting held in Westminster Hall, July 11th 1893. 1893.

184 See also Chapter Five.

185 Vicinus, M. *Independent Women: Work and community for single women 1850-1920.* 1985.

formulated that could be put to candidates for the elections not only on temperance issues but also on housing and adequate water supplies and women's voting rights.

The proactive temperance women saw their role as participating in citizenship and contributing to the creation of a better society. They were certainly aware that by exercising their powers of citizenship through work in local government, and using their local franchise they could be part of the selection process of their representatives to ensure they supported the temperance cause[186]. Some continued to believe that drink was their opponent and that, as a consequence, temperance work was necessary for them to be successful in the "endeavours of the educationalist, of the social reformer or of the sanitary inspector"[187].

Citizenship was vital to them because it enabled them to participate but, as Walby proposes, citizenship in the nineteenth century was strongly gendered[188]. Women, prior to the full enfranchisement of 1928, lacked all the elements of Marshall's concept of citizenship. Women lacked the civil citizenship of freedom of speech, the right to justice from male violence and the right to choice of occupation. The issue of male violence on women was a constant issue within the women's temperance movement. Nor did women have access to the social and political citizenship as articulated by

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186 *Women's Penny Paper,* Vol 2, February 1st 1890 p 176

187 Mrs Eliot Yorke at the National Union of Women's Workers, Temperance meeting 1900.

188 Walby, S. Is Citizenship Gendered? *Sociology,* Vol 28, (2), 379 - 395.

Marshall, they had no parliamentary franchise and were restricted within the educational system and social services.

It was civil and political citizenship to which temperance women were aiming through their local government work[189]. Walby, however, shows how the early writings on citizenship excluded gender, so whilst male temperance campaigners already had achieved civil and political citizenship, female temperance activists had not[190].

This chapter has shown how women used of temperance, regarded as belonging in the private/domestic sphere, as a way of moving in to the public sphere. They did this by initially undertaking "private sphere" causes such as the care of children and the control of domestic issues and developing their roles. They made poor law guardian work part of their sphere, believing they could advance the temperance cause and participate in decision making by becoming guardians. This was not without some cost to women, who were often ignored, maligned, outvoted, and in some cases exposed to strong hostility. Simply by their election however they began a process that enabled them to become elected to other boards and participate in local government. Achievements empowered them to further political activity and greater participation widened their scope for temperance reform. These changes did not occur in a neat chronological sequence as women as individuals or through their membership of a wide range of organisations and associations seized the opportunities as they arose.

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189 Marshall, T.H. & Bottomly, T. *Citizenship and Social Class*, 1992.

190 Walby *Op cit.*

The networks of women that existed within local government were comprised of women, in the main, of the same class and interests, many were already related by blood or marriage. The circles of networking overlapped and the wide range of interests and causes bound these, almost inevitably middle class, women into supportive groups. Temperance women working as poor law guardians or on school boards as part of this network had many connections with other activists. Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle, president of the NBWTA from 1903 to 1928, was a strong supporter of women taking up all the opportunities available to them, and was part of a network of upper class women who supported women's education. Carlisle was the daughter of Henrietta Maria Stanley of Alderley, who had financially supported Girton College, Lady Augusta Stanley, Carlisle's sister in law, was also on the executive of Girton College, whilst Carlisle's brother, Lyulph, became vice-chairman of the London School Board. Another sister Maude Stanley became a member of a number of school boards, was a poor law guardian in Westminster and a supporter of girls clubs[191]. Networks at all levels flourished and included temperance women. As many early temperance women had participated in the campaigns against the Contagious Diseases Acts and other issues they became a central part of these networks. The next logical step was in expanding their support for the campaign for woman suffrage, a cause to which Lucas, Somerset and Carlisle were heavily

[191] *Englishwoman's Review,* 15th May 1878
– Henly, D. *Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle.* 1958; Roberts, C. T*he Radical Countess, the History of the Life of Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle.* 1962; Martin, J. Entering the Public Arena: Female members of the London School Board 1870 - 1904 *History of Education,* 1993, Vol 22, No 3, pp 225 - 240.

committed. The following chapter will show how temperance women participated in the campaign for women's suffrage. It will also discuss and analyse the difficulties it caused within the BWTA and challenge the perceived wisdom that it was suffrage that caused the split in the BWTA.

CHAPTER FIVE

TEMPERANCE WOMEN AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Increasingly the number of temperance women who were prepared to participate in political activity became greater and began to form the majorities in branches and associations. Local associations which had traditionally been conservative became increasingly active in local temperance politics and aware of the need for the vote to enable them to be able to achieve their aim of a temperate society through legislation. The move from a Christian Gospel temperance approach to a political one in the BWTA was continuous. In the 1890s a bitter struggle within the movement became focused on the issue of a national franchise for women as Lady Henry Somerset tried to introduce a *Do Everything* policy" of the type adopted by Frances Willard for the WCTU in the USA[1]. The proposed addition of a campaign for women's suffrage to the agenda of the BWTA has been described as the cause of a split in the movement. There was no doubt that many women in the movement believed that the only way forward for the women's temperance movement was to become a political force and that a national franchise was essential. They were gaining influence through their local franchise and many believed that unless women achieved the parliamentary vote the "Liquor Traffic" would continue to grow. Some considered that the national franchise would enable women to express their preference for the local veto and other temperance measures, whilst others argued that women should be enfranchised on egalitarian grounds alone. The latter view was

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[1] Leeman, R.W. *"Do Everything" Reform. The oratory of Frances E. Willard.* USA, 1991.

held by many temperance women who were active within both the temperance and suffrage movements. The split in the women's temperance movement in 1893 highlighted the differences of opinion on the highly contentious political issue of women's suffrage within the movement. The split was more a result of a clash of personalities than a deep political divide over woman suffrage. The following chapter will consider the political influences which led the women's temperance movement into the campaign for the parliamentary vote.

The campaign for women's suffrage that was to dominate women's activities for over 70 years was a long and, at times bitter, struggle. Numerous societies were founded some of which split and splintered over the years. In addition there was often a vocal anti-suffrage campaign[2]. Throughout its lengthy history the campaign for the vote included all types of women, from mill girls in Lancashire and boot and shoe makers in Leicester to the wives and daughters of the aristocracy. The lack of success for the movement drew an increasing number of women to the campaign, which with the founding of the WSPU in 1903, turned to militancy.

The literature of the suffrage movement, though extensive, largely ignores the contribution made to the campaign by temperance women and their organisations. Many women who participated in the campaign for the vote were either "British Women, or had strong connections with the temperance movement These connections are often ignored or simply remain unknown, and this has resulted in their contribution remaining "hidden from history"[3].

There has been a recent and increasing emphasis upon feminist networks in the nineteenth century[4]. This has shown the links individuals had with a number of

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2 Harrison, B.H. *Separate Spheres; The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain.* 1978.

3 Rowbotham, S. *Hidden From History.* 3rd Ed., 1977.

4 Holton, S.S. From Anti-slavery to Suffrage Militancy: The Bright circle, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the British women's movement. IN Daley, C. & Nolan, M. *Suffrage and Beyond*, New Zealand, 1992.

organisations and campaigns and how they worked together on a wide range of social and moral issues. Temperance women played a strong part in these networks, although their role has not yet been fully researched. This thesis highlights not only the work undertaken by temperance women but how it was a central part of the women's movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The role of temperance in the activities of the women of the Bright family can be glimpsed in Holton's paper on their work, whilst her essay on Jessie Craigen illustrates the dual role of many women who worked for both temperance and suffrage[5]. The literature of the campaign for woman suffrage is extensive from first hand accounts of participants in the movement to reassessments of the role and activities of societies and individuals. Despite the vast volume of material, there is still relatively little published on local branches, small organisations and lesser known individuals. Only recently has attention been drawn to diverse activities of many participants in the campaign.

The earliest accounts of the campaign include those by Mason, Blackburn, Pethick-Lawrence, Nevinson and Fawcett's history of the suffragist National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies[6]. The history of the suffrage movement can be found in the accounts of the participants, such as Millicent Garrett Fawcett's *What I Remember*, Sylvia Pankhurst's *The Suffragette Movement* and Teresa Billington-Grieg's account *The Militant Suffragette Movement*[7]. Other accounts

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5 Morley, A. & Stanley, L. *The Life and Death of Emily Wilding Davison.* 1988; Levine, P. *Feminist Lives in Victorian Britain.* Oxford, 1990; Alberti, J. *Beyond Suffrage. Feminism in war and peace.* 1989; Holton, S.S. "To Educate to Rebellion": Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the creation of a transatlantic network of radical suffragists, *American Historical Review,* 1994, Vol 99, No 4, October, pp1112-1136 Holton, S.S. *Suffrage Days: Stories From the Women's Suffrage Movement.* 1996. pp 49-69.

6 Mason, B. T*he Story of Woman's Suffrage Movement.* 1912; Blackburn, H. *Women's Suffrage: A record of the women's suffrage movement in the British Isles with biographical sketches Miss Becker.* 1902; Pethick-Lawrence, E. *My Part in a Changing World.* 1938; Nevinson, H. W. *More Changes, More Chances.* 1925; Fawcett, M.G. *Women's Suffrage: A short history of a great movement.* 1911.

7 Fawcett, M.G. *What I Remember ....,* 1925; Pankhurst, E.S. *The Suffragette Movement.* 1931;

include those of Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst and recent work on the Pankhursts includes both Romero and Winslow on Sylvia Pankhurst[8]. Early accounts of the movement include those of Fulford, Mitchell, and Ramelson and Strachey's more encompassing work. All of these exclude the role of temperance women and are now superseded by later studies such as Morgan, Rosen, Holton and Marcus[9].

Despite the extensive literature, the link between temperance women and the suffrage campaign is not recognised. The nature of the BWTA with its branch structure was such that not all supported the necessity of the parliamentary vote for women. The support for adding the campaign for the vote was often fragmented and suffrage political activity would be enthusiastically embraced by some but ignored by others. When attempts were made to force suffrage campaigning upon the BWTA as a whole, all shades of opinion were revealed. The response of the BWTA and, after 1893 of the WTAU, to the challenge of political issues was in the main governed by their leaders and in case of the BWTA by the Presidents who stamped their authority on the association. This chapter will discuss how the leaders of the movement shaped their responses to the opportunities of linking the claim for woman suffrage to the politics of temperance.

5.2 EARLY LEADERSHIP

Temperance women developed a strong relationship with the campaign for the vote in Britain and the English speaking Empire, and supported the campaign as a logical

(Reprinted 1977); Billington-Grieg, T. *The Militant Suffragette Movement.* 1911.

[8] Romero, P.W. *E. Sylvia Pankhurst: Portrait of a radical.* 1987; Winslow, B. *Sylvia Pankhurst, Sexual Politics and Political Activism.* 1996.

[9] Fulford, R. *Votes for Women.* 1957; Mitchell, D. *The Fighting Pankhursts.* 1967; Ramelson, M. *The Petticoat Rebellion.* 1967; Strachey, R. *The Cause.* 1978. (Originally published 1928); Morgan, D. *Suffragists and Liberals: The politics of woman suffrage in England.* Oxford, 1975; Rosen, A. *Rise up Women!. The militant campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union, 1903 - 1914.* 1974; Holton, S.S. *Feminism and Democracy. Women's suffrage and reform politics in Britain, 1890 - 1918.* Cambridge, 1986.

progression of their work. This is not the full story as there were many attitudes and opinions on the issue which were as varied as the types of women who participated in the temperance movement. Even within branches there were differences of opinion. Such differences in a large and expanding organisation were to be expected. It was the presidents of the BWTA, and later NBWTA, their personalities, politics and styles of management that were to have the greatest impact on the BWTA's attitude to suffrage.

The association only had four presidents prior to the outbreak of the First World War. Of these, the first, Clara Balfour Lucas, died shortly after being elected. The other three, Margaret Bright Lucas, Isabella, Lady Henry Somerset, and Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle were all supporters of the campaign, and each had a significant influence on the association and its approach to the suffrage issue. Suffrage was not a marginal issue to British temperance women, it was central to their work.

Although the links between the temperance and suffrage movements have been established for North America and Australasia the extent of the relationship in Britain has not been fully assessed[10]. What exists barely touches on the effect the suffrage movement had on temperance women and vice versa[11]. One exception, is Lloyd Morgan's essay on the women's temperance movement in Wales, in which she

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[10] Epstein, B.L. *The Politics of Domesticity: Women evangelism in Europe, America and Australasia, 1840-1920.* 1977; Bordin, R. *Women and Temperance: The quest for power and liberty, 1873-1900.* Philadelphia, 1981; Marilley, S.M. Frances Willard and the Feminism of fear. *Feminist Studies*, 19, No 1, (Spring 1993), pp 123 -146.; Giele, J. Z. *Two Paths to Women's Equality: Temperance, suffrage and the origins of modern feminism.* New York, 1995; Cook, S. *"Through Sunshine and Shadow": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874 - 1930.* Montreal, 1995; Oldfield, A. *Woman Suffrage in Australia: A gift or a struggle.* Cambridge, 1992; Bunkle, P. The Origins of the Women's Movement in New Zealand: The Women's Christian Temperance movement 1885 - 1895. IN Bunkle, P. & Hughes, B. Editors, *Women in New Zealand Society.* 1980; Hyslop, A. Temperance, Christianity and Feminism: The Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1887-97. *Historical Studies, University of Melbourne*, 1976, 17, (66), pp 27-49; Pixley, J. Wowser and Pro-women Politics: Temperance against Australian patriarchy *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 27, (3), pp 293 - 314.

[11] Shiman, L.L. *Women and Leadership in 19th Century England.* 1992; Shiman, L.L. Changes are Dangerous: Women and temperance in Victorian England. IN Malmgreen, G. Editor *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930.* 1986.

claims that the sole activity of societies was temperance work[12]. This is in contrast to the English movement which encompassed local government and suffrage activities[13]. Temperance women had been actively campaigning for votes for women prior to the foundation of the British Women's Temperance Association in 1876, and suffrage was but one part of a portfolio of social and political causes for which many early temperance women worked. Amongst these were the Anti-slavery movement, the campaign against the Corn Laws, the repeal of the *Contagious Diseases Acts* and peace and arbitration.

The formation of the BWTA, the major national women's temperance organisation, gave women temperance workers a distinctive voice. The society developed its philosophy from the framework of Christian temperance. The BWTA was from its foundation a non denominational organisation, and was to continue to be so. The first president, Clara Lucas Balfour, had been chosen as a temperance "name" and she worked within the boundaries of Christian temperance. She was a well known temperance figure and author of many temperance texts and novels as well as of histories of early women missionaries. She suffered ill health for most of her short presidency and died in 1878.

5.3 MARGARET BRIGHT LUCAS AND PROGRESS TOWARDS SUFFRAGE

When Margaret Bright Lucas became president in 1878, she was already a seasoned temperance worker. She brought to the association both an understanding and experience of political campaigns. Her other feminist interests included membership of the Executive Committee of the Women's Peace and Arbitration Society and she

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[12] Lloyd Morgan, C. From Temperance to Suffrage IN John, A.V. Editor *Our Mother's Land: Chapters in Welsh Women's History, 1830 -1939.* Cardiff, 1991.

[13] The strong emphasis on temperance by Welsh branches needs to be further explored, as do the activities of Welsh societies within cities such as Liverpool.

was a founding member of the Ladies London Committee of the Ladies National Association working with Josephine Butler in Plymouth against the Contagious Diseases Acts[14]. Her Quaker family background, provided her with considerable knowledge of politics at all levels. Her brothers John and Jacob Bright and brother in law Duncan McLaren were Members of Parliament. Lucas's sister, Priscilla Bright McLaren, was an active temperance worker and supporter of woman suffrage as was her sister-in-law Margaret Tanner, who was similarly active in political campaigns[15]. Her sister in law Ursula Bright was a campaigner for the suffrage cause[16]. Her nephew's wife Eva McLaren, worked extensively with Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle in Liberal, temperance and suffrage campaigns.

This extensive feminist network built around the Bright family, had overseas connections and included members of the feminist movement in the United States[17]. Lucas was part of this trans-Atlantic feminist alliance and in 1886 visited relatives in the United States where she met suffrage and temperance leaders during her 18 month stay[18].

Lucas herself was politically active, a member of the Women's Liberal Federation, and president of the Bloomsbury branch. She was an ardent supporter of Home Rule. Her husband, Samuel Lucas, was the editor of the *Morning Star*, a radical newspaper, one of only two newspapers that supported the cause of emancipation during the

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[14] British Women's Temperance Association *Memoir of Margaret Bright Lucas, President of the British Women's Temperance Association*, 1890; Robson, A.P.W. The Founding of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 1866-1867. *Canadian Journal of History,* 8, 1973, pp 1 - 22; *Woman's Penny Paper*, 1889, Vol 1 No 24, April 6th p 1.

[15] Holton "To Educate to Rebellion" *Op cit;* Holton, S.S. *Suffrage days Op cit* pp 49-69.

[16] Holton" To Educate to Rebellion" *Op cit*; Heath, H.J.B. *Margaret Bright Lucas: The life story of a British Woman being the memoir of the sister of the Rt. Hon John Bright and the leader of British Women in their warfare against the drink traffic.* 1890.

[17] Holton, S.S. From Anti-slavery to Suffrage Militancy. The Bright Circle, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the British women's movement IN Daley, C. & Nolan, M. *Suffrage and Beyond.* Aukland, 1992.

Heath *Op cit*

[18] Heath *Op cit*

American Civil War[19]. Her brother Jacob Bright, unlike his brother John, was an advocate of both temperance and women's suffrage. In 1868 he linked both movements, in a speech in Manchester in which he supported female suffrage, considering that women had interests not only in the education of children but "in the legislation which must inevitably come in order to limit the temptations of intemperance"[20].

Lucas supported Millicent Garrett Fawcett's demand for woman's vote, stating that

> "In politics my principle is that women should work
> for women, and as long as I can work I shall strive
> to obtain complete equality between men and women
> before the law"[21].

Her belief in, and support for the vote for women was well known in the temperance world. *The Goood Templar Watchword*, the journal of the Independent Order of Good Templars, described Lucas in 1875 as an advocate of women's right to the suffrage[22]. In 1878, the same year as she became president of the BWTA she moved a motion at a meeting of the IOGT supporting women's role in local government, which was passed[23]. The IOGT attracted feminist temperance women as it was one of the few temperance organisations to be open to both men and women equally. From its foundation it allowed, in theory, women equal rights and opportunities to women[24]. Lucas took advantage of this, rising to the rank of Grand Vice Templar and becoming a member of the national executive. She was also a supporter of the

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19 British Women's Temperance Association *Memoir Op cit.*

20 *Englishwoman's Review*, 1869, Vol 1, January, pp 144-5.

21 Attributed to her in *Women's Penny Paper* and quoted in her obituary in *Englishwoman's Review* 1890, Vol 21, 15th February, p 80.

22 *The Good Templar Watchword,* Vol II, No 89, p1.

23 *Englishwoman's Review,* 1878, Vol 9, 15th January, p 30.

24 Fahey, D. *The Collected Writing of Jessie Forsyth 1847 - 1937. The Good Templars and temperance reform on three continents.* Edited by D. M. Fahey. Lampeter, 1988; Fahey, D. *Temperance and racism: John Bull, Johnny Reb and the Good Templars.* USA, 1996.

Temperance Hospital and on the executive of the St Pancras Total Abstinence Association, a mixed (male and female) society. As president of the BWTA, she had to tread a fine line between her radical feminist stance on suffrage and the demands of her mainly Christian temperance followers. Her pro women's suffrage stance must have been well known to members of the BWTA as supporters of temperance were frequently members of more than one society[25]. As well as speaking at temperance meetings on the value of the vote to the temperance cause, she supported women's suffrage at other venues[26]. At the Manchester demonstration in the Free Trade Hall in 1880 Lucas presided over the overflow meeting. This meeting was attended by "thousands". The report of it in the *Englishwoman's Review* described temperance women attending[27]. A similar meeting during the same year and held in London attracted temperance women, including Mrs Schofield from Newcastle on Tyne, encouraging the membership to consider the question of women's suffrage pointing out the value of the vote in combating drink[28]. Writing in the BWTA annual report of 1883-4 Lucas emphasised the role of the vote for women in obtaining temperance reform through Parliament[29]. Her speech, in support of the inclusion of women in the 1883 Reform Bill, was intended to persuade temperance women who would not have normally supported the suffrage campaign to work for it. She emphasised the value to

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25 Lucas herself was a member of at least four societies, BWTA, IOGT, Bolton BWTA and St Pancras Total Abstinence Society. She was asked to be a School Board candidate but declined.

26 *Englishwoman's Review,* 1879, Vol 10, 15th October , p 446; *Englishwoman's Review,* 1880, Vol 11, 14th February, pp 49 - 52

27 Other temperance women present were Mrs Pearson of Nottingham, Miss Eliza Sturge and Miss Craigen.

BWTA, *Annual Report of the 8th BWTA Annual Meeting 1880 -81.* 1881 p 9; *Englishwoman's Review,* 1883, Vol 14, 15th December, p 550.

Englishwoman's Review 1884, Vol 15, 15th February, p 88; Hollis, P. *Ladies Elect : Women in English local government, 1865 - 1914.* Oxford, 1987; Holton, S.S. *Suffrage Days Op cit, The Temperance Spectator,* 1862, 1st February, p 27; Winskill, P. T. *Standard Temperance Standard Bearers.* Manchester, 1897; Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers.* 1891; *Englishwoman's Review,* 1900, Vol 31, 15th January Obituary p 65; *Englishwoman's Review* , 1871, No 5, January p 55; Craigen, J. *Letter to the Ladies of the Women's Suffrage Movement.* nd [188?].

28 *Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions*, 15th May 1880.

29 BWTA, *Annual Report of the 8th BWTA Annual Meeting 1883 - 4.* 1884. p 9.

the home that would accrue from women being able to combat the "liquor traffic" by the judicious use of the vote. In support of the 1883 suffrage bill, she wrote as president of the BWTA, jointly with Isabella Tod, making the plea that the bill should include women[30]. Their letter appeared in a number of temperance newspapers in May 1884. In order to gain as much support for the bill as possible, the journals targeted were those of male societies in order to attract more male and female supporters to the temperance cause[31].

In the 1884/5 report she again brought political issues to the fore encouraging women to extend their work for the "legislative side" of temperance, adding that "There is a growing feeling that women have a right to express their opinions on the political aspect of the question in regard to restraining the Liquor Traffic"[32]. Prior to this she had taken the first women's petition in favour of Sunday closing to the House of Commons in 1879, and was also involved in similar petitions organised in 1880 and 1883[33].

In the early days of the BWTA the majority of the rank and file was more interested in Christian philanthropic work than in politics. Hence Lucas's careful wording when addressing the issue of suffrage always emphasising the advantage to the temperance cause. That there were links between the two movements in the 1880s is due in the main to Lucas's connections to the radical women's network of the time. The grass roots of the association did contain radicals but the majority of members were Christian temperance workers.

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30 *Englishwoman's Review,* 1884, 16th June p 259.

31 *League Journal,* May 31st 1884 (The journal of the British Temperance League); *Alliance News,* May 31st 1884, (The journal of the United Kingdom Alliance); *Irish Temperance League Journal* and *Irish Temperance Banner.*

32 BWTA, *Annual Report of the 8th BWTA Annual Meeting 1884 -5.* 1885. p 10.

33 BWTA *Memoir Op cit*

She was invited in 1886 to visit the United States by Frances Willard and travelled with Mrs Blakely of Halifax and Catherine Impey of Street to attend the National Women's Christian Temperance Union and visit relatives[34]. She met and admired Willard and would have learnt of Willard's support of the vote in Willard's "Do everything" and "Home Protection Policies" that Willard advocated in the *Home Protection Manual*[35]. Lucas became the first president of the newly formed World Women's Christian Temperance Union[36]

Lucas was by no means a lone voice. Others within the women's temperance movement and the BWTA in particular, were also supporters of women's suffrage, Isabella Tod, a contemporary of Lucas, shared her interests in temperance and suffrage. Tod was Honorary secretary of the Belfast Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, a founder member of the Belfast Women's Temperance Association, and was active in both the campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts and that for women's higher education[37]. Priscilla Bright McLaren, an active campaigner for temperance, had also participated in the Anti Corn Law campaign, and was an early supporter of Lydia Becker. She became president of the Executive Committee of the National Association for Women's Suffrage, and a member of the executive committee of the Ladies National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts[38]. Others prominent in the early suffrage movement were temperance workers, including members of the Manchester executive of the National

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34 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm Edition Scrapbook 79 Somerset, Lady Henry The polyglot petition. *Life and Light for Women*, June, 1894; WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm Edition Miscellaneous pamphlets. *Home Protection Manual*

35 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm Edition Correspondence Folder 71 1893 February *Letter from Priscilla Bright Lucas to Frances Willard.*

36 Hereafter referred to as WWCTU

37 Walkowitz, J. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, class and the state.* 1982.

38 *Women's Signal, 1896,* Vol 5, 2nd January , pp 1 - 3; Holton, S.S. From anti-slavery Op cit *Englishwoman's Review,* 1871, Vol 5, January, pp 50-3.

Society for Women's Suffrage. Henry Steinthal, at whose home in Manchester the first society met, was an active temperance worker, and later Richard Pankhurst was a member of the executive of the United Kingdom Alliance[39].

The female members of temperance families were frequently active in both campaigns. Of the Sturge family, Eliza was a temperance worker and was one of the first women members of the Birmingham School Board[40]. Elizabeth, an active temperance worker, replaced Helena Richardson when she failed to be elected as the candidate of the Temperance party at a School Board election in Bristol[41]. It was not just the leaders of the BWTA who supported the campaigns for women's suffrage, lesser known members of the BWTA were advocates of woman suffrage during Bright's presidency of the association. Miss Wright of Mansfield gave a paper in 1887 describing the activities and aspirations of temperance women. She believed that

> "Those who now help in the temperance cause would do so
> with fresh vigour if they felt the stigma of inferiority was
> removed, and that their work might be a power in the state"

and warned that "It must not be forgotten that possession of a vote brings with it responsibility as well as privilege" and that until it was granted the temperance cause "will not be benefited as it might[42]". In summing up she advised that temperance women should "strive more earnestly to obtain the franchise resolving they will use it to throw (*out*) the license sale of intoxicating drink". She was supported in her plea by Isabella Tod, Florence Balgarnie, and Mrs Pearson of Nottingham who believed that "women should have the vote as a matter of justice, of right" whilst Mrs Emmet

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39 Harrison, B.H. *Dictionary of British Temperance Biography.* Society for the Study of Labour History. Bulletin Supplement, Aids to Research No 1. 1973; Pankhurst, S. *Suffragette Movement.* 1931; Harrison, B. *Drink and the Victorians.* 2nd Edition. Keele, 1995.

40 Levine, P. *Feminist Lives in Victorian England.* Oxford, 1990.

41 *Englishwoman's Review*, 1871, Vol 5, January, p 50.

42 *BWTJ*, Vol 5, June 1887, p62-3.

believed that women "would vote right". Miss Dowcra supported the enfranchisement of women as a "legal means to obtain support" but others considered that temperance and suffrage should take separate routes[43]. Mrs Louisa Stewart urged "That great care should be taken to work temperance and the suffrage cause as two distinct lines"[44].

As previously discussed, in Chapter Four, the membership of the BWTA was becoming increasingly aware of the role temperance women could play in the management of schools and as Poor Law Guardians[45]. This taste of political power appears to have made temperance women aware of the possibilities that could be open to them if women had the vote. It was a slow beginning but increasingly temperance women sought to further the cause of temperance reform from within the public sphere of politics. Tod's article on the relationship of temperance and suffrage typifies this approach. She considered that the two ran together and temperance work was a way of leading women into suffrage work[46]. She stressed the responsibility that came with the vote, as "politics touch the lives of every one of us"[47].

Tod's temperance work included the founding of the Belfast Women's Temperance Association, lecturing on temperance and working with Mrs Byers, in her work for girls and women's education, for twenty years[48]. Tod was central to temperance work in Belfast having been active from before the foundation of the BWTA[49]. When the Social Science Congress met in Belfast, she attended and declared her interest in

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43 *Ibid..*

44 *Ibid..*

45 See also Chapter Four.

46 Tod, I. Temperance and Women's suffrage. *Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions,* 1888, pp 103 - 107.

47 *Ibid..*

48 Butler, J. E. *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade.* 1896; Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers,* 1891. *Englishwoman's Review,* 1874, October, pp 269 - 272

49 Luddy, M. *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century Ireland.* Cambridge, 1995.

women's issues stating that she "was ready to be drawn into active connections with the questions of education for women and the Married Women's Property Laws[50]. Like many others who had begun in Christian temperance work and often referred to the religious nature of temperance work, she participated in philanthropic temperance, addressing the Society for the Protection of Friendless Girls, as well as moving into local and national politics by advocating the role of women as Poor Law Guardians[51]. She was Honorary Secretary for the Belfast branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies from its inception and a member of the Executive Committee of the National Association for Women's Suffrage, Central Committee[52]. Florence Balgarnie, a long standing temperance worker and member of the BWTA, was also the secretary of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage Society. She was to resign the post in 1888 on a matter of principle when she could no longer support the exclusion of married women from the franchise[53]. Her interests were many and she became a member of the Women's Liberal Federation and like Lucas herself was a supporter of the peace movement[54].

The BWTA under Bright's presidency quietly and persistently became pro-suffrage through the influence of its leading members who were active participants in the suffrage movement. It was a multi stranded process: there were members who brought experience of the suffrage movement with them and those who saw the benefit of women's enfranchisement for both temperance and suffrage. In addition there were some temperance women who sought it simply as another weapon

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50 Blackburn, *Women's Suffrage: A record of the women's suffrage movement in the British Isles with biographical sketches Miss Becker.* 1902.

51 *Englishwoman's Review*, 1881, Vol 12, 15th September, pp 103 - 107.

52 *Englishwoman's Review* 1885, Vol 17, 14th March, p 72; *Englishwoman's Review*, 1885, Vol 17, 14th March, pp 112 - 114; *Englishwoman's Review*, 1881, Vol 12, 15th September, pp 103 - 107.

53 *Women's Penny Paper*, 1889, Vol 1, 10th November, p1,

54 *Women's Penny Paper,* 1889, Vol 1, 16th March, p 1; *Wings,* 1907, Vol 25, No 5 May, pp 58-9.

against drink. It was this diversity of opinion that Lucas managed to harness so successfully, combining it with the claims for citizenship through local government described in the previous chapter.

5.4 SUFFRAGE : A DIVIDED ASSOCIATION?

Margaret Bright Lucas died in January 1890, and Lady Henry Somerset was elected to the presidency of the Association. Somerset had begun her philanthropic work following her separation from her husband on the grounds of his homosexuality. Somerset became interested in the temperance movement as a result of the philanthropic work she undertook in Ledbury following her awareness of the consequences of drink[55]. She was not a prohibitionist by nature, believing some could drink alcoholic beverages safely and that a time would come when "wine drinking might be as innocent a pleasure in England as it is in Italy or France"[56]. She only signed the pledge on accepting the Presidency.

Somerset almost immediately set about modernising, and changed the structure of the organisation. She believed that temperance should be carried into other areas of philanthropic work. At an open meeting after her election as president, suffrage was discussed. Miss Grimwade, referring to the "position of women in regard to politics", she considered that women should "share in legislative action itself" and was supported by Mrs Helen Bright Clark[57]. Clark declared that "women were destitute of the essential and most important weapon (the vote)" and believed it was an injustice that "temperance women should be without that weapon"[58]. This proposition was supported by Miss Morgan of Brecon, and Mrs Pearson, from

55 Fitzpatrick, K. *Lady Henry Somerset.* 1923.
56 *Op cit*
57 *BWTJ,* 1893, Vol 11, 1st April, pp 118-9; Hollis *Op cit*
58 *BWTJ Op cit*

Nottingham, who considered that it was necessary for women to have politics if it meant that they could house the poor and control liquor. This view was by no means unanimous as Mrs Poole Ward thought they should not forget the "position God intended them to occupy - that of being helpmates to man"[59].

Somerset became popular both with her executive committee and with the branches. It was a coup for the BWTA to have secured such a titled president but some expressed reservations on her appointment believing that she would be more than the titled figure-head they had envisaged[60]. The first address she made to the council of the BWTA began in the tradition of Christian temperance but she emphasised that the temperance cause "embraced a wide sphere", that members were not to "too much limit their efforts" and stressed the need for reorganisation[61].

Within a year of Somerset becoming president, the *Journal* had become more pro-suffrage and encouraged women to bring pressure on their husbands, brothers, and fathers to persuade Members of Parliament to vote for the 1891 Bill[62]. Her emphasis was that the vote would enable women to use it for temperance measures. Increasingly suffrage was on the agenda. Simultaneously Somerset began to restructure the association. A Department of Press Work was founded and published the *National Bulletin*, which was intended to keep the press informed of the work of the association. It was sent weekly to 80 London and suburban, 28 religious, 10 medical and 27 temperance papers in order to gain publicity for both the cause and the association[63]. Increasing there were international connections, with women involved in both temperance and suffrage work in other countries. Amongst the

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59 –*Op cit*

60 Fitzpatrick *Op cit*

61 *Presidential Addresses of Lady Henry Somerset Delivered Before the Council of the British Women's Temperance Association in May 1890 - 1891 - 1892.* [1893].

62 *BWTJ*, 1890, Vol 8, November.

63 Docwra, M. *BWTA What is it? What Has it Done? and What has it Still to Do*. BWTA [n.d.]

guests at the annual meeting in 1891 were Mrs McLean, president of the WCTU in Melbourne who the previous year had helped launch the Victorian suffrage campaign. Mrs Mary Clement Leavett of the WCTU who, as WWCTU missionary to Australia had established the WCTU in Melbourne building on an existing organisation, where she found the men had encouraged women, and Mrs Mary Woodbridge, an American Quaker who had founded the WCTU in Ohio[64]. The ethos surrounding the meetings was that of the need for women's suffrage as a temperance tool and the emphasis on the way the two movements interrelated[65]. Somerset travelled to the United States in order to study the temperance techniques of the WCTU. When she returned she found that some women in the Association had become concerned that she was trying to attach the association to the campaign for suffrage to the detriment of the BWTA's temperance activities. They wished the association to remain an independent single issue organisation[66]. The arrival in England, shortly after, of Frances Willard on a private visit to, and paid for by, Somerset caused concern amongst some of the members who feared an Americanisation of the association[67]. Somerset discussed suffrage within the BWTA from the beginning of her Presidency, but it was the meeting with Willard that brought it to the fore.

During Somerset's long absence the executive committee became anxious about her capricious behaviour. She had expected that the Association would follow her lead on the suffrage issue as the WCTU had followed Willard, but the executive committee resented her high handed methods. They were particularly upset by her cabled

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64 Information on the Melbourne WCTU from a conversation with Anna Blainey who is working on a PhD on the connections between the BWTA and the WCTU of Victoria, Australia.

65 *BWTJ*, Vol 9, June 1891, Report of the Annual Meeting; Oldfield *Op cit;* Tyrrell, I.R.. *Women's World Woman's Empire: The Women's Christian Temperance Union in international perspective, 1880-1930.* USA, 1991.

66 *Wings,* 1893, Vol 11, No 4, April, pp 188 - 90.

67 WCTU National Headquarters Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society and Michigan Historical Collection. WCTU Microfilm Reel 39 *Scrap Books 57-58. Newspaper cuttings including the Evanston Index.*

instructions that branches should "memorialise" firstly against the return to Parliament of Sir Charles Dilke, and then in favour of Sir Albert Rollit's women's suffrage bill[68]. The association did not think it an appropriate issue, believing that "the social purity societies" were better fitted to deal with the Dilke issue. The news that Somerset and Willard, on their return, had attempted to speak against Dilke in the Forest of Dean would have filled them with horror and foreboding[69]. After a debate on the suffrage bill, they sent a whip (*sic*) out to MPs requesting them to be in their places and to vote for the women's suffrage bill[70]. Confusion over the date of Somerset's return to England in May 1892 and the resulting difficulties in organising the date of the Annual General Meeting had caused the executive consternation and generated ill will towards their president. Her resolutions for Annual Council on adding suffrage to their remit had been sent from Chicago further adding to their concern. It set the scene for a debate within the association over the suffrage issue and the part it should play in the Association's work.

When she returned to England, Somerset, though still widely admired by some of her followers, began to be seen as betraying the temperance cause and in particular the BWTA's "way of doing things by others"[71]. Her long absence in America had led to her power and influence being diminished as well as alienating the executive committee. Despite the committee's reservations about Somerset's increasingly autocratic manner she was welcomed back in tremendous style[72]. The welcoming

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68 *Wings,* 1893, Vol 11, No 4, April , p 188; Bland, L. Paper given at "Seeing Through Suffrage": New studies on gender and women's suffrage, an international conference. University of Greenwich. April 1996.Rollit was Member of Parliament for Islington South and claimed in his speech supporting the bill that women's work as poor law guardians and on school boards fitted them for the parliamentary vote. Speech in moving the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women bill by Sir Albert Kaye Rollitt. April 1892. This bill included a coverture clause and would have only given the vote to spinsters and widows.

69 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm *Scrapbook 79 Lady Henry Somerset Personal Scrapbook 1892 - 1898*

70 *Wings*, 1893, Vol 11, No 4, April p 188.

71 Fitzpatrick *Op cit*

72 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU)

meeting had 247 delegates amongst them including overseas visitors, Mrs Lodge from Tasmania and Miss Helen Hood, one of Willard's entourage, who was to become active in the BWTA and act as Willard's private secretary in Britain[73]. In her opening speech Lady Henry made reference to Willard's work with the WCTU and discussed the inclusion of suffrage in that organisation. She supported it:

> "... but what are politics but the great home government of the world? And if this is not women's work what is? We have tried moral suasion since first we began, and at this moment we are confronted with the fact that we are precisely where we were..... Unless the women's voices are heard in legislation the men will not be able to carry these changes" [74].

At the Annual Council in 1892, she once more linked activism in temperance politics and woman suffrage. She considered that suffrage was the tool that would achieve temperance reform and "that by the woman's vote temperance reform will most surely be secured"[75]. She cited the precedent of "woman's ballot in municipal elections" and argued that it was part of the remit of the association to "educate the women voters who already have the municipal ballot". Additionally she discussed the role of the association's journal and suggested it should be expanded to include not only temperance but "that on-marching Woman's Cause in England and throughout the world"[76]. She restated her intention to be the leader of the movement and drew upon her experiences in America to illustrate how the association should develop[77].

Microfilm *Scrapbook 79 Lady Henry Somerset Personal Scrapbook 1892 - 1898 Newspaper cutting from Christian World, 1892, June*

–*BWTJ,* 1892, Vol 10, No 6, June 1892, p 60

73 Tyrrell *Op cit.*

74 *BWTJ,* 1892, Vol 10, No 6, June 1892, pp 61- 2

75 *Op cit.*

76 *BWTJ,* 1892, Vol 10, No 6, June 1892, pp 64 - 5.

77 *Op cit* p 66

Her insistence over suffrage and the increasing emphasis on political issues at the meeting set her agenda for the association. Her efforts to involve the "British Women" in suffrage politics at this stage was not entirely successful nor was her aim to widen the scope of the association. The majority of the executive committee became aggrieved at her demand that they incorporate five new elements of suffrage, social purity, peace and arbitration, the opium question and the labour programme, into their work[78]. Some of the membership wanted a single issue organisation that would achieve total abstinence. Despite this, it was accepted that most members would probably support these issues as individuals, but that the majority of the executive still "strongly recommended" that they should not be incorporated into the BWTA.

The debate on the suffrage issue became antagonistic, and letters to branches began to proliferate. Accusations were levelled at Somerset suggesting that she was intending to change the name of the BWTA to the National Women's Temperance Association in Great Britain and that the WWCTU would become known as the WWCTU of the British Empire[79].

The association as a whole was thrown into turmoil and some members had become alarmed at the inclusion of suffrage. Enquiries were received by the secretary's office regarding the resolution adopted on suffrage at Council[80]. In an attempt to reassure branches a letter from the secretary to the association and a copy of the resolution was printed, showing that the decision to accept suffrage "did not pledge the branches to take any action in the matter except as the inclination of individual branches may suggest"[81]. Some branches brought suffrage to the attention of their

78 *Wings,* 1893, Vol 11, No 12, December, pp 162-3.
79 Manchester Public Library, Local Studies Unit M286/30/6/10 *Letter from Jessie E. Fowler .*
80 *BWTJ,* Vol 10 No 7 July 1892, p 72.
81 *Op cit*

members, others passed resolutions in favour of suffrage and some ignored it[82]. The Association prided itself, at this time, on always allowing "each branch to arrange its own methods of work" and as a result the appearance of directives from above would have been an anathema to many members[83].

The debate over suffrage continued in the *BWTJ* with an editorial style article was published by Edward T. Bennett, the proprietor of the *British Women's Temperance Journal* and other temperance journals, considering the "difference of view"[84]. Bennett took a conciliatory stance. He believed that the choice before members was to be part of an organisation that "will occupy a unique place in history" by adding suffrage, or one that is "content to be simply one - even if among the best - of the temperance organisation" by continuing in its current method of work[85]. Whilst this debate was continuing, few outside the executive had access to information. The only sources available to them were the *BWTJ* or the open letters sent to branches by both Somerset and the "majority"[86]. Many were obviously in awe of Lady Henry's aristocratic connections which in turn gave status to the BWTA and so to their local organisations. The branches were willing to support her as she was perceived as a powerful and innovative leader. The provincial branches had relatively little input to the organisation at executive level. The executive committee was London based in both membership and location and also had control of the *BWTJ*. Somerset by-passed the executive committee and sent out documents supporting her stand to all branches[87]. To counter this a letter was sent addressed to "those who remember

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82 *BWTJ*, Vol 10, No 7, July, pp 75 - 77.

83 Docwra *Op cit.*

84 *BWTJ*, 1892, Vol 10, No 8, August, p 80; Shiman *Women and Leadership Op cit.*

85 Shiman *Op cit*

86 The term "majority" was used to emphasise that Somerset did not have the support of the majority of her committee behind her.

87 BWTA *Plan of Work for 1893/4 and Policy Endorsed by the President and Minority of the Executive Committee of the BWTA.* 1893; Outline of Progressive Policy of the BWTA Proposed by its President Lady Henry Somerset. BWTA, 1893.

Lady Henry Somerset at the last annual conference" and reminding readers of the "still more emphatic declarations of Miss Willard..."[88]. The schism had become so great that the majority of the executive committee sent out invitations to branches to a conciliation conference at the Memorial Hall, without notifying Somerset[89].

The dispute spread beyond the BWTA, The *Temperance Record* reprinted articles from other journals on the divide within the association[90]. *The Northern Whig* considered Somerset was "trying to do in England what Miss Frances Willard had done in America - that is to reign absolute". The *Morning Star* commented that Somerset "wishes to follow in the wake of the energetic temperance women of America", whilst the *Christian World* believed that, in America, she had been "converted to militant ideas of the American temperance women and wants to get these adopted on this side of the water"[91].

This emphasis on America is indicative of the mood of the women's temperance movement within the BWTA. They had chosen a British aristocrat as their president to enhance the status of the association. Indeed all the candidates had been aristocratic for just this reason. They were rapidly realising that Somerset was not just the figure head they had desired, but that she was influenced by an autocratic American temperance leader.

The "majority" believed that the new ideas adopted by Somerset, including suffrage as an integral part of the BWTA, were American not British and considered Somerset's heart was "with her American friends"[92]. There was some justification for this,

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88 *Temperance Record,* 1893, 9th February, pp 86-7; WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm Edition *Scrapbook 79 New Year Letter from Lady Henry Somerset.*

89 Manchester Public Library, Local Studies Unit M286/30/19 *Letter from Lady Henry Somerset*

90 The *Temperance Record* had been critical of the BWTA over Somerset's radical speech when she had spoken on the labour problem and the sweating system "as questions which they as temperance women had to deal with"; *Temperance Record,* 15th December 1892, p 827.

91 *Temperance Record,* 1893, 9th February, pp 86-7

92 Fitzpatrick *Op cit.*

Willard spoke extensively on woman's suffrage and the "Do Everything" policy" at a meeting in Exeter Hall[93]. Her arrival had been arranged by Somerset and included an extravagant reception for her shortly after her arrival in England[94]. This together with the sight of Somerset and Willard speaking on the same temperance platforms during their joint tour of Britain, made the "majority" increasingly uneasy[95].

Not all disapproved of the radical approach Willard and Somerset were adopting. Willard received a letter from Priscilla Bright McLaren congratulating her and Somerset on the campaign to link temperance and suffrage. She considered that Margaret Bright Lucas "would have rejoiced to see you here". She explained that the early suffragists had "never attached the words Christian to our movement as we had no wish to prevent Unitarians from joining us in our holy work" as Willard had done with the WCTU, She apologised for not travelling to see Somerset or Willard and requested that Willard would visit Elizabeth Pease Nicol[96]. This was a significant endorsement of the linking of temperance to suffrage by an established worker for both causes[97].

Increasingly though the majority hardened its stance for a single issue total abstinence association which would "storm the citadel of the Drink Traffic and sweep it from our midst"[98]. They believed this could be undertaken in a ladylike manner by "national house to house visitation, when visitors shall call upon every house, in every street,

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93 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm Edition *Scrapbook 79 Woman's Herald*, 14th January 1894.

94 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm edition. *Scrapbook 60 Frances Willard in England (1892 -1893);* WCTU *A typescript list of women who sent letters of appreciation for the album presented to Miss Willard at Exeter Hall, January 9th 1893.*

95 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm edition. *Scrapbook 60 Frances Willard in England (1892 -1893).*

96 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm edition. *Folder 71 Correspondence Feb. 1893 Letter from Priscilla Bright McLaren 1st Feb 1893.*

97 For further information on Priscilla Bright Lucas see Appendix Six.

98 Fitzpatrick *Op cit.*

of every town and village in the land", in order to leave temperance tracts and pledge cards[99]. They appear to have been prepared to forsake political action in order to keep the association a single issue society. The two sides had completely different and incompatible views of how temperance work should be conducted despite the almost identical manifestos. It was moral suasion versus national politics. While the conservatives were advocating a gentle feminine approach, Somerset was organising high profile national demonstrations.

The majority began to question how successful was the addition of suffrage and other topics to the programme of the WCTU. The debate continued until the day of the annual conference. Lady Reade, of the majority, sent a final whip [*sic*] to all branches together with a stamped envelope[100]. Somerset responded, sending out a circular dated 2nd May reminding branches and members that what was voted for was

> "NOT whether new departments shall be added to our plan of work, because under our policy the Council AND THAT ALONE, retains the power to decide this question; but you are to vote simply and solely on this: DO WE APPROVE THE PAST CONDUCT AND FUTURE POLICY OF THE MAJORITY, OR OF THE MINORITY OF THE PRESENT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE?[101].

Somerset was endeavouring to both simplify the dispute to its essential element as she saw it and refrain from discussing any of the political issues, particularly suffrage. The dispute was brought to a head at the Annual General Meeting of May 1893 and in the event, it was Somerset's proposals, and the affection that branches had for her,

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99 Fitzpatrick *Op cit.*

100 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm Edition *Scrapbook 64 "For What do we Wote on Wednesday" a Circular Sent Out by Lady Henry Somerset and the Minority.*

101 *Ibid.*

that won her the vote there. The meeting lasted ten hours, Somerset had spoken for two of these, and refused the "majority" the right of reply[102]. She won by the small majority of 69 much to the delight of the progressive element. Considering her popularity amongst the membership this was not an overwhelming vote. Following the meeting, Somerset published and circulated a document to all branches in an attempt to calm their anxieties[103]

As a consequence, the majority of her executive committee walked out of the meeting. They felt strongly enough to immediately form the WTAU as a society concerned only with total abstinence matters. Only Lady Elizabeth Biddulph decided to accept the will of the majority of members and remained in the BWTA[104]. Somerset had won in the main not because of her perceived suffrage stance, although undoubtedly some of her leading members hoped she would vigorously pursue the suffrage element, but because the branches wanted her as their president.

The press was quick to report the split. The anti temperance *Pall Mall Gazette* called it "Internecine war", whilst the *Methodist Times* showered praise on Somerset, suggesting that the majority lost because of "their inability or their unwillingness to adapt their organisation and their policy to the conditions of success in a new and democratic era"[105].

The Somerset - Willard relationship had become stronger on both a professional and personal level as a result of the campaign. They had much in common, both were

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102 Manchester Public Library, Local Studies M286/30/1 BWTA *The Report of the Annual Meeting May 1893*, 1893; *Christian Herald,* 11th May 1893 Lady Henry Somerset's Victory; *Christian World,* 11th May 1893, The May Meetings: How the women fought.

103 Manchester Public Library, Local Studies, M268/30/24 *Our Position and our Policy. A reply to charges made against a minority of the Executive Committee of the BWTA at the annual council meeting.* 1893.

104 Manchester Public Library, Local Studies, M268/30/24 *Our Position and our Policy Op cit.*

105 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm Edition *Scrapbook 64 Frances Willard in England (1893) Newspaper Cutting from Methodist Times,* 11th May 1893 and *Pall Mall Gazette,* 4th May 1893.

committed Christians, Methodists and leaders of their national associations[106]. They were to continue to work together, and, although Willard's influence was to decline their relationship was to continue to have a profound effect on the, now renamed National British Women's Temperance Association (Hereafter referred to as NBWTA) under Somerset's presidency.

In winning the vote Somerset lost many able and capable women including some who were actively supporting suffrage. Mrs Charlotte Wilson, Louisa Stewart, Mrs Blakely, Mrs Massingberd and notably Mary Docwra all left and joined the WTAU[107]. All were politically active and supported the campaign for woman suffrage. Somerset was left with some of the more radical of her committee but lost many long standing and devoted temperance activists. In 1892, prior to the split, the BWTA claimed a membership of 577 branches with a membership of 45,000[108]. This was now divided between the BWTA, renamed NBWTA and the WTAU. The "majority" must have felt vindicated when Lady Henry Somerset became a member of the Special Appeal Committee formed by Millicent Fawcett to act as a link between women's organisations shortly after the meeting[109].

Immediately following the schism new total abstinence branches had been formed from members who wished to continue with the traditional methods. The two organisations went their separate ways and it was to be over thirty years before they were to amalgamate as the National British Women's Total Abstinence Union.

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106 Somerset changed denomination more than once.

107 For further information on Mrs Charlotte C. Wilson and Lousia Stewart see Appendix Six. NBWTAU *The National British Women's Temperance Association, its origin and progress. A Jubilee sketch.* NBWTAU, 1926; *Wings*, 1901, Vol 19, No 2, February p 20 -21; *Wings*, 1894 ,Vol 12, No 7, July,

108 Of these branches only 354 were affiliated and paid fees which accounts for the discrepancy between this figures and those collected by Rosalind Carlisle in 1905 which gave the membership figures for 1892 and 36,000 and 1893 as 46,000; Docwra *Op cit*; Castle Howard Archives J23/151 *Membership statistics.*

109 Report of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, Central Committee. *Report of the Executive Committee Presented at the Annual General Meeting Held in the Westminster Hall, July 1893.* 1893.

The split occurred not because the majority of the executive committee did not support women's suffrage but because of Willard's influence on the association and dread of being Americanised. The BWTA had long been suspicious of "American ideas". Margaret Parker's over enthusiasms for the American way of life had made them uneasy. To have their president travelling to the USA with an American and return not only with American ideas but with the leader of the WCTU rang alarm bells. The nation wide tour of branches with Willard described as the "Queen of Temperance" during her second visit , her strong accent and forceful manner on the platform must have greatly aggravated their concern. Much remains hidden over the fight for control of the BWTA. It could be argued that the split was caused by the attempted addition of Social Purity to its platform as much as by the addition of suffrage. Many of the "majority" were supporters of women's suffrage but most were reluctant to participate in social purity issues. The split was caused by a number of related issues but suffrage played only one part in it. It was the clash of a ruling clique within the executive who had anticipated that Lady Henry Somerset would be a figurehead only, and what they saw was the Somerset/Willard alliance. The executive committee firmly believed that Willard wished to take over the association. The Americanisation of the association became the deciding factor, they did not wish to become merely a branch of the WCTU, they wished to be an independent British women's temperance society.

Immediately after the vote, the "single issue" total abstainers had followed the majority of the executive. What remained was a mixture of feminists and more moderate members some of whom remained because of Lady Henry and her connections. Not all, notably Lady Biddulph, were completely convinced by her diversification and remained sceptical about her ability to manage the association.

Somerset was to spend many of the years that followed in the company of Frances Willard either in Britain or abroad[110]. Both Willard and Somerset became ill following the 1893 annual general meeting, Willard with pernicious anaemia followed by pleurisy and Somerset with stress and exhaustion[111]. They left for a period of recuperation in Switzerland. Whilst there Willard investigated socialism and together they joined the Fabian Society from Grundenwald[112].

Perhaps Somerset's greatest loss, after the split, was that of the journal *Wings* which left her without a means of disseminating information easily and cheaply. The financial ownership of the journal by the "majority" enabled them to use it for their new total abstinence organisation. It soon became a purely "total abstinence journal". The NBWTA's search for a new journal was a tortuous one, with a number of false starts. At the first annual council meeting of the NBWTA in 1894 it was proposed, by Eva McLaren that the *Women's Signal* be adopted as the official organ of the association. The journal did not meet with general approval. Some considered it did not contain enough Christian articles, others that it should be monthly not weekly[113]. Its contents also came under scrutiny as it had reviewed *Esther Waters,* a book that W.H.Smith would not stock, and was considered unsuitable[114]. Florence Fenwick Miller and Annie Holdsworthy successfully defended their decisions, and Somerset asked the membership to "Trust her as editor". The resolution to adopt the journal was carried[115]. The *Woman's Signal* , passed from Somerset's private ownership to the White Ribbon Co[116]. As editors, Lady Henry Somerset and Annie E. Holdsworth

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110 Her role in temperance politics and the campaign for the direct veto are given in Chapter Three.

111 Bordin, R. *Frances Willard.* USA, 1986.

112 Bordin *Op cit* p 209.

113 Its predecessor the *Women's Penny Paper* was criticised on the same grounds.

114 Moore, G. *Esther Waters: A tract against smoking.* 1894.WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm Edition *Scrapbook 69 Miscellaneous Cutting from March to May 1894.*

115 *Ibid.*

116 See Appendix Eight for further details on *Woman's Signal.*

continued it as a predominantly temperance newspaper[117]. The first issue contained an address from Somerset to NBWTA branches, and an opening article by Florence Fenwick Miller "Leaves from my life"[118]. It devoted itself almost exclusively to temperance work including reports from branches, despite not being the official organ of the association[119]. Increasingly Fenwick Miller became concerned about the high level of temperance content in the journal under Somerset's "editorship". The journal had became dominated by reports of temperance meetings and events[120]

There was inevitably a conflict of interest between Lady Henry Somerset and Fenwick Miller over the content of the journal particularly over the amount of temperance reporting in the paper. Lady Somerset needed an organ to disseminate information to the members of the NBWTA and for that membership to report on its activities. Eventually Florence Fenwick Miller insisted on a special supplement from June 1896 which would contain the official notices and news from the branches. The paper steadily improved and began to find its feet. The final straw for Fenwick Miller appears to have been Lady Henry Somerset's letter to *The Times* on the *Contagious Diseases Acts*. As a consequence, in the editorial, she stated "in the plainest of words that Lady Henry Somerset is neither the proprietor nor the editor of this journal, that she bears none of its burden, does not provide any funds or labour for its work and has no control over its contents"[121]. In the same issue she states that she had "borne the burden" as long as Somerset, whom she credited with having started it in January 1894 and "parted with it at the end of September 1895"[122]. Somerset was also removed as "Corresponding Editor" from the masthead.

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117 Unfortunately Annie Holdsworthy is one of many "lost women" and no further information has been traced.

118 *Woman's Signal*, 1894, Vol 1, 25th January, p 62

119 *Ibid.*.

120 *Women's Signal,* Vol 4, 1895, 21st November, p 329

121 Signals from Our Watch Tower. *Woman's Signal,* 1897, Vol 8, 29th July, p 72.

122 *Op cit* - In a copy of this article in the WCTU files there is an annotation in an unknown

Despite their Swiss holiday, Willard was not well enough to travel to the annual congress of the WCTU in October 1893 and Somerset went in her place. Willard had dictated her presidential address from her sick bed and advised Somerset on her personal speech[123]. This speech was to be one of Willard's most memorable reinforcing the "Do everything" policy. As this was no longer an issue within the WCTU, the speech was no doubt intended to strengthen Somerset's position over the extension of work in the BWTA to suffrage politics and other social and moral issues.

At the following year's annual council of the NBWTA, in May 1894, a farewell meeting was held for Willard. She returned to America in June. Prior to her departure she accompanied Somerset to suffrage meetings including a "Should women have the vote?" suffrage meeting at the Queens Hall. The meeting's speakers consisted mainly of suffrage supporting temperance women including Eva McLaren, Laura Ormiston Chant, Ursula Bright. Kate Shepherd from New Zealand attended[124]. It appears certain that this meeting had been organised under the auspices of the NBWTA . Unusually it opened with the *Women's Marching Song* rather than a hymn. The registration bill was going through Parliament but with no provision for woman suffrage and this was a response to the omission[125]. Somerset's speech with its emphasis on American suffragists and "Home Protection" illustrate Willard's influence on Somerset's thinking. Sir John Hall spoke on the franchise campaign in New Zealand, and Kate Sheppard on the role of the WCTU on the campaign and Amie

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hand (presumed to be Anna Gordon) to the paragraph on bearing the burden of the journal which reads "What about the £500 given by Lady Henry?".

123 *Daily Inter Ocean*, 17th October 1893, *The Woman's Column* 21st October 1893. WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm Edition Scrapbook 66 *The work of the WCTU 1893.*

124 Manchester Public Library, Archives Department, M50/2/1/180 *Letter from Mrs Steadman Aldis 29th November 1892.*

125 *Woman's Signal*, 1894, June, Special supplement.
Registration Bill 1894

Hicks spoke on behalf of the Women's Trade Unions, on the right of working women to vote[126].

This period under Willard's tutelage demonstrates the high point of Somerset's campaign for suffrage. She had been able to secure the services of a number of eminent feminists on the platform who were prepared to support her aims. The following month another suffrage meeting was held by the Women's Liberal Federation with the Countess of Carlisle in the chair and this too was attended by Somerset and Willard. They then travelled to Ireland for a week long visit, attending the "Great Temperance Demonstration" in Leinster Hall, Dublin[127]. Willard then sailed from Liverpool on the *Teutonic*, and Somerset later followed Willard to the United States. Somerset, Gordon and Willard travelled back to the UK in March 1895 to prepare for the biennial convention of the WWCTU. This had been organised by Willard and Somerset and was held in London in conjunction with the annual council of the NBWTA. They worked together to bring this conference to England but their joint effort to achieve the success of two conferences was almost marred by the "lynching" issue. This had been a problem for Willard since 1892, one which had followed her to Britain. When she arrived back in Britain she was confronted by the controversy over her reactions to the issue of lynching in the southern states[128]. Willard finally returned to the United States in late 1896 where she became critically ill and she died in February 1898. With the death of Willard, Somerset was alone. She no longer had her support and had lost her American advisor. She was described as "heartbroken over the loss of her beloved comrade

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126 Sir John Hall was an ex-premier of New Zealand and Kate Sheppard was both a temperance and suffrage supported. She was the leader of the WCTU in New Zealand.

127 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm Edition Scrapbook 65 *Frances Willard in England 1892 - 1894.*

128 This is further discussed in Chapter Six.

and friend" following Willard's death and contemplated leaving the NBWTA much to the dismay of her supporters[129].

Suffrage remained part of the remit of the BWTA, but Somerset appeared to flounder and lose her touch after Willard's death. To a certain extent the association became a rudderless ship and, whilst Somerset tried to re-establish herself as its leader following her letter to *The Times* on the *Contagious Diseases Acts.* She wanted to change the constitution of a sub-committee, which was not popular with all her supporters, and even one of her staunchest supporters was uncertain about the changes[130]. The changes caused many problems not least in that they could be seen as unconstitutional, but the matter was resolved and the change was incorporated as a bye law[131]. Her record in temperance politics was tarnished in the eyes of the NBWTA as she was perceived to be making errors of judgement over a number of issues; her evidence to the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws and on Rowntree and Sherwell's report[132]. After Willard's death her speeches relied on emotional appeals rather than Willard's political rhetoric. She increasingly misunderstood the mood of the Association. She resigned over an issue of policy and allied herself with Whittaker to advance her more pragmatic policies of disinterested management[133]. Following her eventual resignation she spent some time in a settlement in the East End of London and then moved to Duxhurst and devoted

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129 Fawcett Library, Autograph Letter Collection *Letter from Hannah Whitall Smith to "My dear friend" 3rd March 1898.*

130 Fawcett Library, Autograph Letter Collection *Letter from Hannah Whitall Smith to "Sister Annie", July 9th 1902.*

131 Fawcett Library, Autograph Letter Collection *Op cit.*

132 This aspect of her work and the controversy by her opinions has been described and analysed in Chapter Three.

T.P. Whittaker was a temperance support and MP for Spen Valley in the West Riding of Yorkshire. His constituency was strongly anti-drink but he a wide appeal. A member of the Royal Commission he became converted to a policy of limited compensation if the direct local veto was applied. This was too radical a temperance stance for the NBWTA.

133 The has been described in Chapter Three.

herself to the Home for Inebriate Women she had founded in 1895. She was to work with the Home almost until the end of her life.

5.5 ROSALIND HOWARD AND THE POLITICS OF TEMPERANCE AND SUFFRAGE

Following the resignation of Lady Henry Somerset in 1903, Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle, became President of the NBWTA[134]. From a family of determined women and in his preface to Dorothy Henley's biography of her mother, Bertrand Russell describes Rosalind Howard's ancestry as a matriarchal line[135]. She became a politician supporting the Liberal party, temperance, the campaign for woman suffrage and Home Rule. She was, perhaps, one of the most problematical women to espouse the causes of temperance and women's suffrage. Unlike Somerset, she had a background in both movements and devoted considerable amounts of time and energy to them. A supporter of temperance, having been converted to total abstinence in 1881 by an itinerant temperance evangelist, she was to become an ardent supporter of prohibition in the form of the local veto[136]. At Castle Howard, the Carlisle's Yorkshire estate, brewing was discontinued and temperance became a condition of becoming a tenant[137]. Pubs were closed on both estates and the expansion of the railways gave her the opportunity to buy up coaching inns by passed by the railways and to close them. Despite these activities she was to continue serving wine at her dinner table until she became President of

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134 Russell, B. Lady Carlisle's Ancestry IN Henley, D. Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle. 1958.

135 Russell *Ibid.*

136 Fahey, D. Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle IN Baylen, O. & Gossman, N.J. *Dictionary of Modern British Radicals.* 1979.

137 Fahey op cit ; Roberts C. *The Radical Countess: History of the life of Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle.* Carlisle, 1962.

the NBWTA. She was to be falsely accused of pouring the contents of the wine cellar into the lake at Castle Howard on becoming President of the NBWTA[138].

She was the first woman to serve as President of a mixed temperance organisation when she took the mainly honorific role in the North of England Temperance League in 1892. An immensely capable woman, on becoming Countess of Carlisle, she took over and personally managed both the Howard estates, Naworth and Castle Howard. She applied herself to the task with an zeal that resulted in her becoming aware of all aspects of the estates, and no detail was too small for her attention. She was to bring this attention to detail to the administration and organisation of the NBWTA. An autocrat, she was feared by many and described by her daughter as having a dominating character and impetuous temperament[139]. Her son in law, who greatly admired her, admitted she had "her human imperfections, notably a vehement temper which does not seem to have given trouble in the first half of her life, but which in later years at times got beyond her control."[140]. A staunch Liberal and ardent suffragist, she remained loyal to the Liberal Party despite what she considered their treachery over Home Rule, women's suffrage, and the local veto. She led not only the NBWTA but also the Women's Liberal Federation. Her activities became interrelated. She encouraged temperance women to fight for women's suffrage, and fought for temperance reform within the Women's Liberal Federation. Her suffrage campaigning was long standing and Fawcett considered that she was "worth at least 20 votes in the division" and had been "nobbling these men .... romping around Harcourt, Asquith and Bryce, cajoling and threatening by turn"

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138 Roberts, op cit;
139 Henley op cit
140 Roberts op cit

for the Faithfull Begg Bill for suffrage in 1897[141]. There can be no doubt "British Women" knew of her suffrage history and were in support of it.

Upon taking over the NBWTA the Countess of Carlisle immediately began to reorganise the association in the way that she wanted it to function. She saw it as a political society from which, as its president, she could gain and use power. The membership of the organisation had been steadily rising from 23,000 in 1889-90, the last year of Margaret Bright Lucas's presidency, to over 92,000 for 1902-1903 the first year of Carlisle's campaign.

The final years of Lady Somerset's presidency had not been easy and Carlisle had begun to play a prominent role in the society. Inevitably she began to take increasing control of the society before being formally elected. Her election was not universally acclaimed in the NBWTA. In June 1903, the Eastbourne branch wrote protesting that it "did not nominate Lady Carlisle President"[142]. Others did welcome her including Mrs Crosfield, of Liverpool, who wrote thanking her for" becoming president"[143].

Upon her election the new style of organisation immediately began to be seen. The NBWTA was thrown into both local and national politics as well as internal turmoil by the appointment of Carlisle. Within a year of her taking up the post she had through the Executive resolved that a "special whip (*sic*) be sent to all members of Parliament urging them to be in their places on March 16th to vote for Sir Charles McLaren's resolution re the extension of the Franchise to women"[144]. The

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141 Strachey, R. *Millicant Garrett Fawcett.* 1931.
Bill to Remove the Disabilities of Women 1897, (75, iii, 751)

142 Castle Howard Archives, J23/187 *Letters to Rosalind Carlisle from individual members.*

143 Castle Howard Archives J23/200 *Letters to Rosalind Carlisle from Mrs Crosfield.*

144 NBWTA *Minutes of the Exective Meeting March 1904.* NBWTA, 1904.

association did not, as Fitzpatrick claims, in her biography of Lady Henry Somerset, "settle down to the quiet respectability from which she [Somerset] had raised it[145]. Carlisle had declined to join the WLF when it was founded in 1887 because it would not support the campaign for woman suffrage. Under the presidency of Mrs Gladstone, the WLF did not press for the introduction of female suffrage as it was dominated by the wives of prominent Liberals. When she did join the WLF in 1890, Carlisle immediately became extremely active. From her Cumberland home, Naworth Castle, she formed local affiliated societies, opening her campaign by founding the Carlisle Women's Liberal Association in 1890. She used these branches to forward the causes of temperance and woman suffrage. She encouraged women with the right to vote in municipal elections to exercise that right in favour of the Liberal Party[146]. She tried to get the WLF to put women's suffrage on the agenda from 1891 but it was not until 1893 that she succeeded and as a consequence split the association.

She firmly linked the two movements, temperance and suffrage, together and frequently attempted to raise the membership of both in support of either campaign. When the campaign to force suffrage on the agenda of the WLF became difficult she used both her temperance and suffrage connections to help her in the battle against Mrs Gladstone. She was able to take control of the WLF only after a meticulously planned campaign in which she organised her daughters, Dorothy and Mary, Eva McLaren and Bertha Mason to canvas local associations for support on her behalf[147]. Carlisle believed that women were better working together in the WLF than working with male Liberals.

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145 Ftzpatrick *Op cit.*

146 Roberts op cit

147 *Woman's Signal,* Vol 1, 1895, 31st May, pp 370 - 371; *Women's Penny Paper,* Vol 1, 8th June, p 6; Hollis *Op Cit.*

The connection between the WLF and the NBWTA was close and in the campaign for woman suffrage, Carlisle was constantly to rally her temperance troops to the suffragist cause. She wrote of the progressives (suffragists) having "more temperance reformers than the other side"[148]. She utilised women like Bertha Mason. Who by combining her Liberal and temperance contacts made a base for Carlisle in the North West[149].

Temperance women had, through Carlisle, a link with the high politics of temperance and suffrage and Carlisle believed that the Liberal Party should be able to achieve both for women. Throughout her career, she was able to combine temperance and suffrage to the benefit of both. When she visited Southport, in 1891, to lay the foundation stone of the Temperance Institute Hall, to which the local BWTA had contributed, she also visited the Southport Women's Liberal Association[150]. The Southport association was run by Kate Ryley who participated in both movements[151]. She had contacts with Carlisle and organised her trip to Southport to enable Carlisle to have the maximum exposure and advantage from the visit. Ryley also worked with Eva McLaren who became the Southport Women's Liberal Association President[152].

In 1894 Carlisle became, almost inevitably, president of the Women's Liberal Federation, when Lady Aberdeen could not accept the post as her husband's position as Governor of Canada precluded her from becoming involved in politics. In her acceptance speech she called herself one of the "servants of the delegates". This

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148 Castle Howard Archives J23/361 *The Struggle Between the Progressives and Anti-suffragists in the Women's Liberal Federation 1891 - 1893.*

149 Mason *Op cit;* Castle Howard Archives J23/445 *Women's Liberal Federation, Letters from Bertha Mason.*

150 Castle Howard Archives J23/448 *Letters from Miss Ryley, Southport to Rosalind Howard.* For further information on Kate Ryley see Appendix Six.

151 Carver, R. N. The work of Kate Ryley on the Birkdale School Board, 1889 - 1902. *History of Education Society, Bulletin,* 1987, Vol 38, pp 43 -50; Hollis, op cit; *Annual Reports of the Southport Temperance Institute.*

152 Castle Howard Archives J23/448 *Op cit.*

was but the ideal, and she was to continue to fight for what she considered appropriate[153]. Her power base was beginning and she was to use it to forward the issues she considered vital.

Carlisle used her supporters including some from within the temperance movement to consolidate her position. They included Florence Balgarnie, a fellow temperance worker, who urged her to "waive from personal feelings and consent to be our president" during the last years of Somerset's presidency[154]. Through out the 1890s she campaigned under the auspices of the WLF in support of amendments to extend the franchise to women. She encouraged women to demand "with all insistence that in us lies" the franchise from the Liberal government"[155].

A committed suffragist she admitted that no reform bill could be democratic that did not include universal suffrage but believed that "a certain instalment of women voters should be enfranchised at once" . She stressed the loyalty of Liberal women to the Liberal Party but stressed the WLF "had no machine-made policy, dictated from any headquarters"[156]. She considered herself to be central to the suffrage campaign.

She considered herself one of its major supporters. As a result she became annoyed at not having been asked to sign a 'Whip' [*sic*] to Members of Parliament for the 2nd reading of Faithful Begg's Bill for women's suffrage, and felt that as a leader of the Women's Liberal Federation she should have been approached[157]. She blamed her omission on her stance of not making suffrage a test question and argued that as a

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153 *Women's Signal*, Vol 1, 3rd May 1894 . Report of the Women's Liberal Federaton Council meeting.

154 Castle Howard Archives J23/431 *Letters from Florence Balgarnie.*

155 Women's Liberal Federation *Speech by the Countess of Carlisle Delivered at a Meeting in St. James's Hall, on June 19th 1894 held in Support of Amendments to Extend the Franchise to Women in the Registration Bill.* 1894.

156 *op cit.*

157 Fawcett Library, Autograph Letter Collection *Letter from Rosalind Carlisle to Mrs Millicent Fawcett 11th February 1897*; *Bill to Remove the Disabilities of Women 1897, (75,) iii, 751.*

"strong party woman" she could "perhaps approach Liberal Members of Parliament all the better"[158].

The close links between the women's temperance movement and the WLF under Carlisle meant that temperance women who supported the suffrage campaign had three routes to forward their claim for enfranchisement, as members of a suffrage society, as members of WLAs and as members of the NBWTA. When Carlisle became president of the NBWTA, she was able to link temperance and suffrage politics by ensuring that resolutions supporting woman suffrage were passed at the annual and quarterly meetings of the NBWTA. She did not necessarily propose them herself. In 1905, a suffrage resolution was proposed by Ashton under Lyne branch, almost certainly under the influence of Bertha Mason. It rejoiced in the growth of public opinion in favour of the extension of parliamentary franchise for women and "calls upon the national association to bring this question before the localities urging them to press forward in every possible way this measure of justice"[159]. Such a resolution could not have got as far as the executive committee without the acceptance of Carlisle. In proposing it, Mason, at the annual conference, cited the "various petitions recently presented to Parliament signed by thousands of working women"[160]. Carlisle lost no opportunity to combine the two issues. The same year Carlisle, supported by her executive, had signed a petition on behalf of the NBWTA, claiming that the licensing bill should not be passed until "women of the land had an opportunity of recording in a constitutional manner their opinion in regard of it"[161]. She would have had no hesitation in instructing suitable members to propose resolutions. Mason as an ardent supporter of the suffrage campaign and

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158 *Op cit.*

159 Castle Howard Archives J23/148 *NBWTA Minutes of the Executive Meeting 5th May 1905.*

160 NBWTA, *Annual Report of the 29th Annual Meeting 1904 - 5.* 1905. p 74.

161 NBWTA, *Annual Report of the 29th Annual Meeting 1904 - 05.* 1905. p 102

temperance was ideal. Carlisle continued to ensure that suffrage was well to the fore in NBWTA activities. She called on branches to keep the question of suffrage persistently and constantly before their members and to press forward "this great and too-long-delayed measure of justice"[162].

Carlisle was always part of the suffragist movement and considered herself at the heart of a constitutional struggle. She managed a suffrage rota of lecturers, numbering about 20 whom she could call upon as required. These included Florence Balgarnie, Laura Ormiston Chant, Agnes Slack and her daughter Lady Cecilia. She would have nothing to do with the militants, although Sylvia Pankhust recalls that "Lady Carlisle .... made a pet of this mill girl [Annie Kenny]" in the early days of militancy[163]. She would not support or even allow herself or her organisations to be associated with militancy in the suffrage movement. In November 1904 the NBWTA gave its support to a demonstration in the Queen's Hall but this was free of any suggestion of militancy.

Later when a deputation was planned to the Foreign Office in May 1905, the unity of the suffrage movement was in danger of falling apart. This was caused by a demonstration by members of the Women's Social and Political Union (Hereafter referred to as WSPU) in the ladies gallery during an attempt by Keir Hardie to bring a resolution supporting women's suffrage. Mason wrote to Carlisle requesting her to represent the NBWTA at the meeting. Mason believed that the NBWTA needed Carlisle's skills[164]. Carlisle was unhappy with the prospect of attending a meeting that included members of the WPSU despite the executive of the WSPU being

"most anxious to go on the deputation and have given a guarantee

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[162] NBWTAU *The National British Women's Temperance Association. Its origin and progress. A jubilee sketch.* 1926.

[163] Pankhurst, S. *The Suffragette Movement.* 1931.

[164] Castle Howard Archives J23/ 445 *Letters from Miss Bertha Mason*

that they will make no disturbance nor indulge in any disorderly behaviour at the Foreign Office or in the streets if they may send a representative to the Foreign Office"[165].

Carlisle's unease at the situation was obvious and Mason wrote to her seeking advice on the situation, reminding Carlisle that she had offered to "once again go as supplicant to Campbell Bannerman", and telegraphing her to meet her over the matter[166]. There was general concern over the situation, Carlisle would not have allied herself or any of her organisations with any form of civil disobedience or militant behaviour. Mason herself was becoming increasingly doubtful of the reassurances given by the WSPU, "I must add unreliable quality as (*sic*) the Political and Social Union is concerned"[167]. A premeeting meeting was held with Carlisle's son in the chair, two "ladies from that Union [Isabella] Ford, two National Union [National Union of Women Suffrage Societies], myself". The meeting proved difficult but "Mrs Lawrence finally stated, however, and this we accepted - there can be no divergence of opinion as to the behaviour guests adopt to a host in his own house". The rally took place as organised and the NBWTA participated, represented by Carlisle. It was followed by a rally in Exeter Hall attended by 1,000 women who heard speeches from Keir Hardie and Charles McLaren[168]. The following year Carlisle firmly declined an invitation to the NBWTA to join a constitutional/militant public meeting in the Manchester's Free Trade Hall under the auspices of the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage regretting that "It (the NBWTA) does not

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165 Castle Howard Archives J23/198 *Letters (Relating to the NBWTA) from Miss Bertha Mason*

166 *Ibid.*

167 *Ibid.*

168 Hannam, J. *Isabella Ford.* 1989.

see its way clear to take any part"[169]. Carlisle made a statement at the annual meeting

> "That this council, representing over 100,000 women reiterates its deep conviction that the disabilities of women with regard to the Parliamentary ought to be removed by legislation and call upon His Majesty's government to speedily bring in a measure to secure this urgent and much needed reform" .....[170].

Any link with militancy threatened the BWTA/WLF alliance and Carlisle would not have tolerated that. In this she was not alone and was supported by Bertha Mason[171] In 1906 following the Liberal election victory, a women's march to Parliament was organised in February which included 300 East End women. Rosen claims that Carlisle attended this meeting[172]. This would have been for her a complete turn around as she had the previous grave reservations on associating herself with the WSPU, and by May a resolution was proposed and passed by the national executive committee of the NBWTA:

> "The N.E.C. having resolved not to take part in the women's suffrage deputation to the Prime Minister on May 19th should the ladies who created the disturbance in the House of Commons on April 25th also be representatives - This committee having received no sufficient guarantee that the afore mentioned ladies will not attend hereby resolve that the resolution above referred to be adhered to and much regret that under the circumstances the NBWTA

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169 Castle Howard Archives J23/147 *Printed Minutes of Subcommittees 1907 - 1919.* NBWTA, *Minutes of Executive Committee June 1907.* 1907.

170 NBWTA, *Annual Report of the NBWTA 30th Annual Meeting 1905 -1906.* 1906.

171 Mason *Op cit.*

172 Rosen *Op cit.*

CANNOT JOIN THE DEPUTATION"[173].

The strength of her feelings towards the WSPU was demonstrated in her letter to Kate Ryley written in July 1908 in which she describes her feeling following a demonstration by the WSPU at the Houses of Parliament

> " the proceedings of the suffragettes last night at Westminster
> are to me so appallingly shocking that I feel as if no apology
> was necessary in appealing to know if some manifesto cannot
> be signed on behalf of the WLF and addressed to Asquith".

She went on to deplore " in the strongest terms the actions of these women " claiming that they did not represent the "women of England"[174]. Carlisle was using the NBWTA, a large national organisation, as a channel for her opinions on militancy and her loyalty to the Liberal Party. She increased her effort to ensure that the moderate voice of the NBWTA was heard. She urged members to use legitimate means of lobbying by writing to their Members of Parliament to secure their vote for the enfranchisement bill[175].

Suffrage continued to concern the leadership of the NBWTA, particularly Carlisle. The suffragettes and their militancy came to be seen as hindering the suffragist efforts by the association. Carlisle was determined not to under mine the links she had with the Liberal Party, nor to allow the NBWTA to be seen to support the militants in any way. Any link between militancy and the NBWTA, no matter how tenuous would have invalidated her influence for temperance with both the Liberal Party and the WLF. This policy was by 1911 to back fire as Mason believed that

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[173] Castle Howard Archives J23/145 *Part 2 1906 -1910 Letters and Circulars from National Office.*

[174] Castle Howard Archives J23/448 *Letters from Miss Ryley, Southport to (and from) Rosalind Howard. Letter dated 1st July 1908*; Rosen, A. Rise Up Women! The militant campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union 1903 - 1914. 1974.

[175] *Bill to Enable Women to Vote at Parliamentary Elections,* 1908, (3), v. 969.

militancy was making temperance women apathetic to the issue[176]. Despite this the NBWTA was to continue, under Carlisle's presidency with an avid anti-militancy policy. Carlisle's support of the Liberal Party was complete. She could not support actions by anti-Liberals even though Asquith studiously ignored the campaign for woman suffrage. The posters against the Cat and Mouse Act were profoundly anti-Liberal and as such she would have had to express offence[177]. She continued to demonstrate her loyalty to the Liberal Party and in 1910 at the March meeting of the executive of the NBWTA she proposed an extensive resolution on woman suffrage in which she combined women's need for the vote to support temperance legislation with condemation of the militants, who she described as using "unconstitutional, violent, and dangerous methods" and their conduct as "lawless"[178]. The resolution passed at annual council was more restrained[179]. Slack was to support Carlisle in this and caused a controversy by her strong anti-militancy stance when she visited the WCTU in Canada in 1913[180]. When Slack was re-elected as Secretary to the World's WCTU it provoked a response from Emilia Solomon in South Africa. Both the Canadian and South Africian WCTU's saw the WSPU as publicising the cause of women's suffrage and reaching women who had previously shown no interest whilst criticising the Liberal Party's lack of suffrage legislation[181]. By 1913, Carlisle had become entrenched in her stance over women's suffrage in the face of what she considered the extreme and unnecessary militancy of the Women's Social and Political Union. She would not condone the members of the WLF who wished for

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176 Castle Howard Archives J23/198 *Letters from Miss Mason 1902 - 1915.*

177 Tickner, L. *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the suffrage campaign, 1907 - 1914.* 1987. and the Suffragette Collection at the Museum of London.

178 NBWTA, *Annual Report of the 34th Meeting of the NBWTA, 1909 - 1910.* 1910. p 36.

179 Castle Howard Archives J23/ 145 Part 2 *Letters and Circuclars from National Office.*

180 Tyrrell *Op cit.*

181 Castle Howard Archives J23/265 *Correspondance with Miss Agnes Slack Hon Sec. [WWCTU] England 1910 - 1920.*

suffrage to be a test question. This put her in opposition to Eva McLaren who was pressing once more for suffrage to be a test question and had brought forward a resolution to the WLF council that "no women should work for candidates who would not support women's suffrage". The result of this was that Carlisle withdrew her name as mover of a resolution on suffrage at the annual council. In line with this stance the resolutions at the NBWTA annual meetings were changing in nature and the emphasis was moving from a political to the religious basis of the claim for the vote. In the same year as Carlisle withdrew from the WLF motion, the NBWTA passed a motion claiming woman suffrage and temperance reform which appeared to combine the demand both on the grounds of citizenship.

> "This council solemnly beseeches Parliament to break down the sex barrier which keeps women outside the pale of free citizenship and speedily to entrust to them the duty of voting in Parliamentary elections".
>
> ..... "Women in a religious spirit, for they believe that the electoral power, if wielded in a God-fearing way, is a mighty weapon for the redemption of the people from the intemperance, vice and abject poverty, which drag down and destroy life of so large a part of the community"[182].

It appears as if she had just added a sentence in order to placate those who still believed that temperance work should be conducted within a Christian framework. At the height of the WSPU's militancy campaign the NBWTA passed another ambiguous resolution claiming the vote.

> "That this council representing the NBWTA, an association which numbers 165,000 members solemnly re-iterates its conviction that the removal of the sex barrier to citizenship would be

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182 Henly *Op cit.*

a powerful aid to temperance and other social reforms; as women working in a religious spirit for the highest interests of the nation, also having regard to the beneficial results upon this government to redress the injustice which deprives women of the power to bring direct pressure upon legislation"[183].

This resolution was her attempt at distancing herself and the NBWTA from the militancy of the WSPU, but it had the advantage, for the NBWTA, of linking votes for women once more with temperance. Even so by 1914 there had been little to show for the hard fought campaigns for temperance and suffrage[184].

Carlisle had always been aware that the size of the membership of the NBWTA meant that she could have influence within the suffragist campaign. She had created an efficient structure and means of communication by which branches could be informed of developments and importantly urged to action when appropriate.

5.6 CONCLUSIONS

Tyrrell is partially right when he claims that the influence of the BWTA was at its peak between 1893 - 1909[185]. Its most efficient period was in the suffragist campaign under Carlisle's skilful political presidency from 1903 - 1911. After this date her "ill health" began to cause her withdrawal from day to day political activity but she remained very much in charge.

The temperance-suffrage link was a powerful one. It had a rationality which many women could accept. Willard had used it in her "Home Protection" policy which

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183 Castle Howard Archives, J23/145 *Letters abd Circulars from Nationa Office Part 3 1912 - 1919.*

184 See Chapter Three on Temperance politics.

185 Tyrrell Op cit

Somerset had emulated. In Finland women were to use the same arguments, as were other Scandinavian countries. It was New Zealand however that was first to achieve success with this approach, with the WCTU working with Kate Shepherd and the suffrage organisations in the campaign for the vote[186].

During Carlisle's presidency the suffrage campaign was radically changing, the WSPU moved to militancy an idea abhorrent to Carlisle. She appears to have initially fought against it but latterly ignored it, placing her faith in the Liberal Party. A temperance advocate she tried to bring the two movements together and to a certain extent succeeded, because of the overlap of membership of the NBWTA, WLAs and suffragist societies. The large membership of the NBWTA gave her a power base to extend her influence in all three movements.

Suffrage was a central aim of many temperance women but their route to it was constitutional and some wished to keep their temperance and suffrage aims apart, fighting for them as separate issues. This became increasingly difficult when Somerset tried to bring them together through her attempt at introducing a "Do Everything" policy. The resulting split was not triggered by the addition of suffrage but rather by a xenophobia which rejected the import of American ideas which over diversified their temperance remit.

The BWTA had from its beginnings a diversity of techniques which it used to forward its temperance aims and objectives. Under Somerset's presidency this became exaggerated and the association became embroiled in issues external to its remit. These additions at first appear to be irrelevant to the women's temperance movement but they emphasise the complex nature of the membership of the BWTA/NBWTA. The issues themselves support the hypothesis of this thesis that

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186 Bunkle *Op cit;* Grimshaw, P. Women's suffrage in New Zealand: writing from the margins. IN Daley, C. & Nolan, M. *Suffrage and Beyond: International feminist perspectives. New Zealand,* 1994.

women temperance activists were not only feminist but central to the women's movement. This was at times to divert them from their primary function, that of securing prohibition legislation.

The following chapter will discuss some of the peripheral issues that were raised within the BWTA/NBWTA membership and consider the effect they had on the women's temperance movement. Diversification within the temperance movement was unique to the BWTA/NBWTA as the WTAU was to remain a single issue society.

CHAPTER SIX

DIVERSITY AND EXPANSION - ASSET OR LIABILITY?

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis has emphasised the route taken by temperance women to become a political force not just for temperance but also within the women's movement. They made a claim for citizenship and the enfranchisement of women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Their ever developing roles resulted in the membership of the BWTA participating in a wide range of other feminist issues. This led not only to diversity for the association but in some cases dissipated the energy of the members from their temperance aims and objectives.

The founding members of the BWTA had not only been temperance supporters but also had interests in other political issues. This diversity of interest was to continue as "British Women" became involved in a wide range of issues which were outside their original temperance remit, but were linked through their networks with other movements.

This chapter considers issues which brought tension to the association. Willard's refusal to condemn lynching and Somerset's misjudgement on the issue of the introduction in India of the Contagious Diseases Acts. These will be considered in conjunction with the distinctive gender basis of their temperance work with homes for inebriated women. These represent a fraction of the interests of feminist temperance women. All had some appeal for "British Women" and involved the BWTA in political action.

6.2 LYNCHING AND THE WILLARD CONNECTION

The roots of significant diversification within the BWTA began in 1891 when Somerset travelled to the United States and met Willard. They were undoubtedly drawn to each other and to a great extent became inter-dependent. It was Willard's relationship to Somerset and the BWTA that provoked tension in the association when Willard was challenged for advocating her "Do everything" policy.

It was a speech by Willard on lynching that galvanised some members into condemning her racism. The question of lynching and Willard's stance on the subject with its racist overtones may appear to have little in common with the women's temperance movement in Britain. The two were, however, linked together in a number of ways. Historically many of the early temperance activists and founding members of the BWTA had been anti-slavery campaigners. The Quaker background of many of the early "British Women" meant that they were conversant with the politics of race as well as of temperance and gender. Many Quaker temperance women were also members of the IOGT. which had in the late 1870s undergone a traumatic schism over the issue of segregated lodges in the United States. The British IOGT fought against segregation and split over the issue. NBWTA members of the IOGT were aware of the resonance of racism in the temperance movement, and so became uneasy about Willard's perceived stance on lynching[1].

In the early 1890s, increasing bitterness between the races had resulted in the lynching of young black men, accused of rape, by white males. As a feminist organisation, the WCTU became aware of the horrors of lynching and Willard issued an anti-lynching resolution to the WCTU, from England where she was staying with Somerset. The resolution was passed, but a later speech made by her in

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[1] Fahey, D.M. *Temperance and Racism. John Bull and Johnny Reb and the Good Templars.* USA, 1996.

Britain was to receive close scrutiny. Whilst condemning lynching she also described how lynching was a result of the rape of white women by black men[2].

The news of the lynching filtered through to Britain. Members of the dismantled anti-slavery movement became alarmed at the lack of justice and summarily killings and formed an Anti-Lynching Committee in 1894 inspired in part by Ida B. Wells, an African American journalist and teacher. Its membership included Keir Hardie, the Archbishop of York, C.P. Scott the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* and two leading BWTA women Catherine Impey and Florence Balgarnie of the BWTA[3]. This aimed to investigate the reports of lynching in the southern United States and to publicise the facts. They produced a report in *Anti-caste* which included a photograph of a lynching. *The Times* denounced the report, considering the photograph a fake, and condemned Miss Balgarnie and "numerous ladies" on the Anti-lynching committee for over reacting[4].

Members of the NBWTA had heard both Wells and Willard speak, but now wanted to hear from Willard of her position on lynching. This she steadfastly refused to give. The problem was compounded by the fact that Wells had read an article on the "Race problem" by Willard in which Willard stated that it was wrong to give the vote to black Americans[5]. Wells used this article as evidence of Willard's indifference to the torture and murder of black men and Wells published her claims in *Fraternity*[6]. Somerset came to the aid of her friend and responded by publishing a

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2 Bordin, R. *Frances Willard.* USA, 1987.

3 *Anti Caste* 1888 - 95. Fahy, D. Unpublished entry for the new DNB; *The Friend,* New Series, 64, 1924, 4th July. p 19; Fahey. D. *Writings of Jessie Forsythe, 1847 - 1937: The Good Templars and reform on three continents.* USA, 1988; Ware, V. *Beyond the Pale. 1992.*

4 *The Times*, 6th November 1894; Ware *Op cit*, Bland, L. *Banishing the Beast: English feminism and sexual morality, 1885-1914.* 1995; *Woman's Signal*, Vol 4, 1895, 28th November, p 345; *Wings*, 1907, Vol 25, No 5, May, pp 58-9; *Englishwoman's Review,* 1883, Vol 14, 15th February, pp 76-7; Castle Howard Archives, J23/144 *Letters from Florence Balgarnie.*; *Women's Penny Paper,* Vol 1 16th March 1889; *Woman's Signal,* 1897, Vol 7, 21st March, p 222 ; *White Ribbon Signal*, Victoria, 1902, Vol 10, No 4, p79.

5 Ware *Op cit.*

6 *Fraternity* 1893 - 7.

sycophantic interview with Willard[7]. Wells repeated her accusations and spoke at the NBWTA council in 1894 in a debate on a censor resolution[8]. The controversy continued into 1895 after Wells' return to the USA. Somerset referred to Wells' "injudicious speech" in an address to the joint BWTA and WWCTU convention in London. Florence Balgarnie challenged Somerset in what was described by Impey in the *Anti-Caste* as an "eloquent and impassioned speech"[9]. She used as her evidence against Willard a document which Somerset had cited in Willard's defence signed by Garrison, as well as Willard's silence on the issue. Somerset was accused with Willard of drafting and circulating the document signed by Garrison exonerating Willard of racism. Somerset remained silent about the accusations.

One result of this dispute was that Somerset removed Balgarnie from her job as a journalist on the *Woman's Signal.* The NBWTA executive committee censored her and she was boycotted as a temperance lecturer for the NBWTA. In the *Woman's Signal* a statement by Balgarnie was published together with an addendum by Somerset with the "hope the subject may be allowed to drop. ..... It is hard to believe that even in the heat of partisanship, any sane person can suppose that Frances Willard condoned the lynching or torturing of Negroes" and all but dismissed Balgarnie's accusations as fanciful[10].

The debate continued in the United States and the WCTU remained vulnerable to criticism on the race issue with its policy of segregated branches and the way it embraced and promoted the Americanisation programme for immigrants.

This incident is illuminating for a number of reasons. Not only does it show the wide range of activities in which temperance women participated in Britain but also the

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7 *Westminster Gazette*, 10th May 1894

8 NBWTA, *Annual Report of the NBWTA, 1894 - 95.* NBWTA, 1895.

9 Ware *Op cit.*

10 *Woman's Signal*, 1895, Vol 4, 28th November p 345.

relationship between Willard and Somerset and the trans Atlantic dimension. This was a debate that related to American affairs but surfaced in England. It was brought to the notice of reformers by a relatively obscure black woman and taken up by middle class white women, who were active in what has been portrayed as a minority activity outside the women's movement. It can be no coincidence that the crux of the matter centred around the two leaders of the women's temperance movement, both of whom were challenged from inside their organisations. As Ware points out Wells would not have been able to attract public support for her criticism of such a well known leader in the United States[11]. She was able to do so in Britain and to attract support from a wide spectrum of men and women including radical support from Keir Hardie, who supportered temperance[12]. In the temperance context Willard was not regarded by "British women" with the admiration that Somerset felt for her. There was always an awareness that she was an American and that as a consequence she viewed issues differently. It is possible that Impey and Balgarnie saw Willard as an importer of dubious values and policies, and feared she would bring the NBWTA into disrepute.

The dislike of the Americanisation of the BWTA had not gone away with the split in the association. It appeared as if the BWTA , through Somerset and her friendship with Willard, had imported values unacceptable to the membership. The issue was an American one of race, sexual mores and lack of justice and yet it caused a greater outcry in Britain than in America. This issue diverted the attention of the association from its raison d'être, temperance, and drew attention to other issues which took the time and attention of active members to the detriment of the temperance cause. It also tested the membership's loyalty to Somerset. Many in the NBWTA did not

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11 Ware *Op cit.*

12 Benn, C. *Keir Hardy.* 1998.

wish to be involved in the issue, Tyrrell claims that 10% of branches supported Impey and Balgarnie[13]. The incident deprived the association of Balgarnie, a leading speaker, willing and hard working activist. It also caused suspicion and ill feeling amongst the membership who had to witness their leader involved in a public debate over a non-temperance issue that appeared to some as indefensible.

6.3 AN ERROR OF JUDGEMENT

Whilst the anti-lynching debate was an American issue addressed by British women, the controversy over the attempted re-introduction of the *Contagious Diseases Acts* in India was a British issue which involved both American and British women.

As with the lynching debate there was also a background for "British Women" in connection with the *Contagious Diseases Acts.* Margaret Bright Lucas had been an executive member of the Ladies National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, having joined the campaign in its earliest days. She was a signatory to the first petition and accompanied Josephine Butler to the Geneva International Congress on Contagious diseases in 1877[14]. Once the repeal of the *Contagious Diseases Acts* had been achieved in 1886, Josephine Butler began working on the difficult task of repealing similar acts in other Empire countries. She began this campaign in 1887 in Exeter Hall which hosted the meetings of many other social and reform organisations. She became increasingly concerned with the situation in India where the *Contagious Diseases Acts* had been officially suspended in 1888. It was suspected that the main features of the acts continued and when approached by Bushnell and Andrews, Butler instructed them to write a report on

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13 Tyrrell Op cit

14 Fawcett, M.G. & Turner, E.M. Editors *Josephine Butler: her work and principles, and their meaning for the twentieth century.* 1927; Johnson, G.W. & Johnson, L.A. *Josephine Butler - an autobiographical memoirs.* Bristol, 1913.

their investigations. Their impressions of the situation in India and their observations was published in 1898 as *The Queen's daughters in India.* The whole issue of regulation in India had become a major concern amongst the abolitionists in Britain. Lord George Hamilton wrote to Somerset in her capacity as president of the NBWTA and joint vice president of the WWCTU British Committee, on the subject of the Cantonment Acts in India, including a copy of his report asking if she would write to him on the matter[15]. The *Contagious Diseases Acts* in India were not applied to the native civil population but were "To arrange for the effective inspection of prostitutes attached to regimental bazaars whether in the cantonments or not" and "To have a sufficient number of women, to take care that they are sufficiently attractive, to provide them with proper houses"[16]. Hamilton, Secretary of State for India, was known to want to bring back the old regulations but had been warned by Viceroy Elgin that this was likely to provoke a backlash from the purity campaigners.

Somerset responded to Hamilton and sent a copy to *The Times.* There was an immediate outcry following the publication of the letter[17]. It was deemed extraordinary for she took the opportunity not only to endorse Hamilton's suggestion but to elaborate on his proposals. She was attacked by her own membership, the anti-contagious diseases societies, specifically Butler, and by the WCTU, in particular by Bushnell and Andrew[18]. The fact that she took sole responsibility for the letter did little to alleviate the situation[19]. Condemnation was to be expected as only the previous month the *Woman's Signal* included a note that

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15 Fawcett & Turner *Op cit* p 127.
Hyman, R. *Empire and Sexuality: The British experience.* Manchester, 1990; Fitzpatrick, K. *Lady Henry Somerset.* 1923.

16 Fawcett & Turner Op cit

17 *The Times,* 21st April 1897.

18 *The Shield,* issues throughout the year -1897,

19 Fitzpatrick op cit

"a ladies protest" was currently circulating for signature which supported "undying opposition to such legislation"[20]. Somerset could not claim that she knew nothing of the current situation.

Bushnell and Andrew were to be formidable opponents. They were part of a faction within the WCTU, which had become uneasy at the closeness of Willard and Somerset. Their unease was intensified by Somerset's aristocratic status, and they believed that Willard had been seduced by Somerset's wealth and the adulation she received in Britain[21]. Their involvement with Butler, who was the Superintendent of the Social Purity Department of the WWCTU, who had little regard for Somerset, made the whole issue increasingly volatile. Butler had always been ambiguous about her link to the BWTA, as she believed that Somerset had little knowledge of the complexity of the repeal question.In a letter to Mrs Priestmen Butler indicates that she only joined the BWTA to ensure that she knew what was happening within the association in respect of repeal issues and to prevent the leading members of the BWTA damaging her work[22].

Butler was furious at Somerset's letter, which expressed Somerset's approval of the new policy and suggested that inspection procedure should be expanded. Butler believed that together with Willard, Somerset wished to become a leader of the world wide purity campaign[23]. Butler immediately threatened to resign as world superintendent of the Social Purity department unless Somerset retracted her statement[24]. She did resign shortly after which the WWCTU accepted. The membership of the BWTA became extremely anxious about the situation. That their

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20 *Woman's Signal,* 1897, Vol 7, 1st April, p200.

21 Bordin *Op cit.*

22 Fawcett Library, Josephine Butler Collection, *Letter to Mary Priestman 2nd June 1896.*

23 Tyrrell *Op cit;* Fitzpatrick *Op cit* .

24 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files, (Joint Ohio Historical Society and WCTU) Microfilm Edition. *Scrapbook 76 Letters to general officers of the WWCTU, Sentinel, January 1898; The Shield*, February 1898, p 75.

president should be publishing such views in the press horrified the women's movement as a whole, and caused grave concern within the NBWTA. In the *Woman's Signal*, the editor Florence Fenwick Miller, was scandalised to hear that Somerset's name was being linked with the pro-contagious diseases campaign[25]. Criticism came from all sides, Butler was angry at the damage Somerset had done, calling her "demonical" in private and "ill-informed" in public[26]. Butler also condemned Somerset, although not by name, of publishing a scheme of *Restif de al Bretonne*[27].

Somerset was forced to offer her resignation as president of the NBWTA, not least because the branches refused to abide by her instruction that they should not petition Hamilton against his intention to implement the acts[28]. All, without exception, refused to obey[29]. The executive committee of the BWTA met, with 53 members in attendance and discussed the "matter fully with a good deal of warmth"[30]. The majority opinion was that while the issue of the *Contagious Diseases Acts* and regulation was "vitally important" it was not the main work of the association and "therefore difference of opinion must be allowed"[31]. The whole situation became confused and the national press was delighted to see the women's

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25 *Woman's Signal, 1897,* Vol 7, 20th May, p 334; Fawcett Library, R.R. 857 *Butler, J. E.*; *Woman's Signal,* 1897, Vol 7, 10th June, p 357; Parliamentary Papers, 1897, LXIII, *East India (Contagious Diseases No 5 1897)* pp 12 -15.
Other regulationist signatures were, Florence Nightingale and Dr Garrett Anderson.

26 Fawcett Library, Josephine Butler Collection *Letter to Fanny Forsaith 21s August 1897*;
Fawcett Library, Josephine Butler Collection *Open letter from Josephine Butler 30th May 1897*

27 Butler, J.E. *Truth Before Everything. Liverpool, 1897.* Taken from the Library Electronic Resource at Bloomington from the Women's Writers Project edited by Penny Willett.
Butler *Op cit.*

28 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files, (Joint Ohio Historical Society and WCTU) Microfilm Edition. *Scrapbook 79 Newspaper Cuttings.*

29 WCTU National Headquarters *Op cit.*

30 Fawcett Library Autograph Letter collection *Letter from Hannah Whitall Smith to "My dear friend"*

31 *Ibid.*

movement divided over the issue. The American press, whilst slightly more sympathetic to Somerset, considered the situation to have a tragi- comic air[32].

The membership of the NBWTA branches were to continue to be confused and concerned over Somerset's stance on what they saw as the state regulation of vice. Manchester WCTA wrote to the Sub-committee protesting against Somerset's proposals, adding that "the feeling is growing throughout the branches in depth and intensity that a further resolution should be submitted to the National Executive at Southport"[33]. Manchester WCTA was requested to defer any action[34]. Somerset had again sent private notice that she would resign[35].

The subcommittee replied to Somerset's letter in a somewhat neutral way,

> "....we cannot but realise that it would be no kindness to urge you to continue your labour of love for our association just now, when you need so much rest of mind and body.
>
> Please accept our united expression of warmest love and sympathy"[36].

Somerset remained silent in public throughout the furore believing that she was right[37]". In July she wrote to Carlisle on the matter, stating that she

> "been overwhelmed with letters from British women asking me why I took the line I did in writing to Lord George Hamilton that I feel I owe it to them to give reasons and then (let) them free to act. The idea shall not be taken up by the authorities and therefore

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32 WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files, (Joint Ohio Historical Society and WCTU) Microfilm Edition. *Scrapbook 79 Newspaper cuttings*

33 NBWTA *Minutes of the Sub-committee January 1898*

34 op cit

35 op cit ; "Your protest now before the Sub-Committee we pray you most earnestly to defer further action till next meeting of the executive committee at Southport. Eva McLaren"

36 NBWTA *Minutes of the Subcommittee January 1898*

37 Fitzpatrick op cit

in the end we shall fight together" [38].

It seems certain that Carlisle did not agree with Somerset for Somerset's ends, "I thought it was kind of you to speak to me so frankly - I should be grateful if you would always do so"[39]. When Somerset did explain her stance she did not satisfy many of her members. The letter she sent to the executive committee was described by Mrs Sheldon Amos as one that "...really misrepresents the history of the trouble..." [40]. At a NBWTA meeting December 1897 a resolution was passed condemning the *Contagious Diseases Acts* and expressing sorrow at Somerset's stance on the issue[41].

Despite this the membership asked Somerset to remain as president. This situation caused even more confusion within the branches and not a little ridicule from the press[42]. Fenwick Miller joined Butler turning it into a class issue and declaring it was the aristocracy that did not understand the question[43]. Butler considered that Somerset's title gave her both power and influence, but dismissed her considering her as a "very muddleheaded woman" who had "never read anything of our repeal history and principles"[44].

Willard's deteriorating health in January 1898 may have forced Somerset to retract her statement. Fitzpatrick, with the benefit of access to papers not longer available, claims that Somerset retracted simply to satisfy Willard who was mortally ill. It had taken Somerset ten months to write and send her retraction to Hamilton. In it she wrote that she was making "an explicit withdrawal of an endorsement in whatever

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38 Castle Howard Archives *J23/200 Letters from Lady Henry Somerset to Rosalind Carlisle 1894 - 1914.*

39 *Op cit.*

40 Castle Howard Archives J23/430 *Letters from Mrs Sheldon Amis*

41 NBWTA *Report of the 22nd Annual Council, 1897 - 98*. NBWTA, 1898. p 42

42 *The Pall Mall Gazette* was particularly critical of Somerset and her actions.

43 *Woman's Signal*,1897, Vol 6, 12th August, p 105.

44 Fawcett Library Autograph Letters Collection *Letter to Mrs Spence Watson 15th March 1898,*

Fawcett Library Autograph Letters Collection *Letter to Miss Ps 9th July 1897.*

form of the principle of regulation"[45]. Willard died two weeks later. This troubled affair and Somerset's evidence to the Royal Commission in 1897 was to continue to cause doubts about her ability and suitability to be president of the largest women's temperance organisation in Britain or as President of the WWCTU[46].

Somerset continued to prevaricate over her decision to resign. There had been a number of calls for her resignation. In April 1898, she again expressed her determination not to stand again[47]. This was despite Hannah Whitall Smith claiming to have heard from Somerset that she would "stand for re-election provided a sufficient number of branches desire"[48]. Whitall Smith's view, in March 1898, was that the loss of two great temperance leaders could destroy the women's temperance campaign and that as it had been Willard's dying wish that Somerset stand for re-election and "Lady Henry feels it is a sacred legacy" [49].

The issue did not go away. An open letter appeared in *The Shield* of February 1898 calling on NBWTA members to do their duty and not re-elect Somerset as their President

> "No woman, however able or eminent, who has advocated measures for regulating vice, can fitly preside over a great organisation of women bound together for moral ends. We must decline next May to re-elect Lady Henry Somerset to the position of President of the British Woman's Temperance Association. This is the

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45 Fitzpatrick op cit

46 See Chapters Three and Four

47 NBWTA Minutes of the Special Sub-committee 25th April 1898

48 Fawcett Library, Autograph Letters Collection *Letter from Mrs Whitall Smith to dear friend 3rd March 1898*; Unfortunately the papers of Whitall Smith are now in the United States.

49 Fawcett Library, Autograph Letters Collection *Letter from Mrs Whitall Smith to dear friend 3rd March 1898.*

duty to which we are called"[50].

It was signed by a number of NBWTA members including Helen P. Bright Clark and four Manchester members. The following month Manchester hosted a meeting of women to discuss the proposals of regulation in India. Pleas were heard for Christian women and Christian workers to disassociate themselves from Somerset[51]. Somerset's dedication to prohibition was in doubt, and her grasp of the issues of the *Contagious Diseases Acts* was considered slight. Her retraction certainly did not satisfy all her critics. Butler was particularly upset by the wording of the letter, and did not revise her previous opinion of Somerset. Butler wrote Mrs Spence Watson not only that Somerset might do damage to the cause but that she thought Mr Stuart "is nearer to the mark when he says 'She cannot do us much of either good or harm for she has made such a fool of herself poor woman.'"[52]. Butler considered her to be a wealthy aristocrat meddling in issues she did not understand. In America, Leavett of the WCTU had the same opinion. She had asked Somerset to go to India to investigate the implementation of the acts but Somerset had declined to do so. This reluctance damned her in Leavett's eyes[53]. Members of the WWCTU continued to call for Somerset's resignation as deputy of the WWCTU throughout the summer of 1898. Canada was particularly vocal and threatened to secede over the issue[54]. Concerns as to her suitability resurfaced as did the question of public houses on her estates and the matter of serving wine at her table. Branches began to make their own decisions on the matter and campaign against increased regulation. Southport branch, presumably with the knowledge of its President Eva McLaren,

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50 *The Shield,* 1898, February p 76 - 77 "Call to Duty".

51 *The Shield,* March 1898, p 86.

52 Fawcett Library, Autograph Letters Collection *Letter from Josephine Butler to Mrs Spence Watson 15th March 1898.,*

53 Tyrrell op cit

54 Bordin *Op cit;Woman's Signal,* 1897, Vol 8, 4th November, p 294, p298: 11th November, p 329: 15th November, p 342.

circulated copies of Bushnell and Andrews report to every minister in Southport and its environs together with an appeal that they should use their influence on behalf of "poor women and girls so cruelly oppressed by the workings of the *Contagious Diseases Acts*[55]. They followed this up by circularising all branches of the NBWTA "asking each one to do the same work for its own neighbourhood"[56]. Even when Somerset was re-elected as president in may 1898, by a large majority, feeling ran high and those speaking against her were "hissed" at[57].

The difficult and persistent question is why did Somerset not consult with Willard on the content and wording of the letter, or if she did, ignore her advice. Willard was by far the more experienced and astute political leader. Somerset must have been aware of Butler's attempts to obtain repeal within the Empire, and of the petition that was being circulated amongst members of the women's movement. In the United States Willard was a leading authority on social purity, which she named as one of a trinity of issues that the WCTU addressed[58]. Somerset was well aware of the WWCTU's stance on the *Contagious Diseases Acts*. That Willard would have allowed Somerset to make such an error of judgement seems inconceivable. Somerset may have acted unilaterally as she considered this to be British matter.

In 1897 she still had the affection and admiration of her middle class, non-conformist feminist members and may have assumed that they would have followed her lead in calling for greater controls. If this was the case she was dangerously misled. Her circular requesting that no members should approve or sign petitions to Lord Hamilton opposing his attempt to renew the Cantonment Acts would have appeared

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55 Bushnell, K. & Andrews, E.W. *The Queen's daughters in India.* 1898: *Labour Leader*, 17th December 1898 an overhead transparency given to the author by June Hamman.

56 *Op cit;*

57 *The Shield*, 1898, June p 118;

58 The other two were temperance and woman suffrage.

arrogant to the membership[59]. The majority of branches were "self standing" and firmly believed in affiliation to the NBWTA only. They would support her when they believed she was working for temperance and women's issues but not when they thought her to be in the wrong. When the branches without exception refused to follow her lead, she had no option but to tender her resignation.

This episode graphically illustrated the problem faced by Somerset as she tried to imitate Willard's "Do Everything" policy, a point Butler was to make in a letter to Mary Priestman in October 1896 "a little of the impossibility of working all these women's questions together"[60]. The NBWTA was in danger of becoming an organisation which spread itself too thinly. The difficulties and complexities relating to the *Contagious Diseases Acts* only served to highlight Somerset's inadequacies and lack of judgement on the issue and demonstrated the value of a single issue organisation. She was never to reclaim the complete trust of her membership. It was, however, to be Somerset's suspect temperance philosophy which caused her eventual retirement from the NBWTA in 1903.

Whilst such extraneous issues illustrate the diversity of the "British Women" they diverted from the aims and objectives of the NBWTA. This left the organisation unfocussed and confused. It aims became unclear and meant that the efforts of the members were dissipated to the detriment of their temperance agenda. The long term aim of the association was to achieve a temperate society by legislation. This was not to be fulfilled, nor were they to attain any form of parliamentary woman suffrage until 1918. Diversification was not a cause of this failure but the addition of

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[59] WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files, (Joint Ohio Historical Society and WCTU) Microfilm Edition. *Scrapbook 79 Newspaper Cuttings*

[60] Fawcett Library, Butler Collection *Letter from Josephine Butler to Mary Priestman 2nd June 1896*

other issues "clouded the issue" for many temperance advocates whose sole aim was to mitigate the effects and consequences of alcoholic drink.

6.4 INEBRIATE HOMES

The real success of the "fight against drink" for many temperance women was to be found in the homes and institutions they founded for inebriate women. These became popular following an outburst of moral indignation in the 1890s at the numbers of habitual female inebriates. Many believed that women had susceptibilities which made them more liable to mental and physical depression which gave them a predisposition to alcohol abuse. External circumstances were also blamed, including the standard temperance *bete noirs* of grocers licences, the prescribing of stimulants to women as tonics and the dangers of the employment of women in bars and as waitresses who had access to alcohol[61].

In an attempt to "reclaim" these women, homes were founded by branches and individuals. One of the early organisations to run a home for inebriate women was the M WCTA which registered "The Grove" under the Acts of 1879 and 1888 in 1890 and certified it under the 1898 Act[62]. Other early homes for women were expanded under the acts, the Royal Victorian Homes in Brentry and Horfield expanded their Brentry home[63]. Lady Henry Somerset's Duxhurst Reformatory in Surrey was also registered, as was St Joseph's, a reformatory, for Roman Catholic women which had places for 75 women and claimed to be always full[64]. The cost of

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61 *BWTJ,* 1889, Vol 7, March, "The increasing intemperance among women: what are its causes and remedies?"

62 *An Act to facilitate the control and care of Habitual Drunkards, 1879,* Vic 42 - 43, (19); *An Act to amend the Habitual Drunkards Act 1871, 1888* Vic 51 & 52, (19). Those admitted after the Habitual Drunkards Act 1879 had to prove their willingness to be admitted and signed consent was required. This was not always easy to obtain for the admission of those under the influence of alcohol.

63 Zedner op cit

64 *Proceedings of the Society for the Study of Inebriety,* 1901- 2, p 27. Westcott, W.W. A short report on recent progress in the treatment of inebriates, under the act of 1898; Evidence to

of keeping women in homes was expensive. There were two classes in the majority of homes, the well off who paid a higher rate and did not have to perform household duties and those less well off who paid a smaller fee but had to perform domestic duties. Increasingly the homes began laundries. These served two purposes, to provide an income for the home and also work for the less well off inmates. Despite the enthusiasm of the women's temperance movement for homes, local authorities were slow to establish them. Most of the homes had been established by temperance societies or philanthropic individuals[65],

Women inebriates continued to be regarded as having the greater problem, and were as a result treated more harshly than the male inebriate, with the result that homes for inebriate women flourished whilst few were established for men[66]. The statistics reflected this, and, in 1904, women represented 91% of admissions to certified reformatories and out numbered men by two to one in state reformatories[67].

Despite temperance women's enthusiasm for these homes, they were to fail. By 1921 all had closed. There were numerous problems, not least of which was that the regime was not intended for the actual women who became inmates. The reform methods were more suited to middle class women, the actual inmates were often

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the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws Question 31,655.

[65] Booth, Mrs Bramwell The management of the inebriate woman. *The British Journal of Inebriety,* Vol 9, No 2, pp 53 - 69.

Vegremont Sanatorium in Liverpool had been originally founded by Liverpool Ladies Temperance Society in 1880 under the guidance of Mr and Mrs Caine. Unusually it was not registered under the Habitual Drunkards Act but managed on a voluntary system requiring patients to sign agreements for three, six, or 12 months. The Hammond Lodge, near Kings Lynn was run by the Church of England Temperance Society, the Royal Philanthropic Victoria Home was founded by Rev. H.N. Burden and housed 40 women, this later became the Royal Victorian Home and the Salvation Army established a home for inebriate women in 1899. The BWTA founded an home in 1886 from the impetus generated by Lady Biddulph, it was considered a central factor in their work and by 1891, when it was in Sydenham it had too many applications to satisfy demand.

[66] Zedner op cit

McLaughlin, P.M. Inebriate reformatories in Scotland: an institutional history. IN Barrows, s. & Room, R. Drinking: *Behavior and belief in modern history.* Oxford, 1991.

[67] Zedner op cit

alcoholics or mentally ill working class women. These women strongly resisted efforts to change or sabotaged and subverted the system. After care was often non existent, and was beset with difficulties. It was difficult to keep track of released women and there was a severe lack of funding. Many women had lost their jobs and homes on admission and few would have achieved respectable femininity which would have allowed them to make a new start. The failure was obvious to many involved in the movement and many homes and reformatories sought to only admit the more "reformable" women. Few institutions were capable of coping with, let alone reforming, the disturbed and violent inmates. The increasing change of attitude towards alcohol addiction as a physical or mental condition as opposed to a moral issue hastened the demise of these homes.

These homes were in reality another diversification for the NBWTA and distracted the membership from their prime objective of achieving temperance legislation. Despite their large membership the NBWTA was not to achieve any major success in their campaign for temperance reform. Their strength in numbers was also their weakness[68]. They sought the franchise and citizenship to facilitate their temperance aims, but in order to do this they had to direct their energies and efforts to a number of diverse campaigns. These endorsed their feminist agenda but diluted their effectiveness in temperance reform. The diversity of the BWTA and NBWTA can be read as a strength and a sign of their growing confidence, but they lacked the concentration and perseverance of a focused single issue campaign. They became fragmented in their ambitions, and lack of unity prevented them concentrating on "an ideal solution to the drink problem". Diversification meant that the NBWTA became at times unfocussed and confused in its priorities.

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[68] Castle Howard J23/145 Part Two and Part Three. A membership table complied under the aegis of the Countess of Carlisle for the years 1882-3 and to 1903-04 is given in the appendices.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

Gender has been largely ignored in the history of the British temperance movement[1]. The gendered focus of this thesis has brought another perspective to temperance history, defining how temperance women were able to organise themselves, and to become politically active in order to achieve their aims[2]. It has shown that the BWTA/NBWTA was a feminist organisation, and also that temperance women played a central role in the women's movement[3]. Temperance women, especially "British Women" developed their Christian temperance work, which sought to save souls and bodies by converting to Christianity and temperance, into a political movement claiming both temperance and women's rights. They had dual aims, a temperate society achieved by parliamentary legislation, with the local option veto as their goal, and the full enfranchisement of women. This would give them not only the opportunity to vote for the local veto option and so prohibition, but also for equality and full citizenship.

Despite Carlisle's outburst, temperance women, their activities, philosophies and life styles described in this thesis has shown them to be feminists. Temperance women founded their own societies at a time when temperance work, even in the Christian

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1 Fahey's remarks about the Independent Order of Good Templars "Historians of race, gender and international moral reforms have forgotten them" could equally apply to the women's temperance movement.

Fahey, D.M. *Temperance and Race, John Bull, Johnny Reb and the Good Templars.* USA, 1996

2 Scott, J.W. *Gender and the Politics of History.* 1988; Levine, P. *Feminist Lives in Victorian England. Private and public roles and public commitment.* 1990.

3 The use of this terminology would not have been recognised or accepted by many members of the association even amongst its leadership. Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle wrote in 1915 to Mrs Clarkson in horror of feminists: "Our British Women's tradition to love and not to hate and we should feel uneasy, even petrified by feminisme or socialist rancour".

Castle Howard, J23/145 Part 3 *Letter to Mrs Clarkson dated 9th April 1915*

temperance tradition, not only met with resistance from men but when women were normally relegated to such feminine tasks as fund raising and merely being sub sections of male organisations[4]. The BWTA enabled women to take their activities out of drawing room meetings and into the political areas of the management of poor law boards, and the school boards, and on to the campaign for woman suffrage. Men preferred women to concentrate on "women's temperance issues", particularly those relating to domesticity, if they wished to enter the public sphere. In particular women were expected to be responsible for the temperate home and family. However the founding and managing of inebriate homes for women, and the campaign against both drink licenses and the employment of women as barmaids could be perceived as "women's issues". Whilst temperance women and members of the BWTA did address these issues, they developed and adapted them into political campaigns, enabling them to seek out political power to achieve equality not only within the temperance movement but also as citizens. They did not wish simply to have a supporting role in the temperance movement but to be able to participate at all levels of public activity and policy making. As they did so they developed political skills and also gained a new self confidence which enabled them to claim woman suffrage on egalitarian terms on the basis of their citizenship[5]. They did not want to emulate the WCTU and claim the vote for "home protection" only, nor subsume it into domesticity.

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[4] Proschaska, K.F. *Women and philanthropy in Victorian and Edwardian England.* Oxford, 1980.

[5] "Their (women) influence must be brought to bear , not only in their own homes, but on the legislature. Women are not yet recognised as citizens but her they can exercise their citizenship, if not in the Parliamentary Franchise, yet in their choice of fit persons , whether men or women for their Poor Law Guardians, their workhouse and school board officials and for all Local councils of the nation whether of, city, borough or county," *Women's Penny Paper*, 1890, 1st February p 178 "Temperance".

Temperance was not an end in itself for women. It became an integral part of the wider women's movement. Temperance women not only fought to eradicate drunkenness and its social consequences but develop their political role in society. In order to achieve this, they began by widening their sphere of influence in local politics becoming poor law guardians and campaigning for the ban of alcohol in the workhouse. Actively encouraged first by Lucas and later by Somerset and Carlisle members began by supporting temperance candidates for poor law guardians but soon realised that as guardians they could widen their sphere of influence and gain valuable political experience.

Guardianship became an acceptable role for women whose experience of domestic management was often greater than that of the male guardians. There was often little competition for the post and women realised that poor law guardianship was a relatively easy route into politics. Despite the resistance they encountered from the existing male guardians temperance women became more confident and encouraged others to volunteer for the work. They also began to seek election to school boards, in order to widen their sphere of influence in the temperance movement. Whilst poor law guardianship brought with it some small measure of control and power that they could use to further their temperance aims, membership of the school boards gave them a larger constituency, that of the education of children through temperance instruction. The more congenial arena of school boards gave women further experience and confidence to become a part of a wider network of politically active women. It was by their election to local authorities that they were able to exercise the greatest influence.

The early temperance movement had attracted Quakers, evangelicals and women in the same way that the anti-slavery and the reclamation of prostitutes campaigns had

done. All were moral issues. Quaker women in particular had participated in temperance activities together with other early temperance women and from this grew a network of socially aware women[6]. From these roots temperance women became an integral part of the women's networks, which included many Quaker women, and worked for other social and moral issues. Other networks developed over time notably around Carlisle who was at the centre of a network of suffrage, temperance and Liberal women. This linked into the suffragist movement led by Millicent Garrett Fawcett, the social purity movements through Laura Ormiston Chant, and women's trade unionism via Amie Hicks[7]. It was not only access into these networks but temperance women's participation in all these movements which places them at the centre of women's movement throughout the period covered by this thesis.

This contradicts the perception of temperance women who have been viewed as reactionary. This is due in part to the split which occurred in 1893 under Somerset's leadership. It has been assumed that this was a dispute over the addition of suffrage to the remit of the BWTA. Research undertaken for this thesis has shown that the split within the BWTA was not caused simply by the addition of women's suffrage. It was a combination of factors, which included Somerset's enthusiasm for the techniques of the WCTU, her devotion to Frances Willard, and what was perceived by many to be an attempt to "Americanise" the BWTA make it merely a branch of the WWCTU. The accusation of "Americanisation" had even reached Somerset who in debate at the Annual Council in 1892 referred to herself as being "tainted with

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[6] Wright, S. *Friends in York: the dynamics of Quaker revival 1780 - 1860.* Keele. 1995. Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers: A record of social, moral, religious and political progress.* 1892.

[7] Castle Howard Archives J23/ 466 Letters from Amie Hicks: Relieving unemployed women in London 1906 - 1908.

American ideas"[8]. The association was cautious about the suitability of "American ideas".

Many did not wish the BWTA to become a multi-issue organisation, which they believed would dilute their sense of purpose and efforts amongst many activities to the detriment of the main purpose of the association[9]. Significantly many of those opposing Somerset were also supporters of the women's suffrage and other feminist movements. They merely wished to see the BWTA as a single issue organisation whose members participated in other campaigns as individuals.

The BWTA/NBWTA was undoubtedly given strong direction by its leaders, as described previously, and each had a tremendous influence on the organisation, its policies and tactics. Each president had her own agenda for the organisation but all gave the association and its members a growing self confidence as they expanded their role and moved into political activity.

The leadership of the BWTA/NBWTA was instrumental in dictating the route the association took. Lucas saw the BWTA as part of women's widening sphere and believed that for women to have a lasting influence on the temperance movement they needed the vote. She managed the association in the Christian temperance tradition but began its move to political activism. Somerset, elected because of her title, became converted to Willard's American model of "Do Everything". She hoped to modernise the association into a multifaceted organisation embracing the whole spectrum of the women's movement. She mis-read the mood of the association. Her non consultative method of management alienated many, and her mismanagement of the contagious diseases issue and the general unease with her temperance politics led to her resignation in 1903. For Carlisle the NBWTA was major organisation

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8 BWTA *Report of the Annual Council, 1890.* 1890. p 15

9 See Chapter Five

which she could use for her own political agenda for temperance, Liberalism and suffrage. She wanted a secular association and in general achieved it. Her grasp of the politics of temperance and women's issues made her a formidable leader. She ruled the association completely in her own image. Despite some reservations the membership grew and she ensured that temperance was first on the agenda but she continued to campaign for woman suffrage through the BWTA. She was, despite her remarks quoted in this conclusion, a radical and a feminist leader of the women's temperance movement.

This thesis has addressed a little researched aspect of both the temperance movement and feminism. It has focused on one organisation, the largest women's temperance organisation, the BWTA/NBWTA and its leadership. This is but one aspect of the women's temperance movement, the early period of the women's temperance movement still needs detailed consideration. A study of branches and the influence of headquarters on them would give a broader view of the movement and could consider the way in which branches reacted to Somerset's addition of other issues to her agenda. Further research on the role of temperance women as poor law guardians, members of school boards and in local government and how they pressed for temperance reform and what they achieved would considerably expand the work of this thesis. Both Somerset and Carlisle are lacking biographies that would focus on their public role. These would complement, for Carlisle, the existing biographies and for Somerset a more critical biography. Other topics needing development are a study of the WTAU and its membership in the temperance movement. Women's work for inebriate homes run for and by women, and the campaign for the implementation of scientific temperance instruction in

schools need further research based in medical history and history of education respectively[10].

This thesis has expanded the range of activities undertaken by feminists to include the under researched topic of the women's temperance movement. It demonstrates that early feminists used a wider base of activities from which to seek citizenship and equality than existing literature suggests.

[10] Cathy Lubelska is currently working on inebriate homes for women.

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APPENDIX ONE

DEFINITIONS

The early temperance campaign was perceived as a spirits only movement, forbidding the drinking of spirits or "drams". The British and Foreign Temperance Society, founded originally in 1831 as the London Temperance Society, was based on an anti-spirits temperance. As the temperance movement changed and developed throughout the nineteenth century other terminology was used. Moderation, total abstinence, teetotalism, prohibition, local option or local veto were all used to specify different aspects of the temperance movement.

This thesis uses the generic term of temperance for all aspects of the campaign. It is the most commonly used term and encompasses all aspects of the movement. It is also the term used by the BWTA, largest women's organisation in Britain. Following the split in the BWTA in 1893, the multi disciplinary fraction kept temperance in their title whilst the breakaway single issue organisation, The WTAU, adopted Total Abstinence, in its title. When referring to a particular aspect of the campaign the specific terminology will be used.

Temperance from the nineteenth century came to mean firstly the moderate use of alcoholic drink. Later temperance become a short hand term applied to the practice or principle of total abstinence from alcoholic drink. Temperance remains in use as describing the action of individuals, or groups who do not imbibe alcohol in any form. It was also used in some instances to include a ban on tobacco use.

Moderation was intended for those who possessed the will power to drink with restraint and was often favoured by the clergy and the aristocracy. This was a personal choice and those who supported moderation did not seek to reclaim others. The followers of this early form of temperance were know as Moderationists.

Total Abstinence was introduced when it became obvious that the anti-spirits/moderation campaign was not reaching beer drinkers and permitted the upper classes to continue to drink wine. Unlike the moderationist movement total abstinence sought to reclaim individuals. Total Abstinence was a complete ban on the consumption of alcohol. It did not allow alcohol for medical purposes or alcoholic communion wine. It was believed that a pledge of total abstinence was necessary for all undertook the abstinent way of life[1].

Teetotalism a term devised in Preston and used by Livesey came to replace the more cumbersome "Total Abstinence" in the North West and later encompassed the whole campaign. Teetotalism was seen as a threat to the status quo. Its confessional and reclamation basis was perceived as a threat to the church. It made temperance a secular campaign, not least because Liveresy wished the temperance campaign to be divorced from religion.

Prohibition is the legal enforcement of temperance through state legislation. The preferred option was that of the **Local Veto** and local veto bills were introduced in 1893 and 1895. Local option allowed for the introduction of prohibition in local

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[1] Examples of pledges are given at the end of this section.

areas. The fundamental provision for a local veto required a tenth of the municipal electors to request a poll to be taken on prohibition, and the renewal of licenses. A majority of two thirds, of those voting, would be needed for a "no license" policy. A three year lead in period was allowed and licenses would be annually terminable. Some exceptions would be allowed in the event of a "no license" vote and inns, hotels, railway refreshments and restaurants would be exempted.

The Local Option continued in parts of Wales, until 1997, in the form of Sunday Closing. Remnants of the local veto can also be found in Victoria, Australia and Evanston. In both cases the WCTU campaigned for its introduction in the late nineteenth century.

Scientific Temperance was the study of the "nature and effects of alcoholic drinks" on the mind and body of those who drank them. Supporters of STI lobbied for its introduction on school boards and endeavoured to include in school timetable. This would be taught as a specific course, and pupils would be examined. The belief was that scientific temperance would ensure that children would become total abstainers and teach their children you follow their example.

APPENDIX TWO

PLEDGES

The need for a pledge - The signing of a total abstinence pledge was a symbolic act marking a conversion to temperance and the change of life style. It was the corner stone of the movement. Very few exceptions were allowed. These were predominately Quakers and other who declined to sign for religious reasons. The actual wording of the pledge became as symbolic as the act of signing. Various versions of the pledge were available and a schism developed between those who signed the short and long pledge. There were temperance pledges and total abstinence pledges. Short pledges were, according to Harrison, most likely to be of higher social standing than those signing the long pledge[2]. Individual societies would require different pledges.

Total Abstinence Pledge

We (I) agree to abstain from all liquors of an intoxicating quality, whether ale, porter, wine or ardent spirits, except as medicine. - this was the pledge signed by Livesesy.

Long Pledge

I do voluntary promise that I will not use intoxicating liquors as a beverage, nor when intermixed with any kind of food, nor as medicine, nor as sacramental purposes, nor traffic in them, that I will not give nor offer them to others, and that I will discountenance their use throughout the community.

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2 Harrison, B.H. Drink and the Victorians. Keele, 1994. pp 133 - 137

BWTA Pledge

I here by promise by grace divine to take no spirits, beer or wine/ nor will I buy, nor sell, nor give strong drink to others while I live/ and this my true resolve shall be - no drink, no drink, no drink for me.

APPENDIX THREE

PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONS

ROYAL COMMISSIONS

Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the operation of the Sunday Closing (Wales), Act, 1881. 1890, 40 (Cmnd 5994 and 5994-I)

Royal Commission on the Liquor Licensing Laws, 1897-9, 34-8 Cmnd 8355 -6, 8523, 8693-6, 8821-2, 8979-80, 9075-6, 9379, 9379-I

SELECT COMMITTEES

1. HOUSE OF LORDS

Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance, 1877-9, PP, 11.

2. HOUSE OF COMMONS

Select Committee on the Sale of Beer, 1830, (253)

Select Committee on Inquiry into Drunkeness, PP, 8, (1834)

Select Committee on Public Houses, 1852-3, PP, 3.

Select Committee on Public Houses, 1854, PP, 14.

Select Committee on Public Houses, 1852 - 3 37(855)

Select Committee on the Sale of Liquors on Sunday Bill, 1867 - 8, 15 (402)

Select Committee on the control and management of Habitual Drunkards, 1872, PP, 9

Select Committee on Intemperance, 1877-9, 10-11, 14 (113, 171, 271, 338,418).

DEPARTMENTAL COMMISSIONS

Report of the Departmental Committee to advise as to the Regulations to be made under the Inebriates Act 1898, PP, 12

Report of the Departmental Committee to inquire into the Operation of the Law Relating to Inebriates and to their detention in Reformatories and Reatreats, 1908, PP 12

APPENDIX FOUR

BWTA/NBWTA

MEMBERSHIP FIGURES

YEAR	MEMBERS
1882 - 3	7,307
1883 - 4	9,179
1884- 5	11,831
1885 -6	12,583
1886 - 7	16,135
1887 - 8	18,156
1888 - 9	18,975
1889 - 90	23,288
1890 - 1	27,763
1891 - 2	29,485
1892 - 3	36,458
1893 - 4	46,910
1894 - 5	56,278
1895 - 6	62,714
1896 - 7	66,414
1897 - 8	66,718
1898 - 9	70,721
1899 - 1900	75,562
1900 - 01	78,437
1901 - 02	84,990
1902 - 3	92,422
1903 - 4	99,212[1]
1906	(over 100,000)[2]
1914	(which number 165,00)[3]

1 Castle Howard Archives J23/151
2 Castle Howard Archives J23/145 Part 2
3 Castle Howard Archives J23/145 Part 3

APPENDIX FIVE

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON LICENSING LAWS 1897 - 99

MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the Royal Commission was finely balanced. The following list gives the membership of the Commission and their affiliations.

The liquor trade was represented by Henry Ginling (Liberal, director of W. & A. Gilbey and represented the wholesale wines and spirits trade), Samuel Hyslop (former president of the Licensed Victuallers National Defence League), Henry H. Riley (of John Smith Tadcaster Brewery and chairman of the County Brewers Association he was to be an unsuccessful candidate for the Conservative Party), Sir Frederick Seager Hunt (Conservative M.P. and head of the distillery Seager Evans), Charles Walker (President of the Licensed Victuallers Central Protection Society of London and chairman of the United Parliamentary Council of the Retail Liquor Trade) Samuel Young (Anti-Parnellite Nationalist M.P. owner of Belfast distillery of Young, King) and George Younger Chairman of the Scottish Brewery, President of the Scottish Licensed Trade Defence Association, Conservative M.P. and later Chairman of the Conservative Party).

The prohibitionists were W.S. Caine (Former Liberal M. P., President of the National Temperance Federation), Sir Charles Cameron (Liberal Member of Parliament , physician and representing Scotland) and J. Herbert Roberts (Liberal M.P., represented Wales). Dr Frederick Temple (president of the Church of England Temperance Society, then Bishop of London and later Archbishop of Canterbury). The non prohibitionist temperance members were William Allen, (Liberal M.P. member of the executive committee of Tied-House tenants League), Rev H.H. Dickinson (Dean of the Royal Chapel and represented Ireland),

and Sir William Holdsworth (Conservative M.P. and president of the National and Unionist Temperance Association),

The neutrals were Lord de Vesci (Liberal Unionist and Lord Lieutenant of Queen's County Ireland), The Earl of Jersey (Conservative and Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire, he resigned his membership and was replaced by Lord Windsor (a Conservative and Lord Lieutenant of Glamorganshire), Alexander Morison Gordon (Conservative and Convenor of Aberdeenshire), William Graham (Conservative and a barrister who was counsel for *The Times* in the Dilke case), Andrew Johnston, (Former M.P. and Liberal Unionist, a teetotaller opposed to prohibition) and John Lloyd Wharton (Conservative M.P. and chairman of the quarter sessions of County Durham).

1854, *Old October, Being a True Sketch of a Temperance Meeting in the Earliest Days of the Temperance Reformation,* 1868.

Balgarnie, Florence 1857 - 1928

Florence Balgarnie was the daughter of a Congregational Minister. Her temperance activities included membership of the BWTA. She became a founding member of the WTAU, and a member of the British Society for Inebriety. She worked as a journalist on the *Women's Signal,* until sacked by Lady Henry Somerset and was a correspondent for the *White Ribbon Signal* of Victoria in 1902. She was a member of the executive committee of the WLGS, organising secretary of the Central Committee of the NSWS and a member of the Men and Women's' Club. She travelled extensively to America, New Zealand, Australia and India where she studied the politics of temperance and suffrage. She was a member of the Scarborough School Board and was active in encouraging women to stand for election as councillors to the LCC. She worked with the Countess of Carlisle for both temperance and women's suffrage.

Ware, V. *Beyond the Pale.* 1992. Bland, L. *Banishing the Beast: English feminism and sexual morality, 1885-1914.* 1995; *Woman's Signal,* Vol 4, 1895, 28th November p 345; *Wings,* 1907, Vol 25, No 5, May, pp 58-9; *Englishwoman's Review,* 1883, Vol 14, 15th February, pp 76-7; Castle Howard Archives, J23/144 *Letters from Florence Balgarnie; Women's Penny Paper,* Vol 1 16th March 1889; *Woman's Signal,* 1897, Vol 7, 21st March, p222; *White Ribbon Signal,* Victoria, 1902, Vol 10, No 4, p79.

Bannister, Elizabeth

Elizabeth Bannister was principal of Westfield College. In 1910 she was elected to Southend council, having defeated a publican. Her papers were signed by women and her campaign was run by women including a number of NBWTA members.

NBWTA *Annual Report of the 35th Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1909 - 10.* 1910. p 118.

Battersby, Eleanor Dunbas 1821 - 1884

Eleanor Dunbas Battersby began her career teaching in Sunday Schools, giving Bible classes and organising mothers' meetings. A Gospel temperance worker, she inspired others to take up temperance work. She founded the Victoria Coffee house at Donnington, and the local branch of the YWCA in 1879. She had been a founding member of the YWCA in 1877. A speaker for the temperance cause, she gave papers at a number of meetings for the NTL.

Eleanor D. Harford Battersby - Brief Memorials of her Work, with Photograph. Shropshire, 1884; Fletcher, J.M.J. *Mrs Wightman of Shrewsbury: The story of a pioneer.* 1906.

Bayly, Mary

Mary Bayly began her philanthropic work as a missionary visitor in Notting Hill, where she began one of the earliest teetotal working men's clubs. Later, in 1861, she opened a workman's hall. It was her suggestion that women temperance meetings should be held under the auspices of the National Temperance League.

Bayley, M. *Christian Aspect of the Temperance Question.* 1863; *Women's Signal,* 1896, Vol 5, 30th April, pp 273 - 274.

Biddulph, Lady Elizabeth

Lady Biddulph, was a philanthropist who established "Thrift clubs" in Bethnal Green, Kemble and Ledbury, as well as undertaking parish work in the East End of London. She spoke at the "Women's work for temperance" conference organised by the National Temperance Congress complaining that female members of CETS were unable to obtain the consent of the clergy for their temperance work. She was president of the Ledbury CETS Union, a member of CETS council and an honorary member of the IOGT. Following the split in the BWTA she did not leave immediately the BWTA, despite her reservations over Somerset's leadership. She was President of the BWTA's Home for Inebriate Women and became a Vice President of the WTAU. She was a Liberal Unionist, the daughter of Lord Hardwick and wife of Michael Biddulph M.P.

WCTU National Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - Woman's Christian Temperance Union) Microfilm Edition, Reel 40 Scrapbook 64 , *Proceedings of the National Temperance Congress, 1899.*

Mrs Blakely 1818 - 1905

Mrs Blakely, a Quaker from Bolton, was a cousin of Margaret Bright Lucas and shared many of Lucas's interests including anti-slavery and peace. Blakely accompanied Lucas to the United States in 1878. She was a founder member of the Halifax Ladies Temperance Society, a member of the IOGT, a supporter of the anti-slavery campaign, the women's peace movement, British Girls Schools, anti-opium organisations and the campaign against the contagious diseases acts.

Wings, 1906, Vol 24, No 1, January, p 3.

Boden, Mary Shuttleworth 1840 -

Mrs Boden began her work by working with the employees of her husband's firms, organising sewing classes, forming a temperance society for girls and a Girls Friendly Society. An ardent temperance supporter she was a frequent speaker at BWTA meetings. She worked with a number of temperance organisations. She was the President of the Derby BWTA, a member of the executive committee of the BWTA. She supported Lady Henry Somerset in the debates over suffrage in 1892/3. She was a vice-president of the British Temperance League, vice-president of the Derby and Derbyshire Band of Hope, Women's Auxiliary, the president of the Derby Temperance Society, Women's Auxiliary and treasurer of the CETS Women's Union in Derby.

WCTU National Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - Woman's Christian Temperance Union) Microfilm Edition, *Scrapbooks, 59 and 64* ; Manchester Public Library, Archives Department, M286/30/ - *BWTA Report of the annual council 1892.* BWTA, 1892.

Booth, Catherine 1829 - 1890

Catherine Booth was born Catherine Mumford in Ashbourne. As a child she suffered from bad health but she was a member of the Band of Hope and a supporter of the temperance movement. She took an equal role with her husband in the creation and organisation of the Salvation Army. It was Catherine Booth who insisted that membership of the Salvation Army be conditional on being a total abstainer. She became concerned about the working conditions of women doing needle work and women matchmakers. She campaigned against the use of yellow phosphorous. Following her death in 1890, William Booth, took up her campaign and opened a match-factory using the safer red phosphorous.

Bramwell-Booth, C. *Catherine Booth: The story of her loves.* 1970.

Bousfield, Mrs 1820 -

Mrs Bousfield was the organising secretary of the BWTA, a participatory member of the Bedford BWTA. She became a vice-president of the WTAU, and was a supporter of women's suffrage movement. She was a member of the general committee of the NSWS.

Wings, 1901, Vol 19, No 5, May, pp 57 - 8.

Brown, Mary 1847 - 1935

Mary Brown was born in South Africa and moved to Britain with her husband. She took up maternity training in Edinburgh. When they moved to Burnley she began to participate in local politics becoming a member of the

Burnley Board of Guardians in 1894. She also helped found the Burnley Co-operative Guild and she became its president for 10 years. A suffrage supporter she renewed her friendship with Olive Schreiner, who visited her in Burnley. She moved back to South Africa in 1905, where she continued her temperance work becoming superintendent of the Department for Social Purity and Moral Education of the WCTU. She also edited the *White Ribbon* in South Africa and became active in the South African suffrage movement.

Banks, O. *The Biographical Dictionary of British Feminists.* Volume 2 A supplement, 1900 - 1945. New York, 1990; Women's Co-operate Guild, *Woman as Home Maker and Citizen.* n.d.

Butler, Josephine 1828 - 1906

Butler is best known for her campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts. She became the Superintendent of the Department of Social Purity of the WWCTU and became involved in the controversy over Lady Henry Somerset's letter to *The Times* on the re-introduction of the *Contagious Diseases Acts* in India.
Once the repeal of the *Contagious Diseases Acts* had been achieved in 1886, Josephine Butler began working for the difficult task of repealing similar acts in other Empire countries. She began this campaign, in 1887, in Exeter Hall which hosted the meetings of many other social, reform and evangelical organisations, especially evangelical ones. She became increasingly concerned with the situation in India where the *Contagious Diseases Acts* had been officially suspended in 1888. It was suspected that the main features of the acts continued and when approached by Bushnell and Andrews, of the WWCTU she instructed them to write a report on their investigations. Their impressions of the situation in India and their observations was published in 1898 as *The Queen's daughters in India.* The whole issue of regulation in India had become a major concern amongst the abolitionists in Britain. Lady Henry's letter to *The Times* infuriated Butler. Butler was a member of the BWTA but wrote to Mrs Priestman that she only joined the BWTA to ensure that she knew what was happening within the association in respect of repeal issues and to prevent the leading members of the BWTA damaging her work.

Fawcett, M.G. & Turner, E.M. Editors *Josephine Butler: Her work and principles, and their meaning for the twentieth century.* 1927; Johnson, G.W. & Johnson, L.A. *Josephine Butler - An Autobiographical Memoirs.* Bristol, 1913. Fawcett Library, *Autograph Letters Collection*

Cadbury, Hannah 1830 -

Hannah Cadbury was a temperance advocate and became a poor law guardian in Birmingham.

Cadbury, Elizabeth 1832 -

Elizabeth Cadbury was a temperance advocate and became a member of the executive committee of the BWTA and Superintendent for Adult Schools.

Carlile, Anne Jane 1775 - 1864

Following the death of her husband, Carlile set up in business as a flax buyer and prospered, moving from County Monaghan to Dublin. She became involved in temperance work as a result of her earlier prison work with prostitutes in Dublin gaol. She came to believe that drink was responsible for many women turning to prostitution and committing petty crimes which resulted in their imprisonment. She founded the Poolbeg Street Temperance Society for Sailors and became committed to the temperance movement. In the 1840s she became one of the earliest women to speak on temperance in public. By late 1840s she was in the "full tide of her labours" and she is credited with naming the "Band of Hope" an organisation for children committed to temperance, in 1847, whilst visiting Leeds. There is some dispute over who formed the Band of Hope, but both Sherlock's and Crofton's works support her claim. She was the author of temperance tracts and she travelled widely in the British Isles speaking to mixed temperance audiences. One of her regular speeches was "*The duty of women in relation to the temperance movement*" in which she encouraged women to take an active part in the cause. The main focus of her temperance work was with children.

Burns, D. *Temperance History. A consequential narrative of the rise, development and extension of the temperance reform.* 1900. Volume 2 Mrs Carlile and the Band of Hope p 424; Crofton, R.H. *Anne Jane Carlile and her Descendants.* St Leonards on Sea, 1950; Sherlock, F. *Anne Jane Carlile: A temperance pioneer.* 1897.

Carpenter, Mary 1807 - 1877

Carpenter was from an Unitarian and temperance family. She was concerned about the lack of education for women. She wrote on education in Ragged Schools and became an authority on industrial schools. She continued to be aware of the effects of alcohol and added temperance to her educational work.

Manton, J. *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets,* 1976.
Schupf, H.W. Single Women and Social Reform in Mid-nineteenth Century England: The case of Mary Carpenter. *Victorian Studies*, 27, 1974, pp 301 - 317; Tyrrell, A. "Woman's mission" and pressure group politics in Britain 1825 - 60, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library,* 63, 1980 - 81, pp 194 - 230.

Chant, Laura Ormiston 1848 - 1923

Laura Ormiston Chant was a temperance advocate and became a member of the Sub-committee of the BWTA, becoming superintendent for the Health and Hygiene Department. Her career was long and varied. She was a member of the LNA, WLF, National Vigilance Society, WLGS, the Central National Society for Women's Suffrage and was a member of the peace movement. She lectured on all aspects of the women's movement although is probably best known for the campaign to force the London County Council not to renew the licence of the Theatre of Varieties.

Bland, L. *Banishing the Beast, English Feminism and Sexual Morality, 1885 - 1914.* 1995.

Connell, Miss E.L. 1847 - 1902

Miss Connell was a poor law guardian at Gateshead and on Gateshead school board from 1885 to 1894. An ardent supporter of temperance she became the northern organiser for the WTAU.

Cowan, Mrs - 1894

Mrs Cowan was a supporter of both temperance and women's suffrage and became president of the WTAU. She was a Liberal but believed that temperance reform should be free of party politics. A poor law guardian herself, she encouraged other women to do the same. She was also a school board member. Her other interests included natural history and geology.

Women's Penny Paper, 1890, April 26th p 320

Craigen, Jessie 1836 - 1900

Jessie Craigen was a temperance and suffrage speaker she also worked for the Women's Protection and Provident League and campaigned against the *Contagious Diseases Acts* in a paid capacity. Her speaking career was a long one, the earliest reference to her speaking is for the Auxiliary Alliance in 1862. She was described as "one of the most gifted and powerful speakers we have ever heard on the subject [temperance]". She was employed by Lydia Becker to speak in Manchester to working class women on women's suffrage in 1879. She also worked for Priscilla Bright McLaren, the Priestman sisters and Helen Taylor. She was employed by the Ladies National Association. She had a strong personality and was a compelling speaker but became increasingly unreliable to the detriment of her speaking career.

Holton, S.S. *Suffrage Days.* 1997; *The Temperance Spectator,* 1862, 1st February, p 27; Winskill, P. T. *Standard Temperance Standard Bearers of the Nineteenth Century.* Manchester, 1897; Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers.* 1891; *Englishwoman's Review* 1900, Vol 31, 15th

January Obituary p 65; *Englishwoman's Review* , 1871, No 5, January p 55; Craigen, J. *Letter to the Ladies of the Women's Suffrage Movement.* n.d. [188?]

Crawford, Rebecca

Crawford gave evidence to the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws representing the Catholic Women's Temperance League, Dublin Women's Total Abstinence Society, the Ratger Branch of the Irish Women's Temperance Union and the Dublin Women's Methodist Temperance Union,

Crosfield, Mrs (Jane?)

Mrs Crosfield was approached by Rosalind Countess of Carlisle shortly after Carlisle had become president of the NBWTA, in an attempt to persuade her to become more actively involved in the work of the association. Mrs Crosfield continued to decline all Carlisle's attempts to involve her although she did become a member of the Special Sub-committee. Crosfield had contact with the WTAU through Mrs Brooks, a previous president of the WTAU. Carlisle persuaded Crosfield to act as a mediator between Carlisle and the WTAU in Carlisle's attempt to amalgamate the NBWTA, Scottish Christian Union and the WTAU. Neither organisation wished to join the NBWTA. Crosfield herself believed that there was "room for two societies" and appears, from her letters, not to wish to favour either organisation.

Castle Howard, Archives, J23/190 *Letters from Mrs Crosfield 1903 -1911*

Docwra, Mary Jessop 1822 - 1901

A Quaker who spoke at the inaugural meeting of the BWTA. She had begun her temperance work by organising a Band of Hope, founding an non sectarian infant school and Sunday school. In 1875 she founded a total abstinence society for women Friends. Whilst a member of the BWTA she produced the first non-alcoholic cookery book that ran to several editions. She became a member of the National Council of the BWTA from 1883 to 1890 and president of the executive committee 1890 - 91. She was the leader of the majority of the executive committee that opposed Somerset's attempt to adopt a "Do everything" policy. Following the split she became the first President of the WTAU in 1893. She was also a member of the IOGT holding the office of Grand Worthy Templar in the English Grand Lodge and was a district secretary for 11 years. A member of the peace movement she was secretary of the Kelvedon Local Peace Association, and became a member of the British Society for the Study of Inebriety.

NBWTAU *The National British Women's Temperance Association, its Origin and Progress. A Jubilee sketch.* 1926; *Wings*, 1901, Vol 19, No 2, February p 20 -21; *Wings*, 1894 ,Vol 12, No 7, July,

Dolton, Rose

Miss Dolton was a member of the NBWTA Sub Committee of the National Executive and in correspondence with Rosalind Countess of Carlisle. Dalton was president of the Newbury Branch and had the full support of her members. She was unfortunate in being defeated in her attempt to become a poor law guardian despite the largest poll ever for the ward.

Castle Howard, Archives, J32/*192 Letters from Miss Rose Dolton 1904 - 1916.*

Down, Elizabeth Ann 1840 -

Elizabeth Down was a member of the IOGT and the founder of the Upper Holloway Branch of the BWTA. Her previous work was with a tent mission in Highbury fields and she conducted missions throughout London. Following the split in the BWTA she joined the WTAU and became a member of its executive committee.

Winskill, P.J. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers.* 1892; *Wings,* 1894, Vol 12, No 11, November, p 143

Evans, Mrs

Mrs Evans was a temperance poor law guardian on the Strand Board from 1887. She was instrumental in the founding of the Local Electors Association in conjunction with Mrs Charles, Caroline Biggs of the *Englishwoman's Review* and Lucy Wilson of Sheffield and the Vigilance Association. She was described as a popular temperance poor law guardian.

Hollis, P. *Ladies Elect Women in English Local Government.* Oxford, 1987.

Finlay, Mrs

Mrs Finlay became a poor law guardian for Hampstead in 1892, becoming Vice-Chairman of the Board. A member of the BWTA she joined the WTAU after the split and became the secretary of the Hampstead WTAU. She was an executive member of the WTAU and on the London United Temperance Council. Her other interests included women's benefit societies.

Wings, 1897, Vol 15, no 5, May, pp 57 - 59.

Fison, Mrs William - 1866

Mrs Fison was extremely active in the temperance cause and was appointed by the National Temperance League as an organiser for drawing room meetings. She directed her efforts amongst the upper classes to gain their support for temperance. She was active in distributing Julia Bainbrigge Wightman's book *Haste to the Rescue* to over 10,000 clergymen.

Burns, D. *History of Temperance in the Victorian Age.* 1897.

Forsythe, Jessie 1847 - 1937

Jessie Forsythe was a member of the IOGT for fifty years. She originally joined the IOGT in 1872 in London. She emigrated to America in the 1875 and she lived their until 1911 when she emigrated to Australia. She had been active in the IOGT in England and expanded her work in America where she became a Right Worthy Vice Templar and an international officer. She frequently travelled to Europe in this role. She was also editor of the *Temperance Brotherhood.* She emigrated to Australia and worked with the WCTU becoming president of the Freemantle branch. She was the state president 1913 - 16. She moved to Melbourne in 1917 and became the organising secretary of the Australian National Prohibition League. She was a prolific writer of articles and pamphlets and had contacts with Catherine Impey and other British Templars.
Fahey, D. *Writings of Jessie Forsythe 1847 - 1937: The Good Templars and reform on three continents.* USA, 1988.

Foster-Newton, Jenny

Foster-Newton, an ardent supporter of temperance, was so well known for her fight to close pubs that she was barred from visiting less reputable pubs. She had been banned from workhouse visiting. She became a vice president of the WLF and like many others conducted a political correspondence with Rosalind Countess of Carlisle.

Poor Law Conferences, *Metropolitan and South Eastern District poor law conference,* 1876 - 1911; Castle Howard, Archives, J23/193 *Letters from J.L. Foster Newton 1904 - 1919*

Fowler, Jessie Allan 1847 - 1937

Miss Fowler was the daughter of Mrs Lydia Folger Fowler (see below) and was also a temperance advocate. She worked with Bands of Hope, was the organising secretary of the BWTA, and the honorary secretary from 1879 to 1891. She joined the WTAU after the split in the BWTA. In 1887 she travelled to Australia and reported on the temperance movement in Britain.

She attended courses for practical anatomy at the Medical School for Women.

Women's Penny Paper, Vol 1, No 28, May 1889.

Fowler, Mrs Lydia Folger 1823 - 1879

An American by birth Mrs Fowler studied medicine in America, where she had a medical practice. On moving to Britain she began lecturing on a number of issues including temperance.

Willard, Frances E. *Woman and Temperance.* USA, 1884; *Englishwoman's Review,* 1875, February, p 79.

Grimwade, Mrs 1843 - 1893,

Miss Grimwade was responsible for the BWTA in Ipswich. Her early religious philanthropy included work with mothers' meetings, Bible classes, and visiting to the aged and the poor. She also founded a home for orphans and friendless girls in 1878. She had worked for Tanner's Lane Mission in Ipswich. She was a member of a number of temperance organisations including the IOGT and the Ipswich Ladies Temperance Society. She organised the foundation of a temperance hall that was used for Sunday Schools, religious services and mother's meetings. In the debate over Somerset's leadership she supported the majority of the executive committee and joined the WTAU. She became a member of the Ipswich school board member and introduced cookery into schools. Her father was Town Clerk of Ipswich and a poor law guardian.

Wings, 1893, Vol 11, No 12, December, p 270 *Obituary;* Hollis, P. *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government 1865 - 1914.* Oxford, 1987.

Harvey, Mrs 1813 - 1894

Mrs Harvey was president of the Yorkshire County Union. Although little is known of her it is obvious from references to her that she was the leading member of the women's temperance movement in the county. She was to clash with Carlisle over policy on several occasions. Carlisle would have liked to have control over of the Yorkshire Union, particularly as Castle Howard was located in the county, but was unable to achieve it. It is possible that Mrs Harvey was the daughter in law of Mrs Harvey of Headingly Hall (1813 - 1894) who was a Quaker and described as a "earnest philanthropist " by Winskill.

Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers.* 1891; Castle Howard Archives J23/178 *Letters from Mrs Harvey of Leeds 1905 - 1918.*

Hawkes, Alice

Mrs Alice Hawkes was a representative of the WTAU and gave evidence to the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws. She was also a member of the IOGT and the Band of Hope.

Hilton, Marie 1821 - 1896

Marie Hilton, a Quaker, had a range of philanthropic endeavours, she was the founder of the Stepney Crèche in 1871, worked in the East End of London. She was an active temperance worker. She attended the founding of the BWTA in Newcastle. She frequently spoke at their annual meetings and was the author of *Our homes in danger* as well as a number of temperance tracts. She became a member of WTAU following the split in the BWTA.

Burns, D. *Temperance in the Victorian Age.* London 1897; Hilton, J. D. *Marie Hilton.* 1897; Hilton, M. *Our Homes in Danger.* n.d.; Hilton, M. *Women's Responsibilities in Relation to Temperance.* 1878; *Temperance Record*, 1878, No 1143 7th February p 86 F*emale Intemperance Report of meeting of the BWTA*; *Temperance Record*, 1878, No 1153 , 2nd May *Report of BWTA meeting; Woman's Signal*, Vol 5, No 122, pp 273 -4.

Holliday Wilson, Sylvia - 1923

She was president of the Blackpool Branch of the NBWTA and worked for the Women's Guild for Christian Service. Her husband was the Rev. Henry Wilson and a member of the Education Authority.

Wigan Observer, 23rd October 1923 *Obituary*

Holland, Miss Martha - 1899

Miss Holland came from a temperance family and began her work in Banbury with the Band of Hope. She became the first women to be the Honorary Secretary of a branch of the Band of Hope. She also joined the BWTA, was a member of the IOGT being an active member of both organisations.

Wings, 1898, January p 1.

Howard, Rosalind Frances Stanley, Countess of Carlisle 1845 - 1921

Born Rosalind Frances Stanley, her grandmother Maria Josepha was the first Lady Stanley of Alderley, and her mother Henrietta Joseph after her husband's death, became involved in the founding of Girton College. Rosalind

Howard was later to support the college, donating £4,000 towards the building fund for an extension to the college.
A radical she began her temperance work in the early 1880s, teaching in a Band of Hope. She became president of the NBWTA following the resignation of Lady Henry Somerset in 1903 and remained president until 1921. She was a Liberal and continued to support the party despite the lack of legislation on both women's suffrage and the local veto. She became an active temperance supporter in the 1880s and Castle Howard became the centre of her temperance activities. She was active in Liberal politics, and founded WLA branches in Bampton and Carlisle. She initially refused to join the WLF under the presidency of Mrs Glastone as they would not press for women's suffrage. When she did join, in 1890, she lobbied for the inclusion of suffrage. She worked closely with Bertha Mason and Eva and Walter McLaren to ensure women's suffrage became part of the remit of the WLF. Carlisle believed that the vote should not be restricted to women of property, and considered such a restriction would favour the Conservative Party.
She fought for the introduction of the local veto with Sir Wilfred Lawson and did not agree with the Royal Commission reports. She supported Home Rule and opposed the Boer war but her pacifism did not extend to the 1914 - 1918 war.

Russell, B. Lady Carlisle's Ancestry IN Henley, D. *Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle.* 1958; Roberts, C. *The Radical Countess: The history of the life of Rosalind Countess of Carlisle.* Carlisle, 1962.

Impey, Catherine 1847 - 1923

Catherine Impey was a Quaker, temperance advocate and anti-racist. Her temperance activities included membership of three national societies, the BWTA, IOGT and WCTU. She also worked for local temperance societies in Somerset and was treasurer of the Village Mission and Band of Hope in Street. She travelled to the United States several times for meetings of the IOGT and the WCTU. She resigned from the IOGT in 1889, when the organisation reformed on racial lines. She was a supporter of the anti-slavery movement and in 1888 began a monthly news sheet the *Anti - Caste.* She became embroiled in the controversy over Frances Willard's perceived remarks on lynching in the former slave states. Her other interests included membership of the Wells Poor Law Board of Guardians, the Long Sutton School Committee and the Street Peace Association.

Ware, V. *Beyond the Pale.* 1992; *Peace and Goodwill*, April 1884, p122; Fahey, D. *Writings of Jessie Forsythe 1847 - 1937: The Good Templars and reform on three continents.* USA, 1988; *The Times*, 6th November 1894; Obituary in *The Friend*, New Series, 64, 1924, 4th July 1924 p 19: Fahey, D. *Catherine Impey* - forthcoming DNB entry; WCTU National Headquarters Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - WCTU) Microfilm Edition *Miscellaneous pamphlets. Home Protection Manual.* I am grateful to Dr. David Fahey of Miami University at Ohio, and Heloise Brown at York University for additional information on Impey.

Jackson, Alice A. 185? -

Mrs Jackson lived in Yarmouth and was president of the BWTA branch although after the split in 1893 she joined the WTAU. She moved to Northampton, and joined the WTAU branch. A Primitive Methodist, she was president of a mother's union, and vice-president of the Ladies Auxiliary of the Sunday School Union. She organised mothers' meetings and was a member of the Good Samaritans. She later became a poor law guardian in Rawmarsh, Rotherham.

Johnson, Harriet Mary

Harriet Mary Johnson, of Liverpool, gave evidence to the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws and worked for the District Provident Society visiting one area weekly organising a Penny Band. She contested a ward in Liverpool, against a brewer, she lost but reduced his majority. She became superintendent of the NBWTA's Department for the Prevention of the Sale of Intoxicants to Children. A member of the Liverpool & District Union of the NBWTA, she was in correspondence with Rosalind Countess of Carlisle.

Castle Howard, Archives, J23/196 *Letters from Harriett Johnson 1904 - 1915.*

Kilham, Hannah 1774 - 1832

Hannah Kilham is best known as a missionary and student of African languages. Born into the Church of England she joined the Society of Friends in 1803. Before she travelled to Africa in 1823 she founded "a society for bettering the condition of the poor in Sheffield". She considered that intemperance was "one sin as the cause of, by far, the greatest wound of ignorance, misery and crime". As with many other women she added temperance to her primary work. When she returned from Africa in 1824 she travelled to Ireland, joining the British and Irish Ladies Society working for famine relief.

Balfour, C.L. *A Sketch of Mrs Hannah Kilham.* 1853; Biller, S. *Memoir of Mrs Kilham, by her Step-daughter.* 1837; The Dictionary of National Biography.

Leach, Mrs (Yarmouth)

Ethel Leach, of Great Yarmouth, was elected to the Yarmouth School Board in 1881 becoming vice-chairman in 1895, she served for 25 years. She was a member of the BWTA and after the First World War became a local councillor, alderman and mayor of Great Yarmouth.

Hollis, P. *Ladies elect: Women in English local government 1865 - 1914.* Oxford, 1987.

Lewis, Elizabeth Anne 1843 - 1924

Elizabeth Lewis was the daughter of teetotal parents, and accompanied her father to open air temperance meetings. She began her temperance work with the Blue Ribbon Mission in Blackburn. She took this over as an existing mission and completely reformed and rejuvenated the mission. She was a member of both the WTAU, and BTL. She supported the London Temperance Hospital. She was charged with misappropriating funds. She sued for libel and after a difficult court case she won. Her expenses were financed with money raised by Charles Garrett, a Methodist.

A BWTA Worker at Home. The Lees Mission Hall Blackburn. (Reprinted from *White Ribbon* May 1902.); Burnett, W.H. *Sunlight in the Slums.* Manchester, 1888; Hawkes, A.G.C. *Women at Work - Mrs Lewis of Blackburn* (Reprinted from *Wings*, December 1893.); Moss, W.E. *Book of Memoirs. Blackburn,* 1951; Moss, W.E. *The Life of Mrs Lewis, the "Drunkard's Friend.* 1926

Lucas, Margaret Bright 1818 - 1890

Margaret Bright Lucas, a member of the Bright family, was a Quaker and become the president of the BWTA in 1878. In her early political career she worked for the Anti-Corn Law Bazaars with her sister Priscilla Bright McLaren, in the anti-slavery movement and with Josephine Butler campaigned against the *Contagious Diseases Acts*. Amongst her other activities she was a member of the IOGT, president of the Women's Peace and Arbitration Association, Vice President of the Peace Society and a member of executive committee of the WLF. She was also a supporter of women's suffrage, having subscribed to the London suffrage committee which drew up John Stuart Mill's petition and was a member of the executive committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage in 1867. She was a member of the executive committee of the Manchester Women's Suffrage Society, later becoming a member of the Union of Practical Suffragists. She was also a supporter of Irish Home Rule. She was asked to become a poor law guardian but declined. She travelled extensively to America, including visits with Catherine Impey, Mrs Pearson of Nottingham and Hannah Whitall Smith. Her husband was Samuel Lucas editor of the *Morning Star*.

BWTA *Memoir of Margaret Bright Lucas.* BWTA, 1890; *Wings,* 1897 Vol 9, No 1, January, pp 1 - 3 Margaret Bright Lucas a retrospect; *Women's Penny Paper*, 1890, Vol 2 February 8th *Obituary*

Lupton, Edith

Edith Lupton was a powerful speaker, and radical supporter of women's suffrage. She spoke, at a meeting of the Women's Suffrage Society in 1890, forcefully against existing the Members of Parliament, and condemned their lack of support for women's suffrage. She was a temperance supporter but did not stand for election to a school board on the temperance ticket.

Women's Penny Paper, 26th April 1890, p 320.

Mason, Bertha

Bertha Mason was a supporter of temperance, women's suffrage and the Liberal Party. She became the Lancashire County President of the NBWTA and both treasurer and superintendent of the Department for Women's Voters Work of the association. She was equally active in the suffrage movement as treasurer of the NUWSS. She was a member of the executive committee of the WLF. A moderate suffragist, she wrote a history of the women's suffrage movement in 1912 in which she gave a sympathetic view of the suffragettes motivation. She had family connections with the Liberal Party. Hugh Mason, her father, took up the leadership of a suffrage bill in Parliament in 1881. She worked closely with Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle in an attempt to add suffrage to the remit of the WLF. She was able to assure Carlisle of the support of Ashton under Lyne and continued visiting associations in Lancashire and Cheshire throughout 1891, believing that the WLF should "openly advocate and work for the enfranchisement of women" but did not approve of the suffrage being made a test question at election.

Mason, B. *The Story of Woman's Suffrage Movement.* 1912; *Why Women are Wanted on Town Councils.* n.d..; *Women as Town Councillors Following the Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils Act).* 1906. Castle Howard, Archives, J23/198 *Letters from Bertha Mason 1902 - 15.*

Massingberd, Mrs

Mrs Massingberd was a temperance worker and a Liberal. She became a member of the executive committee of the WLF, as well as being on the Executive committee of the Central National Society for Women's Suffrage. Amongst her other activities she was a founder of the Pioneer Club and a member of the Special Appeal Committee founded by Millicent Garrett Fawcett to act as a link between suffrage and other women's organisations. She owned land in Lincolnshire and the neighbouring counties. As a widow she was eligible to stand for election to School Boards . She was an experienced speaker being used to addressing crowds in her temperance work. Described as a household name for temperance she spoke regularly on temperance to workers at a Southampton ship building yard in 1888. Claims were made that over 200 men attended. She spoke at the 1890 temperance demonstration in Hyde Park against compensation for withdrawn licences.

BWTA Annual Report, 1888-9. 1899; *Women's Penny Paper,* 1889, Vol 1 No 12, January; *Women's Penny Paper,* 1888, Vol 1, No 1 1st January p3; Hollis, P. *Ladies Elect: Women in English local government 1865 - 1914.* Oxford, 1987.

McLaren, Eva - 1921

Eva McLaren born Eva Muller was the daughter in law of Priscilla Bright Lucas. As Eva Muller she had been trained by Octavia Hill in housing management, by Agnes Jones in nursing and had worked with Josephine Butler. She became a poor law guardian in Lambeth. After her marriage she moved to Bradford and became a poor law guardian in that town. A staunch supporter of temperance on the board, she alienated the local Liberals over the dismissal of the master of the workhouse on charges of alcoholism. She had a wide range of interests, was a founding member of the WLF, member of the executive committee of the WLGS and a member of the Executive Committee of the NBWTA.
An ardent supporter of the campaign for women's suffrage she worked with Rosalind Countess of Carlisle to put women's suffrage on the agenda of the WLF in 1892. As a political activist Eva McLaren was ideally placed to organise women, not only to participate in the elections for poor law guardians by questioning local candidates on their commitment to abolishing alcohol drink in the workhouses, but also in encouraging others to run for election.

Woman's Signal, Vol 1, 1895, 31st May, pp 370 - 371; *Women's Penny Paper,* Vol 1, 8th June, p 6; Hollis, P. *Ladies Elect: Women in local government, 1865 - 1914.* Oxford, 1987;

McLaren, Priscilla Bright 1815 - 1906

Priscilla McLaren joined her brother John Bright in his campaign against the Corn Laws. She became an avid suffrage supporter and became a key figure in the Edinburgh branch of the NWSS. McLaren worked with Lydia Becker and was on the committee of the LNA.
At the age of 78 she contacted Frances Willard and encouraged her and Lady Henry Somerset in their demand for women's suffrage from within the temperance movement.

WCTU National Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - Woman's Christian Temperance Union) Microfilm Edition, Temperance and prohibition papers: Folder 73, *Correspondence, 1892, April.*

Miller, Florence Fenwick 1854 - 1935

Florence Fenwick Miller was a journalist, having previously worked as a midwife at Endell Street Hospital. In the late 1870s lectured on temperance, and was part of a women's network that spread across the whole spectrum of the women's movement. She became a member of the London School Board, supported suffrage for all women and was a founding member of the Women's Franchise League. Fenwick Miller had close associations with Lady Henry Somerset, publishing the *Woman's Signal* with Somerset as Corresponding Editor. This partnership ended in the aftermath of Somerset's letter to *The Times* condoning the re-introduction of contagious diseases acts in India.

Van Ardsel, R.T. *Florence Fenwick Miller: Feminism and the Woman's Signal 1895 - 1899.* Unpublished manuscript in the Fawcett Library.

Morgan, Miss G.E.F of Brecon

Miss Morgan was an active and long-standing worker within the BWTA. She was a poor law guardian and strongly advocated that women should become guardians. She was also a determined supporter of women's suffrage, an educationalist and successful author. She supported Somerset and in the early days of Somerset's presidency claiming "That without the vote much of our work in temperance reform remains ineffectual". In 1911 she was elected as the first temperance Lady Mayor when she became Mayor of Brecon. In her mayoral address she expressed the hope that all would "bear with her" as all hospitality would be in accordance with her total abstinence principles.

BWTJ, 1890, Vol 8, No 7, July, pp 123 - 4; *Annual Report of the 35th Annual Meeting of the NBWTA 1910-11.* 1911; *Banner of Hope*, 1911, January , p 4.

Parker, Margaret Eleanor 1828 - 1896

Margaret Parker was born in Bury and moved to Dundee after her marriage. In the early 1870s she travelled to America as a temperance speaker and became enamoured by both the WCTU and the American way of life. A Quaker and member of the IOGT she became the first president of the BWTA immediately following it foundation. She wanted the BWTA to emulate an "American temperance society" . This view did not prevail and, following the death of Parker's son, Clara Lucas Balfour was elected president. She began, in the late 1880s, a scheme to sponsor emigration of "poor but respectable" servant girls from the British Isles to California.

Fitzpatrick, K. *Lady Henry Somerset.* 1923; Parker, C. *Margaret Eleanor Parker. A memorial.* Bolton, 1906; Parker, M.E. *Six Happy Weeks Among the Americans.* Glasgow, 1876; *Englishwoman's Review* 1881, Vol, 12, 15th July, pp 295 - 299 Healthy work for women; *Englishwoman's Review* 1888, Vol 19, 15th February, pp 65 - 67 California and British women.

Pease, Elizabeth 1807 - 1897

Elizabeth Pease was a Quaker who became the leader of the Women's Abolition of Slavery Society in Darlington. She had close contacts with the Chartist movement in Darlington and became a supporter of universal suffrage. She also supported the temperance, peace and anti-vivisection movement. Following her marriage she moved to Edinburgh, the city in which she lived until her death.

Stoddart, A. *Elizabeth Pease Nicol.* 1899; Rendall, J. The *Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780 - 1860.* 1985.

Pearson, Mrs

Mrs Pearson of Nottingham accompanied Lucas to the United States on her visit to the WCTU in 1887. She was a Liberal and a strong supporter of woman suffrage; she inspired women to political action for the temperance cause. In 1890 she spoke at the BWTA annual conference to encourage women still further, declaring "That if politics meant housing the poor, control of liquor etc. then it was necessary for women to have something to do with politics".

BWTA *Annual Report of the 8th BWTA Annual Meeting 1880 -81.* 1881 p 9; *Englishwoman's Review,* 1883, Vol 14, 15th December, p 550.

Richardson, Anne

Anne Richardson was a Quaker, and a Liberal Unionist. She achieved a first class London degree at Westfield having transferred from Newnham under the persuasion of Constance Maynard. She published a number of papers on temperance and worked with Sherwell in drafting clauses for amendments to a local option bill. She became president of the WTAU for the period 1905 - 6.

Vicinus, M. *Independent Women, Work and Community for Single Women.* 1850 - 1920. 1985; British Library of Economics and Political Science, Department of Archives, Miscellaneous Collections 0250, *Papers of Arthur James Sherwell.*

Richardson, Helena

An ardent temperance supporter who believed temperance should be combined with pure air and economy. She originally stood as a temperance candidate for the school board in Bristol in 1877, voting with the sectarians. She was elected and held the balance of power for three years. In common with other women on school boards she tried to reduce the time girls had to

spend on cookery and needlework. Despite some animosity with the Liberal party her manifesto was almost identical with the official candidate's, the major exception being her addition of temperance. Her temperance stance was not always universally popular.

Hollis, P. *Ladies Elect: Women in English local government, 1865 - 1914.* Oxford, 1987.

Robinson, Sarah 1834 -

Sarah Robinson began her philanthropic career by teaching older girls at a Bible class but was unsuccessful. She then became a helper in a mission in Somers Town. She organised cottage meetings at which she spoke in public, but was forbidden to continue to speak in public on the grounds of her gender. She refused to comply. In 1858 she moved to Aldershot and joined with Mrs Daniell in the founding of a Soldiers Hall and Mission. She spent several years visiting barracks and camps in Southern England preaching and teaching the temperance message.

Robinson, S. *A Life Record.* 1898; Robinson, S. *The Soldier's Friend: A pioneer record.* 1913; Robinson, S. *My Book: A personal narrative.* 1914.

Russell, Alys Pearsall Smith 1867 - 1951

Alys Russell followed her mother, Hannah Whitall Smith, into temperance work. She worked with Lady Henry Somerset in the NBWTA, as the organiser and general secretary of the 'Y' (Young) branches of the NBWTA and became a delegate to the WCTU. She married Bertrand Russell in 1894 but the marriage failed and they eventually divorced in 1920. Alys Russell resigned from the NBWTA in 1907. She began to work for the suffrage movement supporting Russell when he became a candidate for women's suffrage at Wimbledon in 1907.

Strachey, B. *Remarkable Relations; The Story of the Pearsall Smith family.* 1980.

Ryley, Kate - 1934

Kate Ryley was a member of a radical family who moved from Liverpool. The family was committed to anti-slavery, home rule, and supported Josephine Butler's campaign for the repeal of the *Contagious Diseases Acts.* They also supported higher education for women and regularly subscribed to the Southport Temperance Institute. Kate Ryley was well educated having received a degree from St Andrews, Lady Literate in Arts. She became a member of the Birkdale School Board in 1881, becoming the first woman in Southport to serve on a public body. She campaigned for free, compulsory education on non-sectarian lines. She proved to be a controversial figure and

was fearless in her attacks on other members of the board. This trait that did not always serve her well for she began to make enemies as well as friends with her approach. She was a supporter of women's suffrage and had a close political relationship with Rosalind Countess of Carlisle, working with her in the WLF. Upon Ryley's request, Carlisle, visited Southport and laid the foundation stone for the Southport Temperance Institute Hall.

Hollis, P. *Ladies Elect: Women in English local government, 1865 - 1914.* Oxford, 1987; Carver, R.N. The work of Kate Ryley on the Birkdale School Board, 1889 - 1902. *History of Education Bulletin*, 1987, No 38, pp 43 - 50; Annual reports of the Southport Temperance Institute.

Scholfield, Mrs 1825 - 1913

Mrs Schofield was an active teetotaller and a founder member of the BWTA. Her husband drafted the constitution of the BWTA. She became president of the first branch of the BWTA, the Central Branch, Newcastle. She was the first female elected as a poor law guardian on the Newcastle Board. She had initially failed to achieve a ban on the supply of alcohol to the inmates. She had a long-standing interest in the social conditions of the working class, including concern over the quality of the water supply to Newcastle. She regarded poor housing and living conditions as a contributing factor to the drunkenness prevalent in Newcastle.

Winskill, P.T. *Temperance Standard Bearers of the Nineteenth century.* 1897-8.

Sebright, Lady 1850 - 1895

Lady Sebright was nominated for the presidency of the BWTA following the death of Margaret Bright Lucas. The widow of Sir John Gage S. Sebright she had been a long standing speaker for the Band of Hope. She was in failing health at the time and was not a serious candidate.

Servante, Mrs Emily C.

A member of the BWTA, Mrs Servante joined the executive committee of the BWTA shortly after Lucas became president of the society. She was already an accomplished speaker and had previously worked with Margaret Bright Lucas, Josephine Butler and Isabella Tod on a range of issues. She founded the East London branch of the BWTA, and became the treasurer of the Department for Poor Law Guardians. Following the split in the BWTA she joined the WTAU becoming the vice-president of the Executive Committee, later she president of the WTA, . and a member of the Society of Inebriety. Her husband was vicar of Christ Church, Stratford.

Shaen, Mrs

Mrs Shaen was a member of the Kensington poor board, having been a workhouse visitor for 20 years. She was well know as "distinguishing herself by a skirmish with the Kensington Licensing Magistrates". A temperance worker of many years standing she actively encouraged others to take up work as poor law guardians. She was a manager of five board schools and worked for a refuge for unmarried mothers. She was a member of the Executive Committee of the NBWTA in 1902. A regular speaker at the NUWW conferences. She supported the emigration of pauper children. She had a link with the suffrage movement and was a member of the NSWS on its general committee.

WCTU Scrapbook 63 *Programme for the United Temperance Conference February 1893;* Report of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, Central Committee. *Report of the Executive Committee presented at the Annual General meeting held in Westminster Hall, 11th July 1893.* 1893; Hollis, P. *Ladies elect: Women in English local government, 1865 - 1914.* Oxford, 1987.

Slack, Agnes Elizabeth 1857 - 1946

Agnes Slack was an international temperance organiser and an indefatigable worker for the BWTA as its corresponding secretary. Following the split in the BWTA she became superintendent of the NBWTA's Evangelical Department and later the British Secretary of the WWCTU. She was a Liberal, organising branches in the Midlands and became the honorary secretary of the Midland Union of the WLA and a member of the executive committee of the WLF. In her work for women's suffrage she clashed with both Emmeline Pankhurst and Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle and would not make suffrage a test question for parliamentary candidates.

Tillyard, A.C.W. *Agnes Slack; Two hundred thousand miles travel for temperance in four continents.* Cambridge, 1926; Slack, A.E. P*eople I Have Met, Places I Have Been.* Bedford, 1942; Tyrrell, I. *Woman's World, Woman's Empire; The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in international perspectives, 1880 - 1930.* 1991; Castle Howard, Archives, J23/265 *WWCTU Correspondence*; Castle Howard, Archives, J23/449 *Letters from Miss Agnes Slack 1891 - 1903.*

Smith, Hannah Whittall 1832 - 1911

Hannah Whittall Smith (also known as Hannah Pearsall Smith) was a Philadelphia Quaker who had settled in Britain with her husband. She became a Methodist, and was the author of *The Christian's Secrets of a Happy Life,* a popular religious text. A supporter of the temperance movement, a

vice-president of the BWTA and a member of the Friends Temperance Union she is credited with being the driving force behind Somerset's first visit to the United States. She met Somerset just prior to the death of Margaret Bright Lucas, whilst Smith was treasurer of the BWTA. She had connections with Frances Willard and introduced Somerset to Willard. Her other interests included the women's peace movement and she was a member of the WLF.

Smith, H. W. *The Christian's Secrets of a Happy Life.* 1896; Strachey, R. *A Quaker Grandmother; Hannah Whitall Smith.* 1914; Smith, L.P. *Philadelphia Quaker; The letters of Hannah Whitall Smith.* New York, 1950; Strachey, B. *Remarkable Relations; The story of the Pearsall Smith family.* 1980.

Somerset, Lady Henry 1851 - 1921

Lady Henry Somerset, born Isabella Somers Cocks, moved to Eastnor Castle following her separation and began her philanthropic and temperance work. Following the death of Margaret Bright Lucas in 1890 she was elected President of the BWTA despite her lack of substantive experience in the work.
She travelled to the United States in 1892 where she met Frances Willard. They developed a close friendship which lasted until Willards death in 1898. Willard was to have a strong influence on Somerset and helped her to develop and expand the BWTA. Not all members of the executive committee of the BWTA approved of Willard's innovations and in 1893 the BWTA split with the majority of the executive committee leaving and forming the WTAU. The BWTA changed its name to the National British Women's Temperance Association. She resigned the presidency in 1903 over issues of policy. Somerset founded a home for inebriate women and after her resignation devoted herself to the home. In addition to her temperance work she was a supporter of women's suffrage, a member of the WLF and briefly a member of the Fabian Society.

Fitzpatrick, K. *Lady Henry Somerset.* 1953; Shiman, L.L. "Changes are dangerous"; women and temperance in Victorian England IN Malmgreen, G. *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1720 - 1930.* 1986; Tyrrell, I. *Woman's World, Woman's Empire; The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in international perspectives, 1880 - 1930.* 1991; Bordin, R, Frances Willard: a biography. 1986; Chapple, J. *Noble Work by Noble Women.* 1900; Castle Howard, Archives, J23/200 *Letters from Lady Henry Somerset 1894 - 1914.*

Spoor, Elizabeth

Elizabeth Spoor was the representative of the West Hartlepool branch at the BWTA Annual Councils. A member of the West Hartlepool school board

she claimed the only school to which she could not gain admission was the Roman Catholic school.

NBWTA *Annual Report of the BWTA, 1893-4*, 1894. p 37.

Stewart, Eliza 1816 -

Stewart was well known for her role in the Women's Crusade in the United States in 1873. She led bands of women into the courthouses and taverns of Ohio where they knelt and prayed. She organised both temperance and suffrage campaigns in the United States. When she visited Britain in 1875/6 she brought them experience and leadership skills she had learnt during her work with the Sanitary Commission in the Civil War. On her arrival in Britain there was no organised national women's temperance association. It was during to her visit to the IOGT annual meeting in Newcastle that the BWTA was founded.

Blocker, J.S. *"Give to the Winds Thy Fears": The Women's Temperance Crusade, 1873, 1873 - 1874.* 1985; People's Palace Museum, *Scotland Sober and Free; The temperance movement 1828 - 1979.* Glasgow, 1979; Willard, Frances E. *Woman and Temperance.* USA, 1884; *The Good Templar Watchword,* Vol 3, 1876, No 104, p 33

Stewart, Louisa 1817 -

A Quaker and a long-standing member of the BWTA Louisa Stewart was a colleague of Margaret Bright Lucas whom Stewart had first met whilst working at the Anti-Corn Law Bazaar. Stewart was also a member of the anti-slavery movement and a supporter of the women's peace movement. She had connections with Priscilla and Charles McLaren working with them to organise early suffrage petitions. She became a long serving member of the executive committee of the BWTA. Her husband was the editor of *Edinburgh News.*

Shiman, L.L. Changes are dangerous: women and temperance in Victorian England. IN Malmgreen, G. Editor *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930.* 1986; *Wings,* 1894, Vol 12, No 1, January, pp 31 - 32.

Sturge, Eliza 1847 - 1892

Miss Eliza Sturge was a member of the Bristol Temperance Society, BWTA and one of the first woman to be selected by the Education League to represent their views and was elected in 1879. She remained a member of the board until 1895. She was a founding member of the Bristol Women's Liberal Association and a member of the National Central Society for Women's Suffrage. After the death of Lydia Becker she became a member of the committee organising Becker's memorial.

Hollis, P. *Ladies Elect: Women in English local government, 1865 - 1914.* Oxford, 1987; *Englishwoman's Review* 1884, Vol 15, 15th February, p 88.

Sturge, Emily 1847 - 1892

Emily Sturge was a Quaker temperance advocate, Honorary Secretary of the West of England Women's Suffrage Society. She is credited with founding the Bristol's Women's Liberal Association. Her aim was to educate women in the political issues of the time. As a school board member she organised playgrounds for children and had swimming pools built. After her death she was replaced by Marion Townsend on the board who worked with physically handicapped children.

BWTJ, 1892, Vol 10, p 84 *Obituary.*

Tod, Isabella M. S. 1836 - 1897

Isabella Tod was one of the most able leaders of the women's temperance movement. She was a close associate of Lucas and was present at the inaugural meeting of the BWTA. She worked extensively for temperance, women's education, suffrage and social purity in Ulster. Tod was a member of the Married Women's Property Committee, and supported the admission of women to universities working with Mrs Byers. She supported the abolition of the *Contagious Diseases Acts* working closely with Josephine Butler. Butler described here as the "most ablest and certainly most eloquent" of the women workers. She supported the women's suffrage movement and was honorary secretary of the North of Ireland branch of the NSWS.

Tod, I. *Women as Poor Law guardians.* 1882; Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers.* 1891.

Twining, Elizabeth 1805 - 1889

Elizabeth Twining, a member of the tea-broking family and sister of Louisa Twining, was a strong supporter of temperance for many years. Following the foundation of CETS she became a member. She undertook a number of philanthropic endeavours, establishing penny banks, organising mother's meetings, and she started a sewing class in Connemara. She developed an interest in women's education and assisted in the founding of a middle class school for girls which later became Bedford College.
She became interested in botanical illustration and spent a number of years preparing a botanical book. This established her reputation as a botanical artist.

Stageman, P. Elizabeth Twining *The Garden; Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society, 1983*, Vol 108, pt 3; *Englishwoman's Review*, 1890, February, p 79.

Twining, Louisa 1820 - 1912

Louisa Twining was a pioneer in visiting workhouses. It was during these visits to that she became determined to achieve their reform. She actively campaigned for women to become guardians believing that they could bring about change. She wrote pamphlets and tracts which together with her *Recollections of Life and Work* illustrate her persistence and achievements in the running of the work houses. A supporter of temperance and a member of CETS, Woman's Section. She was also a member of the General Committee of the NSWS in 1893.

Twining, L. *Workhouses and women's work.* 1858; Twining, L. *Workhouses and pauperism, women's work in the administration of the Poor Law.* 1898; Twining, L. *Recollections of life and work: being the autobiography of Louisa Twining.* 1893.

Vause, Mrs

She was known as the "Yorkshire Miners Friend" because of her aid to miners during the coal strike of 1893. She was a Methodist and a member of the WTAU.

Wings, 1894, Vol 14, No 12, December pp 161 - 2.

Weston, Agnes Elizabeth 1840 - 1918

A member of the Church of England, Weston was originally inspired by the work of Catherine Marsh. She began by teaching Bible classes at Sunday Schools, and later began visiting patients in the Bath United Hospital. Her temperance work began in the late 1860s when she preached both Christianity and temperance. She then established a temperance mission hall for sailors. She followed this with letters written and circulated to sailors at sea which encouraged them to lead exemplary Christian lives and remain temperate. She perceived the need for accommodation for sailors on their return to Britain and founded "Sailors Rest". These became famous and well respected by sailors returning home. She later became the Superintendent of the WWCTU's Department for Women' s work among Sailors.

Weston, A. E. *My Life With the Blue Jackets.* 1909; Weston, A. E. *Temperance Work in the Royal Navy.* 1879; Chapple, J. *Agnes Weston: The Sailor's Friend.* 1935; Gulliver, J. *Dame Agnes Weston.* 1971; Wintz, S. *Our Blue Jacket: Miss Weston's life and work.* 1890.

Wightman, Julia Bainbrigge 1817 - 1898

Julia Bainbrigge Wightman was an evangelical Christian, philanthropist, temperance advocate and author. Following her marriage she moved from Devon to Shrewsbury when her husband was appointed to the living of Vicar of St. Alkmond's Church. Bainbrigge worked initially with fallen women, founding Salop House, a female penitentiary. She was considerably influenced by Catherine Marsh's work with navvies during the construction of the Crystal Palace. However she is best known for her temperance work and her book *Haste to the Rescue*. Following the publication of her books she, together with her husband, financed a working man's temperance hall. This became the centre of their temperance and philanthropic activities. Bible classes for postmen and policemen, and a church ragged school was housed there. She also founded the Shrewsbury Association of Friendless Girls, financed a training school for female servants, YWCA and YMCA branches and formed Bible classes for Young Business Women. Wightman is also credited with convincing W.S. Caine, later to be on the executive of the UKA, to sign the pledge. Later in life she intervened in School Board elections to ensure the election of church men, became a fervent Anti-Darwinist and campaigned against the teaching of evolution in schools.

Wightman, J.B. *Haste to the Rescue.* 1859; Wightman, J. B. *Annals of the Rescued.* 1861; Ellison, H.J. *The Temperance Reformation Movement in the Church of England.* 1878; Fletcher, J.M.J. *Mrs Wightman of Shrewsbury: The story of a pioneer.* 1906; Marsh, C. *Work Among the Navvies at the Building of the Crystal Palace.* n.d.

Willard, Frances Elizabeth, 1839 - 1898

The president of the WCTU Frances Willard the leading temperance woman in the USA. She became women's rights activist putting suffrage high on the agenda of the WCTU. She the was born in Churchville, New York, and grew up in Ohio and Wisconsin. After graduating from North Western Female College in Evanston, Illinois in 1849 she taught at a number of schools and women's colleges. She became President of the Evanston College for Ladies, a Methodist college linked to Northwestern University in 1871. As a result of a number of disputes with the Principal, Willard resigned in 1874, to begin working with the WCTU becoming the corresponding secretary. She resigned from the WCTU in 1877 to work as director and manager of women's meeting for Dwight L. Moody. This was not a success and she began lecturing on suffrage. She rejoined the WCTU and became the president of the Illinois WCTU and, in 1879, president of the national WCTU. She was to remain as president until her death in 1898. She widened the temperance remit into "Home Protection" and developed her "Do everything" policy to still further widen the scope of the organisation so that it encompassed temperance, suffrage and social purity. From this she developed the idea of an international organisation, the WWCTU. Mrs Leavett, the first missionary, set off on a round the world campaign in 1883.

Bordin, R. *Frances Willard: A biography.* 1986; Gordon, A. *The Beautiful Life of Frances E. Willard.* Chicago, 1898; WCTU National Historical Files (Joint Ohio Historical Society - Woman's Christian Temperance Union) Microfilm Edition, *Notes to Researchers.* USA, Ohio [undated].

Wilson, Mrs Charlotte C. - 1921

Charlotte Wilson was the archetypal temperance advocate, a Quaker, a long time supporter of temperance reform. She was a member of the Sheffield Women's Temperance Association and on the executive committee of the BWTA. In common with many other temperance women she began her work organising Sunday Schools, district visiting, fund raising for home and foreign missions and was extremely active in the LNA. Her other activities included being a member of the general committee NUWW, membership of the Brightside Women's Liberal Association and became president of the WTAU. Her husband was H.J. Wilson, M.P. for Holmfirth and a temperance advocate .

Butler, J. E. *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade.* 1896; Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers.* 1891.

Wilson, Sarah 1833 -

She was a member a Liberal family, the Wilson, of Sheffield. She worked for the repeal of the *Contagious Diseases Acts*, temperance and education. She worked for the temperance cause from 1882 to 1892 when she resigned in order to visit America. On her return she continued to support temperance on her return and rejoined the WTAU.

Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers.* 1891.

Wintringham, Mrs (Elizabeth?)

Mrs Wintringham encouraged temperance women to become directly involved in local politics. She believed that temperance women needed to be educated to value their local franchises. She was an early member of the executive of the BWTA during Somerset's presidency. She belonged to the Grimsby branch of the BWTA. She was almost certainly the president of the branch as she attended the Annual Council on a regular basis. A Liberal and member of the radical Wintringham family of Humberside.

Winskill, P.T. *The Temperance Movement and its Workers.* 1891.

Worden, Mrs

Mrs Woden a was a member of the WTAU and a subscriber to the UKA. In her speeches emphasised the financial cost to ratepayers of providing for inebriates and the emotional cost to women at risk form alcohol abuse. As a poor law guardian she claimed that she had learnt to "put up with the chairman's impatience", and attempted to make the workhouse as homely as possible. She placed boarded out children in the homes of total abstainers.

Alliance News, 25th June 1897; *Wings,* 1897, Vol 15, No 7, July, p98.

Yorke, Mrs Eliot

Mrs Yorke was a member of the BWTA until the split in 1893 when she joined the WTAU. She became the President of the Southampton and Netley branches of the WTAU, a Vice President of the UKA and Honorary Treasurer of the WTAU in 1900. She was a member of the Hound School Board.(It has been impossible to trace Hound although there is a small village Hound Green near Reading).

Wings, 1893, Vol 12, No 2, February, p18; *Wings,* 1894, Vol 14, No 12, December pp 161